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A GENERAL

DICTIONARY,

Hiſtorical and Critical:

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A New and Accurate TRANSLATION
of that of the Celebrated

Mr. BAYLE,

WITH THE

CORRECTIONS and OBSERVATIONS printed in the late Edition at *Paris*, is included; and interſperſed with ſeveral thouſand LIVES never before publiſhed.

The whole containing the Hiſtory of the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of all Ages and Nations, particularly thoſe of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, diſtinguiſhed by their Rank, Actions, Learning and other Accompliſhments.

With Reflections on ſuch Paſſages of Mr. BAYLE, as ſeem to favour *Scepticiſm* and the *Manichee* Syſtem.

By the Reverend Mr. JOHN PETER BERNARD;
The Reverend Mr. THOMAS BIRCH, M.A. and F.R.S.
Mr. JOHN LOCKMAN;
And other HANDS.

VOLUME V.

LONDON,

Printed by *James Bettenham*,

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M DCC XXXVII.

A NEW

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

DICTIONARY

GENERAL

TO

The moſt Illuſtrious PRINCE,

JAMES,

Duke of *Hamilton*, *Chaſtlerault*, and *Brandon*, &c.

This FIFTH VOLUME of the

GENERAL DICTIONARY,

Hiſtorical and Critical,

Is humbly dedicated by

His GRACE's moſt obliged,

Moſt devoted Servants,

The Authors.

TO

The moſt Illuſtrious PRINCE,

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A GENERAL DICTIONARY Hiſtorical and Critical.

EGERTON (THOMAS) Lord Elleſmere, and Viſcount Brackley, and Lord High Chancellor of England in the reign of King James I, was natural ſon of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheſhire (*a*) [*A*], and born in that County (*b*) about the year 1540. He was educated in Brazen-Noſe College in Oxford, where he was entered a Commoner in 1556 in the ſeventeenth year of his age; and continuing there about three years, laid a good foundation of ſolid learning. He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himſelf with great ſucceſs to the ſtudy of the Law, and became a very eminent Counſellor (*c*). June 28, 1581 he was appointed by the Queen her Sollicitor General (*d*); and ſoon after he was choſen Lent-Reader of the ſaid Inn. June 2, 1592, the Queen made him Attorney General [*B*]; and afterwards knighted him; and in 1594 appointed him Maſter of the Rolls; and on May 6, 1596, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. In 1598 he was in commiſſion for treating with the Dutch, in order to leſſen her Majeſty's charge of the war with Spain; and with the Lord Buckhurſt and others, ſigned a new treaty at London with the Embaſſadors of the States, whereby the Queen was eaſed of no leſs than twelve thouſand pounds *per ann.* beſides other advantages. In 1600 he was in commiſſion with the Lord Buckhurſt, Lord Treaſurer, and the Earl of Eſſex, Earl Marſhal, for negotiating affairs with the Senate of Denmark. He was a friend to the Earl of Eſſex [*C*], and one of thoſe ſent to

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 417. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. *and* Fuller's *Worthies, in Cheſhire, and* Lloyd's *State Worthies*, pag. 755. 2d edit. London 1670.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Dugdale's *Baronage*, tom. 3. pag. 414, b.

[*A*] *Natural ſon of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheſhire.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (1); but Dr. Fuller (2), and Mr. David Lloyd (3) only tell us in general, that he was *extracted from the antient family of the* Egertons *of Ridley in Cheſhire.* Mr. Arthur Collins (4) obſerves, that his Mother was Alice, daughter of Mr. Spark of Bickerton in Cheſhire; and informs us (5), that it is agreed among all our Antiquaries that the antient family of the *Egertons* is deſcended from the Barons of Malpas in Cheſhire; and that Philip ſecond ſon of David Barons of Malpas being ſeated at Egerton, a manor near Malpas took that ſurname; from whom in lineal deſcent was Sir JOHN EGERTON of Egerton Knight, who fighting valiantly for the Houſe of Lancaſter, under the Lord Audley General for King Henry VI. was ſlain at the battle of Blore-Heath in Staffordſhire on the 23d of September 1459. This Sir *John* was ſucceeded by PHILIP his eldeſt ſon, who had iſſue *John Egerton* of Egerton Eſq; and Sir RALPH EGERTON of Ridley in Cheſhire Knight, who was one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to King Henry VIII, and appointed by that King Standard-Bearer of England for life; and died about the 20th year of his Majeſty's reign. He was ſucceeded by his ſon RICHARD, who was of age in the 23d year of Henry VIII, and was afterwards knighted, and was father of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, of whom we treat in this Article.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 417. 2d edit. London 1721.

(2) In his *Worthies* in *Cheſhire.*

(3) *State-Worthies*, pag. 755. 2d edit. London 1670.

(4) *Peerage of England*, vol. 1. pag. 466.

(5) Ibid. pag. 464, *& ſeqq.*

[*B*] *Attorney General.*] We have in our hands an original letter of his, while he was in that office, *to the Right Honourable his ſingular good Lord, the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treaſurer of England*, relating to a Bill to be ſigned for the young Earl of Derby for the office of Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Cheſter. It is as follows: "My moſt humble dutie donn to your "Lordſhip, my Lord the Erle of Derbie, ſoone after "the deathe of the late Erle his father, moved me "earneſtlie by his letter to make a bill readie for her "Majeſtie's ſignature of a graunt of the office of "Chamberlaine of the Countie Palatine of Cheſter to "be paſſed to him from her Majeſtie, as the late Erle "his father had it; to the ende that if her Majeſtie "ſhall be pleaſed uppon his humble ſute to graunte the "place unto him, the bill might be readie to be "offered to her Highnes ſignature, and the delaie "avoided, which otherwiſe might happen by the "abſence of Mr. Sollicitor and me. Hereuppon I "have preſumed to make readie a Bill accordinglie, "and have ſent the ſame to your Lordſhip herein "incloſed, referring the ſame to your Lordſhip's good "conſideration, humbly beſeeching you to pardon my "bouldnes herein. And ſo praying God for your "Lordſhip's health, doe reſt in all things at your "Lordſhip's comaundement. At my Houſe at Dod-"dleſton near Cheſter this laſt of September 1593.

"Moſt humblie to bee comaunded
"by your Lordſhip
"*Thomas Egerton.*"

[*C*] *He was a friend to the Earl of Eſſex.*] This appears from his letter to that Lord, when in diſgrace, printed in the *Supplement* to the *Cabala* (6), wherein with great ſtrength of reaſon and judgment he endeavours to perſuade him to ſubmit to the Queen. The Earl in anſwer to it, begins thus: *My very good Lord, there is not a man this day living, whom I would ſooner make Judge of any queſtion that might concern me, than your ſelf: yet you muſt give me leave to tell you, that in ſome caſes I muſt appeal from all earthly Judges. And if in any, then ſurely in this, when the higheſt Judge on earth hath impoſed upon me the heavieſt puniſhment without tryal or hearing.* After which the Earl continues to vindicate himſelf; and concludes thus: *I muſt crave your Lordſhip's patience to give him that hath a crabbed fortune leave to uſe a crabbed ſtyle: but whatſoever my ſtyle is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected to your Lordſhip than that of*

(6) Pag. 27.

Your Lordſhip's poor Friend
ESSEX.

After

to know the cauſe of the Earl's aſſembling with his dependants in an hoſtile manner at Eſſex Houſe [*D*]. On the 21ſt of July 1603 he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Elleſmere (*e*), and upon the 24th of the ſame month was made Lord High Chancellor of England (*f*). In the beginning of November 1610 he was unanimouſly elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*g*). On the 7th of November 1616 he was advanced to the dignity of Viſcount Brackley (*h*). He wrote ſeveral works relating to the Law. His health declined through age a conſiderable time before his death [*E*]. He died at York Houſe in the Strand March the 15th $16\frac{1}{17}$, in the ſeventy ſeventh year of his age, and was interred at Dodleſton in Cheſhire (*i*), leaving a noble poſterity, who enjoy a great eſtate with the title of Duke of Bridgwater. Not long before his death, being weary of his

(*e*) Camden's *Annals of King James I.*

(*f*) Wood, col. 418.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. and *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 185.

(*h*) Camden, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Idem, ibid. and Wood, col. 418.

After this the Lord Keeper wrote a letter to the Earl (7), which is as follows:

(7) Ibid. pag. 87.

Sir,

" How things proceed here concerning yourſelf, " you ſhall partly underſtand by theſe incloſed. Her " Majeſty is gracious toward you, and you want no " friends to remember and commend your former ſer- " vices. Of theſe particulars you ſhall know more " when we meet. There are ſharp eyes upon you; " your actions public and private are obſerved. It be- " hoveth you therefore to carry your ſelf with all in- " tegrity and ſincerity both of hands and heart, leaſt " you overthrow your own fortunes, and diſcredit " your friends, that are tender and careful of your " reputation and well-doing. So in haſt I commit " you to God, with my very hearty commendations, " and reſt.

" At the Court at
" Richmond Oct.
" 21, 1599.

Your aſſured
loving Friend,
Thomas Egerton, C. S."

[*D*] *One of thoſe ſent to know the cauſe of the Earl's aſſembling with his dependants in an hoſtile manner at Eſſex-Houſe.*] He was ſent for that purpoſe with the Earl of Worceſter, Sir William Knowles, Comptroller of the Houſhold, and the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham. Being after ſome difficulty admitted into the court-yard, but without their attendants, the Lord Keeper found the Earl in the midſt of a confuſed rabble, and addreſſing himſelf to him, ſaid, *that the Queen had ſent him and the others, to know the cauſe of their concourſe; and if they had ſuffered any grievances, to promiſe them a fair and equitable redreſs.* Whereupon the Earl anſwered him in a louder tone than ordinary, " that " there was a conſpiracy againſt his life; that ſome " were employed to murder him in his bed; that a " great deal of treachery had been uſed againſt him, " and that Letters had been counterfeited under his " hand and ſeal: that they were met in defence of " themſelves, &c." The Lord Keeper preſſing him once more to diſcover his grievances, (as privately as he pleaſed) the rabble interrupted him, crying out, *Let us be gone; they do but abuſe your patience; they deſign nothing but to deſtroy and abuſe you, and in the mean while we loſe time.* Then the Lord Keeper commanded them, on their allegiance, to lay down their arms. After this the Earl retired into the houſe, and the Lord Keeper with the reſt followed him, on purpoſe to have ſome diſcourſe with him in private; the mob in the mean time uttering theſe expreſſions, *Cut their throats, away with that great Seal; clap them in cuſtody.* When they had got into the inner apartments, the Earl ordered the doors to be bolted on them, telling them, " that if they would have but a little pa- " tience, he would go and adviſe with the Lord Mayor " and the Sheriffs, and come back again in a ſhort " time." Thus were theſe four of the Privy Council confined, and left in cuſtody of a rabble, in peril of their lives. In the interim the Earl having tried the affections of the Citizens, and found that none would join with him, and that the Lord Admiral was advancing with a ſtrong party againſt him, reſolved to return home, in hopes of obtaining the Queen's favour by the Lord Keeper and the three other Privy-Counſellors, whom he had confined in his houſe. But when Sir John Leviſon, who commanded a party of men at Ludgate, had refuſed Sir Ferdinando Gorges the liberty of a free paſſage for Eſſex, Gorges conſulting his own intereſt perſuaded the Earl to ſend him to his houſe to diſcharge the Counſellors, and with them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon, while there was no blood ſpilt, and her Majeſty remaining in ſome ſuſpenſe, as well as the Citizens. The Earl conſented that the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham ſhould be releaſed, and none elſe; but he refuſing to accept of his liberty, except the Lord Keeper might enjoy the ſame, Gorges diſcharged them all, and went with them by water to the Court. Eſſex having met with a repulſe near the Weſt-Gate of St. Paul's Church, wherein ſome were killed, went to Queen-Hithe with a few friends, who continued firm to him, and there took boats, and retired to his houſe. He was very angry at finding the Lord Keeper and the Privy Counſellors diſcharged; and laying aſide all hopes of aſſiſtance from the City, began to make his own houſe as ſtrong as he could. But was obliged to ſurrender, and afterwards condemned to Death. After he had received ſentence, he deſired to ſpeak with ſome of the Privy-Council; whereupon the Lord Keeper, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Treaſurer, and Sir Robert Cecil, were ſent to him. After he had aſked the Lord Keeper's pardon for detaining him in cuſtody, and Cecil's for accuſing him in the affair of the Infanta, he told them, that the Queen could never be ſafe, as long as he lived; and diſcovered his whole deſigns, impeaching ſeveral perſons. After the Earl was executed, it being thought neceſſary, that ſome puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on thoſe, who were his confederates, the Lord Keeper was in a ſpecial Commiſſion with the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary of State, Sir John Forteſcue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others, (whereof any two of the beforementioned were to be of the number) to call before them all ſuch as were concerned with Robert, late Earl of Eſſex, Henry, late Earl of Southampton, &c. and to treat and compound with ſuch offenders for the redemption and compoſition of their lands; and on ſealing and ſufficient ſecurity given for the payment of ſuch fines, &c. ſo aſſeſſed by them, to cauſe a pardon to be made out for the ſaid treaſons (8).

(8) Collins's *Peerage of England*, pag. 470.

[*E*] *His health declined thro' age a conſiderable time before his death*]. In the latter end of the year 1615 his Lordſhip was very ill, as appears from ſeveral Letters of Sir Francis Bacon, then attorney General to the King (9). In one dated January 31 he gives his Majeſty this account. *For Mr.* St. John, *your Majeſty knoweth the day draweth on, and my Lord Chancellor's recovery, the ſeaſon, and his age, promiſing not to be haſty, I ſpake with him on Saturday, at which time I found him in bed, but his ſpirits ſtrong, and not ſpent or wearied; and ſpake only of your buſineſs, leading me from one matter to another; and wiſhed, and ſeemed to hope, that he might attend the day for* O. S. *and it were (as he ſaid) to be his laſt work, to conclude his ſervices, and expreſs his affection towards your Majeſty.* In another Letter to the King, dated February 12th 1615, he writes thus: " Your worthy Chancellor, I fear, " goeth his laſt day. God hath hitherto uſed to weed " out ſuch ſervants as grew not fit for your Majeſty; " but now he hath gathered to himſelf a true ſage or " *Salvia* out of your garden. But your Majeſty's ſer- " vice muſt not be mortal." And thereupon Sir Francis moves the King to conſer the Chancellorſhip on him. Three days after he informed the King of the Chancellor's recovery, as follows. *I do find, God be thanked, a ſenſible amendment in my Lord Chancellor.*

(9) See the *Works of Francis Lord Bacon.*, vol. 4. edit. London 1730, in fol.

his public employment, and weakened with age, he desired the King's leave to retire. Upon which the King sent Secretary Winwood to him for the Seal, with this message, that himself would be the Under-keeper, and not dispose of it whilst his Lordship lived to bear the name of Chancellor (*k*). There was a long contest between him and the Lord Chief Justice Coke, concerning the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery and King's-Bench, which was at last determined in favour of the latter (*l*). Wilson tells us (*m*) that he died *full of virtuous fame*. Wood likewise observes (*n*), that "he was a "most grave and prudent man, a good Lawyer, just and honest, of so quick an ap- "prehension also, and profound judgment, that none of the Bench in his time went be- "yond him." When he saw King James's excessive liberality to some of his courtiers, he advised him to preserve his Crown-lands for his own support, since he or his successors might meet with Parliaments which would not supply his occasions but on such conditions, as would not be very agreeable to him (*o*).

(*k*) *Aulicus Coquinariæ*: Or a Vindication in answer to a Pamphlet intitled, *The Court and Character of King James*. Pretended to be penned by Sir *A. W.* and published since his death, 1650, pag. 171. edit. London 1650.

(*l*) See note [*E*]; and the Article of COKE (Sir Edward) vol. 4. pag. 384. Rem. [*H*].

(*m*) *History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James I.* pag. 97. edit. London 1653.

(*n*) Col. 418.

(*o*) Lloyd, pag. 757.

I was with him yesterday in private conference about half an hour; and this day again, at such a time as he did seal, which he endureth well, almost the space of an hour, though the vapour of wax be offensive to him. He is free from a fever, perfect in his powers of memory and speech, and not hollow in his voice nor look; he hath no panting or labouring respiration; neither are his coughs dry or weak. But whoever thinketh his disease is but melancholy, he maketh no true judgment of it; but it is plainly a formed and deep cough, with a pectoral surcharge; so that at times he doth almost animam agere. In a Letter to Sir George Villiers, dated Febr. 21 1615, he gives him an account that *the Lord Chancellor's health growing with the days, and his resignation being an uncertainty*, he desires, by his interest, to be sworn a Privy-Counsellor: adding, that the Lord Chancellor told him the day before, "that if the "King would ask his opinion touching the person he "would recommend to succeed him, upon death or "disability, he would name him for the fittest man;" and Sir Francis asks Villiers's advice, whether use might not be made of that offer? In a Letter likewise of the same date to the King, he begins thus: "I "was yesterday in the afternoon with my Lord Chan- "cellor, according to your commandment, which I "received by the Master of the Horse, and find the "old man well comforted, both towards God, and "towards the world; and that some middle comfort, "which is divine and human, proceeding from your "Majesty, being God's Lieutenant on earth, I am "persuaded, hath been a great cause, that such a sick- "ness hath been portable to such an age. I did not "fail in my conjecture, that this business of Chancery "hath stirred him; he sheweth to despise it, but he "is full of it; and almost like a young Duellist, that "findeth himself behind hand." And proceeding to give his Majesty an account of the affair, he writes thus: *The last day of term (and that which all men condemn, the supposed last day of my Lord Chancellor's Life) there were two Indictments preferred of* Præmunire *for suing in Chancery after judgment in Common Law; the one by* Richard Glanvile, *the other by* William Allen. *For the Cases themselves, it were too long to trouble your Majesty with them; but this I will say, if they were set on that preferred them, they were the worst marks-men that ever were, that set them on. For there could not have been chosen two such causes to the honour and advantage of the Chancery for the justness of the Decrees, and the foulness and scandal both of fact and person in those that impeach the Decrees. The Grand Jury consisting of very substantial and intelligent persons would not find the Bills, notwithstanding they were clamoured by the parties, and twice sent back by the Court; and in conclusion resolutely* 17 *of* 19 *found an* Ignoramus. This attack on the Court of Chancery Sir Francis Bacon imputes to the Lord Chief Justice Coke principally, and in the Letter to the King above cited calls it "a great and public affront, not only to the "reverend and well-deserving person of your Chan- "cellor (and at a time when he was thought to lie a "dying, which was barbarous,) but to your High "Court of Chancery." He advises the King to make some example against the presumption of a Judge in causes, which concern his Majesty; and cites a precedent in Queen Elizabeth's time in the like case, when the Judges answered it on their knees. The Lord Chancellor in the spring of the year being recovering from his indisposition pursued the affair concerning the Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery and King's Bench; and it being brought to an hearing before his Majesty, he in July gave judgment, *that the Statute of* 27. Edw. III. *Cap.* 1. & 4. Henr. VI. *Cap.* 3. *did not extend to the Court of Chancery.* But the Lord Chancellor sinking under the weight of old age, tho' in full possession of the King's favour, intreated his Majesty by two Letters, printed in the *Cabala*, to be discharged from that office. His last Letter is as follows:

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"I find through my great age, accompanied with "griefs and infirmities, my sense and conceit is be- "come dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my "judgment weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice "and speech failing and faltering, and in all the "powers and faculties of my mind and body great "debility. Wherefore, *conscientiâ imbecillitatis*, my "humble suit to your most sacred Majesty, is to be "discharged of this great place, wherein I have "long served, and to have some comfortable testi- "mony under your Royal Hand, that I leave it at this "humble suit, with your gracious favour: so shall "I with comfort number and spend the few days I "have to live, in meditation and prayers to Almighty "God, to preserve your Majesty and all yours, in all "heavenly and earthly felicity and happiness. This "suit I intended some years past *ex dictamine rationis* "& *conscientiæ*. Love and fear stayed it; now ne- "cessity constrains me to it; I am utterly unable to "sustain the burthen of this great service, for I am "come to St. Paul's desire, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum* "*Christo*. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your "Majesty most favourably to grant it,

"Your Majesty's most humble and loyal
"poor subject and servant
"Thomas Ellesmere, Canc."

The King parted with an old and faithful servant with all imaginable tenderness, and first, as a mark of his favour advanced him to the dignity of Viscount Brackley Nov. 7th 1616; and afterwards resigning the Seal, it was on the 7th of March following committed to the custody of Sir Francis Bacon. T.

EGINHART, Secretary to the Emperor Charles the Great, was a German; he is the most ancient Historian of that nation (*a*) and wrote very eloquently for a man of the ninth Century, which made some criticks think, that the person who first published this Author (*b*) polished his style a little; but this conjecture is contradicted by the antient manuscripts (*c*). Some (*d*) say that the History he wrote of Charles the Great is so much the more true, because he had conversed familiarly with that Prince. But this is a bad argument; it can only prove that he was well acquainted with the transactions of those times; but was not the memory of the honour which that Prince had done him,

(*a*) Vossius, *de Hist. Latin.* pag. 302.

(*b*) Count Herman de Nuenar.

(*c*) *See* F. Labbe, *de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. 1. pag. 273.

(*d*) Sigebert, *de Viris illustr.* cap. 84. *Et ex eo* Vossius & Labbe, *ubi supra.*

him, an inticement to flattery? A modern Author charges him with great partiality [*A*]. I do not know what we ought to think of his intrigue with a daughter of Charles the Great [*B*].

EGNATIA

[*A*] *A modern Author charges him with a great partiality.*] He goes farther ſtill, and lays ſhameful impoſtures to his charge (1). He aſſerts, that all that has been related concerning the ſlothfulneſs of the Kings of the firſt Family are impertinent ſtories: *Theſe Kings having failed to ſupport their authority only thro' the defect of their years; and that ridiculous ſhew of their perſons on a chariot drawn by four oxen being nothing but a bold lye aſſerted by that impoſtor, Eginhart, without the leaſt truth or the leaſt ground* (2). He aſſerts, that Eginhart is the inventor of that fable, which ſo many Authors relate as a matter of fact, namely, that Pope Zachary approved the depoſition of King Childeric, and Pepin's uſurpation. *By confuting Eginhart*, ſays he (3), *we confute all thoſe who wrote on his authority.* Let us ſee how he confutes him.

" Eginhart was Charles the Great's Chaplain and " his creature, and wrote his life. His only ſtudy " was to invent an infinite number of falſe ſtories, " in order to depreſs the Kings of the Merovingian " family, whom he maliciouſly repreſents as baſe and " ſlothful Princes, with a deſign to palliate and excuſe as much as he could, the criminal attempt of " Pepin's uſurpation. With this view it is, that thro' " a ridiculous ignorance, he repreſents with a beard " children of eight years old, and even children that " were not yet born, and that he loads with infamy " young Princes, who had no other faults, but a life " too ſhort to diſplay their virtues. With the ſame " wicked intention did he invent that ridiculous progreſs of the Kings in a chariot drawn by oxen on " the firſt of May, and their obſcure retreat in the " caſtle of Mamaca, which never was in being: for " at the ſame time that he thus ſhuts up thoſe Kings " in that imaginary ſolitude, it appears from contemporary Authors, that they were at the head of " their armies, or employed about other affairs ſuitable to their age. This wicked deſign of Eginhart " runs viſibly through his whole work; but when he " would mention Childeric's abdication, he thought " that he ſhould entirely clear Pepin, if he could repreſent the Pope as an accomplice of his attempt; " and he has done it with the greateſt inconſideration, " and he has been guilty of ſuch an anachroniſm as " betrays the groſſeſt ignorance. For he ſays, that " Childeric was degraded by Pope Stephen's command; " *Juſſu Stephani Pontificis exauctoratus*; now Pepin was " proclaimed King before Stephen was made a Pope, " ſince he was not elected at Rome but towards the " end of March in the year 752, and Pepin was pro- " claimed as ſoon as the firſt of March. He is even " ſuch a bad Chronologer, that tho' he was almoſt " contemporary with Pepin, yet he aſſerts, that this " Prince reigned fifteen years after Childeric had had " his Crown ſhaved (4). Now Pepin died in the " month of September 768, and had been proclaimed " in March 752, ſo that he reigned ſixteen years and " an half; we ſee therefore how little credit this fabulous " Writer deſerves. And how ſhould he aſſert any thing " certain concerning the reigns of Childeric and Pepin, " ſince he owns himſelf ſo ignorant and ſo little acquainted with Books, that having undertook to " write the hiſtory of Charles the Great, he ſays, " that he ſhall not relate any thing concerning the infancy and younger years of that Prince, becauſe at " the time he wrote there was not one perſon living, " who could furniſh him with any particulars or memoirs concerning thoſe times? *Nec quiſquam modo ſupereſſe invenitur, qui horum ſe dicat habere notitiam*: i. e. *There is not one perſon to be found, who ſays, he is acquainted with thoſe times.* Hence it appears " from what authentic Memoirs he collected his Hiſtory (5), and ſpoke of paſt events."

I am not at leiſure to examine whether this whole charge is well grounded. I ſhall only obſerve, that the Author ſeems to be much more in the right, when he refutes what is aſſerted concerning the requeſt made by the French to the Pope, and concerning the Pope's anſwer. The requeſt has not the leaſt ſhadow of common ſenſe, and the anſwer is ridiculouſly unjuſt.

[*B*] *I do not know what we ought to think of his intrigue with a daughter of Charles the Great.*] Marquard Freher has publiſhed a chronicle (6), in which we read that our Eginhart inſinuated himſelf ſo well into the favour of Imma Charles the Great's daughter, that he obtained from her whatever he deſired. Charles the Great having found out this intrigue, did not do like the Emperor Auguſtus (7); for he married the two lovers together, and gave them a fine eſtate in land. Freher does not give any credit to the ſtory. See letter the CIVth in a collection of letters written to Goldaſt, and publiſhed in the year 1688. He is the Author of that letter, and obſerves there that Vincent of Beauvais relates ſuch another ſtory concerning the Emperor Henry III. I am perſuaded that moſt of my Readers would be angry with me, if I were not to relate in this place how Charles the Great came to be acquainted with Eginhart's intrigue, and that they will be pleaſed to find here this little ſtory. This is the reaſon why I ſhall give a ſhort account of it in this article.

Eginhart being Chaplain and Secretary to Charles the Great diſcharged ſo well all his functions, that he was generally beloved, and moſt dearly by Imma the Emperor's daughter, for whom alſo he entertained a very great affection. They dreaded the conſequences, for which reaſon they durſt not join too cloſe together, but notwithſtanding this their love increaſed daily. At laſt when he could no longer refrain the violence of his paſſion, he reſolved to do a bold action. One night he crept into the apartment of the Princeſs, knocked ſoftly at her door, and was admitted into her chamber as a man who had ſomething to ſay to her by the Emperor's order: but he immediately ſpoke of other things, and quenched his flame in the moſt agreeable manner. *Denique cum idem vir egregius irremediabiliter amando æſtuaret, aureſque virginis per internuncium appellare nec præſumeret, noviſſime ſumpta de ſemet ipſo fiducia nocturno tempore latenter ad puellæ tendebat habitaculum. Ibidemque pulſans clanculum, & intrare permiſſus tanquam allocuturus juvenculam de regali mandato, ſtatim verſa vice ſolus cum ſola ſecretis uſus alloquiis, & datis amplexibus cupito ſatisfecit amori* (8). He deſigned to retire back before the break of day; but he perceived, that whilſt he had been diverting himſelf with Imma, it had ſnowed very much; ſo that he feared leſt the print of his feet ſhould betray him; he talked with the Princeſs of his uneaſineſs; and they conſulted together how they could get over this difficulty: at laſt the Princeſs found out a very good expedient; ſhe offered to take her lover upon her ſhoulders, and to carry him to the other ſide of the ſnow. *Cumque nimia ſollicitudine fluctuantes quid facto opus eſſet deliberarent, tandem elegantiſſima juvencula, quam audacem faciebat amor, conſilium dedit, ut ipſa quidem ſuper ſe incidentem inclinata exciperet, eumque uſque ad locum illius hoſpitio contiguum ante lucanum deportaret, ibique eo depoſito per eadem veſtigia cautius obſervata reaire* (9). The Emperor had paſſed that whole night without ſleeping; and it is thought that this want of ſleep happened by a particular direction of Providence (10). He roſe very early, and looking out of the window, he ſaw his daughter, who could hardly walk with the burthen ſhe carried, and who after ſhe had ſet it down, made all the haſte ſhe could back again. *Intuitus eſt filiam ſuam ſub præfato onere nutanti greſſu vix incedere, & ad conflictum locum depoſita quam geſtabat ſarcina celeri repedare curſu* (11). He was moved with admiration and grief; but thinking that there was ſomething divine in this, he reſolved to diſſemble. *Quibus multo intuitu perſpectis, Imperator partim admiratione partim dolore permotus, non tamen abſque divina diſpoſitione id fieri reputans, ſeſe continuit, & viſa interim ſilentio ſuppreſſit.* Eginhart who was perſuaded that this action could not continue long ſecret, reſolved to retire, and went and threw himſelf at the Emperor's feet to beg his permiſſion, alledging that his long ſervices had not been rewarded. The Emperor anſwered, that he would think of it, and appointed him a certain day, on which he would acquaint him with his will and pleaſure. The day being come, he ſummoned his Council together,

(1) See the book intitled, *L'Eſprit de Gerſon*, chap. 35. pag. 204: it was printed in the year 1691, in 12mo.

(2) Chap. 36. pag. 206.

(3) Ibid. chap. 36. pag. 217.

(4) This cenſure is ill-grounded, for Eginhart made uſe of the following expreſſion, *fifteen years or more*; *cum per 15 annos, aut eo amplius Francis imperaret.* In Vita Caroli Magni.

(5) This whole cenſure falls to the ground, as ſoon as one reads the whole paſſage in Eginhart, where we meet with theſe words; *quia neque ſcriptis aliquando declaratum eſt.* i. e. " Becauſe it was " never publiſhed in writing." which ſuppoſes, that he conſulted either the writings, or perſons then living. There might be books containing other things, tho' none were found concerning Charles the Great's infancy.

(6) *Chronicon Lauriſhamenſis Cœnobii*, publiſhed by *Freber* inter *Rei Germanicæ Scriptores.*

(7) It is thought that he baniſhed Ovid, becauſe he believed him to be too much favoured by Julia.

(8) *Chronicon Lauriſhamenſe*, pag. 62.

(9) Ibid.

(10) *Eam noctem, Imperator, divino (ut creditur) nutu inſomnem duxit.* ibid.

(11) Ibid.

EGNATIA, a City of Italy, in the country of the Salentines, between Bari and Brindiſi (*a*). It was conſiderable only on account of the miraculous ſtone which it boaſted to be poſſeſſed of [*A*]. If every body had been of Horace's mind, that ſtone would have contributed more to the ſhame than to the glory of the inhabitants of Egnatia. He laughs at their pretended miracle, and leaves it to be believed by the Jews [*B*]. There were other places in ancient times where the like prodigies were pretended [*C*], and

(*a*) Theſe two Cities were called, the one Barium, and the other Brunduſium.

together, and there declared the crime of his Secretary, giving a particular account of what he had ſeen, and aſked the Council's advice in an affair, which was a diſgrace to his family. *Imperatoriam inquiens Majeſtatem nimis injuriatam eſſe et deſpectatam in indigna filiæ ſuæ notariique ſui copulatione, & exinde non mediocri ſeſe agitari perturbatione. Quibus nimio ſtupore perculſis, & de rei novitate & magnitudine quibuſdam adhuc ambigentibus, Rex innotuit eis evidentius, referens eis a primordio quid per ſemet ipſum oculata fide cognoverit, conſiliumque eorum atque ſententiam expoſtulans ſuper hoc* (12). The ſentiments were divided, ſeveral Counſellors voted for a ſevere puniſhment. Others having duly weighed the whole affair, adviſed the Emperor to determine it himſelf according to his divine wiſdom. His deciſion was as follows. He declared that if he puniſhed Eginhart, he would thereby rather increaſe than leſſen the diſhonour of his family, that therefore he choſe rather to hide this infamy under the veil of marriage (13). The lover was called in and told, that in order to anſwer the complaints he had made of not being paid for his long ſervices, the Emperor's daughter was given him in marriage. *I ſhall give you my daughter*, ſaid Charles the Great to him, *that portreſs who carried you ſo kindly on her ſhoulders* (24). They ſent immediately for the Princeſs, and gave her to Eginhart with as good a portion as the daughter of ſo great a Prince could have. *Protinus ad Regis edictum cum multo comitatu adducta eſt ejus filia, quæ roſeo vultum perfuſa rubore tradita eſt per manus Patris in manus prædicti Eginhardi, cum dote plurima prædiorum quoque nonnullorum, cum innumeris aureis, argenteiſque donariis, aliiſque precioſis ſuppellectilibus* (15).

(12) Ibid. pag. 63.

(13) *Tam triſtis facti a notario non exigam pœnas, per quas infamia filiæ meæ magis videbitur augeri quam minui. Unde dignius & laudabilius imperii noſtri gloriæ arbitramur congruere, ut data adoleſcentiæ venia legitimo eos matrimonio conjungam, & rei probroſæ honeſtatis colorem ſuperducam.* Ibid.

(14) *Juri veſtro nuptum tradam meam filiam, veſtram ſcil. portatricem, quæ quandoque alte ſuccincta veſtræ ſubvectioni ſatis ſe morigeram exhibuit.* Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

This is the ſubſtance of the whole ſtory; there are few tales in Boccacio's Decameron, nor in the Queen of Navarre's Heptameron, which would equal this if it were wittily adorned; and I am ſure that in Monſr. la Fontaine's hands it would have become one of the moſt pleaſant tales that ever was read. The cut before it would afford a new kind of parallel between the effects of love and thoſe of friendſhip, between Æneas loaded with his father Anchiſes, and Imma loaded with her gallant. Charles the Great (16) perceiving at a diſtance that portteſs, would not be one of the leaſt ornaments of the picture, if the Painter could happily repreſent the reflections which that kind father made on this occaſion. Imma is here like Petronius's matron of Epheſus, the perſon who finds out the expedients; but ſhe employs her own body for the remedy that was wanted (α).

(16) Some ſay he got up with a deſign to obſerve the Stars. *See* Comieres in his *Treatiſe on Comets*, pag. 238.

* (α) Mr. Bayle did not know, or did not remember here, that Jacob Cats, Great Penſionary of Holland, put this ſtory or tale into Dutch verſe. It is to be found amongſt his Works printed at Amſterdam in 1658, *folio*. There muſt have been an Edition of it before this, as appears by the date of the Edition of the following Book. There are in this three cuts, the firſt of which repreſents by ſome Books Eginhart teaching Imma, and afterwards they both appear kiſſing one another ſtanding. The ſecond repreſents Imma carrying Eginhart upon her ſhoulders; Charles the Great ſees them from a window of his Palace, and two of his guards arreſt them by his order. In the third, Eginhart and Imma appear before Charles the Great, who determines their fate. Caſpar Barlæus has alſo turned this tale into Latin Hexameter verſes, which are a tranſlation of thoſe of Cats with this title, *Virgo* Ἀνδροφόρος, *ſive Emmæ Caroli Magni filiæ Eginardum ſcriptorem Amaſium ſuum humeris portantis fata & nuptiæ*. i. e. "The Virgin Man-Carrier; or the fate "and marriage of Emma Charles the Great's daughter, who carried the Secretary Eginhart her lover on "her ſhoulders." This pretty Poem is found in page 161 &c. of the Book intitled, *Faces Auguſtæ ſive Poematia, quibus illuſtriores nuptiæ a Nobili & Illuſtri Viro D. Jacobo Catſio Ill. & Præpoſ. Holl. ac Friſiæ Occidentalis Ord. Syndico, antehac Belgicis Verſibus conſcriptæ, jam a Caſpare Barlæo & Cornelio Boyo Latino Carmine celebrantur. Ad Sereniſſimam Principem Elizabetham Fred. Regis Bohemiæ & Electoris Palatini Filiam. Dordraci* 1643, *in 8vo*. There are but two cuts in this Book, page 175, and 179, which are the two laſt mentioned above. This Poem is alſo to be found, but without cuts in page 642 &c. of the following Book; *Caſparis Barlæi Antverpiani Poemata, editio quarta, altera plus parte auctior; Pars prima Heroicorum, Amſt.* 1645, *in 12mo*.

Mr. John Hermann Schmincke, in a Latin Diſſertation printed in the Book, intitled, *Eginhartus de Vita & Geſtis Caroli Magni, &c.* which he publiſhed in 1711. *Trajecti ad Rhenum ex Officina Gulielmi vande Water, in 4to*, proves that Imma was not Charles the Great's daughter: and the Authors of the Journal of Trevoux mentioning this Book in December 1711, page 656, ſhew, that they are of the ſame opinion. They continued in it, when in April 1715, page 640, they ſpoke of a Poem and of another Work of Father John Weinckens, which are printed in the Book, intitled, *Naurchia Seligenſtadiana, &c. Francof. ad Mænum, apud Joan. Philip. Andræam*, 1714. *in folio*. This Father aſſerts in his Poem, that Imma was Charles the Great's daughter, but he ſays the contrary in Chap. the 2d of his other Work, where he relates and explodes the ſtory of a criminal converſation between Eginhart, and Imma, Charles the Great's daughter, which was followed by their marriage. Crit. Rem.]

[*A*] *It was conſiderable only on account of the miraculous ſtone which it boaſted to be poſſeſſed of.*] The wood, which was laid on this Stone, immediately took fire of it ſelf. *Reperitur apud auctores .... in Salentino oppido Egnatia, impoſito ligno in ſaxum quoddam ibi ſacrum, protinus flammam exiſtere* (1). We ſhall ſee preſently that this Stone was at the entrance of the Temple, and that it kindled the incenſe.

(1) Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 107.

[*B*] *Horace laughs at their pretended miracle, and leaves it to be believed by the Jews.*] He expreſſes himſelf in this manner:

- - - - - - - Dehinc Gnatia lymphis
Iratis exſtructa dedit riſuſque jocoſque,
Dum flamma ſine, thura liqueſcere limine ſacro
Perſuadere cupit. Credat Judæus Apella
Non ego (2).

(2) Horat. Sat. 5. lib. 1. ver. 97.

That is,

" Here we had ſport enough, and cauſe to ſmile,
" For ſome, that would our eaſy faith beguile,
" Would needs perſuade, that in their ſacred Quire
" Sweet incenſe burns without the help of fire:
" Ah, let the Jews believe it, if they pleaſe,
" Not I." Creech.

Monſr. Dacier (3) declares for thoſe who believe that Horace inſults the Jewiſh nation in this paſſage for no other reaſon than becauſe he was not unacquainted with what was told of the ſacrifice of Elijah, viz. that a fire from heaven had conſumed the offering. I find no inconvenience in this thought of Mr. Dacier: I ſhall only ſay that Horace might as well have referred theſe things to be believed by the Perſians as by the Jews: *Ferunt ſi juſtum eſt credi etiam ignem cælitus lapſum apud ſe ſempiternis foculis cuſtodire, cujus portionem exiguam ut fauſtam præiſſe quondam Aſiaticis regibus dicunt*. i. e. "They pretend, if it be reaſonable "to believe them, that they keep fire which fell from "heaven perpetually burning, a ſmall portion where-"of, they ſay, was formerly carried before the Aſi-"atic Kings as promiſing good fortune." Thus Ammianus Marcellinus has expreſſed himſelf, ſpeaking of the Magi of Perſia, in the 6th Chapter of the 23d Book.

(3) In his Remarks on theſe words of Horace.

[C] *There were other places .... where the like prodigies*

and even more extraordinary ones [*D*]. The credulity of the people encouraged the Directors of Religion to vie with one another in the forging of miracles.

prodigies were pretended.] Solinus mentions a hill which was yet more miraculous than the Temple of Egnatia. It was in Sicily near Agrigentum. There was no need to put fire on the altar: it was ſufficient to lay vine-branches in order upon it; and they lighted of themſelves, were they ever ſo green, provided the ſacrifice was agreeable to the God to whom it was offered. In that caſe, the flame did not only kindle ſpontaneouſly, but it alſo ſpread itſelf on every ſide, as it were to catch at thoſe who were feaſting on the ſacrifice, and did no manner of harm to thoſe it touched. They only knew, by that ſign, that nothing was wanting to the ceremonies of the day. *Nec longè indè collis Vulcanius, in quo qui divinæ rei operantur, ligna vitea ſuper aras ſtruunt, nec ignis adponitur in hanc congeriem: cum proſicias intulerunt, ſi adeſt Deus, ſi ſacrum probatur, ſarmenta licet viridia ſponte concipiunt, & nullo inflagrante halitu, ab ipſo numine ſit accendium. Ibi epulantes adludit flamma, quæ flexuoſis exceſſibus vagabunda, quem contigerit non adurit: nec aliud eſt quàm imago nuncia perfecti ritè voti* (4). This is more conformable to the events of Scripture, and much more ſingular than the miracle of Egnatia. A celeſtial fire ſent down on the victims ſometimes teſtified among the Jews that God was pleaſed with their worſhip (5); and it is a more expreſs ſign of a particular providence to ſee that the fire does not kindle of itſelf, except when the hearts of the worſhippers are well diſpoſed, than to ſee it kindle of itſelf at all times. This latter caſe may admit ſuſpicions of a natural cauſe, or of a trick: the other does not admit of any, or admits them leſs. Servius affirms that anciently the fire was not lighted on the altar, but that they drew down a divine fire by Prayers. *Apud majores aræ non incendebantur, ſed ignem divinum precibus eliciebant qui incendebat altaria* (6). Pauſanias relates, as an eye-witneſs, a thing ſufficiently ſurprizing. There were two cities in Lydia, where what I am going to relate was practiſed. Each of theſe two cities had a Temple, wherein was a chapel appointed for the ceremony in queſtion. Aſhes of a very peculiar colour were to be ſeen on the altar of the chapel. A Magus entered into it, and having laid ſome dry wood on the altar of that chapel, and wound a tiara round his head, recited certain prayers contained in a Book; and this being done, a very bright flame was ſeen to ariſe from the hearth, without any fire being put to the wood (7). This man was bolder than the Greek Prieſts, who make people believe that yearly, at the feſtival of Eaſter, they receive in a chapel of the holy Sepulchre a celeſtial fire which God miraculouſly grants them. It is a ceremony which is performed in private. As the Latin Prieſts have not adopted this piece of deceit, they are the firſt to ridicule it; and they boldly tell the Greeks, when they go to ſhut themſelves up in the chapel appointed for this pretended miracle, *You would be finely caught, if you ſhould not have choſen a good ſteel.*

I omit the particular inſtances where the fire has kindled of itſelf on the altars, as a happy preſage to certain perſons. This was one of the preſages of the grandeur of Tiberius. *Ingreſſo primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam accidit, ut apud Philippos ſacratæ olim victricium legionum aræ ſponte ſubitis collucerent ignibus* (8). i e. "When he "ſet out on his firſt expedition, and was leading his "army through Macedonia to Syria, it happened that "at Philippi the altars of the victorious legions, "which had been conſecrated ſome time before, ſud-"denly blazed of their own accord with ſpontaneous "fire." Seleucus by a like ſign was informed of his future elevation (9). The Conſulſhip of Cicero was preceded by a like preſage: Cicero was told of it by his wife, and inſerted it in a Poem. He might eaſily have known that there was nothing ſupernatural therein: it frequently happens that if wine be thrown on warm aſhes, among which there are almoſt always ſome live coals, the ſpirits of the wine take fire; and this was the whole of the prodigy which Cicero's wife related to her huſband. *Hoc uxori Ciceronis dicitur contigiſſe, cum peracto ſacrificio libare vellet in cinerem; ex ipſo cinere flamma eodem anno Conſulem futurum oſtendit ejus maritum, ſicut Cicero in ſuo teſtatur poëmate* (10). Others ſay this prodigy was ſeen by the Ladies who celebrated the feſtival of the good Goddeſs. The fire which was lighted on the altar ſeemed to be extinguiſhed, and yet there ſuddenly aroſe a great flame from the midſt of the aſhes and brands (11). This might be very natural: we ſee every day that the remains of a faggot which flamed no longer rekindle of themſelves. The Ladies were alarmed; but the Veſtals adviſed Cicero's wife to go quickly and tell him that he ſhould execute his deſigns for the preſervation of his country, and that the Goddeſs promiſed him ſucceſs. The matter then under conſideration was what ſhould be done with the accomplices of Catiline, who were detained in priſon. Cicero's wife immediately obeyed the direction of the Veſtals, and encouraged her huſband (12). This has very much the air of one ſtory grafted on another. They may have changed the circumſtances of the fact which Cicero embelliſhed his Poem with, and ſo inſtead of one prodigy they may have publiſhed two. However it be, it did not paſs into a Religious Maxim that a fire which kindled of it ſelf was always a lucky omen; for we ſee in Virgil that on a like accident it is wiſhed the preſage may be good.

Aſpice: corripuit tremulis altaria flammis
Sponte ſua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipſe. Bonum ſit (13).

" See, while my laſt endeavours I delay,
" The waking aſhes riſe, and round our Altars play
" May it prove good!" Dryden.

Servius's Remark, which may be ſeen in the margin, was the proof Saldenus ſhould have made uſe of; for that which he alledges is good for nothing. *Licet & factum nonnunquam ſit*, ſays he (14), *ut* ignes *illi non tantum boni ſed & infauſti quicquam præſignificarint.* i. e. " Tho' it ſometimes happened that theſe *fires* did " not foreſhew good only, but miſchief likewiſe." Whereupon he cites the adventure of Lavinia mentioned by Virgil in the ſeventh Book of the Æneid. But the prodigy which we read of there, does not conſiſt in the fire's kindling on the altar of itſelf, but in the fire's leaping on the long hair of Lavinia, and burning all her head-dreſs. She was ſtanding by her father at the altar.

---- *Caſtis* ADOLET *dum altaria* TÆDIS,
Et juxta genitorem adſtat Lavinia virgo,
Viſa (nefas) longis comprendere crinibus ignem,
Atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari (15).

---- " When fair Lavinia fed the fire
" Before the Gods, and ſtood beſide her Sire;
" Strange to relate, the flames, involv'd in ſmoke
" Of incenſe, from the ſacred altar broke;
" Caught her diſhevell'd hair, and rich attire."

Read what Livy relates of the flame which was ſeen round the head of Servius Tullius (16).

[*D*] . . . *And even ſome more extraordinary.*] The Temple of Venus, on the mountain of Eryx in Sicily, was one of the moſt famous among the ancient Pagans. A thouſand things diſtinguiſhed it; but I ſhall ſpeak of no more than one. The great altar ſtood in the open air, *ſub dio:* the flame kept in upon it night and day, without live coals, without aſhes, without firebrands, and in the midſt of the dew, and of herbs which grew up every night (17).

(4) Solinus, cap. 5. pag. m. 20.

(5) See above the Remark [*H*] of the Article ABEL.

(6) Servius, *in Æneid.* lib. 12. ver. 200.

(7) Ἄνευ δὲ δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἀφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα, καὶ περιφανῆ φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι. *Sponte ſua è lignis nullo igne admoto puriſſima emicat flamma.* Pauſan. lib. 5. *ſub finem*, pag. m. 176.

(8) Sueton. *in Tiberio*, cap. 14. *Dion* relates the ſame thing; lib. 54. *ad ann.* 734. pag. m. 603.

(9) Appianus, *in Syriacis*, pag. m. 82.

(10) Servius, *in Virgil. Eclog.* 8. ver. 106.

(11) Plutarchus, *in Cicerone*, pag. 870.

(12) Plutarch. ibid.

(13) Virgil. *Eclog.* 8. ver. 105. On which Servius remarks; *Optat ut hoc ſignum bonum ſit, quia ignis medius eſt, & qui poſſit etiam nocere.* i. e. " She wiſhes " this may be a " good ſign, be-" cauſe fire is " neutral, and " may alſo do " hurt."

(14) Salden. *Otia Theol.* pag. 336.

(15) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 7. ver. 71.

(16) Livius, *Dec.* 1. lib. 1. cap. 39.

(17) Ælian. *Hiſt. Animal.* lib. 10. cap. 50.

EGNATIUS (JOHN BAPTIST), one of the moſt learned men in the ſixteenth Century, taught the *Belles Lettres* with great reputation at Venice his native country. He made himſelf ſo ſerviceable to the youth, that when in his old age he deſired to be

be declared *emeritus* *, he did not obtain it [*A*], becauſe it was thought this would be a detriment to the Students. He obtained at laſt in his decrepit age the diſcharge which he deſired, and received from the Commonwealth of Venice a glorious and profitable teſtimony of the particular eſteem they had for him [*B*]. The Works which he publiſhed [*C*], give but an imperfect notion of his merit; for he ſpoke much better than his

* That is, *to be diſcharged from his Functions.*

[*A*] *He made himſelf ſo ſerviceable to the youth, that when in his old age he deſired to be declared* Emeritus, *he did not obtain it.*] This is what one of his ſcholars acquainted the public with. *Nos qui juvenes eramus*, ſays he (1), *illum, cujus ætas jam ſeneſcebat, ut jam tum ceſſaret, imprudenter fortaſſe quidem, ſed tamen amice monebamus, illud uſurpantes:*

(1) Sebaſtianus Corradus *in Quæſtura, initio.*

Solve ſeneſcentem mature ſanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat.

Ille vero, qui vir prudentiſſimus eſſet, & optime, qui ſit orbis in rebus humanis, noſcet, ut in otium ſolitudinemque ſe conferre cupiebat, ſic etiam ſæpe tentavit, ſed, quod cupiebat, a Senatu Veneto, qui juventutem talis & tanti Viri conſuetudine fructuque privari nolebat, id nunquam, niſi ſenex admodum, potuit impetrare. i. e. "We, "who were young men, ſeeing that he began to grow "old, deſired him, imprudently perhaps, but yet out "of friendſhip to leave off reading lectures, quoting "the following verſes,

"And while 'tis well releaſe thy aged horſe,
"Leſt when he runs but with unequal force
"And ſtretches hard to win, he breaks his wind,
"Derided, diſtanc'd, baſely lags behind.
CREECH.

"And he who was a very prudent man, and perfect-"ly acquainted with the viciſſitude of worldly things, "deſired to lead a quiet and retired life, and often "endeavoured it: but he could not obtain what he "deſired from the Senate of Venice, who would not "ſuffer that the youth ſhould be deprived of the con-"verſation and benefit of ſo great a man, ſo that "his requeſt was not granted him till he was very "old."

[*B*] *He received from the Commonwealth of Venice a glorious and profitable teſtimony of the particular eſteem they had for him.*] The favour he received from the Senate was, that tho' he did no longer teach, yet he ſhould have yearly the ſame ſtipend he had enjoyed when he uſed to read Lectures, and by a Decree of the Council of the Ten it was ordered that his eſtate ſhould be free from all kind of taxes. This is Monſieur Du Ryer's tranſlation of a Latin paſſage in Thuanus. *Eas* (bonas literas) *non mediocri ſtudio illuſtravit, & ſcriptis & publica XL annorum profeſſione cum ſumma totius Italiæ admiratione; & ob id ab illuſtriſſimo ſenatu eam gratiam conſecutus, ut quamquam publico munere defunctus, eodem ſtipendio, quod profitendo meruerat, quotannis donaretur, & ejus bona ex decemviralis Conſilii decreto publico cenſu eximerentur* (2). i. e. "He has with great zeal il-"luſtrated the *Belles Lettres* both by his writings, and "by his public Lectures during forty years, which "gained him the greateſt applauſe from all Italy; by "this he ingratiated himſelf ſo well into the favour of "the moſt illuſtrious Senate, that tho' he did no longer "teach, &c." Ghilini does not altogether confirm this; he aſſerts, that Egnatius's ſtipend was of 300 crowns when he performed the functions of his Profeſſorſhip, and of 200 only, ſince he had been diſcharged of them (3). The ſhort encomium on Egnatius, which is prefixed to his poſthumous Treatiſe *de Exemplis illuſtrium Virorum*, does not mention all theſe particulars, but we find there, *Vir & Scientia & Religione inſignis, . . . adeo univerſæ Venetæ civitati ob ſingularem eruditionem ac morum probitatem charus, ut ex Senatus decreto ducentis aureis nummis quotannis jam publico munere defunctus ac plane emeritus, quoad vixerit, donaretur.* i. e. "He was a man eminent by his "knowledge and piety . . . . and ſo much beloved by "the whole Commonwealth of Venice on account of "his great learning and virtue, that tho' he was diſ-"charged from his functions, and entirely incapable "of them any longer, yet the Senate decreed him a "yearly penſion of two hundred crowns during his "life."

(2) Thuan. lib. 12. pag. 253. col. 1. *ad ann.* 1553.

(3) Ghilini, *Teatro*, Part 1. pag. 96, 97.

[*C*] *The Works which he publiſhed.*] Geſner has given the following catalogue of them. *De Romanis Principibus vel Cæſaribus Libri tres* (4). This work contains a ſhort account of the Lives of the Emperors from Julius Cæſar to Conſtantine Paleologus, and from Charles the Great to Maximilian. I. It was tranſlated into French by *Maitre Geofroy Tory de Bourges*; and this Tranſlation was printed at Paris in the year 1529 (5). The Abbot de Marolles gave another French Tranſlation of it in the year 1664. Ghilini has made two Books of this (6), for he mentions that, intitled *de Cæſaribus Libri tres*, as a diſtinct work from that *de Romanis Principibus*. Thus it is that the Writers of Catalogues impertinently multiply on a thouſand occaſions the works of an Author. But let us continue to tranſcribe Geſner. *Item Annotationes in Vitas Cæſarum apud Suetonium, nempe Æliani, Spartiani, Julii Capitolini, Lampridii, Flavii Vopiſci, Trebellii Pollionis, Vulcatii Gallicani.* Theſe words have been faithfully tranſcribed by the Epitomizers of Geſner, and yet it was very eaſy to obſerve, that they are full of blunders. There ſhould not have been a comma after *Æliani*, and inſtead of *Æliani* it ſhould have been *Ælii*. The worſt is, that even ſuppoſing theſe words to be exact, it muſt of neceſſity be ſuppoſed that Ælianus, Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Lampridius, Flavius Vopiſcus, Trebellius Pollio, and Vulcatius Gallicanus were Roman Emperors, whoſe Lives Suetonius wrote; which is ſuch an abſurd and monſtrous ſuppoſition, that there is no ſchool-boy of the ſecond form but would laugh at it. How then came it to be admitted for a true one by Joſiah Simler, and John James Friſius, who epitomized Geſner and made a Supplement to his work? They are more inexcuſable than Geſner: For if he ſaw the proof-ſheets of his works, he may have overlooked the omiſſions of the Printer. It happens but too often, that when we correct the proofs, our head is ſo full of what we wrote in our copy, that we read it by heart, and without taking notice of what the Printer ſkipped. The other Books of Egnatius cited by Geſner are, *De Origine Turcarum* (of the origin of the Turks). *Obſervationes in Ovidium*, (Obſervations upon Ovid). *Interpretamenta in familiares Epiſtolas Ciceronis*, (Explications of Tully's familiar Epiſtles). *Panegyricus in Francorum Regem* (7), (a Panegyrick on the French King). *Racemationes, quæ obſcuriores aliquot Authorum locos interpretantur* (8), (A Collection of Notes, in which ſome of the moſt difficult paſſages in ſeveral Authors are explained). *Exemplorum Libri novem*, (Nine Books of Examples). Ghilini aſſerts, that this Author's Notes *in Dioſcoridem ab Hermolao Barbaro tranſlatum* (upon Hermolaus Barbarus's Tranſlation of Dioſcorides) and his Oration *ad Meretrices* (to the lewd women) have been publiſhed. The Abbot de Marolles (9) obſerves, that the ſmall Treatiſe of the Origine of the Turks, written by our Egnatius, *is printed in the Collection of Pieces containing the Hiſtory of the Government of Turkey and of the Ottoman Empire, printed by John Oporin, in the year* 1556. Obſerve that the nine Books of Examples were printed after his death. He wrote this work in his old age after the method of Valerius Maximus; but he did not live long enough to put a finiſhing hand to it. He recommended it by his laſt Will to the noble Marco Molino, Procurator of St. Marc, who ordered his ſon to publiſh it. This ſon acquitted himſelf of the Commiſſion quickly enough. The Dedication, which he prefixed to the Book, is dated April the 30th 1554, and contains in a few words a very good encomium on Egnatius, whoſe death is there placed on the 2d of July 1553 (10). The Edition which I make uſe of was printed at Paris, *apud Bernardum Turiſanum via Jacobæa ſub Aldina Bibliotheca*, 1554, in 12mo. i. e. "By Bernard Turiſan, in James's Street, near the Li-"brary of Aldus, 1554, 12mo." The title of the Book is, *Joannis Baptiſtæ Egnatii viri doctiſſimi de Exemplis illuſtrium Virorum Venetæ civitatis atque aliarum Gentium.* i. e. "The moſt learned John Baptiſt Egnatius's

(4) Geſner, *in Biblioth.* pag. 387.

(5) See the Abbot de Marolles in his *Augmentation de l'Hiſtoire Romaine*, tom. 2. pag. 287.

(6) Ghilini, *Teatro*, Part 1. pag. 97.

(7) Geſner's Epitomizer obſerves, that it was printed at Venice in the year 1540.

(8) Gruter has inſerted them into the 1ſt volume of the *Theſaurus Criticus.*

(9) *Augument. de l'Hiſt. Romaine*, tom. 2. pag. 287.

(10) I think we ought to follow this date rather than the *IV Non. Quintil.* (i. e. July the 4th) of Thuanus.

he wrote, and he ſhewed his excellent memory and extenſive learning much more in his lectures and converſations, than in his books [*D*]. He was not leſs commendable for his virtue, than for his learning [*E*]; and it is aſſerted, that his good morals were an honour to the Eccleſiaſtical Order, to which he had devoted himſelf (*a*). He died at the

(*a*) Thuan. lib. 12. pag. 253. See below quotation (10).

" natius's Treatiſe of the Examples of the eminent " Men of the Republic of Venice, and of other Na- " tions."

[*D*] *He ſpoke much better than he wrote, and ſhewed . . . . his learning much more in his Lectures than in his Books.*] Corradus obſerves, that they, who charged Egnatius with ignorance, could be much eaſier refuted by the teſtimony of thoſe perſons, who had heard that Profeſſor, than by his works. *Quamvis ipſius ſcriptis, quæ jam multa leguntur, facile refutare poſſemus; quia tamen ille multo melius, ut Ser. Galba, ut Q. Hortenſius, ut alii, dixit, quam ſcripſit, facilius eos teſtibus, qui ſunt adhuc innumerabiles, confutari poſſe, ſi res poſcat, arbitramur* (11). i. e. " Tho' they might be ea- " ſily refuted by his works, which are in great num- " ber, yet as he, like Sergius Galba and Quintus Hor- " tenſius, and others, ſpoke better than he wrote, I " think, that if it be neceſſary, they can be more ea- " ſily refuted ſtill by witneſs, of whom there are ſtill " numberleſs living." He relates a very curious particular. Egnatius delivering once an Oration, which he had learnt by heart, was juſt going to finiſh, when he ſaw the Pope's Nuncio coming in. He began again his diſcourſe, and repeated in other words what he had already ſaid, but with a much greater eloquence than the firſt time, ſo that his friends adviſed him not to write his Oration for the future. *Nos certe, quod omnes, qui tum Venetiis erant, audire potuerunt, affirmare non dubitamus; illum, quum Pontificis olim Legatus Orationi, quam memoriter jam penè totam dixerat, interveniſſet, illud idem, quod pronunciârat, diverſis verbis à principio repetitum multò melius elegantiuſque dixiſſe. Quare, quum deſcendiſſet, ſic nos illi diximus. Tu vero poſthac nihil unquam ſcribito* (12). In order to know the extent of his learning and the ſtrength of his memory, you muſt read the following paſſage, where you will find, that the Senators of Venice went often to conſult him. *Habuit vir ille, quod de L. Lucullo dicitur, divinam quandam memoriam rerum; quas quidem res penè omnes ut legerat, vel audiverat, ſic iis, qui ſcire volebant, memoriter jucundeque narrabat. Res vero tam mutas ille legerat, vel audiverat, ut omnium maxime ſtudioſus, atque etiam plane curioſus fuit, ut de omni re, quæcunque in diſceptationem, quæſtionemque vocaretur, copioſiſſimè tanquam Gorgias, poſſet, & ſoleret etiam ſæpe diſputare. Nam de jure civili cautè, de totius orbis, & cæli regionibus, ac gentium moribus perite, de poëtica divinitus, de Philoſophia ſapienter, atque de religione pie reſpondebat. Quod ſi quis eum ut de rebus ad hiſtoriam, vel ad rhetoricam pertinentibus loqueretur, rogaſſet, id ille ſic libenter, ſic humaniter, ſic ornate, ſic copioſe faciebat, ut verè* Lydus, *quod agunt,* in campum *videretur eſſe* provocatus. *Quare præter ſtudioſos adoleſcentes, quorum maxima frequentia Egnatii janua & veſtibulum frequentari ſolebant, multi nobiliſſimi & optimi Senatores, ut magnis de rebus deliberarent, ad eum penè quotidie veniebant ita, ut ejus domus oraculum totius civitatis vere poſſit appellari* (13). i. e. " What has " been ſaid of Lucullus may be ſaid of this great " man; he had almoſt a divine memory: whatever " he had read or heard, he could relate by heart and " in a very agreeable manner, to thoſe who deſired " to know it from him. And as he applied himſelf " to every thing, and with the utmoſt diligence, he " had read and heard ſo many things, that whatever " queſtion came to be propoſed, he could, like Gor- " gias, treat of it at length, and uſed to do it: For " he diſcourſed upon the Civil Law prudently, upon " Geography, Aſtronomy, and the manners of diffe- " rent Nations learnedly, upon Poetry divinely, upon " Philoſophy wiſely, and upon Religion piouſly. If " any perſon deſired him to diſcourſe of things relat- " ing to Hiſtory or Rhetorick, he did it ſo willingly, " ſo kindly, with ſo much eloquence and ſo fully, " that one might very well apply to him that proverb, " *to challenge a Lydian* to fight.* So that beſides the " young Students, of whom there was always a great " number of Egnatius's houſe, ſeveral of the moſt no- " ble and eminent Senators uſed to go to him almoſt " every day, to confer with him upon the moſt weighty " affairs; for which reaſon his houſe might truly be " ſtiled the Oracle of the Commonwealth."

(11) Corradus, *in Quæſtura*, pag. 12.

(12) Idem. ibid.

(13) Idem, ibid. pag. 3.

* The Lydians were famous for fighting on horſe-back.

[*E*] *He was not leſs commendable for his virtue, than for his learning.*] This Encomium Eraſmus paſſes upon him, at the ſame time that he will not allow him to have been a Ciceronian Author. See the marginal note (14). Ghilini alſo ſays, that Egnatius made himſelf beloved by his learning and virtue; *Per la ſingulare ſua dottrina e integrita di cuſtomi* (15). The Author of the Dedication, which I have already mentioned, enlarges very much upon this ſubject, and in a poſitive manner; for after having expatiated upon Egnatius's intellectual talents, I mean, upon his memory, imagination, learning and eloquence, his art of mixing gentleneſs with gravity in his cenſures, and of teaching the youth, he concludes with theſe words. *Poſtremo vero, ſi omnes ejus mores diligenter inſpicias, perfectum ſane atque abſolutum innocentiſſimæ vitæ exemplar ſeſe offert. Univerſa enim ejus vita nihil aliud quam ardentiſſimam Religionem Chriſtianamque pietatem ſpirat. Poterat omnis Veneta Civitas in hoc uno perinde ac in puriſſimo ſpeculo ſeſe ad omnem pietatem eruditionemque componere* (16). i. e. " If you carefully " obſerve his morals, you will find in him a perfect " pattern of the moſt innocent life. For his whole " life offers nothing elſe but the moſt fervent devotion " and Chriſtian piety. All the Citizens of Venice " might ſee in him alone, as in a moſt pure glaſs, " how they ought to behave themſelves, in order to " acquire all kinds of virtue and learning." He ſeems to have ſuch ſtrong reaſons for what he aſſerts, that he does not take the leaſt pains to refute thoſe, who had publiſhed in a ſatyrical Letter, that Egnatius lived and died an Infidel. *Illud unum præterire nequeo, homunciones quoſdam nefario ſcelere audaces, in tam ſingularis, tamque omnium judicio probati viri memoriam invectos, atque male conſarcinata Epiſtola, ac vix cohærenti tam placidos manes violaſſe fuiſſe auſus. Ut jam exclamare libeat, O mores! ô tempora! Unde repente tam inopinata atque immania Monſtra? Unde iſti tam infeſti Calidonii Apri ſpumoſo ore in præclaram omnium virtutum ſylvam debacchantes, univerſamque optimi ac doctiſſimi viri famæ exiſtimationique ſegetem indigne devaſtantes? Ergo iterum opus eſt Hercule? Jam 13 inſtat labor? Dii veſtram fidem! Sed attende quæſo quid præclari iſti Cenſores damnent. Egnatium parum Chriſtianè vixiſſe, atque eâdem, quâ vixerit, pietate defunctum eſſe. Id nimirum quod quemvis hominem Chriſtianum offendere potuiſſet. Sed quâ tandem in urbe hoc leviſſimi homines mentiti ſunt? Nempe in illa, quæ hunc genuit, educavit, atque ad ampliſſ. honores ſummo judicio promovit, ac publicis decretis totius decoravit. O inſignem audaciam! ô manifeſtam calumniam! Vides quàm liberè quàm confidenter pronuncient, quàm gravem notam defuncto homini inurant. Quid quæſo reliquum erit Chriſtiano homini, ſi religionem adimas, non ſolum in cætera vita, ſed etiam ſub ipſum mortis tempus, quando vel perditiſſimi homines reſipiſcere ſolent? Verum ne tam argutum illorum mendacium non careret ratione ἀξιώματα protulerunt; quod etiam, ne præter rerum ſcientiam, linguarum cognitionem illis deeſſe putes, Græcè explicarunt, ἀδύνατον ἔστι καλῶς ζῶντα μὴ κακῶς ἀποθανεῖν. Sed præſtiterit fortaſſe hanc illorum dementiam riſiſſe* (17). i. e. " But I muſt not " omit obſerving, that ſome audacious wretches, by " a moſt horrid attempt, have dared to inveigh againſt " the memory of this eminent man, ſo much eſteem- " ed by all perſons, and to diſturb his aſhes in an ill " contrived and hardly conſiſtent Epiſtle: So that we " may very well exclaim, Oh the wicked times we live " in! Whence came on a ſudden theſe unexpected and " horrid Monſters? Whence theſe Calydonian Boars " raging with a foaming mouth thro' this noble fo- " reſt of all kind of virtues, and miſerably laying " waſte the whole harveſt of the reputation and fame " of this moſt eminent and learned man? Shall we " then want again an Hercules; Is there a thirteenth " labour ready for him? Good God! But pray ob- " ſerve, what theſe great Criticks charge is. That

(14) *Virum non minus probum & integrum, quam eruditum & eloquentem nominaſti, ſed cui Tulliani cognominis bonorem negant doctorum ſuffragia. Docte loqui maluit quam Ciceroniane, & quod voluit aſſequutus eſt.* Eraſmus, *in Ciceroniano*, pag. m. 72.

(15) Ghilini, *Teatro*, tom. 1. pag. 97.

(16) Marcus Molinus, *Epiſtola Dedicat. Exemplor. Egnatij.* See alſo the end of the Remark [*B*].

(17) Marcus Molinus, *Epiſtola Dedicat. Exemplor. Egnatii.*

(b) Idem, ibid. the age of fourſcore, July the 4th 1553 (b) and left his eſtate and his fine library to three illuſtrious families of Venice [F]. There was publiſhed ſoon after a letter, in which he was accuſed of having had no Religion neither during his life, nor at his death (c). I have obſerved in another place (d), that he was at variance with Sabellicus, but that they were again reconciled together. It is pretended that he was ſo much vexed at the literary injuries he received from Robortel, that he would be revenged of him ſword in hand (e). The Cenſure which Monſieur Teſſier paſſed on the Tranſlator of Thuanus, might have been extended further, even on the original it ſelf [G]. We ſhall have ſomething to obſerve againſt Moreri [H].

(c) See the Remark [E].

(d) In the Remark [F] of the Article SABELLICUS.

(e) See the Article HIPPONAX, Remark [F], towards the end.

" Egnatius did not live like a Chriſtian, and that he " died with as little piety as he lived; which would " have given offence to every Chriſtian. But in what " City do theſe wicked men aſſert this falſity. In " that, where Egnatius was born, where he was edu- " cated, where by public Decrees he has ſo often and " ſo juſtly received the greateſt honours. Oh, what " great audaciouſneſs, what manifeſt calumny! You " ſee how freely and with how much confidence they " ſpeak, and with how great infamy they load the " deceaſed. What will a Chriſtian have left, if you " ſuppoſe him to have no piety at all, not only in the " courſe of his life, but even at the hour of death, " when even the moſt profligate uſe to repent? But " that their artful lye might not appear to be entirely " groundleſs, they ſupport it by a ſentence, which " they quote in Greek, that they may not ſeem to be " as unacquainted with the languages as they are with " facts: the ſentence is, *it is impoſſible, that he who " leads a bad life, ſhould die well.* But it would per- " haps have been better to laugh only at their mad- " neſs."

[F] *He left his eſtate and fine library to three illuſtrious families of Venice.*] It contained a great many medals, and antiques. Read the following words of Thuanus. *Treis ampliſſimas patricii ſanguinis familias, Molinam, Lauretanam, & Bragadenam, ſupremis tabulis hæredes inſtituit. Qua in hæreditate præcipue numeratur copioſa librorum ſuppellex, nummis antiquis aureis, argenteis & æriis, aliiſque præterea veteris ævi monumentis inſtructiſſima* (18). i. e. " By his laſt will he made three " Patrician families his heirs, namely thoſe of Molino, " Lauredano and Bragadeno. The chief of his eſtate " conſiſted in a large library, which was well ſup- " plied with gold, ſilver and braſs medals, and other " antiques."

(18) Thuanus, lib. 12. pag. 253.

[G] *Mr. Teiſſier's Cenſure .... might have been extended .... on the original it ſelf.*] Let us firſt give Du Ryer's words. " John Baptiſt Egnatius was of " Venice, of a good but poor family; and he was a " diſciple of Angelo Politio, who revived in Italy the " Belles Lettres which were almoſt dead, and who having " read lectures during forty years with the admiration " of all Italy, received this favour from the Senate " &c (19)." Mr. Teiſſier's obſervation upon this is as follows (20). *If we would mind the grammatical conſtruction of Mr. Du Ryer's words, it would ſeem as tho' Angelo Politio, who reſtored the Belles Lettres in Italy, did alſo teach forty years at Venice. Yet it is certain, that Thuanus meant this of Egnatius, and that Politio, who was one of the moſt learned and polite writers of his time, died in the fortieth year of his age in* 1553 (21). This Critick might have made two other obſervations: the one is that the Latin name *Politianus* ſhould be tranſlated *Politien* (in French) and not *Politio*, which is a name unknown in the Republic of Letters, when Angelus Politianus is meant. The ſecond, that Thuanus is not the innocent cauſe of his Tranſlator's error; for his words are ſo diſpoſed, that they cannot be better tranſlated than du Ryer has done. *Hic & annus abſtulit*, ſays he (22), *Johannem Baptiſtam Egnatium, familia honeſta, ſed in tenui re, Venetiis natum, Angeli Politiani, qui bonas literas in Italia intermortuas excitavit, diſcipulum, quique eas non mediocri ſtudio illuſtravit & ſcriptis & publica* x *annorum profeſſione cum ſumma totius Italiæ admiratione.* Perizonius has obſerved (23) that modern Writers are often the cauſe of the darkneſs and equivocation, which is to be found in the Latin tongue, by the bad diſpoſition in which they put their words.

(19) Du Ryer, *Traduction de Mr. de Thou*, quoted by Teiſſier, tom. 1. pag. 74. edit. of 1696.

(20) Teiſſier, ibid. pag. 75.

(21) This is an error of the preſs. It ſhould have been 1494, as it is in the firſt edition of Mr. Teiſſier.

(22) Thuanus, lib. 12. pag. 253.

(23) *See* Perizonius's Writings againſt Francius.

[H] *We ſhall have ſomething to obſerve againſt Moreri.*] I. He ſhould not have ſaid that Egnatius *was in vogue towards the end of the fifteenth Century.* This is a very improper expreſſion concerning a man, who did not dye till the year 1553. II. He ſhould not have alledged as a Proof of this Profeſſor's old age, that Geſner ſaw him at Venice in the year 1543: he ought to have ſaid that he lived ten years longer. But as Voſſius quoted only this obſervation of Geſner (24), I do not wonder that Moreri went not farther. I am much more ſurpriſed that Voſſius did not know what he might have learned from the Epitomizer of Geſner, and from Thuanus, concerning the year in which Egnatius died.

(24) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 678.

EIMERIC (NICHOLAS) a Dominican Friar, and Inquiſitor General in the Kingdom of Arragon in the fourteenth Century. His *Directorium Inquiſitorum* was printed at Barcelona in the year 1503. Francis Pegna cauſed two Editions of it to be publiſhed at Rome; the one in 1578, the other in 1585.

ELICH (LEWIS PHILIP) in Latin *Elichius*, lived in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century. I think that he was a native of Marpurg *. He held a public diſpute there *de Magia Diabolica*, and deſigned to publiſh a book upon the ſame ſubject, with a Preface full of very bad things (a); but he was forbidden to do it; and the Magiſtrates having cauſed his houſe to be ſearched, they found there ſeveral books, on which he had written notes, that were a little ſcandalous (b). Thoſe books were ſeized, and he was ſummoned to appear before the Judges. He promiſed on his oath, and in writing, that he would renounce that frivolous ſtudy; and yet he publiſhed his book at Francfort in the year 1607 [A], and prefixed to it a very outragious preface againſt the Academical Senate of Marpurg. They would have call'd him to an account, but he made his eſcape, and turned a Roman Catholic (c). This is but a part of the evil that is ſaid of him in the printed piece, which I quote. In 1609 he publiſhed at Francfort another book intitled, *Innocentius,*

* In Upper-Heſſe.

(a) *Cum præfatione ſpurca, & pietati moribuſque adverſa.* Tobias Tandlerus, *in Repulſione Calumniarum Elichii.*

(b) *Plurimi libri ſcholiis enormibus ac non tolerandis conſpurcati.* Idem, ibid.

(c) Taken from Tobias Tandlerus, *in Repulſione Calumniarum Elichii.*

[A] *He publiſhed his book at Francfort in the year* 1607.] He intitled it *de Dæmonomagia, de Dæmonis cacurgia & Lamiarum energia.* i. e. " Of the magic " of the devils, of their power to do evil, and of the " power of Sorcerers." He refuted very proudly thoſe who doubt of what is ſaid of the Devils, and the Sorcerers, and of their being really carried to their nocturnal meetings. He attacked particularly Tobias Tandler, Profeſſor of Phyſick at Wittemberg, who had publiſhed in 1606 an oration de *faſcino & incantatione* (of faſcination and bewitching). When Tandler reprinted this oration with ſome other pieces of the ſame nature in 1608, he added to it a very ſhort anſwer to Elichius's ſlanders. It is from thence that I have taken the materials of this Article.

Innocentius, ſive de Miſeria Hominis libri tres, ad ignominiam & confuſionem ſuperborum editi. i. e. "Three Books on the Miſery of Man, publiſhed to the ſhame and confuſion "of the proud."

ELICHMAN (JOHN), a native of Sileſia, practiſed phyſic at Leyden (*a*). In the year 1638 he married a woman of a Burgomaſter's family (*b*). He did not enjoy her long, for he died in the year 1639 (*c*). He underſtood ſixteen languages (*d*), and was ſo well ſkilled in the Perſian, that, in the judgment of Salmaſius, Europe has never produced a man who equalled him in that point, and perhaps never will (*e*). He was of opinion that the German and Perſian languages were derived from the ſame original, and he gave ſeveral reaſons for it (*f*). He wrote a letter in Arabic (*g*), which was printed at Jena in the year 1636. His Diſſertation *De termino vitæ ſecundum mentem Orientalium* (*h*), appeared in the year 1639. It would have been much longer, if he had not died while he was writing it. His Latin Tranſlation of the Table of Cebes, [and the golden verſes of Pythagoras, from the Arabic,] was printed at Leyden in the year 1640, together with the Arabic Verſion, and the Greek, by the care of Salmaſius, who prefixed thereto a very ample Preface.

(*a*) Crenius, *in Præfatione Faſcis I Exercitationum Philologico-Hiſtoricarum.*

(*b*) Beverovicius, *de Vitæ termino*, Parte 3. pag. m. 139.

(*c*) Konig, *Bibliotb.* pag. 270.

(*d*) Chriſtianus Ravius, pag. 12 *primæ Panegyricæ*, apud *Crenium*, ibid.

(*e*) Salmaſ. *Præfat. in Tabul. Arabic. Cebetis.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid.

(*g*) *De Uſu Linguæ Arabicæ in Medicina. See* Konig, *Bibl.* pag. 270.

(*h*) It is at the End of the 3d Part of *Beverovicius's* Work *de Termino Vitæ.*

ELIJAH, one of the greateſt Prophets of the Old Teſtament lived under the reign of Ahab. His true Hiſtory may be found in Moreri's Dictionary, to which I refer my readers, and content my ſelf with relating ſome apocryphal ſtories which concern him. There was a pretty common tradition among the Jews (*a*), importing that he ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from Phineas the ſon of the High-prieſt Eleazar [*A*], and that the Prophet who lived among men, one while under the name of Phineas, and another while under the name of Elijah, was not a man, but an angel (*b*). S. Epiphanius relates a thing which cannot be more reaſonably admitted than this, I mean the viſion of Sobac the father of Elijah. After his wife was delivered, he thought he ſaw ſome men cloathed in white who ſaluted the new-born infant, covered him with fire, and made him ſwallow ſome of the flame. Theſe were the ſwaddling cloaths in which they wrapped up the little Elijah. This was the milk they fed him with. Sobac went to conſult the Oracle at Jeruſalem, and learned what his viſion ſignified. He was aſſured that his ſon ſhould dwell in light, and that he ſhould judge Iſrael by fire and the ſword (*c*) [*B*]. It has been long a pretty common opinion among Chriſtians that Elijah is not dead, and that God preſerves him alive, either in the terreſtrial paradiſe, or

(*a*) *Videri poteſt ea traditio in Tractatu Juchaſim folio* 11 *quam etiam amplectitur* R. *Salomon apud Iranum &c.* Egidius Camarcius, *de Rebus geſtis Eliæ*, pag. 71.

(*b*) *Hanc eorum traditionem referunt Liranus, Abulenſis, Magallianus, Serarius.* Idem, ibid. pag. 100.

(*c*) Epiphan. *de Vitis Prophet.* pag. m. 237. [*Vide etiam* Chronic. Paſchale, pag. 161.]

[*A*] *A tradition . . . . importing that he ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from Phineas, the ſon of the High Prieſt Eleazar.*] This tradition is very ancient; for Origen has made mention of it (1). I believe it has been founded on the promiſes which were made to Phineas, after he had killed the man who was defiling himſelf with a Midianitiſh woman. Franciſcus Georgius Venetus (2) does not recede from this opinion of the Rabbins. Peter Damian (3) ſeems to embrace it with all his heart: he believes that Phineas, on account of the great zeal which fired him at the ſight of ſo ſcandalous an object, will be preſerved alive in the terreſtrial Paradiſe till the end of the world, and that it is he who under the name of the Prophet Elijah was taken up by a chariot of fire. He cites a paſſage of Scripture (4), to ſhew that Phineas was ſtill living in David's time.

(1) *Tractat. VII in Joannem, apud* Egidium Camartum, *de Rebus geſtis Eliæ*, pag. 71.

(2) Tom. 6. Problem. 361. *apud* Camart. ibid.

(3) Lib. 1. Epiſt. 6. *apud* Camart. pag. 72.

(4) 1 Chron. ix. 19, 20.

[*B*] *He was aſſured . . . . that he ſhould judge Iſrael by fire and the ſword.*] This does not ill ſuit that ſpirit of revenge with which Elijah was animated on ſome occaſions (5); as when he cauſed Baal's Prieſts to be maſſacred (6), and when he brought down fire from heaven on the ſoldiers of his King (7). Thoſe Divines who are againſt Toleration, are not well pleaſed to be put in mind that Jeſus Chriſt has aboliſhed this ſpirit (8): ſuch an advertiſement is a troubleſome piece of inſtruction; and they would willingly ſay, as Felix did, to whoever mentions it to them, *Go thy way for this time, when we have a convenient ſeaſon, we will call for thee* (9). I am not at all ſurprized at their being vexed becauſe they are prevented from gaining themſelves authority from ſuch an example; for what can be ſeen more ſtrong in favour of thoſe who maſſacre people out of zeal for Religion than the conduct of Elijah? A man who had no character in the State, no civil employment, no ſhare in the right of the Sword: a man, I ſay, whoſe office conſiſted only in prophecying, aſſembles all the Prophets of Baal, who were 450; he adds to them the Prophets of the Groves, which were to the number of 400, and had the honour to eat at the Queen's table (10); he convinces them by a miracle that they worſhipped a falſe God; and immediately gives orders to ſeize them (11), and to take care that not one of them ſhould eſcape, and cauſes all their throats to be cut, without vouchſafing to aſk King Ahab, who was there preſent, whether he approved of the action, and without having exhorted them to converſion. It cannot be ſaid that they had acted againſt their conſcience (12); for if they had believed that Baal was a falſe God, they would not have expoſed themſelves to the trial, and by the credit they had with the Queen, they might eaſily have eluded the Prophet Elijah's challenge. We ſee, moreover, that they invoke their Deity with all poſſible ardour, and give themſelves a hundred gaſhes in honour of him. They expected, without doubt, to be heard. Divines, in order to juſtify Elijah, are obliged to acknowledge that he inviſibly received from God an extraordinary and ſpecial miſſion to put thoſe Prophets to death, and that God revealed to him that they were reprobates whom no exhortation to repentance could move (13). Peter Martyr indeed alledges the Laws of Moſes againſt Idolaters, the Law of retaliation &c; but after all he reduces his argument to particular inſpiration, and to that there is no reply among Chriſtians. *Omnia hæc privato inſtinctu Dei agebantur contra legem in communi propoſitam. Ipſe legiſlator cum aliquid contra ſuas leges jubet, mandatum ejus pro lege habendum eſt* (14). i. e. "All theſe things were done by the particular inſpi-"ration of God, contrary to the Law eſtabliſhed in "common caſes. When the Legiſlator himſelf com-"mands any thing againſt his own Laws, his com-"mand is to be taken for a Law." However, never was impertinence equal to that of the Franciſcan Feuardent, who accuſes Peter Martyr of having uttered injurious expreſſions againſt the Prophet Elijah, and contradicting himſelf afterwards. *Pergit idem* (Vermilius) ſays he (15), *vineta ſua, quod aiunt, cædere, cum ſcribit, ad id vocatus erat Elias ut judicia divinæ ſeveritatis exſequeretur, nec ex ſeipſo verum ex Deo & Angeli monitu ita duriter ſe gerebat. Potuit quidem ſpecie tenus homicida videri, nec tamen pro tali habendus eſt, cum ſolum fuerit Dei miniſter.* i. e. "He proceeds "to make free with himſelf, writing that Elijah was "peculiarly called to execute the judgments of God's "ſeverity, and that he did not act in ſo cruel a manner "of himſelf, but in purſuance of the divine direction, "and the admonition of an Angel. He might, in-"deed, ſeem a murderer in outward appearance; but "yet he ought not to be conſidered as ſuch, ſince he

(5) *Spiritum ſeveritatis & ultionis exertum fuiſſe in Elia & collegis magis quam in diſcipulis Evangelicis.* Martyr, *in lib. II* Regum, *cap.* 1.

(6) 1 Kings xviii. 40.

(7) 2 Kings, chap. i.

(8) Luke ix. 55, 56.

(9) Acts, xxiv. 26.

(10) 1 Kings, xviii. 19.

(11) Ibid. ver. 40.

(12) The Author of the *Philoſophical Commentary* ſeems to ſuppoſe this, the better to get clear of the Objection which the Teachers of perſecution found on the conduct of Elijah.

(13) *Certus erat Spiritu Dei eos non eſſe convertendos aut immutandos.* Petrus Martyr, *Comment. in* I Libr. *Regum*, cap. 18. folio m. 141 *verſo.*

(14) Ibid. folio 141.

(15) *Feuardent. Theomach. Calviniſt.* lib. 9. cap. 3. pag. m. 437. He quotes *Martyr's Commentary on the 1ſt Book of Kings*, chap. 1. and quotes him faithfully.

or in heaven, or elſewhere, to employ him towards the end of the world againſt Antichriſt. Some aſſert that he will then ſuffer martyrdom, and that he and Enoch are the two witneſſes ſpoken of in the eleventh chapter of the Revelations (*d*): and as they attribute to him moreover a moſt ſtrict continency (*e*), they conclude he will be honoured with three crowns, of a Doctor, a Virgin, and a Martyr (*f*). It is pretended that his continence ſurpaſſed that of the other Prophets who lived in celibacy; for he was not contented with never knowing woman himſelf, but obliged his diſciples alſo to renounce the ſex (*g*); and it is he who is looked upon as the firſt Founder of the Monaſtic Life. The Carmelites boaſt themſelves to be derived from his Inſtitution, and tell a thouſand ſtories which the other Monks do not let paſs with impunity. Nothing is more impudent than a certain ſtory of the Gnoſtics concerning this Prophet [*C*]. The Revelation of Elijah has generally paſſed among the Fathers for a forgery; but Origen ſeems to ſpeak of a book of this Prophet's as of a genuine production [*D*]. A tradition has been long talked of which they falſely derive from Elijah, and which affirms that the world ſhall laſt but ſix thouſand years, whereof two thouſand were to precede the Law, two thouſand to be under the Law, and the remaining two thouſand are to be under the Meſſiah (*b*). The Jews have pretended that Elijah, ſeven years after he had been taken up, wrote a letter from heaven to King Jehoram [*E*], and that he compoſed in paradiſe the Annals of all Ages (*i*). Take notice that this Prophet, who is put almoſt on an equal foot with Moſes, is ſo little known with regard to his extraction, that it is yet diſputed whether he was of ſuch or ſuch a country, of ſuch or ſuch a Tribe, &c. (*k*). I have cited a Minim (*l*), who deſigned to write a work concerning the actions of Elijah, This work would have

(*d*) *See* Alcazar *and* Viegas *on the* 11*th Chapter of the* Revelations, *quoted by* Camart, ibid. pag. 121.

(*e*) Hieron. lib. 1 adv. Jovin. & *multi alii Patres, apud* Camart. pag. 277.

(*f*) Ægid. Camart. pag. 279.

(*g*) Idem, pag. 278.

(*b*) Idem, pag. 288. *See alſo* Beroaldi Chronicon, lib. 2. cap. 3.

(*i*) *See* Cunæus, *de Republ. Hebræor.* lib. 3. cap. 1.

(*k*) *See* Petavius *in Epiphan. ad Hæreſ.* 55. pag. m. 218.

(*l*) Giles Camart: he had been General of the Order. His Work, intitled, *Elias Thesbites, ſive de Rebus Eliæ Prophetæ, Commentarius poſthumus*, was printed at Paris, in the year 1631.

"was only the Miniſter of God." Feuardent makes the ſame complaints againſt Calvin: he charges him with having ſaid that "Elias was a wicked man, and guided by too violent a zeal .... that he alſo ſinned by complaining that he alone remained alive after the ſlaughter and perſecution of the Prophets; and that he was carried away by a ſpirit of ſervitude and revenge." *Elias fuit homo depravatus, nimis vehementi zelo correptus ... peccavit etiam quiritando ſe ſolum è clade ac perſecutione reſtare: raptus item fuit ſpiritu ſervitutis & vindictæ* (16). He quotes Calvin's Commentary on the 2d and 3d verſes of the eleventh chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans. I find nothing like this there. After all, the liberty which theſe Proteſtant Writers have taken to cenſure in ſome particulars the conduct of that Prophet, cannot be found fault with without blaming S. Chryſoſtom (17): *Qui acerrimis verbis Eliam crudelitatis & cujuſdam ἀπαθείας arguit. Denique alibi* (18) *eumdem quaſi penitus ad divina monita inſenſibilem, dum variis factis & exemplis ad commiſerationem induceretur.* i. e. "Who in the "ſharpeſt terms charges Elijah with cruelty, and a "kind of inſenſibility; and in another place repreſents him as almoſt quite regardleſs of the divine "admonitions, while he was by various facts and examples moved to mercy."

(16) Ibid. pag. 436.

(17) *Homilia in SS. Petrum & Eliam, apud* Camart. *de Rebus Eliæ Proph.* pag. 127.

(18) *Homilia de Elia*, apud eundem *Camart.* ibid.

[*C*] *Nothing is more impudent than a certain ſtory of the Gnoſtics concerning this Prophet.*] They ſaid that if a ſoul which aſcended to heaven knew not well how to anſwer the Virtues which examined her at the entrance, ſhe was ſent down again to the earth. Above all things it was neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be able to anſwer that ſhe had left no children behind her; for if ſhe anſwered the contrary, ſhe was ſent away, and obliged to continue in the world till ſhe had gathered all her children together, and had reunited herſelf to them. They related that Elijah in his way to heaven met with a great obſtacle, which obliged him to deſcend again to the earth. There came a female Dæmon, who ſaid to him, *Stop there: whither are you going? I have children by you, and you cannot aſcend to heaven and leave them behind you on earth. And how,* anſwered he, *could you have children by me? have I not always lived in continence? I have had ſome by you for all that,* replied ſhe, *I have taken advantage of your dreams.* They who underſtand Latin will not find this obſcure. Ὅτε ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιαζόμενος πολλάκις ἐν τῇ ἀποῤῥοίᾳ τῶν σωμάτων ἐκινάθης, ἐγὼ ἤμην ἡ μεταλαβοῦσα ἀπό σου τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ γενῶσά σοι υἱούς, *Cum in ſomnis effuſione ſeminis ſæpe corpus exhaurires, ego abs te illud excepi, tibique filios peperi* (19). St. Epiphanius ſolidly refutes this impertinence by alledging the impoſſibility of it; for the ſpiritual nature of Dæmons does not allow them to be the paſſive ſubject of any generation. It is not ſo eaſy to refute thoſe who ſay that a Dæmon may intervene in quality of an active principle in the production of an animal: not that he can furniſh the neceſſary materials out of the fund of his own ſubſtance, for a ſpirit is an immaterial being; but, ſay they, he may make uſe of the ſeed of a male, and tranſport it to a proper place, and direct in ſuch a manner the motions of matter, that this ſeed may be converted into an organized body. They who hold this poſſible, are in the right to ſay that the child, which ſhould be ſo produced, would be the ſon of the man whoſe ſeed ſhould be ſo made uſe of; for whence comes it, pray, that a man is deemed to be the father of a child conceived in the womb of a creature whom he ſees in a public place, without any other intention than that of ſatisfying his luſt? Is it not becauſe the firſt foundation on which the body of the infant is built was taken from the body of that man? Cannot the ſame be ſaid with reſpect to this other way of generation? The difference would however be great; for they who ſhould become fathers in this extraordinary manner, might notwithſtanding abſolutely preſerve their chaſtity, and conſequently the impertinence of the Gnoſtics is every way extravagant.

(19) *Epiph. Hæreſ.* 26. lib. 1. tom. 2. num. 13. pag. m. 95.

[*D*] *Origen ſeems to ſpeak of a book of this Prophet's, as of a genuine production.*] Explaining theſe words of S. Matthew (20), *Then was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by Jeremy the Prophet, ſaying, And they took the thirty pieces of ſilver, &c.* he obſerves that it is not to be found in any Book of Scripture, canonical or not canonical, that Jeremy propheſied this, and he ſuſpects that inſtead of Jeremy it ſhould be Zachary, or elſe that Jeremy had written a Book which had never been publiſhed. Hereupon he ſays that Jeremy would not be the only Prophet of whom there were ſome hidden Writings extant, and that Writings of this ſort have been cited by S. Paul. He gives this paſſage as an inſtance of it (21): *As it is written, eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.* He maintains that it is not to be found in any canonical Book, but only in the hidden Works of the Prophet Elijah. This opinion was cenſured by S. Jerome, after he had ſaid that the paſſage quoted by S. Paul is to be found in Eſaiah (22), not word for word, but as to the ſenſe, which was ſufficient for the Apoſtle (23). The Books attributed to Elijah do not appear in the Catalogue of the Apocryphal Works condemned by Pope Gelaſius. It is notwithſtanding true that the Revelation of Elijah, the Aſſumption of Elijah, &c. paſſed for ſuppoſititious Books (24).

(20) Chap. xxvii. ver. 9.

(21) 1 Cor. ii. 9.

(22) Chap. lxiv. ver. 4.

(23) *Quaſi Hebræus ex Hebræis aſſumit Apoſtolus Paulus de authenticis libris in Epiſtola quam ſcripſit ad Corinthios, non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit, ſed ſenſuum exprimens veritatem quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum.* Hieron. in cap. lxiv Iſaiæ.

[*E*] *He wrote a Letter from heaven to King Jeboram.*] This opinion is founded on a paſſage of Scripture miſunderſtood. *And there came a Writing to him from Elijah the Prophet, ſaying, Thus ſaith the Lord &c.* (25). The true ſenſe of this paſſage is, that a Writing was brought to King Jehoram, which had been found among the papers of Elijah.

(24) *See* Camart. pag. 286, 287.

(25) 2 Chron. xxi. 12.

have been very long; for what the Author's friends have publiſhed of it ſince his death is a Volume of 400 pages in 4to, which contains only the *Prolegomena*.

You will find in Baronius, that Baſilius the Macedonian, Emperor of Conſtantinople, cauſed Temples to be built in honour and under the name of the Prophet Elijah in his capital city (*m*). This was one of the proofs which a Carmelite Monk alledged to ſhew that Father Papebroch had raſhly denied, that Mount Carmel may be reckoned among the holy places which the firſt Chriſtian Pilgrims went to viſit (*n*). Every body ſees the impertinence of this proof. The Reader may find in the book which I quote (*o*), that a Divine of the Order of St. Francis put the Carmelites of Antwerp to a non-plus in a public diſpute in the year 1594. He attacked a Theſis wherein they aſſerted that Elijah engaged himſelf by a vow to lead a ſingle life. He cited a Jewiſh Doctor named *Rabbenu Haccados*, that is, *our holy Maſter*, who lived before Jeſus Chriſt. This Rabbi affirms that Elijah had a brother whoſe wife was barren till the death of Elijah, and conſequently the Prophet could not have conſecrated himſelf to continence; for the Law commanded him to marry his ſiſter-in-law, in caſe ſhe became a widow.

(*m*) *See* F. Papebroch, *Reſponſ. ad Exhibition. Error.* pag. 155.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Papebr. ibid. pag. 227, 228.

ELISHA, the Diſciple of the Prophet Elijah and his ſucceſſors, performed a great number of miracles, as may be ſeen in Moreri. There happened a great prodigy when he was born: the golden Calf which was at Shiloh bellowed ſo loud that it was heard at Jeruſalem. Upon which the High-Prieſt conſulting the ſtones of his breaſt-plate, found that a Prophet was juſt born who would deſtroy the Idols (*a*). There are reaſons to believe that Epiphanius who relates this, borrowed it from ſome falſe tradition [*A*]. The Jews, who have aſſerted that when Elijah was become incapable to perform the functions of his office was ordered to reſign it to Eliſha, do not deſerve to be refuted [*B*].

(*a*) Epiphanius *de Vitis Prophet.* pag. m. 237, 238.

ELIZABETH

[*A*] *Epiphanius .... borrowed it from a falſe Tradition.*] The lives of the Prophets written by St. Epiphanius are in ſeveral things a tranſcript of a work of the ſame kind compoſed by Dorotheus. Some pretend that this Dorotheus was Biſhop of Tyre (1), and that he ſuffered martyrdom under the Emperor Julian the Apoſtate (2). But Baronius maintains (3) that there never was ſuch a Dorotheus Biſhop of Tyre. Bellarmine owns that the work aſcribed to Dorotheus abounds with idle ſtories (4). An Engliſh Divine has cenſured Epiphanius's account concerning Eliſha in the following manner. I. Epiphanius did not know the ſituation of Abelmuth: he ſaid that Eliſha was born there, and that the place belonged to the tribe of Ruben. He ſhould not have ſaid *Abelmuth*, but *Abelmechol*, as appears from 1ſt Book of Kings, chapter the XIXth, verſe the 16th *. If the Tranſcribers have made this blunder, Epiphanius muſt be acquitted of it, and only be anſwerable for the geographical error; for Abelmechol Eliſha's native place was on this ſide of the Jordan (5): it could not therefore be ſituated in the tribe of Reuben; for the portion of that tribe was beyond the river Jordan (6). Dorotheus led Epiphanius into this miſtake. II. When Eliſha was born at Gilgal, the golden Calf which was at Shiloh bellowed. Epiphanius commits here another geographical error, for which Dorotheus is not anſwerable. It is plain that the former takes Abelmuth and Gilgal for the ſame place, in which he is miſtaken. His error is owing to his not underſtanding the true pointing of Dorotheus's words. *Dorotheus ſcripſerat*, poſtquam Elizæus natus eſt, in Galgalis vitulus aureus mugitum edidit, *quomodo interpungendum eſſe locum Dorothei, vel potius authorem interpunxiſſe apparet ex Iſidoro qui ita rem iſtam narrat*, Helizæo nato vitulam auream cum magno boatu clamaſſe in Galgalis .... *Epiphanius non animadvertens hanc interpunctionem, putavit illud* in Galgalis *referendum eſſe potius ad ſententiæ partem præcedentem quam ad ſequentem, ad Elizæum potius quam ad vitulum* (7). i. e. "Dorotheus had writ, *when* "*Eliſha was born, at Gilgal the calf bellowed:* for it "appears from Iſidorus that the words of Dorotheus "muſt be pointed thus, or rather that the author had "really pointed them thus, ſince Iſidorus ſays, *Eliſha* "*being born, the golden Heifer bellowed very loud at* "*Gilgal.* Epiphanius not obſerving this pointing, "thought that theſe words *at Gilgal*, muſt be referred "to the former, and not to the latter part of the ſen-"tence, to Eliſha and not to the Calf." III. As he miſtook the place where the author whom he tranſcribed had ſuppoſed the golden Calf to be, for Eliſha's native place, he was obliged to find another place for the Idol, and ſuppoſed it at Shiloh, where it never was. It is not neceſſary to obſerve, that the miracle we ſpeak of muſt be applied to one of the golden Calves which Jeroboam ſet up: for as one of them was ſet up at Dan, and the other at Beth-el; one muſt certainly be miſtaken, whether the Calf be ſuppoſed to be at Gilgal, as Dorotheus ſuppoſes it; or as Epiphanius does, at Shiloh. IV. With regard to the miracle itſelf, let us obſerve that Epiphanius might eaſily diſcover the impoſture of it; for if the oracle of the breaſt-plate had anſwered, that the Prophet who was born that day ſhould demoliſh and deſtroy the Idols, Eliſha would have aboliſhed Jeroboam's Idolatry, he would have cauſed the two golden Calves to be melted down or broken in pieces; but he has not done it, it is therefore falſe that the oracle made the anſwer that is aſcribed to it, and conſequently the bellowing of the golden Calf is a mere ſtory. I do not inſiſt upon the Engliſh Doctor's obſervations concerning the diſtance there was between Jeruſalem and the places where Jeroboam's Calves were ſet up; for beſides that the numbers have been altered by the Printers. I do not think that the diſtance is of any weight in this caſe. For it is as eaſy to make the bellowing of a ſtatue be heard at the diſtance of twenty or thirty leagues, as it is to make it be heard at the diſtance of twenty or thirty paces; whoever can perform the latter of theſe miracles will be able to work the former. I wiſh therefore that our Doctor had not been merry upon this ſubject. His jeſt upon Tirinus is extremely ſilly. He ſays, that Tirinus being afraid that a heifer would not be able to bellow ſo loud, has tranſlated the word δάμαλις *a cow* inſtead of *a heifer*. *Albanus Tirinus interpres ejus operis videtur aliquid tale formidaſſe, cum Græcum vocem* (δάμαλις) *qua* 70 *interpretes uſi ſunt, pro vitulo vel vitula, ipſe interpretatus ſit* bovem: Bos illa aurea, *& quæ ſequuntur, videtur ille mihi metuiſſe ne vitula non poſſet tantum mugitum edere: itaque maluiſſe bovem dicere* (8).

(1) The Paris Divines, in their approbation of Dorotheus's Work publiſhed by Margarin de la Bigne in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

(2) Sixtus Senenſis, *Biblioth.* lib. 4.

(3) *Annotat. in Martyrol. apud* Reinoldum, *de Libris Apocryphis*, Præl. 138. pag. 153.

(4) Tom. 1. *Controv.* 3. lib. 2. cap. 2. *apud* Reinold. ibid.

* Our Tranſlation has *Abelmeholah*.

(5) *Quemadmodum manifeſtum eſt partim ex* 1 *Reg.* 4. *collato cum* 3 *Joſhuæ, partim, idque planius, ex Judic.* 7. Rainoldus, *de Libris Apocryph.* pag. 157.

(6) *See* Numbers, chap. the xxxiid, *and* Joſhua, chap. the xxiid.

(7) Rainoldus, *de Libris Apocr.* pag. 158.

(8) Rainoldus, *de Libris Apocr.* pag. 160.

[*B*] *The Jews, who have aſſerted that when Elijah was become incapable to perform the functions of his office, was ordered to reſign it to Eliſha, do not deſerve to be refuted.*] Let us firſt tranſcribe the words of the Author who is to be my voucher, and then I ſhall make a ſhort reflection upon it. *Judæi enim impingunt Eliæ ſpiritus coercendi impotentiam, qua ineptus fuerit redditus ad prophetiæ munus obeundum, atque adeo juſſus fuerit loco ſui ſucceſſorem aſſumere.* i. e. "For the Jews "charge Elijah with an incapacity of reſtraining the "ſpirit, which rendered him improper to diſcharge "the duties of his prophetical office, for which reaſon "he was commanded to reſign it to a ſucceſſor." The Author who ſpeaks thus (9) pretends to ſay nothing but what he read in Peter Martyr, whoſe Commentary on the firſt Book of Kings (10) he quotes. But I met with nothing like this in the place he refers to. However it be, Elijah according to this dream of the Jews, would not have been capable to rule any longer his Enthuſiaſm, or the impetuoſity of his prophetical ſpirit,

(9) Ægidius Camartus, *de Rebus geſtis Eliæ*, pag. 127. *He quotes* Peter Martyr Vermilius, *in* 3 *Reg. c.* 19. *v.* 20.

(10) I reckon the firſt book that which the Roman Catholics call the third.

ELIZABETH, Queen of England, and daughter of Henry VIII and Anna Boleyn, has been one of the moſt illuſtrious perſons mentioned in Hiſtory. It would not be doing her ſufficient juſtice, to ſay only, that never woman reigned with more glory than ſhe did. It muſt be added, that there have been but few great Kings, whoſe reigns can be compared with her's [*A*]. Her reign is the moſt beautiful period in the Engliſh Hiſtory, and it has been the nurſery of a great many able Miniſters [*B*] and great Stateſmen. The ſame may be aſſerted with regard to warriors (*a*). I ſhall not ſpend my time in relating the chief particulars of her glorious life: they may be met with in an infinite number of books, which every one can conſult, and ſome of which have been very lately publiſhed (*b*). I ſhall rather collect ſome circumſtances, which though they be not ſo conſiderable, yet are curious, and have not been related by ſo many Authors. When Holland and Zealand offered to acknowledge her for their Sovereign, ſhe told their Embaſſadors, that it would not be well nor handſome for her to invade other people's proples property, and that the Dutch did wrong to raiſe ſo many diſturbances for the ſake of the maſs. She continued that converſation in a very comical manner [*C*]. It was perhaps in that audience, that a young man, who had followed the Embaſſadors, expreſſed in a very unpolite manner, the thoughts, which the ſight of ſo beautiful a Queen raiſed in him [*D*]. He was not the worſe for it. On the contrary, he was particularly diſtinguiſhed

(*a*) *See* F. d'Orleans's words at the end of the Remark [*A*].

(*b*) See particularly the *Hiſtory of England* (in French) by *Mr. de Larrey*, printed at Rotterdam for Reinier Leers, 1698.

rit, and thus like an old man, who through age ſhould too much indulge his paſſionate temper, Elijah would have been forced to have himſelf declared *emeritus* and to reſign his office to Eliſha, as to a perſon more capable to acquit himſelf worthily of it. How impertinent this is? for, not to obſerve that it does not in the leaſt agree with the Scripture-account, is it not certain, that the ſpirit which ſeized on the Prophets, and which did ſo often carry Elijah from one place to another, was ſuperior to the Prophets, and did not want to be curbed or reſtrained? Add to this, that the danger of going too far is more to be feared from a young man than from an old one.

[*A*] *There have been but few great Kings, whoſe reigns can be compared with hers.*] That I may not be taxed with running into extremes, in order to flatter this Queen; I ſhall tranſcribe here the glorious character which a Jeſuit gave her in a book which he publiſhed at Paris. Elizabeth, ſays he (1), *was a perſon whoſe name immediately imprints in our minds ſuch a noble idea, that it is impoſſible well to expreſs it by any deſcription whatſoever. Never did a crowned head better know the art of government, and committed fewer errors in it, during a long reign. The friends of Charles V could reckon his faults; Elizabeth's enemies have been reduced narrowly to ſearch after hers, and they, whoſe greateſt concern it was to caſt an odium upon her conduct, have admired her. So that in her was fulfilled this ſentence of the Goſpel, that* the children of this world are *often* wiſer *in their views and deſigns*, than the children of light. *Elizabeth's aim was to reign, to govern, to be miſtreſs, to keep her people in ſubmiſſion, neither affecting to weaken her ſubjects, nor to make conqueſts in foreign countries; but yet not ſuffering any perſon to incroach in the leaſt upon the ſovereign power, which ſhe knew perfectly well how to maintain, both by policy and by force. For no perſon in her time had more wit, more ſkill, more judgment than ſhe had. She was not a warlike Princeſs, but ſhe knew ſo well how to train up Warriors, that England had not for a long while ſeen a greater number of them, nor more experienced.*

(1) Father d'Orleans, *Hiſtoire des Revolut. d'Anglet.* tom. 2. pag. 459. of the Paris edition, 1693.

[*B*] *Her reign.... has been the nurſery of a great many able Miniſters.*] You may ſee their names and characters in a book printed at Roan in the year 1683, with this title, *Fragmenta regalia, ou le Caractére véritable d'Elizabeth Reine d'Angleterre, et de ſes Favoris* (The true character of Elizabeth Queen of England, and of her Favourites) This book was originally written in Engliſh by Robert Naunton Secretary of State, and Maſter of the Court of Wards under James I.

This book has been again tranſlated into French (2), and printed with the *Secrets des Cours* (Secrets of Courts) or the Memoirs of Walſingham. The Tranſlator obſerves, that theſe two books had been long ago printed together, and that he made uſe of the third Edition to tranſlate them. He did not keep the antient title of *Fragmenta regalia &c.* but put the following title to it. *Fragmens, ou Remarques de Robert Nanton ſur le Regne et ſur les Favoirs de la Reine Eliſabeth.* i. e. "Fragments, or Remarks of Robert Naunton upon "the reign and the Favourites of Queen Elizabeth."

(2) It was printed in Holland in the year 1694, tho' by an unintelligible myſtery, they have put in the title-page at Cologn, by ***1695.

[*C*] *She continued that converſation in a very comical manner.*] You have much reaſon indeed, *ſaid ſhe*, to bluſter as you do at the Maſs; if you will not be preſent at it as at a myſtery, be preſent at it however as at a play. What! if I was now to act that play before you, would you think your ſelves obliged to run away? Obſerve that ſhe was dreſſed in white. I have read this particular in Reinadus's Annals. *Recenti multorum memoria obſervari verba ejus ante annos XII ad Aldegondium & Paulum Buyſium Arauſionenſis Patrumque legatos prolata*, immerito Hollandos unum ob Miſſæ ſacrum tantos motus ciere, nec decoram iis præfractam adeo adverſus Regem contumaciam: quando fidem divinitati Miſſæ habere non adſtringantur, aſpectarent tanquam fabulam, Quid *inquit (& erat candido amicta veſtimento)* vobiſne pro flagitio foret, me hoc habitu, ſi hiſtrioniam ordirer, intueri (3)? This was ſufficient to put the Embaſſadors out of countenance.

(3) Reinadus, *Annal.* lib. 6. pag. 135. *ad ann.* 1587.

[*D*] *A young man.... expreſſed in a very unpolite manner, the thoughts which the ſight of ſo beautiful a Queen raiſed in him.*] I ſhall tranſcribe Du Maurier's words. *Prince Maurice*, ſays he (4), *being once in a very good humour, told my father, that Elizabeth Queen of England, through a weakneſs common to her ſex, deſired very much to be thought beautiful (5); of which he gave the following inſtance. The States General had had ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy of the moſt eminent perſons of the country, and attended by a great many young men of the united Provinces. At their firſt audience a young Dutch Gentleman of their Attendants having attentively conſidered the Queen, ſaid to an Engliſh gentleman with whom he had been acquainted in Holland; that he could not gueſs why People talked ſo indifferently of the Queen's beauty; that they wronged her very much; and that for his part he liked her very well, and that if it were in his power, he would ſhew her, that ſhe was capable to inflame the heart of an honeſt man, adding ſome other gay expreſſions, which one can better imagine, than relate. He ſaid this looking often at the Queen, and then turning himſelf towards the Engliſhman. The Queen who had obſerved the young men more than the Embaſſadors, ſent for the Engliſh gentleman as ſoon as the audience was over, and commanded him upon pain of her indignation, to tell her upon what ſubject the Dutchman diſcourſed with him, for ſhe was ſure that they had talked of her, which ſhe perceived by their air and action. The Engliſhman declined for a long while to anſwer, ſaying they were only trifles, which did not deſerve to be related to her Majeſty. But at laſt the Queen preſſing him very much, he was obliged to tell the truth, and to own that the Dutchman had ſhewed a great love for her royal perſon. The end of this affair was, that each of the Embaſſadors received as a preſent a gold chain of eight hundred crowns, and each of their Attendants one of an hundred crowns; but the Dutchman who had found the Queen ſo beautiful, received a chain worth ſixteen hundred crowns, that is of double the value of that which each of the Embaſſadors received; and he wore it on his neck all his lifetime.* Monſieur de Fontenelle has found means to inſert this ſtory with a great deal of art, as he uſes to do, into his Dialogues of the Dead (6).

(4) Du Maurier, *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Hollande*, pag. 254. of the Paris edit. 1680.

(5) This Queen, who was adorned with a thouſand heroical qualities, had this weakneſs, that ſhe would be thought beautiful by all the world. Upon which I have heard my father ſay, that when he was ſent to her, at every audience he had of her, ſhe uſed to pull off her gloves above an hundred times, to ſhew him her hands, which were very beautiful and very white. Du Maurier, ibid. pag. 256. See the Remark [*P*].

(6) Part the 1ſt, pag. m. 82.

distinguished for it. This Queen's resentment against Buzenval [*E*], who had found fault with her manner of pronouncing French, is very remarkable, and may serve for a lesson. What I shall say now is more known. When she came to the Crown she was wavering between the two Religions, and chose at last the Reformed [*F*]. This was prudently done even with regard to this world. She had never reigned, had not the King of Spain hated France much more than he was zealous for the Catholic Religion [*G*]. It was this that saved Elizabeth's life. This circumstance may be sufficient to clear her from the crime of ingratitude, with which she has been charged [*H*]. It is a sad thing that she may

[*E*] *This Queen's resentment against Buzenval.*] Du Maurier heard his father say, *that she was implacable against those that shewed the least contempt for his person. On which occasion he related, that a certain Frenchman, named des Combes, told that Queen that being once at Monsieur du Plessis-Mornay's table, during the siege of Paris, Monsieur du Buzenval, who had been Resident from the French King at London, mimicked her, and asserted that she spoke French very disagreeably, saying often, but with a long and ridiculous accent,* paar Dieu, paar maa foi *(by God, upon my faith). The Queen remembered this, with a design to be revenged, both of the Jester, and of him who suffered that she should be thus publickly ridiculed. For Monsieur du Plessis having soon after been sent Embassador Extraordinary into England, to ask for assistance against the Leaguers; he was very ill received, and could not obtain any thing. Upon which my father having been sent to the Earl of Essex at Dover, to see whether there was nothing to be expected, the Earl told him that there was some hidden misfortune in this affair, and that he never saw the Queen so much alienated from France. So that in order to appease that Princess, King Henry IV sent the Viscount de Turenne, afterward Duke of Bouillon, Embassador Extraordinary into England, in company with Monsieur de Buzenval, whom he was to leave with the Queen as Embassador Extraordinary. The Viscount was very well received, but she would not see Monsieur de Buzenval; and when Monsieur de Turenne told her that he had the King's command to leave him in England, she told him plainly and absolutely that she would not have any thing to do with him. The Viscount heard from some English, that her aversion was owing to the stories he told of her at the siege of Paris. This Monsieur de Buzenval .... notwithstanding his great ability, committed a great fault by thus publickly ridiculing so powerful a Princess, whose assistance the King greatly wanted at his accession to the Throne; and thus he became very prejudicial both to himself and to his Master; which shews, that one ought always to speak with great respect of persons in a high rank* (7).

(7) Du Maurier, *Mémoires de Hollande*, pag. 256, &c.

[*F*] *She was wavering between the two Religions, and chose at last the Reformed.*] It is unquestionable, that if all things had been equal on both sides, she would have preferred the Reformed Religion, before the Roman Catholick, for she had been brought up in the former. But I also think, that in order to avoid the dangers, which she foresaw would follow upon the overthrow of the established Religion, she would have followed it had she found her account in it. The Pope treated her after such a manner (8) as obliged her to turn her eyes upon the Protestant Party; she perceived very clearly that if she continued a Roman Catholick, she must confess that she owed the Crown to a downright usurpation, or to a condescension of the Court of Rome, which would continually expose her title to a thousand cavils. Being a Roman Catholick she was forced to own, that her father's divorce from Catherine of Arragon was void, and consequently that Ann Boleyn could be no other but Henry VIIIth's Concubine. Now in hereditary kingdoms, a bastard cannot exclude a lawful relation without overthrowing a fundamental law, and consequently without being an usurper. Elizabeth was therefore obliged to renounce the Popish Religion, in order to assert that the Pope did wrongfully condemn Ann Boleyn's marriage. But besides she had such a penetrating genius, that she could not but be well acquainted with the situation of the general affairs in Europe; and be sensible that if she declared against the Pope, she would draw all the Protestants on her side, and be thus in a condition to keep up the civil war in the neighbouring countries, as long as she pleased. Mezeray observes that the Court of France alienated the Pope from Queen Elizabeth's interest (9), because that Princess's exclusion might secure the kingdom of England to Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland, and the Dauphin's wife. This was a well contrived design, but France at that time was unlucky.

(8) He sent her word, that she was a bastard, and that he would not make void the bulls of his predecessors; that it was a great boldness in her to have dared to ascend the throne; and that she had not the least favour to expect, unless she renounced all her pretensions, and submitted entirely to the determination of the holy See. Leti, *Hist. of Elizabeth*, tomi 1. pag. 315, under the year 1558.

(9) The King, whose interest it was not to suffer Elizabeth to wear a Crown, which he thought belonged to the wife of his son the dauphin, contrived matters so, that the Pope did not receive Elizabeth's Embassadors well, and stiled her a bastard. Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. m. 714, under the year 1558.

[*G*] *She had never reigned, had not the King of Spain hated France much more than he was zealous for the Catholic Religion.*] One of the chief methods, which God employed to establish the Protestant Religion, and which he still employs to make it prosper, is the natural jealousy there is between France and the House of Austria. Each of these two powers has in its turn chosen to promote the advantage of the Protestants with a design to do a prejudice to its rival, rather than to suffer its rival to enlarge its power by the ruin of the Protestants. Philip II gave a remarkable instance of this strong jealousy. The Queen of England foreseeing that the Roman Catholick Religion would not subsist long in her kingdom if her sister was to succeed her, would have her put to death; but Philip foreseeing another misfortune much more considerable for him than the ruin of the Catholic Religion in England, and which would probably happen, if Elizabeth did not ascend the Throne, secured her from all evil. Here follows what Du Maurier says (10) of this. " Religion " is often made a sacrifice to interest and state-policy; " witness, what the same Queen Elizabeth told my fa- " ther formerly, that she owed her life to Philip II " her brother-in-law, though he was the greatest of " her enemies: and for that reason she kept his picture " by her bed-side, and shewed it to all the world as her " deliverer. And indeed he prevented her sister Mary " from putting her to death. For this Queen Mary " Philip's second wife being a very zealous Roman " Catholic, and very infirm, feared, and not without " reason, lest if her sister Elizabeth who was a Prote- " stant should succeed her, she should banish the Catholic " Religion from England, as she really did afterwards; " and therefore she entreated the King her husband " to have her beheaded, for she was a Prisoner in " the Tower of London. But King Philip opposed " it strongly, lest Mary Stuart Elizabeth's heir, who " was then married with Francis II King of France, " should thus by inheritance become Queen of all Great " Britain, which being united with France, as it would " infallibly be if she had any children, would form by " the union of so many kingdoms, a formidable power, " which would make his great designs of an universal " monarchy vanish away into smoke." As the Author wrote this during the war, which ended by the treaty of Nimeguen in the year 1678, he did not fail to charge the Spaniards with doing themselves what they had so often and so much condemned. They were at that time confederated with Holland, and they had published an infinite number of books against the alliances of France with that same Commonwealth, and with Swedeland. After this Du Maurier added the following remarkable words. " Thus it is plain that " interest alone governs the world, and that a great " Captain was in the right, when he wrote that Princes " rule the nations, but that interest rules the Princes. " Which is so true, that often all that is most sacred " amongst men is made a sacrifice to interest, and that " most Princes follow the rules of justice and religion, " only so far as they agree with that wretched interest." This admirably well confirms what I have observed in other places (11) concerning the RELIGION OF THE SOVEREIGN. Let us add, that the Roman Catholic Religion could not subsist in England; for on the one hand the King of Spain saved Elizabeth's life, and on the other, the King of France would not suffer that this Princess should meet at Rome with kindness, without which she could not continue a Roman Catholick (12).

(10) *Mémoires de Hollande*, in the *Preface*. Mr. Bohun Fellow of the Royal Society, in his Treatise of the *Character of Queen Elizabeth*, translated into French, and printed at the Hague in 1694, owns in pag. 21. that the same State-jealousy prevented Philip from consenting to Elizabeth's death.

(11) Remark [*H*] of the Article AGESILAUS II, and Remark [*C*] of ARISTIDES.

(12) See above quotation (9) what has been cited from Mezerai.

[*H*] .... *This circumstance may be sufficient to clear her from the crime of ingratitude, with which she has been charged.*] The Jesuit who concealed himself under the name of *Andreas Philopatrus* (13), in order to confute

(13) It was *Robert Parsons*. See Alegambe, pag. 415.

may juſtly be accuſed of having broken the promiſes ſhe made, when ſhe ſucceeded to her ſiſter. She promiſed to preſerve Popery, which was then the National Religion, and yet ſhe ſoon after aboliſhed it. This conduct proved perhaps extremely ſerviceable to the Proteſtant Religion in the famous Revolution of 1688 [*I*]. One cannot well repreſent to what a degree calumny has caſt its moſt dangerous venom on this Queen [*K*]. This was

confute this Princeſs's Proclamation againſt the Papiſts publiſhed in 1591, made ſome obſervations upon her complaining of the King of Spain's conduct towards her. This, ſays he, was but a very indifferent return for the favour ſhe had received from this King, who had ſaved her life three times. He was come over to England in July 1554, and married Queen Mary, who was inclined to put Elizabeth to death, as having been accomplice in Sir Thomas Wyat's plot (14). But Philip diſſuaded her from it, and even perſuaded her to ſuffer Elizabeth to come again to Court. A new conſpiracy was diſcovered in March 1555: Elizabeth was ſuſpected of being concerned in it; and it was very gravely debated whether they ſhould make her ſuffer the law; the Queen's Counſellors voted for it; but King Philip and the Spaniards who were of his Council, being of a contrary opinion, it was reſolved to uſe Elizabeth with mercy, and that two Catholick Gentlemen ſhould conſtantly attend her, to have a watchful eye over her actions (15). But ſhe knew ſo well how to impoſe upon them, that they had not the leaſt knowledge of the intrigue ſhe contrived to make Thomas Stafford, who fled into France, return into England, and take upon him the title of King and marry her. He returned actually in April 1557, and made himſelf maſter of a ſea-port town; but he was ſoon after apprehended and capitally puniſhed with ſome perſons of his party. Elizabeth found herſelf at that time in very great danger, and would not have eſcaped capital puniſhment, had not the King of Spain's protection ſaved her life (16). I ſhall not inquire into the truth or falſhood of theſe three conſpiracies; the Reader may find them examined in the Hiſtories of England: I ſhall only obſerve, that the imputation of ungratefulneſs grounded on theſe three favours of King Philip is unreaſonable. For from Elizabeth's acceſſion to the Crown to the Proclamation iſſued in 1591, King Philip behaved towards her in ſuch a manner, as juſtified the complaints which the pretended Philopatrus condemns; but not to inſiſt upon this, I aſſert, that Philip did not deſerve the leaſt thanks for having ſaved Elizabeth's life: He did not do it for her ſake; he had only his own intereſt in view, and he found a great and ſufficient reward in the very preſervation of that Princeſs's life. It was not from a principle of clemency that he uſed her thus, but from a principle of malice againſt France, or at leaſt from a political prudence, which his ambition required. When a favour proceeds from ſuch motives we muſt refer to one of Phædrus's Fables (17) thoſe who in ſuch a caſe complain of ungratefulneſs. Here follows another reflection: Gratitude between ſovereign Princes is not ſubject to the ſame rules, as that from private perſons to each other. Lewis the XIIth has been very much commended for ſaying, that the King of France ought not to take vengeance of the injuries done to the Duke of Orleans. He might almoſt have ſaid with as much reaſon, that the King of France was not obliged to be grateful for the ſervices done to the Duke of Orleans. Do you think that Duke of Orleans, who came to the Crown by a civil war, in which he had been indebted for his victories to the powerful aſſiſtance of a neighbouring Prince, would be obliged to enter into an alliance with that Prince, or not to join with the enemies of that Prince? If he does not enter into an alliance with that benefactor, will he not be ungrateful? Will he not be much more ſo, if he confederates with the Princes who attack his benefactor? It is ſufficient to know one thing in order to reſolve theſe queſtions. Is it the intereſt of the ſtate of which our Duke of Orleans has made himſelf maſter, that the neighbouring Prince who aſſiſted him ſo effectually, ſhould not grow more powerful, and ſhould even loſe ſome of thoſe conqueſts which render him formidable to his neighbours? If this be the caſe, the Duke ought to forget the favours he received, and to ſay that the King of France is not bound to diſcharge the obligations of the Duke of Orleans. He ought not out of gratitude to join with this Prince, whether he be the aggreſſor, or be attacked himſelf; he muſt even ſometimes join with thoſe, who declared war againſt him. This is the law of Politicks, this is State-Juſtice; and it is in conſequence of this State-Juſtice, that Elizabeth did well in her endeavours to thwart Philip the IId's deſigns. The United Provinces had the greateſt obligations to this Queen and to Henry the IVth who were the two ſtrongeſt ſupports of their growing liberty. Yet if it had been the intereſt of the State, that the power either of the Engliſh or of the French ſhould be weakened, the Dutch ought to have concurred in it, together with the enemies of thoſe two nations, and they would very probably have done it. How ſuch a policy agrees with the eternal rules of morality, and how the unchangeable certainty of our ideas of what is honeſt and virtuous is not overthrown by ſuch an oppoſition between the duties of private perſons and thoſe of Princes, is another queſtion. I ſhall only obſerve, that conſidering the condition of civil ſocieties, the public intereſt is like a ſun with regard to a great number of virtues. Theſe virtues are like ſtars which diſappear and vaniſh away before that intereſt. *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.* "The preſervation of the State "muſt be the ſupreme law." Naudé has mentioned ſomething of this in his *Coups d'Etat*, or State-Policy.

(14) Andreas Philopatrus, *Reſponſ. ad Edictum Reginæ Angliæ*, pag. m. 88, 89.

(15) Idem, ibid. pag. 90, 91.

(16) Idem, ibid.

(17) *Faceres ſi cauſa mea,*
Gratum eſſet...
Nunc quia laboras ut fruaris reliquiis
Quas ſunt roſuri,
ſimul & ipſos devores,
Noli imputare vanum beneficium mihi. i. e. "If "you did it for "my ſake, it "would be ac- "ceptable to "me.... but "ſince you do it "only, that you "may have the "fragments, and "that you may "devour them "alſo, do not "require of me "any acknow- "ledgment for "an undeſigned "favour." Phædri, *Fabul.* 22. lib. 1.

[*I*] *This conduct proved perhaps very ſerviceable to the Proteſtant Religion in the... Revolution of* 1688.] A ſolemn promiſe made to a whole nation and confirmed with an oath is certainly an obſtacle which a man cannot get over without expoſing his reputation. It may therefore be preſumed, that a Prince who is bound by ſuch a promiſe, will keep it were it only in order to avoid a publick diſgrace. But if in ſome caſes, through a particular privilege of religious ſubjects, it appears a great Queen broke a promiſe of this kind, and yet continued to paſs for an Heroine and the wonder of her age, men dare no longer depend on the good effects, which the apprehenſion of being diſgraced for breaking ones oath may produce. Thus the Engliſh might be perſuaded, that James the IId would not dread the bad conſequence of breaking his word in matters of Religion, and that he would hope this would not be a diſgrace to his reputation any more than it had been to Queen Elizabeth's, whoſe example he only followed. Since therefore the Engliſh could not truſt to his oath, they have laboured betimes to prevent him from imitating their Heroine. Thus it is, that ſome things ſerve different ways both for the preſent time, and for that which is to come. In general we may be aſſured that there is nothing, which has not its uſe in a State (18).

(18) See above the Article DOLABELLA (Publ. Cornel.) in the text, quotation (*c*).

[*K*] *Calumny has caſt its moſt dangerous venom on this Queen.*] Mr. Bohun complains expreſly of four Authors, who are Sanders, Florimond de Raimond, George Cone, and the anonymous Writer, who publiſhed the *Didymus Veridicus*. He ſays (19), that Sanders *not being ſatisfied with defaming Ann Boleyn .... would alſo ſlander and diſgrace Elizabeth. With this view he forged ſeveral obſcene ſtories and the moſt abominable Satyrs againſt her and her Miniſters, endeavouring to make the world believe, that ſhe was guilty of rapine, incontinency, ſhameful debauchery, and of frauds and horrid impoſtures tending to overthrow the Engliſh Nation.* The Author of the *Didymus Veridicus* (20) undertook *to offend the ear by the moſt obſcene diſcourſes, and to ruin the reputation of the moſt celebrated Princeſs upon earth..... He contrived a great many falſities, and abſurd and incredible ſtories, ſuch as Poets and Painters imagine and repreſent.* We muſt not omit what Mr. Bohun obſerves concerning the penalties eſtabliſhed againſt Libellers. *The audacious neſs*, ſays he (21), *and impudence of the writers of thoſe ſlanderous Books obliged the Queen to treat all thoſe very ſeverely, who compoſed Libels or Verſes to blaſt the reputation of others; ſhe prohibited the ſelling and even the reading of them, and commanded them to be burnt by the common hangman: Her ſeverity extended even on thoſe,*

(19) Bohun, *Caractere de la Reine Eliſabeth*, pag. 412.

(20) Ibid. pag. 414.

(21) Ibid. pag. 417.

was unavoidable, conſidering the ſevere Laws ſhe was obliged to put in execution againſt the Papiſts. Some were capitally puniſhed, and a great many others underwent the hardſhips of a priſon, or the inconveniencies of baniſhment [*L*], and they were the perſons chiefly, that compoſed ſeveral Libels againſt Elizabeth's reputation. They repreſented her as a monſter of cruelty, avarice and laſciviouſneſs. There are few Proteſtant Writers but who extol the chaſtity of this Princeſs; and it is aſſerted in ſome Memoirs, that ſhe could not expoſe herſelf to become pregnant, without bringing her life into danger [*M*]: her chaſtity is ſuppoſed to be problematical in the writings of a modern Author, who is of the reformed Religion [*N*]. It is much eaſier to defend her reputation in that reſpect, and with regard to her proclamations againſt the Papiſts, than with regard to the unfortunate Queen of Scots [*O*]; and yet one cannot juſtly apply to her the encomium, which

thoſe, who ſecretly ſpread falſe rumours to the prejudice or diſgrace of the Adminiſtration, leſt by theſe means the Nation ſhould be excited to ſedition and rebellion. I have not obſerved, that he mentioned an imputation, with which this Queen has been charged, namely, that ſhe was but outwardly a Proteſtant. It has been aſſerted, not only that ſhe owned to the Sieur de Lanſac, that ſhe was perſuaded of the Pope's Primacy (22), and to the Spaniſh Embaſſador, that ſhe believed the *Real Preſence* of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (23), but alſo, that ſhe turned out the Biſhops who came to wait upon her in her laſt illneſs. *Denique averſionem ejus a tota reformatione & grege Miniſtrorum, horror quem erga Pſeudo-Epiſcopos in ſupremo morbo ad ſe accedentes præ ſe tulit adeo, ut eos Preſbyteros* de Sepibus *(Phraſis ea eſt Anglorum erga mendaces & meretrices victu tectoque carentes) vocatos ab aſpectu ſuo faceſſere juſſerit, luculenter demonſtrat* (24). i. e. "Laſtly her averſion for the whole Reformation, and "for the whole band of Miniſters, appears from the "abhorrence ſhe ſhewed for the falſe Biſhops, who "came to wait upon her in her laſt illneſs, and "whom ſhe ordered to go out of her ſight, calling "them Hedge-Prieſts, which is an expreſſion applied "by the Engliſh to the beggars and lewd women, "who have no houſe nor harbour."

[*L*] *A great many others ſuffered the hardſhip of a priſon, or the inconveniencies of a baniſhment.*] The Proteſtants of England own it; they do not deny the matter of fact (25). But they maintain that the attempts upon the Government and upon the Queen deſerved that puniſhment. Do not think, that you will find this obſervation in the Libels written by the Roman Catholicks of England. You will indeed ſee in them the puniſhments ſet off with all the flouriſhes of Rhetoric the moſt proper to exaggerate them; but the ſeditious enterprizes, which preceded and were the cauſe of thoſe puniſhments, are not acknowledged. There are few accounts in which the events are not miſplaced. This confuſion is not always owing to a diſhoneſt intention; it is often produced by a zeal too paſſionate, and nature improves upon it, without a downright wickedneſs. For ſuch is the nature of man, that he imagines the evils he ſuffers are very great, and thoſe he makes others ſuffer very inconſiderable: he does not feel the latter, and he feels the former: ſo that he always pretends to have reaſons to complain, even when he remembers that he was the agreſſor; he does not take into the account what he has done; he only ſpeaks of what he has ſuffered. When our zeal is not well regulated it makes us only remember the evils which perſecuted truth undergoes, and makes us forget, that we provoked the perſecutors. If theſe two cauſes are not ſufficient, diſhoneſty, which alone would perplex the order of events, finiſhes the confuſion. However it be, I have obſerved, that the chief difference there is between the accounts of the Roman Catholicks and thoſe of the Proteſtants conſiſts only in the order in which facts are placed. Each party endeavours to give the firſt place to the evils they ſuffered, they relate them with a great many circumſtances, and only touch very lightly upon thoſe, which they made the other party ſuffer by way of repriſals or as a juſt puniſhment. This is what they pretend. Nothing does more than this puzzle the brains of an unbiaſſed reader: for in order to know what is to be blamed or what may be excuſed in the conduct of each party, it is abſolutely neceſſary to conſider the facts in their true order. If the Roman Catholicks had not murthered the Proteſtants, but after they had ſeen them pull down churches, altars, images, and croſſes &c. their cruelty would not have been ſo much to blame. This is the reaſon why it is of ſuch an importance to yield the firſt rank to the adverſary. A modern Author has declared, that he would not examine who are thoſe, that miſplace the events in their accounts (26). Yet in ſome caſes the inquiry is not very difficult; but ſometimes a man would be ſo much perplexed in it, that unleſs he were aſſiſted by ſome revelation, which did the contrary of that, which St. John's does (27), he could not arrive at any certainty by a coherent reaſoning.

[*M*] *It is aſſerted in ſome Memoirs, that ſhe could not expoſe herſelf to become pregnant without bringing her life into danger.*] The Hiſtorians, who relate the reaſons why ſhe did not marry, do not omit to mention this, that marriage would have been dangerous to her. Let us hear what Mezerai ſays with regard to the Duke of Alencon. "The affair went ſo far, that "the Queen gave him a ring as a pledge of her word: "but the intrigues of thoſe who were againſt this "match, and her women, who knew the danger ſhe "would be in if ſhe had any children, made ſuch an "outcry about it, and importuned their miſtreſs with "ſo many clamours, that ſhe aſked him the ring a-"gain (28). The Abbot Siri relates, that *ſhe commanded her officers not to ſuffer any perſon to touch her body, nor to ſee it naked after her death, for reaſons which they, who know the Hiſtory of this Princeſs, will eaſily gueſs* (29). See below the remark [*X*] towards the end.

[*N*] *Her chaſtity is ſuppoſed to be problematical in the writings of a modern Author . . . of the Reformed Religion.*] This Author is Monſieur Leti, whoſe words are as follow (30). "I do not know whether ſhe "was ſo chaſte as is reported; for after all, ſhe was "a Queen, ſhe was beautiful, young, full of wit, ſhe "delighted in a magnificent dreſs, ſhe loved en-"tertainments, balls, pleaſures, and to have the beſt "ſhaped men in her Kingdom for her favourites. "This is all that I can ſay of her to the Reader." One muſt certainly be very charitable, or have a great deal of diſcretion not to ſuſpect there was ſomething immodeſt in the conduct of a young Queen, who has always ſome favourite or another, and who always chooſes him amongſt the braveſt, youngeſt and beſt ſhaped Lords of her Kingdom. If with ſuch a behaviour Elizabeth kept herſelf conſtantly chaſte, as I am willing to believe ſhe did, ſhe has done quite the contrary of this maxim, *Si non caſte, ſaltem caute.* i. e. "If not with chaſtity, at leaſt with prudence." She cannot be commended for her precautions, for ſhe did not in the leaſt ſave appearances. All that remained to be ſaid in her behalf was, that after all ſhe preferred the reality of chaſtity, and leaving the outworks to the ſuſpicions and cenſure of the public, ſhe was ſatisfied with keeping the body of the town ſecure.

[*O*] *It is much eaſier to defend her reputation in that reſpect . . . . than with regard to the unfortunate Queen of Scots.*] There is no doubt a great deal of exaggeration and diſhoneſty in the elogies and vindications of this Queen: but the faults ſhe may have committed do not excuſe Elizabeth, who put her to death. And yet there have been publiſhed a thouſand apologies for this action; for there is nothing ſo abominable, but ſome mercenary Writers will undertake to vindicate it, and without going further than their *Polyanthea*, they will find ſeveral inſtances of the fact, they intend to juſtify. However after we have read thoſe Apologies with ſome inclination to approve them, we ſoon find the power of ſound reaſon riſe again in us, which diſpels the charms of the eloquent Apologiſt. The proverb of the

(22) Perſon. *in Reſp. ad Coquum*, cap. 15. pag. 363, 364. *apud* Henricum Fitz-Simon *in Britannomachia Miniſtrorum*, lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. 318.

(23) *Comiti (poſtea Duci) Feriæ realem Chriſti præſentiam eſſe juravit, quod ejuſdem Ducis teſtantur ad Regem Literæ (Novemb. 16 anni 1558.) in Archivis Cymancæ in Hiſpania conſervatæ.* Idem, ibid.

(24) Idem, Fitz-Simon, ibid. He quotes *Diſcuſſ. Perſonii* c. 2. à pag. 216. ad pag. 220.

(25) *See* Bohun, *Caract. d'Eliſabeth.* pag. 411.

(26) See the 1ſt Letter of *Critique generale de Maimbourg.*

(27) When I ſay this, I ſuppoſe, as Monſieur Jurieu has done, that the Holy Ghoſt has miſplaced things, which Monſieur Jurieu has methodized. Here follows part of the title of the 14th chapter of the 2d book of his *Accompliſhment of the Scripture Prophecies. A brief Methodizing of the Events, which the Holy Ghoſt had diſplaced in the Viſions.*

(28) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 253. under the year 1581.

(29) *Journal des Savans* for Sept. 6, 1677, pag. m. 282. In the account of the *Memoire recondite di Vittorio Siri.*

(30) Leti, *Hiſt. of Elizabeth*, tom. 2. pag. 513. *See alſo* pag. 349, &c. where he relates ſeveral particulars and jeſts concerning this Queen's amours.

which a Roman Hiſtorian paſſes on Agrippina; namely, that ſhe got rid of the weakneſſes of her ſex, by applying herſelf to the occupations of men [*P*]. Pope Sixtus had a particular eſteem for Elizabeth [*Q*], it is even aſſerted, that he held a ſecret correſpondence

the Scripture, *Can the Ethiopian change his ſkin, or the leopard his ſpots* (31) may be very juſtly applied to thoſe, who have undertaken to juſtify Elizabeth with regard to the puniſhment of the fugitive Queen. We may ſay to every one of them *Æthiopem lavas*, you undertake to waſh a Black-Moor white. This muſt certainly be true, ſince Mr. Bohun, the great Panegyriſt of this Queen, condemns her abſolutely and with great ſeverity in this reſpect. *The worſt action of her whole reign*, ſays he (32), *was her uſage towards Mary Queen of Scots. This Queen having been expelled by her ſubjects, and deprived not only of her royal Authority, but alſo of her Liberty, her Eſtate and her Crown, came poor and deſolate into England, truſting to Elizabeth's promiſe, who at firſt received her very well, and ordered that ſhe ſhould be uſed like a Queen: But afterwards ſhe kept her cloſe priſoner, and under pretence that Mary conſpired againſt her life, ſhe had her tried, condemned, and executed, and made her a ſad and unheard-of example of her cruel and unjuſt ſeverity. By this action ſhe tainted, if I may ſay ſo, her reign with the innocent blood, both of a Princeſs, to whom ſhe had given ſanctuary, and whom ſhe had received in her dominions.*

[*P*] *One cannot juſtly apply to her the encomium .... that ſhe got rid of the weakneſſes of her ſex, by applying herſelf to the occupations of men.*] Her ſtrong deſire of being eſteemed beautiful, the care ſhe took to ſet off her beauty, her obliging carriage towards thoſe that appeared to be deeply moved with her charms (33), are undoubtedly ſuch weakneſſes as Agrippina was not guilty of. For if this Roman Lady had been ſubject to thoſe weakneſſes, it could not have been truly ſaid of her, *Sed Agrippina æqui impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis fœminarum vitia exuerat* (34). i. e. "Agrippina, impatient of an equal, "and eager for rule, diveſted herſelf of the vices of wo-"men, by applying herſelf to the buſineſs of men." She would have ſtill leſs deſerved this great encomium, had ſhe beſtowed on young men the ſame careſſes of which Elizabeth was ſo prodigal. Let us quote an Author who relates, what he has ſeen and heard. He aſſerts that the ceremony of making my Lord Robert Earl of Leiceſter and Baron of Denbigh *was done at Weſtminſter with great ſolemnity, the Queen her ſelf aſſiſting at the ceremonial, he kneeling before her with a great gravity. But ſhe could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, ſmilingly tickling him, the French Embaſſador and I ſtanding by* (35). The Author who ſpeaks thus, had been ſent to the Court of Elizabeth by Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland. *The Queen my miſtreſs*, ſays he (36), *had inſtructed me to leave matters of gravity ſometimes, and caſt in merry conceits, leſt otherwiſe I ſhould be wearied, ſhe being well informed of that Queen's natural temper. Therefore in declaring my obſervations of the cuſtoms of Dutchland, Poland and Italy, the buſkins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought beſt becoming Gentlewomen. The Queen ſaid, ſhe had clothes of every ſort, which every day afterwards, ſo long as I was there, ſhe changed. One day ſhe had the Engliſh weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and ſo forth. She aſked me, which of them became her beſt? I anſwered in my judgment the Italian dreſs; which anſwer I found pleaſed her well, for ſhe delighted to ſhew her golden coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddiſh than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She deſired to know of me, what colour of hair was reputed beſt, and whether my Queen's hair or her's was beſt, and which of the two was faireſt. I anſwered the fairneſs of them both was not their worſt fault. But ſhe was earneſt with me to declare, which of them two I judged faireſt? I ſaid ſhe was the faireſt Queen in England, and mine the faireſt Queen in Scotland* (37). *Yet ſhe appeared earneſt; I anſwered, they were both the faireſt Ladies in their countries; that her Majeſty was fairer, but my Queen was very lovely. She inquired, which of them was of higheſt Stature? I ſaid, my Queen. Then, ſaid ſhe, ſhe is too high, for I am neither too high nor too low.* You ſee here a Queen of England, who minds faſhions and head-dreſſes; nor does it appear that it was a mere amuſement; one would think that ſhe made capital buſineſs of it, if it were not known alſo, how much ſhe applied herſelf to the affairs of the Government. We muſt ſay therefore, that ſhe found time for every thing. She applied herſelf to the State-affairs, as tho' ſhe had minded nothing elſe; and ſhe was careful to dreſs herſelf to an advantage, as tho' this had been her only employment. Conſider on the other hand her converſation with the Envoy of Scotland: It was not ſo much aſking queſtions as putting him to the rack, that he might be forced to own that ſhe was more beautiful than Mary Stuart. Whence it appears, that ſhe looked upon her as her rival in beauty, and by the turn of her converſation, ſhe obliged the people to ſet her above that rival. This is very much like the heart and genius of women. All the world knows with how much art they hunt after praiſes. Sometimes by affecting to depreciate themſelves, that they might be contradicted, at other times by enquiring whether it be true, that ſuch or ſuch women are incomparably beautiful and fair, have a fine ſhape, &c.

Let us obſerve a conſiderable difference there is between Agrippina and Queen Elizabeth. The latter could not reſolve to marry, though ſhe met with men, whom ſhe liked enough to think them worthy of her choice. The former, being a widow and ſtill young, aſked Tiberius for a huſband, and repreſented to him, that an honeſt woman could find no comfort but in a huſband (38). This was ſpeaking plainly; for it is well known, that when a woman is not honeſt, ſhe knows very well, how to ſatisfy her deſires without marrying. The Envoy of Scotland declared very freely to the Queen of England, what he imagined was the reaſon why ſhe would not marry. *She eſteemed him as her brother and beſt friend*, ſaid ſhe ſpeaking of my Lord Robert, whom ſhe made Earl of Leiceſter, *whom ſhe would have herſelf married, had ſhe ever minded to have taken a huſband. But being determined to end her life in virginity, ſhe wiſhed that the Queen her ſiſter might marry him, as meeteſt of all other with whom ſhe could find in her heart to declare her ſecond perſon* (39). "You are certainly convinc-"ed, you will never have any children, ſaid the En-"voy of Scotland to her, ſeeing your Majeſty declares "yourſelf reſolved to dye a Virgin. Yes, *ſays ſhe*, "I am reſolved never to marry, if I be not thereto "neceſſitated by the Queen my ſiſter's harſh behavi-"our towards me. I know the truth of that, Ma-"dam, ſaid I, you need not tell it me. Your Maje-"ſty thinks if you were married, you would be but "Queen of England, and now you are both King "and Queen. I know your ſpirit cannot endure a "maſter (40).

[*Q*] *Pope Sixtus had a particular eſteem for Elizabeth.*] He placed her amongſt the three perſons, who alone, in his opinion, deſerved to reign; the other two were himſelf, and Henry IVth King of France. *Your Queen*, ſaid he once to an Engliſhman, *is born fortunate; ſhe governs her Kingdom with great happineſs; ſhe wants only to be married to me, to give the world a ſecond Alexander* (41). Monſr. Jurieu has expreſſed this ſomewhat bluntly. "This good "Pope ſaid, that he could have wiſhed to lie only "one night with Elizabeth Queen of England, being "perſuaded that they would make together a new "Alexander the Great. This becomes the gravity "and the chaſtity of a Pope .... This ſame good "Pope ſaid, that Elizabeth was very happy, for cut-"ting off a crowned head, and that he envied her "happineſs (42)." Balzac, by I know not what affectation, has given us inſtead of the Pope's own words, ſome other expreſſions, which are not by far ſo lively and natural. I ſhall tranſcribe the paſſage at length, that the reader may ſee, what praiſes this French Writer beſtowed (43) on this Queen in a Letter he

(31) Jerem. xiii, 23.

(32) Bohun, *Caractere de la Reine Elizabeth*, pag. 404.

(33) See the Remark [*D*].

(34) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 6. cap. 25.

(35) Sir James Melvil's *Memoires*, pag. 47.

(36) Ibid. pag. 49, &c.

(37) This anſwer ſignified nothing; for when there is but one Queen in any country, ſhe is of courſe the moſt beautiful Queen, how ugly ſoever ſhe may be. There is a low jeſt, which is, when a woman or a girl ſays, *I am the moſt beautiful perſon at table*, when ſhe remains there the laſt.

(38) At Agrippina pervicax iræ, & morbo corporis implicata, cum viſeret eam Cæſar, profuſis diu ac per ſilentium lacrymis, mox invidiam & preces orditur: *ſubveniret ſolitudini, daret maritum, habilem adhuc juventam ſibi, neque aliud probris quàm ex matrimonio ſolatium.* Tacit. *Annal.* 4. cap. 53. i. e. "Agrippina ſtill "perſiſting in her "reſentment and "ſeized too with "a bodily diſor-"der, received "the Emperor, "coming pur-"poſely to ſee "her, with ma-"ny tears and "long ſilence. "At laſt ſhe "addreſſed him "with invidious "expoſtulations "and prayers, "that *he would "relieve her ſo-"litude, and "give her a "husband. She "was ſtill en-"dowed with "proper youth; "to virtuous "women there "was no conſo-"lation but that "of marriage."

(39) Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*, pag. 47.

(40) Ibid. pag. 49.

(41) Leti, *Hiſt. d'Elizabeth.* tom. 2. pag. 131.

(42) *Apologie pour la Reformat.* tom. 1. pag. m. 153, 154.

(43) In the 10th *Letter* of the 6th book, pag. 205. of the edition in folio.

ſpondence with her, to the King of Spain's prejudice. What Monſieur Leti relates of this is not improbable [R]. I have mentioned nothing of this Queen's learning; and yet even in this reſpect ſhe deſerves to be admired (d). Her reign, on which Providence had for ſuch a long time poured out innumerable bleſſings, ended in the moſt diſmal melancholy that ever was heard of [S]. Some pretend that her deep ſorrow was occaſioned by

(d) See the *Character of Queen Elizabeth* by Mr. Bohun, printed at the Hague in 1694, pag. 5, &c. *See alſo* Balzac's words in the Remark [Q].

he wrote to an Engliſh Lord (44). *I never deſigned*, ſays he, *to attack the true glory of your Heroine. I thought indeed, that ſhe was to be conſidered with regard to the magnanimity of her ſoul, the fruits of which your whole poſterity will taſte, rather than with regard to a tranſient flower of the body, which not only death will cauſe to drop off, but which alſo fades away at the firſt approach of old age* (45). *I muſt come from the other world, if I were ignorant of the praiſes ſhe has received in this from every Nation. I know that ſhe has been ſtiled the North-Star, the Goddeſs of the Sea, and the true Thetis. I have read the following words, which Henry the Great wrote to her in his greateſt troubles, and when the League was in the height of its violence*, I ſhall be, Madam, your Captain General. *Even the Pope who excommunicated her, ſpoke of her with great eſteem, and he was, as you very well know, a Prince of the greateſt wiſdom, and perfectly ſkilled in the Art of Government. He delighted to make the Embaſſadors, who reſided at his Court, ſpeak of her; and ſometimes, when he was in a merry humour, he would ſay, that if he had been married with her, power and authority would have been the iſſue of ſo formidable a match. But tho' ſhe were not arrived to that high degree of reputation, and were diveſted of all thoſe glorious marks of public eſteem, two reaſons, leſs conſiderable indeed in the ſight of the world, but which make a deeper impreſſion on my mind, would oblige me to honour her memory. It is*, my Lord, *that ſhe did not deſpiſe the Muſes, and that ſhe loved your family* (46). *I have learnt from Camden how well ſhe was acquainted with polite Literature, ſo far, that ſhe even happily tranſlated into Latin ſome of Sophocles's Tragedies, and ſome of Iſocrates's Orations. I have read in the ſame Author what a ſhare perſons of your family have had in her intimacy*, &c.

(44) To the Earl of Exeter: the Letter is dated June 25, 1634.

(45) If, as it is probable, he intends to juſtify himſelf in what he had aſſerted in the paſſage quoted towards the end of the text of this Article, he does not proceed in this very ſincerely.

(46) The Earl to whom Balzac wrote, was of the family of the CECILS.

Obſerve that Monſieur Jurieu ought to have quoted d'Aubigné for the ſecond particular; for he had read it only in that Author's Catholic Confeſſion of Sanci, and in his Univerſal Hiſtory. *The Pope having cauſed* Count de Popoli *to be beheaded*. . . (theſe are d'Aubigné's words) *diverted himſelf amongſt his moſt particular friends with the thought of having cut off an Earl's head. But when he heard what happened in England, he began to think, that no Prince could be compared to the Queen of England, either with regard to happineſs or excellency; and (as tho' he had lamented Alexander's conqueſts) he ſaid of her*, O beata fœmina, che ai gustata el piacer di far ſaltare una teſta coronata (47). i. e. "Oh happy woman, who taſted the pleaſure of "cutting off a crowned head."

(47) D'Aubigné, *Hiſt. Univerſell.* tom. 3. liv. 2. chap. 27. pag. m. 279. See alſo the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci*, liv. 1. chap. 1.

[R] *What Monſr. Leti aſſerts concerning Sixtus the Vth's ſecret correſpondence with Elizabeth, is not improbable.*] Pope Sixtus the Vth hated and dreaded the King of Spain; he muſt therefore have wiſhed him bad ſucceſs, and wiſhed that hereſy were eſtabliſhed in England, rather than that Philip II ſhould become maſter of ſo fine a country. The Popes, as they are ſovereign Princes, ſo they follow the maxims of the Religion of Princes, conſequently they ſacrifice the intereſt of the Roman Catholic Religion, to that of their particular dominions. What advantage would it be for them, that a King of Spain, for inſtance, ſhould ſubdue all the Proteſtants, if by this means he became ſo formidable to the Court of Rome, that they ſhould not dare to refuſe any thing to the Spaniards, leſt they ſhould ſee again ſuch a year as that of 1527 was, when Pope Clement the VIIth was impriſoned? It is a leſſer evil for the Pope, that his authority be not acknowledged in Holland and England, than if it were acknowledged there, and this put ſome Roman Catholic Prince in a condition to obtain every thing at Rome by fair or foul means. If this theoretical principle be not ſufficient to convince the reader, that Sixtus the Vth endeavoured as much as lay in his power, to make the King of Spain's undertakings againſt Elizabeth miſcarry, here follows a matter of fact which will compleat the perſuaſion. When Lewis the XIVth made ſuch quick and conſiderable progreſs againſt the United Provinces in the year 1672, Cardinal Altieri, who in reality was Pope, tho' another was ſtiled Pope Clement the Xth was extremely vexed at the news, becauſe he did not love France, and that the Duke d'Etrée the French Embaſſador mortified him as much as he could (48). And of late we have ſeen Pope Innocent the XIth, who would not hearken to any thing that might be ſerviceable to King James's affairs, and zealouſly promoted whatever might be detrimental to the French (49). The reaſon is, that he dreaded the growth of Lewis the XIVth's power more than he deſired the propagation of the Catholick Religion. He feared to be cruſhed by the overgrown power of that Prince, ſo that he was glad, that the Proteſtants were in a condition to repreſs and to leſſen it. Hence we may better know the happy ſituation, in which the affairs of the Proteſtants are; ſince the perpetual jealouſy there is between the Houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon will always make them find allies and protectors amongſt the Princes of a contrary Religion, but even the Court of Rome will do as occaſion ſhall ſerve, what Sixtus did to the prejudice of the King of Spain, and what Pope Innocent the XIth has done to the prejudice of Lewis the XIVth. This Court is not leſs concerned than the others for the preſervation of the ballance of power.

(48) See the book intitled, *Mémoires des Intrigues de la Cour de Rome, depuis l'année* 1669 *juſques en* 1676, printed at Paris in the year 1677, pag. 204, &c.

(49) See the *Lettre de Louis XIV au Cardinal d'Etrée*, which Monſ. Leti has inſerted in the 2d vol. of the *Monarchie Univerſelle*, pag. 458.

But to what purpoſe ſhould we enquire for inſtances? Let us only conſider Sixtus himſelf with regard to Henry the Great. It is certain, that when he had obſerved how much the league increaſed the power of Spain, he altered his ſcheme, and favoured the Proteſtant Party in France, and if he had not died, he would have employed all poſſible care to deprive the King of Spain of the Crown of Naples (50). He thwarted the leaguers ſo openly, that the Spaniards threatened to proteſt againſt him, *and to ſecure by ſome other means the preſervation of the Church which he forſook* (51). His death filled the Leaguers with joy; one of their Preachers (52), when he notified it to the inhabitants of Paris, expreſſed himſelf in the following manner; *God has delivered us from a wicked and politick Pope; if he had lived longer men had been very much ſurprized to hear us preach at Paris againſt the Pope, and we ſhould have been obliged to do it* (53). Tho' this Pope entered into meaſures contrary to the intereſt of the Roman Catholick Religion, it was not becauſe he had known the great merit of Henry the IVth, and the impoſtures of the leaguers (54), but becauſe the advantages gained by the heretics leſſened the power of the King of Spain whom he hated.

(50) *See* Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, liv. 4. pag. m. 428.

(51) Maimboorg, ibid.

(52) Aubry, Curate of St. Andrew of the Arches at Paris.

(53) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, liv. 4. pag. 429.

(54) Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 427 alledges theſe reaſons; but this is miſtaking the true point.

[S] *Her reign . . . . ended in the moſt diſmal melancholy that ever was heard of.*] Monſieur Silhon furniſhes me with a Commentary upon theſe words. *Who would have thought*, ſays he (55), *that the courſe of ſuch a reign and of ſuch a life* (56) *ſhould have ended in a ſurfeit of reigning and living . . . and that there had been a precipice dug at the end of ſo noble a courſe?* He gives afterwards the ſubſtance of an account, *which eſcaped the knowledge of Hiſtorians*, ſays he, *and is to be found in a letter, which a Gentleman belonging to the French Embaſſador who reſided with that Princeſs, wrote to one of his friends at Paris.* As this letter is printed I chuſe rather to borrow from thence what relates to my ſubject, than to tranſcribe Monſieur Silhon's words. "I muſt tell you, Sir, that it is the common opinion "both of her Phyſicians, and of thoſe who waited "upon her privately in her bed-chamber, that her "diſtemper came only from a ſadneſs, which ſhe kept "ſecret for ſome days before ſhe complained. The "ground of their opinion is, that there did not ap"pear in her any ſymptom of a mortal diſeaſe, be"ſides her old age; her urine, pulſe and eyes having "been as they ſhould to the end of her life: and alſo "that during the whole courſe of her ſickneſs, ſhe "would never make uſe of any of the medicines that "were propoſed to her, notwithſtanding the intreaties "and even the threatnings of an approaching death, "which

(55) Silhon, *Miniſtre d'Etat*, Parte 3. chap. 7. pag. m. 112.

(56) He had juſt been commending Queen Elizabeth's reign.

by the Earl of Eſſex's death [T]. There are ſome Writers of Controverſy, who have publiſhed a ſilly jeſt, which is not in the leaſt probable (e); they have aſſerted, that the Marſhal de Biron boaſted he had ſeen the head of the reformed Church dance: they ſhould have aſcribed this to another Embaſſador, for Elizabeth was paſſed the age of dancing (f), when Henry IV ſent the Marſhal de Biron to her. If Balzac had took notice of this Queen's age (g), he would not have ſaid that ſhe was ſo beautiful, that *the Earl of Eſſex choſe rather to dye, than to petition her for his pardon, leſt he ſhould again be expoſed to her importunate love and fondneſs* (h). There is more than one inconſiſtency in theſe words. You will find Moreri's blunders in the Remark [U].

Pope Clement VIII ſpoke of this Queen in a very diſobliging manner, which ſhewed that he was not well acquainted with the condition of England [X].

ELMACINUS

(e) *See* Oſiander *in Gretium de Jure Belli & Pacis*, pag. 465.

(f) Several Hiſtorians ſay, that ſhe danced, but other only ſay that ſhe played on the Spinet. See the Remark [C] in the Article GONTAULT (Charles de).

(g) The Earl of Eſſex was executed in 1601, and the Queen was born in 1533.

(h) Balzac, in his *Prince*. n. 62. Obſerve that he ſays this in a banter, and with a deſign to refute theſe Poets, who preferred this Queen's beauty before Helena, Which is a pitiful confutation.

" which her Phyſicians and attendants made her; as " tho' the fear of being deſpiſed in her old age, or " ſome other ſecret diſcontent, which ſome aſcribe to " the grief, which the Earl of Eſſex's his death cauſed " her (57), made her look for death and long after it. " However it be, the truth is, that as ſoon as ſhe " found herſelf ill, ſhe ſaid ſhe wiſhed to die. She " made no will, nor any declaration of her ſucceſſor, " and ſhe kept her bed but three days before her " death; having been above a fortnight ſitting upon " little cuſhions, ready dreſſed, her eyes caſt down- " wards, and refuſing to ſpeak with and to ſee any " body. However the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Pri- " mate of England, and the Biſhop of London with " his Chaplain attended her to the end; and " ſhe expreſſed a great deal of devotion and gra- " titude towards God (58)." This relation differs very much from Monſieur Leti's account, according to which the Queen *was ſeven weeks without reaſoning, raving continually, which was occaſioned by a ſtrong fever, and which ceaſed only three days* before ſhe died (59). According to the Abbot Siri's Memoirs, " this Queen " ſitting upon her bed entirely dreſſed, with her eyes " caſt downwards, and her finger in her mouth, in " which poſture ſhe was reſolved to die, called for " her Muſicians, and heard them quietly to her laſt " breath, that ſhe might die, ſays that Author wittily, " *come era viſſuta allegramente*, merrily as ſhe had " lived (60)." I wonder he does not make her ſay Auguſtus's laſt words (61).

(57) See the following Remark.

(58) Theſe words are taken from a letter inſerted in the *Suite des Mémoires d'Etat*, printed at Paris in 8vo in the year 1623. The Letter I mention is in page 236 of the 3d volume, and is dated from London April 3, 1603.

(59) *Life of Elizabeth*, tom. 2. pag. 532.

(60) In the *Journal des Savans* for Sept. 6, 1677, pag. m. 282.

[T] . . . . *Some pretend that her deep ſorrow was occaſioned by the Earl of Eſſex's death.*] After the Earl's execution the Queen was for ſome time as gay and lively as ſhe uſed to be; and ſhewed it particularly during the Marſhal de Biron's embaſſy. It is therefore very probable, that if ſhe died with grief for the Earl of Eſſex's death, it was not ſo much becauſe ſhe had been the cauſe of it, as becauſe ſhe came to know, that he had applied to her for mercy by a method which ſhe had promiſed him would be infallible. Monſr. du Maurier will explain to us this riddle. *It will not be needleſs nor diſpleaſing*, ſays he (62), *to add in this place, what the ſame Prince Maurice had from Sir Dudley Carleton the Engliſh Embaſſador to the State of Holland, who is ſo well known under the name of my Lord Dorcheſter, and who was a man of great merit. He ſaid, that Queen Elizabeth gave the Earl of Eſſex a ring in the height of her paſſion for him, ordering him to keep it carefully, and that whatever he could commit, ſhe would pardon him when he ſhould return that pledge. Since that time the Earl's enemies having prevailed with the Queen, who beſides was exaſperated againſt him for the contempt he ſhewed for her beauty, which through age began to decay, ſhe cauſed him to be impeached; when he was condemned ſhe expected that he ſhould ſend her the ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promiſe. The Earl finding himſelf in the laſt extremity, applied to Admiral Howard's Lady, who was his relation, and deſired her by a perſon whom he could truſt, to return the ring into the Queen's own hands. But her huſband, who was one of the Earl's greateſt enemies, and to whom ſhe told this imprudently, would not ſuffer her to acquit herſelf of the commiſſion; ſo that the Queen conſented to the Earl's death, being full of indignation againſt ſuch a proud and haughty ſpirit, who choſe rather to die than to implore her mercy. Some time after the Admiral's Lady fell ſick, and being given over by her Phyſicians, ſhe ſent word to the Queen, that ſhe had ſomething of great conſequence to tell her, before ſhe died. The Queen came to her bed-ſide, and having ordered all the attendants to withdraw, the Admiral's Lady returned her, but too late, that ring from the Earl of Eſſex, deſiring to be excuſed that ſhe did not return it ſooner, having been prevented doing it, by her huſband. The Queen retired immediately, being overwhelmed with the utmoſt grief; ſhe ſighed continually for a fortnight following, without taking any nouriſhment, lying a bed entirely dreſſed, and getting up an hundred times a night. At laſt ſhe died with hunger and with grief, becauſe ſhe had conſented to the death of a lover who had applied to her for mercy.*

(61) *Amicos admiſſos percunctatus*, ecquid iis videretur mimum vitæ commode tranſegiſſe, *adjecit & clauſulam*, &c. Suet. *in Auguſto*, cap. c. i. e. " Having called " his friends to " him, he asked " them, *whether* " *they thought he* " *had well acted* " *the farce of* " *this life*, adding " alſo this verſe " &c."

(62) Du Maurier, *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Hollande*, pag. 260.

[U] *Here follow Moreri's blunders.*] I. He ought not to have ſaid, that Elizabeth left in the Church *the names of Biſhops, Canons, Curates, &c.* The Biſhops of the Church of England are not mere titulary Biſhops, they actually exerciſe all the Epiſcopal Functions, and have over the Curates the ſame hierarchical pre-eminence that is in uſe in the Church of Rome. II. He ſhould not have exaggerated again and again the perſecutions, which the Roman Catholics ſuffered, without taking notice of their rebellions which expoſed them to this ſtorm. A faithful Hiſtorian ſhould have related firſt their conſpiracies againſt the Queen's government, and then the ſevere puniſhment which theſe conſpiracies brought upon them. The tranſpoſition of theſe two things would be a baſe diſhoneſty in an Hiſtorian (63). He could not without perfidiouſneſs make the puniſhment precede, if they were but a conſequence of the conſpiracies. By what name ſhall we then call Moreri's conduct, who entirely omits theſe conſpiracies? Such an omiſſion is not barely a miſtake, it is a crime which the Latins would ſtile *ſcelus*, or at leaſt *flagitium*. I conſider Moreri here only as an Author, and if I charge him with a crime, it is only the crime of an Hiſtorian. III. *The greateſt crime*, ſays he, with which the Queen of Scots was charged, was, *that ſhe endeavoured to free herſelf from ſlavery*. He is miſtaken, they charged her with other crimes and much more heinous. If he had ſaid this was the greateſt crime of which ſhe could juſtly be accuſed, he might have argued for ſome time, and diſputed his ground by the help of the oppoſite accounts, which the two parties have publiſhed. But to know what the Judges grounded their ſentence upon, is a matter of fact, which is unanſwerably determined in three words; one need only read her trial. Moreri and his abettors have nothing to anſwer to this, nor can they ſay one ſingle word for their vindication. IV. It is not true, that Henry the IIId heard Queen Mary's death with grief, nor that he ſent Bellievre to ſave that unfortunate Princeſs's life. Bellievre's Embaſſy was only a farce. The Leaguers did not fail to charge Henry the IIId with having promoted Mary Stuart's death (64). Monſr. du Maurier has explained this myſtery (65). V. Virginia is not an iſland. VI. Elizabeth did not die the fourth of April, but the third. VII. It is not true, that the fourth of April new ſtyle, is the twenty fourth of March according to the old Calender. VIII. Elizabeth's reign laſted forty four years and ſome months: Moreri ſhould not therefore have ſaid, that ſhe died after ſhe had reigned thirty five years. But what is very ſtrange is, that he reckons but thirty five years for a reign, the beginning of which he places in November 1558, and the end in April 1603. Skill in Mathematicks was not this Princeſs's chief qualification with regard to the ſciences, as Moreri aſſerts it (66). Nay, I do not find, that Mr. Bohun, who gives a particular account (67) of all the ſciences, which ſhe learned, mentions any thing of her reading Euclid. This is then Moreri's IXth blunder.

(63) See above, Rem. [L].

(64) *See* Louis d'Orleans, in his *Catholique Anglois*, and *Jaques le Boſſu*, in pag. 43. of the I Devis.

(65) In the *Preface* to his *Memoirs*. See the *Critique generale de Maimbourg*, *Lettre II.*

(66) She was very well skilled in all the Sciences, but eſpecially in the Mathematics, Moreri, tom. 1. pag. m. 1092.

(67) *Caractere de la Reine Elizabeth*, pag. 3, &c.

[X] *Pope Clement VIII ſpoke of this Queen in a very diſobliging*

ELMACINUS (GEORGE) Author of a Hiſtory of the Saracens, or rather a Chronology of the Mahometan Empire, was born in Egypt towards the middle of the thirteenth Century. I ſhall ſay ſomething of his family [*A*]. He has brought down his Work from Mahomet to the Chalif Muſtadit Billa *, who died in the year of the Hegira 512 (*a*). He ſets down year by year, but in few words, what concerns the Saracen Empire, and intermixes therewith ſome paſſages of the Hiſtory of the Eaſtern Chriſtians. He keeps principally to Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Perſia. His merit muſt needs have been very conſpicuous, ſince, tho' he profeſſed Chriſtianity, he notwithſtanding filled a poſt of diſtinction and truſt near the perſons of the Mahometan Princes (*b*). Thoſe who conſider the meaſures he ought to keep in that poſt, will not think it ſtrange that he has ſpoken honourably of the Chalifs, and has never made uſe of any injurious terms with reſpect to the Mahometan Religion. There are ſome people ſo ſcrupulouſly ſenſible, that they will not approve of the epithets of *Orthodox*, *Emperor of the Faithful*, &c. with which he honours the followers of Mahomet: and yet leſs will they approve of his ſaying, when he ſpeaks of that Impoſtor, *Mahomet of glorious memory*. They may even go ſo far as to maintain, in conſequence of this language, that he was a Mahometan; but if they do, it will be eaſy to convict them of falſhood [*B*]. His Hiſtory has been tranſlated from Arabic into Latin by Erpenius, and printed in thoſe two languages at Leyden, in the year 1625, *in folio* [*C*].

(*a*) Which is our year 1118.

(*b*) The poſt of Secretary. *Ipſo velut Notario uſi fuere ad ſecretiora conſilia.* Golius, *Præf. Hiſt. Saracen.*

* Or rather, as the name ought to be written, *al Moſtadhher billah.*

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diſobliging manner, which ſhewed that he was not well acquainted with the condition of England.] Here follows what we read in one of Cardinal d'Oſſat's Letters, written from Rome February the 1ſt, 1595. "The "Pope anſwered .... that England had been con- "quered formerly, and might be conquered at pre- "ſent, ſince the difference of Religion cauſed there "great diviſions, and it was governed by an old wo- "man, who had no huſband and no certain ſucceſſor: "that this woman muſt alſo at preſent have exhauſted "her exchequer, having made ſeveral expences; that "beſides, it had been obſerved, that thoſe women "who reigned long, and in their youth and in the "ſtrength of their age loved the amorous ſport, be- "came in their old age the ſcorn of thoſe very men "to whom they proſtituted themſelves. He alledged "to me two Queens of Sicily, who, as he ſaid, "lived after the ſame manner, one of whom ſuffered "when ſhe was old to be boxed by one of thoſe, who "loved her in her younger days: ſo that he thought "Elizabeth could but be now deſpiſed by thoſe, "who formerly loved and eſteemed her: That nei- "ther he nor I were yet ſo old, but for all theſe "reaſons he ſtill hoped, we ſhould ſee her ſubdu- "ed (68)." Monſr. Amelot de la Houſſaye makes three obſervations upon this. The firſt contains theſe words, *Clement VIII was certainly miſinformed of the condition of England, which never was more flouriſhing nor more powerful both by ſea and by land, than under Queen Elizabeth's reign; and Sixtus the Vth, his predeceſſor, ſpoke quite otherwiſe of this Queen, of whom he uſed to ſay on every occaſion.* Ch'era un gran cervello di Principiſſa, *ſhe was a Princeſs of a ſtrong head.* The ſecond remark is as follows. "Jane II Queen "of Naples and Sicily ſuffered herſelf to be boxed by "the Seneſchal *Giovanni Caracciolo*, her lover: but at "laſt ſhe grew tired of it, and cauſed him to be "murthered; which is uſually the end of thoſe Royal "intrigues." Let us ſee the third obſervation. *I do not know whether all that has been ſaid or written concerning Queen Elizabeth's amours and lovers is well grounded: but it is certain that ſhe had no* Vulva, *and that the ſame reaſon, which prevented her from marrying, ought alſo to have prevented her from* loving the amorous ſport. *She might love indeed, and was really paſſionately in love with the Earl of Eſſex; but conſidering the conſtitution of her body ſhe could not be carnally known by a man without ſuffering the moſt violent pains, nor become pregnant* (69) *without an unavoidable danger of loſing her life in her labour. She was ſo ſenſible of it, that being one day deſired with the moſt importunate intreaties to marry the Duke of Alençon, who courted her very earneſtly, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe did not think her ſubjects loved her ſo little, as to wiſh her buried before her time.*

(68) *Lett. d'Oſſat*, tom. 2. pag. 399.

(69) See above, the Remark [*M*].

[*A*] *I ſhall ſay ſomething of his family.*] The ſum of it is this: Our Elmacinus was the grandſon of Abultibus, whoſe grandfather had ſettled in Egypt, where the Chalif had granted him certain privileges. This grandfather was a Syrian Merchant and profeſſed Chriſtianity. He left a ſon, who entred into the ſervice of the Court in quality of Notary: Abultibus, the ſon of the latter, was ſkilful in the buſineſs of a Notary, and was preſented by the Magiſtrates of Grand Cairo to the Council of Arabia. He had five ſons, four of whom were Biſhops: the other, named Abulmecarimus, married the ſiſter of Simon Elmacinus, a famous Notary, who having been three years in the ſervice of the Council of War † under Joſeph Saladine (1), turned Monk, and lived above thirty years in that exemplary condition. Abulmecarimus turned Monk likewiſe, after his wife's death, and died in the 606th year of the Hegira. He had had three ſons, the ſecond of whom, who was the father of our Elmacinus, and was named *Abuljaſirus Elaamidus*, obtained the office of Notary of the Council of War, when his maternal uncle, Simon Elmacinus, quitted it to embrace a monaſtic life. He diſcharged that Office forty five years, and died in the 636th year of the Hegira (2), after a very religious life (2).

† *Or rather*, employed in keeping and entring the Accounts of the pay given to the Army.

(1) About the year of the Hegira 569, which anſwers to the year of Chriſt 1173.

(2) The 1238th of Chriſt.

(3) Extracted from the *Hiſtory of Elmacinus*, towards the end.

[The names of our Author and his anceſtors, as given by Mr. Bayle, not being perfectly exact, it may not be amiſs to ſet them down at length. In the title of the firſt part of his work, which is yet in manuſcript only (4), he is called *Gergis the ſon of Abu'lYâſer, the ſon of Abu'lMacârem, the ſon of Abu'lTeyyeb, ſurnamed Ebn al Amda*, or, as it is in Erpenius's Edition of the ſecond part, *Ebn al Amîd*. He is alſo honoured with the title of *Al Sheikh al Reyis al Makin*, i. e. *The prime and ſolidly learned Doctor*; by the laſt of which Epithets, by Erpenius written *Elmacin*, he is better known among us than by his true name, *George Ebn al Amda*. ADD. REM.]

(4) See the Remark [*C*].

[*B*] *It will be eaſy to convict them of falſhood.*] For he has not only omitted to prefix to his work the formal Declaration which the Writers of that Sect are uſed to make, with a ſuperſtitious affectation, that they are Muſulmans: he has not only taken great care to inſert in his Annals ſeveral things which relate to the Chriſtians, and turn to their praiſe; which a Muſulman would avoid as a crime: but we alſo ſee at the end of his work a ſhort account of his family, which teſtifies, in an inconteſtable manner, that he was a Chriſtian. As to the delicacy of thoſe who condemn the uſing of honourable appellations with regard to falſe Religions, ſee the Author of the *Critique Generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme* (5).

(5) Letter 30. pag. 289, &c. of the 3d Edition.

[*C*] *His Hiſtory has been tranſlated from Arabic into Latin, and printed in thoſe two languages* (6) ... *in the year* 1625, *in folio.*] The Tranſlator was already dead, and it was Golius who took care of the Edition, and wrote a Preface to it from which I have taken this Article. We there learn that Erpenius deſigned to add a great many Notes and Illuſtrations to his Verſion. It is pity death prevented him from doing it; for he would have been able to have ſaid a hundred curious things on the ſubject, which, moreover, would be neceſſary for the perfect underſtanding of the original. Elmacinus began his work at the Creation of the World; and Hottinger had that part which reaches from thence to the flight of Mahomet in manuſcript (7).

(6) Note that the Tranſlation was at the ſame time printed apart, without the Arabic.

(7) Hotting. *Biblioth. Orient.* cap. 2. pag. 75. *apud* Cave, *de Script. Eccleſ.* pag. 718.

[The Tranſlation of Erpenius is full of miſtakes, eſpecially

ELMENHORST (GEVERHART) deſerves to be reckoned amongſt the men of letters, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century. He was a native of Hamburg, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Criticiſm. It appears by the books which he publiſhed [*A*], that he had read a great deal (*a*). Scaliger was not of his ſide in his controverſy with Wouwer [*B*]. He died in the year 1621.

(*a*) Voëtius, *Diſputat.* tom. 3. pag. 400. ſtiles him *Virum diligentiſſimum, & diffuſiſſimæ lectionis.*

His Library was ſtill in being in the year 1648, but his ſon was upon the point of ſelling it, and deſired Voſſius to get him leave to have it ſold by auction at Leyden (*b*).

(*b*) Voſſius, *Epiſt. DLIV.* pag. m. 455.

(8) *See* Renaudot's *Preface* to the *Anciennes Relations des Indes, &c.* pag. 24.

(9) V. Golii, *Præf. Hiſt. Saracens & Oakleij Introd. ad Ling. Orient.* pag. 144.

eſpecially as to Geography and proper names (8), wherein he deſerves ſome excuſe if we conſider the difficulty of reading the Arabic Manuſcripts truly, and that he was the firſt who made any tolerable progreſs in this kind of learning (9). The French Tranſlation made by Peter Vattier, and printed at Paris in 1657 in 4to, is not a whit better. Note, the Arabic Text was printed apart in 12mo at the ſame time with the folio Edition, and was dedicated by Erpenius's widow to Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter. ADD. REM.

[*A*] *The Books which he publiſhed.*] He wrote notes upon Minutius Felix, upon Arnobius, upon Gennadius's Treatiſe *De Eccleſiaſticis Dogmatibus*, upon the Letters of Martial Biſhop of Limoges, and upon Apuleius. But he did not live long enough to ſee this laſt work publiſhed.

Obſerve that in 1618 he publiſhed at Leyden the picture of Cebes with John Caſelius's Latin Tranſlation and Notes.

[*B*] *Scaliger was not of his ſide in his controverſy with Wouwer.*] This appears from a Letter of Scaliger, which has been lately inſerted in a Book that abounds with curious things (1). The Author of this Book is a learned man of Germany, named Crenius. The Controverſy between John Wouwer and Elmenhorſt came from their publiſhing each of them Minutius Felix with Notes. Wouwer's edition was ſoon followed by that of our Elmenhorſt, who probably boaſted that his Edition deſerved the preference. Scaliger wrote to him, that ſuch a pretenſion would be ill grounded, and he gave him ſome advices intermixed with complaints. The Letter is dated March the 26th, 1603. The direction is, *Ornatiſſimo Juveni Geverhardo Elmenhorſtio.* I obſerve this in order to ſhew, that Elmenhorſt died before he was grown an old man.

(1) It is intitled, *Animadverſiones Philologicæ & Hiſtoricæ, Roterodami*, 1695, in 8vo. See the *Addenda & Emendanda* of the 2d part of theſe *Animadverſiones*. The Author owns that this Letter of Scaliger is the 260th of the 3d book of Scaliger's Letters printed at Leyden in 1627.

☞ELYOT (Sir THOMAS), a Gentleman of eminent learning in the ſixteenth Century, was deſcended of a good family in the county of Suffolk, and ſon of Sir Richard Elyot (*a*). He was educated in Academical Learning in St. Mary's Hall in Oxford (*b*), [*A*], where he made a great progreſs in Logic and Philoſophy (*c*). After he had ſpent ſome years at the Univerſity, he travelled into foreign countries; and upon his return was introduced into the Court; and his excellent genius and extenſive learning recommending him to the favour of King Henry VIII, who was a great patron of men of letters, his Majeſty conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and employed him in ſeveral embaſſies (*d*), and particularly in 1532 to Rome, about the divorce of Queen Catherine, and afterwards to the Emperor Charles V, about the year 1536 (*e*). He wrote and tranſlated ſeveral works [*B*]. He was an excellent Grammarian, Poet, Rhetorician, Philoſopher, Phyſician, Coſmographer, and Hiſtorian; and diſtinguiſhed for his candour, and the innocence and integrity of his life (*f*). He was admired and beloved by all the men of learning who were his contemporaries; and his memory was celebrated by them in their reſpective works, particularly by Leland (*g*). He was interred in the Church of Carleton in Cambridgeſhire (*b*), of which county he had been Sheriff (*i*), on the 25th of March 1546 (*k*); and a monument was ſoon after erected over his grave (*l*). Beſides ſeveral manors which he had in Cambridgeſhire, he had one or more in Hampſhire.

(*a*) Baleus, *Script. illuſtr. Major. Brytanniæ Catalog.* Cent. 8. cap. 77. pag. 668. edit. Baſil. 1557 in fol.

(*b*) Miles Windſore in *Collectaneis ſuis ad rem Hiſtoricam pertinentibus, MS. apud* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 67. 2d edit. London 1721. Parker in his *Select. Cantabr.* makes our Author to have been bred in *Jeſus College* in *Cambridge*.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*
(*d*) Idem, ibid. and *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 360.
(*e*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.
(*f*) Pitſeus, *de illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptoribus, ad ann.* 1546. num. 969. pag. 734.
(*g*) In *Encomiis eruditor. Viror.* pag. 83. edit. Londini 1589.
(*b*) Baleus *and* Pitſæus, *ubi ſupra.*
(*i*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.
(*k*) Baleus *and* Pitſeus, *ubi ſupra.*
(*l*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Educated in Academical Learning in St. Mary's Hall in Oxford.*] The year, when he was firſt entered there, thro' the defect of the Record, cannot be well known; unleſs it ſhould be about the year 1514; for four years after, viz. in 1518, one Thomas Elyot of St. Mary's Hall, was admitted *ad lecturam alicujus Libri facultatis artium Logices Ariſtotelis*, which is the admiſſion to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in the time of Lent the ſame year he compleated that degree by determination in School-ſtreet. It appears likewiſe, that the ſaid Thomas Elyot was in the beginning of Auguſt 1524 admitted *ad Lecturam alicujus Libri Inſtitutionem*, that is, to the Degree of Bachelor of the Civil Law (1). *Now if we could find*, ſays Mr. Wood (2), *that Sir* Thomas Eliot *was about fifty years of age when he died* (3), *then we may certainly conclude, that* Elyot *the Bachelor of Arts and of the Civil Law might be the ſame with him; otherwiſe we cannot well do it.*

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 67. 2d edit. London 1721.
(2) Ibid.
(3) In 1546.

[*B*] *He wrote and tranſlated ſeveral Works.*] I. *The Caſtel of Health.* London 1541, 1572, 1580, 1595, &c. in 8vo. II. *The Governour*, in three Books, London 1544, 1547, 1580, &c. in 8vo. III. *Of the Education of Children.* London in 4to. IV. *Banquet of Sapience.* London in 8vo. V. *Preſervative againſt the Fear of Death.* VI. *De Rebus Memorabilibus Angliæ.* For the compleating of this Work he had read many old Monuments of England (4). VII. *A Defence or Apology for good Women.* VIII. Bibliotheca Eliotæ: *Elyot's Library or Dictionary.* London 1541 &c. fol. He tranſlated likewiſe from Greek into Engliſh, *The Image of Governance, compiled of the Acts and Sentences by the Emperor Alexander Severus.* London 1556, 1594, &c. in 8vo. And from Latin into Engliſh, *St. Cyprian's Sermon of the Mortality of Man.* London 1534 in 8vo. *The Rule of a Chriſtian Life*, written by Picus Earl of Mirandola. London 1534 in 8vo. Pitſeus (5) tells us, that he wrote and tranſlated a great many other Works. *Et alia multa partim ſcripſit, partim tranſtulit.*

(4) *See* Roger Aſcham's *Toxophilus; the School or Partitions of ſhooting, contained in two Books*, pag. 28.

(5) *De illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann.* 1546. num. 969. pag. 735.

EMERI (SEBASTIAN) "an Advocate in the Parliament of Paris in the ſeventeenth Century, would never plead the cauſe of the Ducheſs of Angouleme againſt the "Conſtable of Bourbon. He even wrote an outragious libel againſt Poyet, who was afterwards Chancellor of France, becauſe on this occaſion he had baſely paid his court "to thoſe in power. This piece made a great noiſe, and was the occaſion of the Author's diſgrace, who was ordered to retire from Court: he went into Bourbonnois, and "out of grief that he was not permitted to return to Court, he entered into the Order "of St. Francis, which he left afterwards from a deſire of living in a more regular and "ſtrict manner, and entered into the Order of the Carthuſians, of which they would ſoon

" ſoon after have made him General: but he refuſed it ſo obſtinately, that they were obliged " to leave him in his Cell, the ſolitude of which he inviolably reſolved never to diſturb " by the leaſt commerce with ſecular perſons (*a*)." Monſieur EMERI Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris, is of that family. He inherited the eſtate of Monſieur EMERI his uncle, who died Counſellor in the Court of Aids, in the year 1703, and whoſe father had enjoyed the ſame poſt (*b*).

(*a*) *Mercure Gallant*, for Feb. 1703, pag. 201.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 199, 200.

EMMA, daughter of Richard II Duke of Normandy, wife of Ethelred King of England, and Mother of St. Edward alſo King of England, had a great ſhare in the Government during her ſon's reign, and ſo much credit at Court, that the Earl of Kent who had enjoyed great authority under ſeveral reigns, entertained an exceſſive jealouſy againſt her. He would not ſuffer that a woman ſhould ſhare with him the adminiſtration of the ſtate; that is to ſay, generally ſpeaking, the authority of ordering under the Prince's name whatever one pleaſes; and to get rid of this rival contrived the following expedient. He charged her with ſeveral crimes, and prevailed upon ſeveral Lords to confirm his imputations before the King; ſo that this good Prince, who probably would never have had a place in the catalogue of the Saints had it not been for his extreme ſimplicity [*A*], eaſily believed that his mother was guilty; and went unexpectedly to her, and deprived her of all the treaſures ſhe had hoarded up, alledging that it was ill-gotten wealth, and the fruits of her covetouſneſs. Under this misfortune ſhe had recourſe to the Biſhop of Wincheſter who was her relation: but this furniſhed her enemies with a new handle for calumny; for the Earl of Kent imputed to her as a crime the too frequent viſits ſhe paid to this Prelate [*B*], and accuſed her of a criminal converſation with him. The King continuing to be credulous, Emma was obliged to clear herſelf by the method cuſtomary in thoſe days, that is to ſay, to walk over red-hot plough-ſhares [*C*]. This hard tryal proved her innocence very clearly; and the King having owned it, ſubmitted himſelf to the chaſtiſement of the Penitents (*a*). I do not find what became of the accuſers; and it muſt be confeſſed that the cuſtoms of thoſe ages afford matter for ſeveral reflexions [*D*].

(*a*) *See* Theophilus Raynaud, *Hoplothec.* Sect. 2. Serie 2. cap. 6. who quotes Polydor Virgil, Nicholas Harpſfeld, *and* Rodolphus Ceſtrenſis. Obſerve that *Father d'Orleans* relates this ſtory very exactly in the volume of his *Revolutions d'Angleterre.*

EMMIUS

[*A*] *Edward her ſon . . . . . would never have had a place in the Catalogue of the Saints, had it not been for his extreme ſimplicity.*] I mean that no holy day would ever have been appointed to him by a canonization. It is certain, that they who are on the Throne have much more occaſion for a happy temper than other men, in order to become Saints. If nature has not favoured them with a ſimple, ſweet, meek and humble genius, they conceive ſuch paſſions as make them behave in a manner that does not agree with Chriſtian perfection: but with thoſe qualities I have mentioned they ſuffer themſelves to be led like ſheep by their ſpiritual Directors, which goes a great way towards obtaining one day from the Court of Rome a beatification, and all that follows after it. I do not pretend to exclude the exceptions that may be judged neceſſary. But however it be, the Author whom I cite owned St. Edward's ſimplicity (1).

(1) *Reginam Emmam apud filium Edvardum Sanctum quidem ſed ſimplicis animi deboneſtavit. Apud regem omnes ex ſuo ingenio ſimplici & candido (metientem.)* Theoph. Raynaudus, *Hoplotb.* Sect. 2. Serie 2. cap. 6. pag. m. 204. I add the word *metientem*, becauſe the ſenſe requires it.

[*B*] *They imputed to her as a crime the too frequent viſits ſhe paid to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] The world has always been cenſorious, and would never believe that the long and frequent converſations between perſons of different ſexes, were free from lewdneſs. Let a woman be a widow, let her be old, let her be a Queen Dowager, let her want advice, and chooſe a Clergyman rather than a Layman for her confident, nothing will defend her againſt bad ſuſpicions, nor againſt the ſtrokes of ſlanderers. Emma is perhaps the hundred thouſandth amongſt the women of high rank, who expoſed their conduct to detraction.

[*C*] *She was obliged to walk over red-hot plough-ſhares.*] One Robert, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, powerfully ſupported the Earl of Kent's Machination. It was owing to him that the Queen was obliged to clear herſelf by the ordeal by fire. The cuſtom of thoſe days required that the perſon accuſed ſhould walk bare-foot over nine red-hot plough-ſhares. It was ordered that Emma ſhould make nine ſteps over theſe ſhares for herſelf, and five for the Biſhop of Wincheſter, for whoſe reputation ſhe was very much concerned. She ſubmitted to this, and ſpent the whole night before in prayers which ſhe offered at St. Swithin's Tomb. The day being come they performed in the ſame Church where ſhe paſſed the night, all the neceſſary ceremonies, after which ſhe walked between two Biſhops over the Plough-ſhare, in the preſence of Edward and of all the great Lords of the Kingdom. She was dreſſed like a common woman, bare to the knee, and ſhe conſtantly look'd up towards heaven. The fire hurted her ſo little, that they were already out of the Church, when ſhe aſked, when they ſhould come to the place where the plough-ſhares were (2): Being told that all was done, ſhe thanked God for the favour he had done her by proving her innocency in ſo authentick a manner. King Edward fell on his knees before his mother, begged her pardon, and in order to atone for the injury done both to her and to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he would have the Biſhops to diſcipline him: and accordingly they laid his ſhoulders bare, and ſcourged him like a penitent (3). The plough-ſhares were buried in a Monaſtery of Wincheſter.

(2) *Cum progrediendo decurſi eſſent vomeres, jamque extra Eccleſiam procederent cingentes Emmam Epiſcopi, interrogavit Emma, ecquando ad vomeres eſſet perventura, quæ rei exitum edocta immenſas gratias pro tanti probri abſterſione Deo egit.* Theoph. Raynaudus, *Hoploth.* Sect. 2. Serie 2. cap. 6. pag. 204.

[*D*] *The cuſtom of thoſe ages affords matter for ſeveral reflections.*] The Hiſtories abound with events like this. We read that the ordeal by fire was often employed, and that the perſons who ſubmitted to it cleared themſelves very honourably. Why have they been diſcontinued this great while? Is it becauſe men have obſerved that it was a fallacious method, which might artfully be made to ſucceed in favour of guilty perſons? If that were true, we muſt not think thoſe cleared, who walked over the plough-ſhares without receiving the leaſt hurt. It is becauſe we ought not to tempt God? But why did men tempt him in thoſe days? Why are not thoſe blamed, who encouraged that Practice? Why ſhall we believe, that God diſcovered by a miracle the innocency of a perſon, who did not deſerve ſuch a favour, ſince he had his recourſe to a ſinful action, namely the tempting of God? It is a very hard matter to anſwer theſe difficulties without ſuppoſing occaſional cauſes, but by this ſuppoſition they are eaſily ſolved. It might only be ſuppoſed, that there was an intelligent Being, who took care of the innocent, and whoſe wiſhes determined the firſt Mover not to follow on this occaſion the general Law by which motion is communicated. One may ſuppoſe afterwards, not that this kind of intelligent Beings die, as the Heathens imagined, but that they are employed in ſome other buſineſs, and thus do not preſide any longer over the ordeals. Thus it might happen, that ſome miracles would be common at one time, and ceaſe at another. Nothing could be inferred from thence againſt the unchangeableneſs of the General Laws. We ſhould perhaps be miſtaken, if we believed, that of all the created minds the ſoul of man only is liable to change.

(3) *Rex matri ſupplex ad pedes accidit, & pro moleſtia matri ac Epiſcopo Aluino creata, nudo dorſo ritu pœnitentium plagas ab Epiſcopis excepit.* Theoph. Raynaudus, *Hoploth.* pag. 204.

A VERY convenient uſe of the ſyſtem of *Occaſional Cauſes.*

EMMIUS (UBO) a learned Profeſſor at Groningen, was born at Gretha a village in Eaſt Frieſland, December the 5th, 1547. He was the ſon of a Miniſter of that village [*A*], and was but nine years old when he was ſent to ſtudy at Embden: he continued there till he was eighteen, when they ſent him to Bremen in the year 1565, that he might improve by the famous John Molanus's lectures. Being returned to his father, he did not go immediately to the Univerſity, but paſſed ſome time at Norden, the College of which place began then to be in repute again. When he was paſt twenty three years he was ſent to Roſtock a flouriſhing Univerſity, where he heard the lectures of David Chytreus, a celebrated Divine and Hiſtorian, and of Henry Bruceus an able Mathematician and Phyſician. The news he received of his father's death obliged him to return into Eaſt-Frieſland, after he had continued above two years at Roſtock: and his mother's grief was the reaſon why he did not take a journey into France, as he had wiſhed to do. He continued with the good old woman three years following, after which, as time had comforted her a little, he went to Geneva, where he ſtaid two years. Being returned into his own country he had the choice of two preferments, either to be a Miniſter, or the Rector of a College. But as he was naturally ſo baſhful that he hardly dared to ſay a word in company (*a*), he would not venture to engage in the Holy Miniſtry, tho' it was very much his inclination. He choſe therefore to be the Rector of a College (*b*); and was admitted into that poſt in the year 1579. He made his College flouriſh exceedingly, but he was turned out of his employment in the year 1587 becauſe he would not ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Auſburg. It was becauſe of this refuſal that ſome zealous Lutherans made him loſe his ſalary, and the liberty of teaching. He was choſen at Leer in the ſame country of Eaſt-Frieſland, in the year 1588 for ſuch a poſt as that which he had loſt. He raiſed the reputation of the College at Leer ſo high, that it ſurpaſſed that of Norden, which the Lutherans could never retrieve from the declining condition into which it fell when Emmius had been depoſed. They had baniſhed from Groningen ſeveral perſons who followed Calvin's reformation. Thoſe of the Exiles who retired to Leer, meeting with the ſame fate as our Emmius, engaged in a particular friendſhip with him. So that when the city of Groningen confederated with the United Provinces, and the Magiſtrates reſolved to reſtore their College, Emmius being recommended by ſeveral perſons, they choſe him to be Rector or Head-Maſter of that College, and they gave him a full power to make or abrogate there, ſuch ſtatues as he ſhould think proper. He entered upon his employment in the year 1594, the 47th of his age, and exerciſed it near twenty years following to the great advantage of the young ſtudents who were ſent in great numbers to that College. At the end of that time the Magiſtrates of Groningen changed their College into an Univerſity (*c*), and made Emmius Profeſſor of Hiſtory and of the Greek Tongue. He was the firſt Rector of that Univerſity, and one of the chief ornaments of it by his lectures, till the infirmities of old age did not ſuffer him to appear any longer in public. Yet for all that he did not become uſeleſs either to the Republic of Letters, or to the Univerſity of Groningen; for he continued to write books [*B*], and to impart his wiſe counſels to the Senate of the Univerſity in all important affairs. He was a man whoſe learning was not his only merit. He was capable of adviſing even Princes. William Lewis Count of Naſſau, and Governor of the Provinces of Frieſland and Groningen, conſulted him very often [*C*], and ſeldom failed to follow his advice. This

(*a*) *A priore ad quam animus fezebat retraxit eum verecunda modeſtia, quæ hereditaria adeo naturæ ejus inſita fuit, ut nimis pene modeſtè de ſe ſentiens, in hominum cœtu fari vix auderet.* Vit. Prof. Groning. pag. 42.

(*b*) It was that of Norden in East-Frieſland.

(*c*) It was in the year 1614, and not in 1607, as Valerius Andreas ſays, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 842.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of the Miniſter of* Gretha.] This Miniſter's name was Emmo Diken. He had been Luther's and Melancthon's diſciple, and was very much eſteemed by John Laſcus, who had for ſome time the adminiſtration of the Churches in thoſe countries. Emmo Diken's wife, the mother of our Ubo Emmius, was the daughter of Egbert Tiarda, who had been thirty years ſucceſſively Burgomaſter of Norden, and who had a brother called Ubo Emmius, a very good Civilian, who gave his name to the perſon, whoſe article we write. Emmo Diken's father was a ſubſtantial country-man, who had the direction of the ſluices at Norden (1).

(1) Taken from *Ubo Emmius's Life* printed amongſt the *Lives of the Profeſſors of Groningen.*

[*B*] *He continued to write Books.*] It was then, that he compoſed the three Volumes of his *Vetus Græcia illuſtrata*, (Antient Greece illuſtrated); the firſt of which contains a geographical deſcription of Greece; the ſecond the Hiſtory of Greece; the third the particular form of Government of every State or of every Commonwealth of Greece. If the Printers had made as much haſte as they had promiſed to make, he would have had the pleaſure of ſeeing this work publiſhed before his death: but by their cuſtomary delays it happened that this Book did not come out but in the year 1626 (2). Paul Freher did not know that it was publiſhed (3). The Author had publiſhed ſeveral conſiderable works before he wrote this: ſuch are his *Decades rerum Friſicarum*, (Decades of the Affairs of Frieſland) and in general all that he compoſed both concerning the Hiſtory of Frieſland and Groningen, and concerning the geographical Deſcription of theſe Countries. Such are alſo his chronological and genealogical Works, which contain the Hiſtory of Rome and an Univerſal Hiſtory written in a very elaborate method. I ſhall ſay nothing of his Hiſtory of William Lewis Count of Naſſau Governor of Frieſland, in which we meet not only with a Panegyrick on that Prince, but alſo a ſhort Hiſtory of the United Provinces from the year 1577 to the year 1614. I ſhall not mention either his Theological Controverſies with Daniel Hofman, or the Book intitled, *Vita & ſacra Eleuſinia Davidis Georgii, qui monſtra pudendorum errorum aut furorum veterum à ſe recocta mundo propinavit, ex libris ejus myſticis eruta* (4). i. e. "The "Life and infamous myſteries of David George, who "has preſented the world with monſters of ſhameful "errors, or the abominations of the ancients, newly "cooked up by himſelf, extracted from his myſtical "works." When he died he was about compoſing the Hiſtory of Philip of Macedonia Alexander the Great's father. His deſign was to ſhew, for the uſe of the United Provinces, by what fraudulent and indirect means Philip had oppreſſed the liberty of Greece. He had already carried this Hiſtory to the fifteenth year of this King's reign (5).

(2) *Vit. Profeſſ. Groning.* pag. 50.

(3) *Theatr. Freheri*, pag. 1521.

(4) Freher. ibid.

(5) *Vit. Profeſſ. Groning.* pag. 50.

[*C*] *William Lewis Count of Naſſaw . . . conſulted him very often.*] It would be doing an injury to Ubbo Emmius's memory, not to acquaint all the world with the honours he received from this Governor of Frieſland. I ſhall tranſcribe therefore what the Writer of

This is an accompliſhment ſeldom to be met with in thoſe that paſſed all their life-time amongſt the duſt of the College. There were ſome other ſingularities obſervable in Emmius; he fixed himſelf at Groningen [*D*], and rejected all the offers that were made him from ſeveral places; he was not prepoſſeſſed in favour of his native country; for on the contrary, he confuted vigorouſly the idle tales which the Hiſtorians of Frieſland relate concerning the antiquities of their nation [*E*]. This love of truth raiſed him a great many enemies (*d*). He died at Groningen December the 9th 1625 in the beginning of his ſeventy ninth year (*e*). He excelled in the knowledge of Hiſtory [*F*]. He has

(*d*) See the Remark [*E*].

(*e*) Taken from his *Life* printed with the *Lives of the Profeſſors of Groningen*. This *Life* is almoſt nothing elſe but the *Elogy of Ublo Emmius*, which *Nicholas Mulerius* Doctor of Phyſic and Profeſſor of Mathematics at Groningen, publiſhed without his name in the year 1638.

his Life ſays of it. *Ab eo tempore, quo ſedes ſuas Groningæ habuit, per annos xxvi affectum illuſtriſſimi Principis* GUILHELMI LUDOVICI *Comitis Naſſoviæ Gubernatoris noſtri quondam laudatiſſimi memoriæ, tam benevolum ſemper & benignum ſenſit Emmius, ut humilioris ſuæ conditionis ſibi conſcius, in ruborem ſæpe daretur. Nam viri hujus cordatum ingenium Neſtoreamque in conſiliis dandis prudentiam ſæpe expertus Heros inclytus, eum ad ſe accerſere, benignè habere, per fidos domeſticos, per literas in maximis negotiis conſulere, & à mente ejus haud temere recedere, in more poſitum habebat* (6). i. e.

(6) Ibid. pag. 47.

" After Emmius was ſettled at Groningen, the moſt " illuſtrious Prince WILLIAM LEWIS Count of Naſ- " ſau, and for ſome time our moſt glorious Governor, " treated him during twenty ſix years with ſo much " friendſhip and kindneſs, that he, who was ſenſible " of his low rank, did often bluſh. For this celebrated Hero, who had often experienced this man's great " underſtanding, and Neſtorean wiſdom in giving advice, uſed to call him to him, to receive him kindly, " and to conſult him either by ſome truſty ſervants, " or by letters, and took his advice, unleſs he had " very ſtrong reaſons not to do it."

[*D*] *He fixed himſelf at Groningen.*] I have mentioned two or three times (7) this ambulatory life of the Profeſſors. But here is one, who was kept free from the epidemical diſeaſe of thoſe of his profeſſion. *Certè præter alios, Dordrechtani his excitati ad ſimilem apud ſe functionem, Emdani vero ad aliud vitæ genus capeſſendum, ampliſſimis propoſitis præmiis eum invitarunt. Sed ille gratiis quibus debebat actis, non ſuum lucellum, ſed Reipublicæ literariæ commodum ſemper quærens, Groningæ, quoad Deo viſum manere, quam alio transferri maluit, & quod aliis in ſimili caſu occinere ſolebat, ipſe ad uſum quoque ſuum revocavit dictum hoc vulgare,*

(7) See above, quotation (12) of the Article DECIUS.

Si qua ſede ſedes, quæ ſit tibi commoda ſedes,
Illa ſede ſede, nec ab illa ſede recede (8).

(8) *Vita Profeſſ. Groning.* pag. 45.

i. e. " The inhabitants of Dort and Leuwarden, beſides " ſeveral others being incited by this (*his great ſucceſs at Groningen*) invited him to come and fill up a poſt of " the ſame nature in their cities; and thoſe of Emden offered him a poſt of another kind; and all " propoſed a very large ſtipend. But he, having returned them thanks, and minding the advantage of " the Republic of Letters more than his own gain, " choſe to continue at Groningen as long as it ſhould " pleaſe God, rather than to remove to another place, " and he applied to himſelf what he uſed in the ſame " caſe to repeat to others, namely; *If you ſit in a ſeat " which is a commodious ſeat for you, ſit in that ſeat, " nor recede from that ſeat* *." There are few men like Iſſachar (9) the Patriarch Jacob's ſon.

* We have endeavoured to preſerve the gingle of the original.

(9) *He ſaw that reſt was good.* Gen. xlix. 15.

[*E*] *He confuted vigorouſly the Idle Tales, which the Hiſtorians of Frieſland relate concerning the Antiquities of their Nation.*] The Reader has ſeen above in the Article ABGILLUS how credulous Suffridus Petri is (10). He is not the only one amongſt the Writers of Frieſland who took a delight in relating ſtories; the worſt is that ſome perſons have been angry with thoſe who have exploded them. Ubbo Emmius was cenſured for this and expoſed himſelf to a thouſand calumnies. Do not think it is out of pride, that he affects to ſpeak of his anceſtors both by his father's and his mother's ſide, and of his education. He was obliged to inſiſt upon this in his own vindication: for they have endeavoured to render him deſpicable on all theſe accounts out of hatred to the ſincerity with which he wrote againſt the ancient and fabulous ſtories of his own country. " (11) Patriam & originem paulò accuratius in hiſto- " ria deſcriptam, aliaque ſua poſteris reliquit, ob ſi- " niſtrum quorundam affectum, quibus quaſi ſudes in " oculis erat ingenua viri in dicendo ſcribendoque li- " bertas, præſertim quoties de jure libertateque Fri- " ſiorum mota eſſet controverſia. Coegit quoque hoc " facere eum adverſariorum iniquitas, qui cum fabu- " las ſuas ab eo temni ac reſelli indignis ferrent ani- " mis, eum convitiis conſpuere, & boni nominis ejus " famam lacerare voluerunt, eum μισοφρίσονα eſſe, " hoſtem patriæ, ignarum ignotumque ſibi, & cujus " conditionis ſit, clamitantes. Quibus ille reſponſum hoc " debuit *, *Me quod attinet ſum origine & patria Fri- " ſius non minus quam hi, qui me flagellant, ſi modo hu- " juſmodi hi ſunt, honeſta domo utrâque natus, honeſta " quoque in re, in literis voluntate ac ſumptu meorum, " ſine onere aliorum, honeſtè domi foriſque educatus, id- " que cum diminutione hæreditatis meæ. Adverſariis " meis affectu in communem patriam & gentem noſtram " non concedo, ſed affectum veritati in hiſtoriâ vim fa- " cere non patior, intraque terminos me contineo. Ve- " rum tradere tuerique ante omnia laboro, & hunc la- " borem difficilem Friſiis meis impendo gratis, ſolo patriæ " ac veritatis ſtudio ductus, & hoc inter negotia aſſidua " cum valetudinis jacturâ præſto.*" i. e. " He has given " in his Hiſtory a pretty accurate account of his own " country and of his family, and of ſome other things " relating to himſelf, being determined to it by the ill " humour of ſome perſons, who were offended by this " man's unbiaſſed freedom in ſpeaking and writing, " eſpecially when the rights and liberties of Frieſland " were the ſubject of the controverſy. He was alſo " obliged to do it by the injuſtice of his adverſaries, " who being exaſperated againſt him, becauſe he de- " ſpiſed and confuted their idle ſtories, abuſed him, " and endeavoured to blaſt his reputation, proclaim- " ing him a hater of Frieſland, an enemy to his " Country, an ignorant man, unknown, and of an " obſcure family. To all which he made the fol- " lowing anſwer. *As for me, I am originally of Frieſ- " land, which is my native Country, as well as it is " theirs, who ſlander me, if yet they are of that Coun- " try. I am of a diſtinguiſhed family, both by my " father's and by my mother's ſide, and in good circum- " ſtances. I have received a liberal education, by the " good will and at the expence of my parents, both at " home and abroad, without being at any perſon's charge, " and having ſpent thereby part of my patrimony. As " to the love of my Country and Nation, I am not be- " hind any of my adverſaries, but yet I do not ſuffer, " that this love ſhould make me alter in the leaſt the " truth of hiſtory, but I keep my ſelf within bounds. I " endeavour above all things to relate and maintain the " truth; and this labour I beſtow generouſly for the be- " nefit of the Frieſlanders my Countrymen, being influ- " enced only by the love of my country and of truth; and " this I do amidſt a world of buſineſs, and to the conti- " nual impairing of my health.*"

(11) *Vit. Profeſſ. Groning.* pag. 40.

* *De Orig. & Antiq. Friſ.* pag. 3, 4.

(10) He follows a paſſage from Thuanus concerning *Suffridus Petri* and *Emmius*. *Poſtea a Friſiæ Ordinibus invitatus, Origines, Colonias, Nobilitatem, Libertatem, jura gentis ſuæ illuſtrandæ ſuſcepit; in quibus altius repetendis dum adminiſtis fabularum figmentis nimium ſtilo indulget, multorum reprehenſiones incurrit, ut* UBBONI EMMIO, *qui eam Provinciam ſumma fide ac admiranda ſimplicitate poſtea executus eſt, potius lampada tradidiſſe, quam ei in ſcribendâ patriâ hiſtoriâ præluxiſſe videatur.* Thuan. lib. cxix. pag. 816. *ad ann.* 1597. i. e. " Suffridus Petri, being invited thereto by the States of Frieſland un- " dertook to illuſtrate the Origin, Colonies, Nobility, Liberty, and Laws of his " own Nation. But beginning with the moſt ancient times, he delighted too much " in relating idle ſtories, for which he was much blamed; ſo that he ſeems rather " to have ſurrendered the task, than to have ſhewed the way to Ubbo Emmius, " who wrote the Hiſtory of his own Country with the greateſt ſincerity and an " admirable candour."

[*F*] *He excelled in the knowledge of Hiſtory.*] What has been ſaid of his extenſive knowledge attended with the moſt happy and ready memory, can hardly be credited. It is aſſerted, that without any preparation he could anſwer all manner of queſtions concerning the Hiſtory both ancient and modern of any country whatſoever, without the leaſt miſtake in the circumſtances of times, places, and perſons. He not only knew the actions, events, and motives, but alſo underſtood the intereſt of the ſeveral Nations, the form of their Government, the inclinations of their Princes, the means they employed to enlarge their dominions,

He has been commended by ſeveral eminent men [*G*], and particularly by Scaliger. He left a family behind him [*H*]. The Magiſtrates cauſed his picture to be placed in the Town-Houſe.

their alliances, their origin. He knew alſo the figure, ſituation and largeneſs of the cities and forts, the poſition of rivers and high-ways, the turnings and windings of mountains, &c. That the reader may not think this is an exaggeration, I ſhall tranſcribe the very words of the Writer of his Life. *In omni omnium populorum ac gentium hiſtoria verſatiſſimus, de cujuſque gentis ac cujuſlibet temporis hiſtoria rogatus ex tempore diſſerebat, recitatis omnium locorum, temporis & perſonarum circumſtantiis, haud ſecus ac ſi præmeditatus & paratus accederet ad hiſtorias iſtas exponendas; ut ſatis appareat non fuiſſe eam ſuperficiariam ipſi cognitionem, quæ multis contigit, ſed quæ paucis exactam, ſolidam ad anteriora penetrantem, atque deſcendentem. Notiſſimas habebat in veteri & nova hiſtoria, non ſolum res geſtas, earumque cauſas & eventus, cujuſque populi πολιτείαν, ſed & urbes arceſque à ſorma, ſitu, magnitudine, ſimulque vias publicas, fluvios, montium tractus, geniumque loci, Principum ingenia, mores, cupiditates, ambitus, arteſque quibus ad honores graſſati, quibus propinquitatibus ſubnixi, quo ſanguine creti* (12).

(12) *Vitæ Profeſſ. Groning.* pag. 48.

[*G*] *He has been commended by ſeveral eminent men.*] The Author of his life has collected ſeveral encomiums, which Thuanus, Scaliger, Douza, and ſome others paſſed upon him. They are exceedingly great, eſpecially thoſe which Scaliger wrote. For he ſtiles Ubbo Emmius's Hiſtory of Frieſland a Divine Hiſtory (13).

(13) Hankius, in the volume *de Romanorum rerum ſcriptoribus*, lib. 2. pag. 188. has collected a great part of the Elogies printed with Emmius's Life.

[*H*] *He left a family behind him.*] He married at Norden in the year 1581. His wife who died in childbed, left him a ſon, who died at the age of nineteen. Emmius continued a widower three years, at the end of which he married to his ſecond wife Margaret of Berghen, the daughter of a citizen of Emden who ſurvived him, with two children a ſon and a daughter. The ſon's name was Weſſelus Emmius, and was Miniſter of Groningen when his father died. He had a younger brother who died at Orleans a few months before his father.

(14) Taken from *Ubbo Emmius's Life.*

☞EMPEDOCLES, a celebrated Philoſopher and Poet among the Antients, was born of a good family [*A*] at Agrigentum the moſt conſiderable city next Syracuſe (*a*), in Sicily. He flouriſhed between the 70th and 80th Olympiad [*B*]. Timæus in the ninth book of his *Hiſtory* (*b*) aſſerts, that he heard Pythagoras, and adds, that he was taken ſtealing a Diſſertation of that Philoſopher (as Plato alſo was), and upon this account was expelled the Society; and that he mentions Pythagoras in his verſes [*C*]. But others were of opinion, that he meant Parmenides there. Neanthes (*c*) relates, that till Philolaus and Empedocles, the Pythagoreans communicated their diſcourſes; but that after Empedocles had publiſhed them in his Poems, they made an order not to communicate any thing to an Epic Poet. Plato is ſaid likewiſe to have been prohibited in the ſame manner. But which of the Pythagoreans Empedocles heard, he did not mention. The Epiſtle publiſhed under the name of Telauges, which affirms that he was the diſciple of Hippaſus and Brontinus, deſerves no credit (*d*). Theophraſtus (*e*) ſays, that he was an emulator and imitator of Parmenides in his Poems, having written among other works a diſcourſe of Nature in verſe. But Hermippus (*f*) affirms, that he did not emulate Hermippus, but Xenophanes, with whom he lived, and imitated his Poetry, and afterwards applied himſelf to the Pythagoreans. Alcidimas in his Phyſics (*g*) relates, that Zeno and Empedocles heard Parmenides at the ſame time; and that at laſt both left him, Zeno going to ſtudy Philoſophy by himſelf, and Empedocles to hear Anaxagoras and Pythagoras, imitating the one in the gravity and ſtrictneſs of his life and behaviour, and the other in his Phyſiology. Suidas tells us, that he followed the Pythagorean Philoſophy;

(*a*) Diogenes Laertius, *de Vita &c. Philoſophorum*, lib. 8. and Ælian, *de Animalib.* lib. 9. cap. 64.

(*b*) *Apud* Laertium, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) *Apud eundem.*

(*d*) Laertius.

(*e*) *Apud* Laert.

(*f*) *Apud eundem.*

(*g*) *Apud eundem.*

[*A*] *Was born of a good family.*] Suidas tells us (1), that he was the ſon of Meto, or, as others ſay, of Archinomus, or, as others, of Xenetus. But Laertius gives the following account of his family (2). He was, as Hippobatus ſays, an Agrigentine, ſon of Meto, ſon of Empedocles. This is confirmed by Timæus in the XVth Book of his Hiſtories, where he obſerves, that there was one Empedocles an eminent perſon, grandfather to the Poet. Hermippus gives the ſame account; and Heraclides, in his Treatiſe concerning iſlands * affirms, that his grandfather was of a noble family, and kept chariot-horſes. Eratoſthenes in his *Olympionics* ſaith, upon the teſtimony of Ariſtotle, that Meto was Victor in the LXXIſt Olympiad. But Apollodorus the Grammarian aſſerts, that it was Empedocles, who was ſon of Meto. Glaucus writes, that he came to the Thurians ſoon after their city was built; and immediately adds, that thoſe who relate that he was baniſhed his country, and came to Syracuſe, and fought with the Syracuſians againſt the Athenians, ſeemed to him to be quite miſtaken; ſince Empedocles was either dead at that time, or very old. The latter is not at all probable, for Ariſtotle ſaith, that he and Heraclitus died in the LXth year of their age; but he, who won the race in the LXXIſt Olympiad, was of the ſame name. And thus the time is ſet down by Apollodorus. Satyrus in his *Lives* obſerves, that Empedocles was the ſon of Exænetus, and that he had a ſon named Exænetus, and that in the ſame Olympiad Empedocles won the horſe-race, and his ſon was victor at wreſtling; or according to Heraclides in his Ἐπιτομὴ, won the foot-race. But we find in the *Commentaries* of Phavorinus, that in the Olympic games Empedocles ſacrificed an oxe made of honey and flower, and that he had a brother named Callicratides. But Telauges, the ſon of Pythagoras, in his Epiſtle to Philolaus ſaith, that Empedocles was ſon of Archinomus. He tells us himſelf in the beginning of his *Luſtrations* or Καθαρμοὶ, that he was of Agrigentum;

(1) *In Voce* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

(2) *De Vitâ &c. Philoſophorum*, lib. 8.

* Ἐν τῷ περὶ νήσων: ſo it is read in Frobenius's edition; but in Stephens's it is, περὶ νόσων, i. e. *concerning Diſeaſes.*

Ὦ φίλοι οἱ μέγα ἄξυ κατὰ ξανθὸν Ἀκράγαντος
Ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλιος.

(3) Baſil Kennet's *Lives and Characters of the antient Greek Poets*, Part 2. pag. 51. edit. London 1697, in 8vo.

[*B*] *He flouriſhed between the LXXth and LXXXth Olympiad.*] The conſtant report of his ſtudying Philoſophy under Telauges the ſon of Pythagoras, juſtifies the fixing him in this period. But if we believe what ſome affirm, that he was inſtructed by Pythagoras himſelf, he muſt undoubtedly be antienter than the LXXth Olympiad, in which that great Philoſopher is ſaid to have died (3). On the other hand he is brought down ſomewhat lower than the LXXXth Olympiad by Euſebius, whoſe account is approved of by Scaliger (4). Calviſius (5) tells us, that he flouriſhed in the LXXXth Olympiad, in the year of the world 3493, and before Chriſt 455. Voſſius aſſerts (6), that he lived about the LXXXIVth Olympiad.

(4) *In* Euſeb *ad Num. M. D. C. I.*

(5) *Opus Chronologicum*, pag. 246. edit. Francofurt. 1685.

(6) *De Hiſt. Latinis*, lib. 4. cap. 2. *See likewiſe* Aldobrandini *and* Menage *upon* Laertius.

[*C*] *And that he mentions Pythagoras in his Verſes.*] The Verſes are as follow:

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν πίνυσιν ἀνὴρ περιώσια εἰδὼς,
Ὃς δὴ μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον (7).

(7) Laertium, *ubi ſupra.* and Porphyr. *in Vita Pythagoræ.*

'Mongſt theſe was one in things ſublimeſt ſkill'd,
His mind with all the wealth of learning fill'd.
Stanley.

But ſome were of opinion, that he meant this of Parmenides.

loſophy ; which is confirmed by ſeveral of his verſes ſtill extant [*D*]. Several wonderful particulars are related of him [*E*]. Neanthes of Cyzicum (*i*) relates, that upon the death of Meto there began a tyranny at Agrigentum ; but that Empedocles perſuaded the Agrigentines to give over ſedition, and to ſettle a civil parity ; and that he himſelf being very rich beſtowed portions upon a great many maids, who had no fortunes, and cloathed himſelf in purple, and wore a golden girdle, as Phavorinus affirms (*k*), and a Delphic Crown, and wore his hair long, and had ſervants attending on him, and carried great ſeverity in his countenance. The Citizens likewiſe, when they met him, paid ſuch profound reſpect to him, as if thoſe circumſtances had been the marks of Regal Authority. However Ariſtotle (*l*) tells us, that he was a great lover of liberty, and extremely averſe to ſtate and command, refuſing a Kingdom which was offered to him, as Xanthus obſerves in his book concerning him (*m*), and preferring a moderate condition to the grandeur of Royalty. Timæus gives the ſame account, adding the reaſon of his inclination to a Democracy ; for being invited by one of the Governors, and the company falling to drink before ſupper, he ordered the ſupper to be brought in ; but the Gentleman who had invited him, ſaid, that he ſtaid for the chief Magiſtrate (*n*), who, as ſoon as he came, was appointed Sympoſiarch, or Maſter of the Feaſt ; for ſo it was ordered by the perſon who had made the invitation. He began to diſcover a tyrannical humour, commanding him to drink, or elſe that the wine ſhould be poured on his head. Empedocles for the preſent ſaid nothing, but the next day he cited, both the Inviter and Sympoſiarch before the Court, and condemned them to death. This was the beginning of

(*i*) *Apud* Laertium.

(*k*) In his Ἀπομνημονεύματα, *apud* Laertium.

(*l*) *Apud eundem.*

(*m*) *Apud eundem.*

(*n*) Τῆς Βουλῆς ὑπερέτην.

[*D*] *Suidas tells us, that he followed the Pythagorean Philoſophy; which is confirmed by ſeveral of his Verſes ſtill extant.*] Among others are theſe which follow ;

Χαίρετ.' ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῶν Θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκ ἔτι θνητὸς
Πωλεῦμαι (7).

Farewell, Friends, mortal I ſhall be no more.
Stanley.

Ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε
Θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε, καὶ ἐξ ἁλὸς ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς (8).

A boy I was, then did a maid become.
And next a plant, a bird, and ſcaly fiſh.

(7) *See* Suidas, *ubi ſupra.*

(8) Laertius.

[*E*] *Several wonderful particulars are related of him.*] Timæus (9) relates, that the Eteſian winds blowing very ſtrongly, ſo that they deſtroyed the fruit, he ordered that a great number of aſſes ſhould be flead, and bottles made of their ſkins, and placed on the tops of the hills to receive the blaſts ; by which means the force of the winds was abated. This gained him the title of Κωλυσανέμας, i. e. *The Chaſer away of the Winds*. Plutarch (10) relates of him a fact of the ſame kind, that by ſtopping a cleft of a mountain, out of which there iſſued an unwholſome ſouthern blaſt on the plains, he was ſuppoſed to have delivered the country from the plague. The ſame cure he wrought among the Salinuntians by a different method ; for they being, as Diodorus the Epheſian ſaith (11), infeſted with the peſtilence occaſioned by the noiſomneſs of the river, whereof the men died, and the women could not without great difficulty be delivered ; Empedocles at his own charge conveyed two other rivers, which ran near it, into this channel ; by which mixture the water became ſweet, and the plague ceaſed. Jamblichus tells us (12), that a young man drawing a ſword upon Anchitus his hoſt, and going to kill him becauſe the latter had in a public trial condemned his father to death, Empedocles prevented it by ſinging out of Homer,

Νηπενθὲς τ' ἄχολόντε κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων,

Nepenthe calming anger, eaſing grief ;

by which means Anchitus was reſcued from the guilt of murder, and became afterwards one of the moſt eminent of his diſciples. Hermippus (13) ſays, that our Philoſopher cured Panthea, a woman of Agrigentum, after ſhe was given over by all the Phyſicians. But the moſt memorable cure, was that, which he performed upon a woman, who had lain *ſeven days dead*, according to Pliny (14) ; but as Galen (15) more exactly out of Heraclides, deſcribes it, "breathleſs and "without pulſe, differing in nothing from a dead body, "ſaving that ſhe had a little warmth about the middle "parts of her body. The Book of Heraclides was "intitled, *The Breathleſs Woman*. And it was a controverſy amongſt the Phyſicians who were preſent, "whether ſhe was dead or alive." Heraclides (16) adds, that Empedocles *acquainted Pauſanias with the whole affair ; and that the breathleſs woman could preſerve herſelf thirty days without breathing or eating.* Whence he ſtiles Empedocles both a Phyſician and a Prophet, confirmed even by his own Verſes :

(9) Lib. 18. *Hiſt. apud* Laertium.

(10) *Contra Colotem, & de Curioſitate.*

(11) *Apud* Laertium.

(12) *In Vitâ Pythagoræ.* c. 25.

(13) *Apud* Laertium.

(14) Lib. 7. cap. 52.

(15) Cap. 52. *De Locis affectis,* lib. 6.

(16) *Apud* Laert.

Ὦ φίλοι οἱ μέγα ἄξυ κατὰ ξανθῆ Ἀκράγαντος
Ναίετ' ἂν ἄκρα πόλεως, ἀγαθᾶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων
Χαίρετ'. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν Θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκ ἔτι θνητὸς
Πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικε,
Ταινίαις τε περίστεπτος στέφεσίν τε θαλείης,
Τοῖσιν ἅμ' εὖτ' ἂν ἵκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλεθόωντα
Ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶ σεβίζομαι. οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἕπονται
Μύριοι, ἐξερέοντες ὅπη πρὸς κέρδος ἀταρπός.
Οἱ μὲν μαντοσυνέων κεχρημένοι, οἱ δὲ τι νόσων
Παντοίων ἐπυθοντα κλύειν εὐηκέα βάξιν.

Friends, who in ſpacious Agrigentum dwell,
Buſied in noble high deſigns, farewell.
A death-leſs God I am, mortal no more,
Honour'd by all, with Garlands *cover'd o'er ;*
Which ſoon as e'er I come to any town,
Both men and women pay to me renown.
Thouſands of men enquire the way to wealth ;
Some would divine, others reſtore to health.
Stanley.

There were ſome who aſcribed theſe things to magic (17). Satyrus in his *Lives* (18) relates, that Gorgias the Leontine, who had been a diſciple of Empedocles, uſed to ſay, that he himſelf had been preſent with him, when he practiſed Magic, ὡς αὐτὸς παρείη τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι : and that Empedocles makes a profeſſion of it in his Poem, where he ſays ;

(16) *Apud* Laert.

(17) Laert.

(18) *Apud* Laert.

Φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν, καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ
Πεύσῃ· ἐπεὶ μοῦνῳ σοὶ ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα.
Παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος, οἵτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
Ὀρνύμενοι πνοιῇσι καταφθινύθουσιν ἄρουραν.
Καὶ πάλιν ἢν κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, παλίντιτα πνεύματ' ἐπάξεις
Θήσεις δ' ἐξ ὄμβροιο κελαινῆ καίριον αὐχμὸν
Ἀνθρώποις, θήσεις δ' αὖ καὶ ἐξ αὐχμοῖο θερείου
Ῥεύματα δενδρεόθρεπτα, τὰ δ' ἐν θέρει ἀΐσαντα.
Ἄξεις δ' ἐξ ἀΐδαο καταφθιμένην μένος ἀνδρός.

" Med'cines to ſtrengthen age, and cure diſeaſe,
" Thou ſhalt be taught, for I am ſkill'd in theſe ;
" The wrath of reſtleſs winds thou ſhalt aſſwage,
" Which blaſt the corn in their pernicious rage.
" And when thou call'ſt, they ſhall come back
" again :
" Rain thou ſhalt change to drought, and drought
" to rain,
" By whoſe kind moiſture trees may ſprout and
thrive,
" And make the dead quit Pluto, and revive."
Stanley.

of his authority [*F*]. Empedocles afterwards diſſolved the Council of 1000 Senators, and conſtituted the Magiſtracy for three years, ſo that it conſiſted not only of the rich, but alſo of thoſe of the ordinary rank (*o*). However Timæus in his firſt and ſecond books, (for he often mentioned him) tells us (*p*), that he ſeemed to be of an opinion contrary to a Democracy [*G*]. His principal work was that of *the nature and principles of things* [*H*]. Ariſtotle (*q*) affirms, that he was the Inventor of Oratory, as Zeno was of Logic; and in his *Book concerning the Poets* (*r*) he obſerves, that the ſtyle of Empedocles was Homerical, and that he was weighty in his expreſſions, uſing metaphors and other poetical figures; and that having written among other poems the paſſage of Xerxes over the Helleſpont, and a Proem or Hymn to Apollo (*s*), they were both burnt by a ſiſter, or according to Hieronymus (*t*), a daughter of his; the latter by a miſtake, the former with deſign, becauſe it was imperfect. Ariſtotle adds, that he wrote alſo Tragedies and Politicks; but Heraclides the ſon of Serapion (*u*) aſcribes the Tragedies to another; and Suidas tells us (*w*), that there was another of the ſame name, who was his ſiſter's ſon, and wrote twenty four Tragedies. However Hieronymus (*x*) aſſerts, that he had ſeen forty three Tragedies written by our Empedocles; and Neanthes obſerves, that he wrote Tragedies when he was young, and that he had had a ſight of them. Beſides his Poem on *the nature of things*, he wrote another concerning *Luſtrations* (*y*); and a Diſcourſe on Phyſic containing 600 verſes. His *Luſtrations* were collected by Cleomenes the Rhapſodiſt, and ſung at the Olympic Games, as Phavorinus relates in his *Commentaries* (*z*). We ſhall give an account of his opinions in the Note [*I*]. His death is variouſly reported.

(*o*) Laertius, *ubi ſupra.*

(*p*) *Apud eundem.*

(*q*) In his Σοφίσης *apud* Laert.

(*r*) *Apud eundem.*

(*s*) Προοίμιον. *Vide* Menag. *in Laertium.*

(*t*) *Apud* Laertium.

(*u*) *Apud eundem.*

(*w*) *In Voce* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

(*x*) *Apud* Laert.

(*y*) Οἱ Καθαρμοί.

(*z*) *Apud* Laert.

[*F*] *This was the beginning of his authority.*] This is a tranſlation of theſe words of Laertius; ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὕτη τῆς πολιτείας ἦδε; which is thus rendered in the Latin Verſion (19): *Iſtud igitur reipublicæ tractandæ initium fuit.* But Mr. Stanley (20) appears to have miſtaken the ſenſe of them, when he renders them thus: *Of ſo great authority was he in the Commonwealth.*

(19) In the edition of Laertius printed at Amſterdam in 4to 1692, vol. 1. pag. 533.

[*G*] *Timæus tells us . . . . that he ſeemed to be of an opinion contrary to a Democracy.*] That Hiſtorian infers this from Empedocles's aſſuming ſo haughty an air in his Poetry, even ſtiling himſelf *a God* (21). However Laertius obſerves, that when Acron the Phyſician petitioned for a place to build a monument for his father, Empedocles ſtood up and oppoſed it, and diſcourſed very largely of a parity, and withal aſked, what Epitaph ſhould be inſcribed on the tomb? Whether this?

(20) *Hiſtory of Philoſophy*, vol. 3. Part 1. pag. 148. edit. London 1660.

(21) See note [*E*].

Ἄκρον ἰητρὸν Ἀκρων Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατρὸς ἄκρᾳ,
Κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης.

Others read the ſecond verſe thus:

Ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος κατέχει.

This Epitaph is full of puns upon the name of Acron. Some aſcribe it to Simonides (22).

(22) Laert.

[*H*] *His principal Work was that of the* Nature and Principles of Things.] Suidas ſtiles it περὶ φύσεως τῶν ὄντων, and tells us, that it contained two thouſand Verſes. Lucretius, whoſe buſineſs it was to confute our Author, yet gives us a Panegyric on his Poetry, when he condemns his Philoſophy, and in a rapture makes him almoſt a God, that is almoſt as great as his maſter Epicurus.

Quorum Acragantinus cum primis Empedocles *eſt,*
Inſula quem Triquetris terrarum geſſit in oris:
Quam fluitans circum magnis anfractibus æquor.
Ionium glaucis aſpergit Virus ab undis;
Anguſtoque fretu rapidum mare dividit undis
Italiæ terrai oras a finibus ejus:
Hic eſt vaſta Charibdis, & hic Ætnæa minantur
Murmura; flammarum rurſum ſe conligere iras,
Faucibus eruptos iterum ut vis evomat ignis;
Ad cælumque ferat flammai fulgura rurſum.
Quæ cum magna modis multis miranda videtur
Gentibus humanis regio, viſendaque fertur,
Rebus opima bonis, multâ munita virûm vi;
Nil tamen hoc habuiſſe viro præclarius in ſe,
Nec ſanctum magis, & mirum carumque videtur.
Carmina quinetiam divini pectoris ejus
Vociferantur, & exponunt præclara reperta;
Ut vix humanâ videatur ſtirpe creatus (23).

(23) Laert. lib. 1.

" Thus ſung Empedocles;
" In fruitful Sicily, whoſe crooked ſides
" Th' Ionian waſhes with impetuous tides,
" And a ſmall Frith from Italy divides.
" Here Scylla raves, and fierce Charybdis roars,
" Beating with boiſt'rous waves the trembling ſhores:
" Here preſs'd Enceladus with mighty loads
" Vomits revenge in flames againſt the Gods:
" Thro' Ætna's jaws he impudently threats,
" And thund'ring heaven with equal thunder beats.
" This Iſle, who with ſuch wondrous ſights as theſe,
" Doth call forth travellers, and the curious pleaſe,
" Is rich with men and fruit, has rarely ſhown
" A thing more glorious than this ſingle one.
" His Verſe compos'd of nature's Works declare
" His wit was ſtrong, and his invention rare,
" His judgment deep and ſound, whence ſome be-
" gan,
" And juſtly too, to think him more than man."
Creech.

Henry Stephens has collected the fragments of Empedocles's Poem; to which may be added his Verſes quoted by Philoſtratus in his firſt Book of the life of Apollonius, and by Pachymerius upon Ariſtotle. There is ſtill extant a Book *concerning the ſtars of the eighth Orb*, intitled, *Empedocles's Sphere*; but not written by him, ſince his Phyſics were written in heroic Verſe, whereas this Book is in Iambics. Voſſius *de Poetis Græcis* thinks it was written by Demetrius Triclinius, whoſe *Scholia* upon Sophocles are ſtill extant.

[*I*] *We ſhall give an account of his opinions in the note.*] He maintained that there were four elements, fire, air, water, earth; and two principal powers, friendſhip and diſcord, the one unitive, the other diſcretive; for thus he writes,

Τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε,
Ζεὺς ἀργὴς, Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος, ἠδ' Ἀϊδωνεύς·
Νῆστις θ', ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρηναίωμα βρότειον (24).

(24) *Sextus Empiric. contra Mathematicos*, pag. 433.

To the four roots of all attention give;
The Æther Jove; Juno, *by whom we live;*
Next theſe is Pluto; Neſtis *laſt, whoſe eyes*
Afford the mortal fountain freſh ſupplies.

He calls the heat and Æther, *Jupiter*; the air, vital *Juno*; the earth, *Pluto*; the water, *Neſtis*, and the mortal fountain. Laertius cites it thus:

Ζεὺς ἀργὴς, Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος, ἠδ' Ἀϊδωνεὺς,
Νῆστις θ' ἣ δακρύοις ἐπιπικροῖ ἴμερτα βρότειον.

White Jove, *and vital* Juno, Pluto *then,*
And Neſtis *giving tears to th' eyes of men.*
Stanley.

The fire, ſays Laertius, he calls *Jupiter*; the earth, *Juno*; the air, *Pluto*: the water, *Neſtis*. Theſe are in an inceſſant motion; by which means there is an eternal production of all things; whence he adds;

Ἄλλοτε μὲν φιλότητι συνερχόμεν, εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα,
Ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα νείκεος ἔχθει (*).

(*) Laert. *See likewiſe* Simplicius in *Ariſt. de Phyſico Auditu*, lib. 8.

" Sometimes

(aa) *Apud* Laert. reported [*K*]. Hippobatus (*aa*) affirms, that a ſtatue of him covered, which ſtood firſt at Agrigentum, was afterwards placed before the Senate-Houſe at Rome uncovered, being brought

" Sometimes by friendſhip all are knit in one;
" Sometimes by diſcord ſever'd and undone."
Stanley.

Before the four elements there are certain leaſt fragments (25); as it were elements of elements, of ſimilar parts, and round (26). The world is one; the world is not the Univerſe, but a little part of the Univerſe, the reſt is ſluggiſh matter (27). Nature is nothing but the mixture and ſeparation of the elements (28): for thus he writes in the firſt Book of his Phyſics;

(25) Plutarch. *de Placit. Philoſ.* 1. 13.
(26) Stob. *Eclog. Phyſ.* 1. 17.
(27) Plutarch. *de Placit. Philoſoph.* 1. 5.
(28) Idem, 1. 30.

We otherwiſe; there's no ſuch thing at all,
As that, which Mortals death or nature call.
To mixtion and diſcretion all we owe,
On which the name of nature men beſtow.
Stanley.

He aſſerted, that the world is circumſcribed by the circular motion of the ſun (29); that the right ſide of the world is that, which is towards the ſummer tropic, and the left that which is towards the winter tropic (30). He agreed with all thoſe who maintained the world to be formed of little bodies, in introducing concretions and diſcretions; but denied generation and corruption, affirming that compounds are not only made by quality and alteration, but by quantity and coagmentation (31). He aſſerted that the heaven is ſolid, being made of air condenſed by fire, like chryſtal, and contains a fiery and aerial nature in both hemiſpheres (32; that the ſtars are fiery, conſiſting of that fire which the Æther containing in it ſelf, ſtruck forth at the firſt ſecretion (33); that the fixed ſtars are fixed to the chryſtal of the heavens, but the planets looſe (34); that the ſun is a great maſs of fire larger than the moon (35); that there are two ſuns, one an archetypal fire in the other hemiſphere of the world, filling this hemiſphere which is continually oppoſite to its ſplendor; and with regard to that which is viſible to us, it is the light in that other hemiſphere repleniſhed with air, mixed with heat; and the ſame is occaſioned by refraction from the earth, which is more round, entering into the ſun, which is of a chryſtalline nature, and yet is carried away together with the motion of that fire. Or to ſpeak more plainly and diſtinctly, the ſun is nothing elſe than the reflection of that light which is about the earth (36). He aſcribed the reaſons of the ſolſtice or tropics of the ſun, to the ſphere, which contains him, and hinders him from paſſing further; as alſo to the two tropics (37). He maintained that the moon is in form like a diſh (38); that the moon is twice as far diſtant from the ſun as ſhe is from the earth (39); that winter comes when the air is predominant in thickneſs, and is forced upward; and ſummer, when the fire is in the ſame manner predominant, and driven downward (40); that the ſea is the ſweat of the earth burnt by the ſun, which ſqueezeth that ſweat out of it (41); that the ſoul puts on the ſeveral forms of all living creatures and plants, whence he ſaid of himſelf,

(29) Idem, 2. 1.
(30) Idem, 2. 10.
(31) Idem, 1. 24.
(32) Idem, 2. 11.
(33) Idem, 2. 13.
(34) Idem, ibid.
(35) Laert.
(36) Plutarch. *ubi ſupra*, 2. 20.
(37) Idem, 2. 23.
(38) Idem, 2. 27. *and* Laert.
(39) Plutarch. 2. 31.
(40) Idem, 3. 8.
(41) Idem, 3. 16.

(42) Laert. Ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ &c. (42).

" A Boy I was, then did a Maid become;
" A Plant, Bird, Fiſh, and in the vaſt ſea ſwum."

That the particular ſenſes are affected according to the proportion of their pores and paſſages, that is, as the proper object of each ſenſe is well diſpoſed and fitted (43). That reſemblances in a mirrour are occaſioned by certain defluxions collected together upon the ſurface of the mirrour, and by the fire iſſuing from it, which tranſmutes the air before it, into which theſe defluxions are carried (44). He mingled the viſual images and beams together, calling that which is formed from thence, the rays of a compound image (45). He affirmed that hearing is performed by means of a wind within the hollow of the ear, turned in the manner of a ſcrew, fitted and framed on purpoſe within the ear, hanging up, and beaten up as a bell (46). That the Hegemonic is the conſiſtence of the blood (47).

(43) Plut. 4. 9.
(44) Idem, 4. 14.
(45) Idem, 4. 13.
(46) Idem, 4. 16.
(47) Idem, 4. 5.
(48) *Apud* Laertium.

[*K*] *His death is variouſly reported.*] Heraclides (48) having related the ſtory of Empedocles's raiſing the breathleſs woman to life (49), adds, that he appointed a ſacrifice in the field of Piſianax, and invited thither many of his friends, amongſt whom was Pauſanias. After the feaſt was concluded, the company withdrew themſelves to reſt, but he ſtirred not out of the place where he had ſupped. The next morning, when they aroſe, he alone was miſſing; which giving them occaſion to enquire after him of the ſervants, they ſaid that they knew not was become of him; only one of them ſaid, that about midnight he heard a great noiſe, calling Empedocles, upon which riſing up he ſaw a light from heaven, and a prodigious ſplendor of torches, but nothing elſe. They were all amazed at this accident, and Pauſanias going down ſent others to enquire more ſtrictly, but was at laſt perſuaded not to trouble himſelf any further, ſaying, that the thing which had happened deſerved prayer, and that ſacrifices ſhould be offered to Empedocles as a God. Hermippus (50) ſays, that he made the ſacrifice upon the cure which he wrought upon Panthea; and that the perſons who were invited were eighty in number. Hippobatus affirms, that he roſe from his place and went to Ætna, where he leaped into the fire, that he might leave behind him an opinion that he was a God; and that afterwards it was diſcovered by one of his ſandals caſt up by the fire, for his ſandals were of braſs. But this ſtory, ſays Laertius, is contradicted by Pauſanias. Diodorus the Epheſian (51) having ſhewn how he cured the Salinuntians of the plague, adds, that as thoſe people were feaſting by the river, Empedocles appeared to them, and they riſing up, paid him divine honours, and prayed to him as a God; which opinion he being ambitious of continuing, caſt himſelf into the fire. But Timæus (52) contradicts theſe accounts, affirming, that he departed into Peloponneſus, and never returned; by which, the manner of his death is unknown. The ſame Writer likewiſe in his fourth book expreſly confutes the ſtory of Heraclides abovementioned, proving that Piſianax was a Syracuſian, and had not any eſtate or field at Agrigentum; that Pauſanias, who was rich, upon this report erected a little image or altar in memory of his friend, as to a God. " And how, *ſays* " *he*, could he caſt himſelf into the flames of Ætna, " of which, being ſo far diſtant, he never makes any " mention? It is certain, that he died in Peloponneſus; " and it is not at all ſurprizing that his tomb is not " known; for it hath happened ſo to many other " perſons." Thus writes Timæus, who adds, that Heraclides was accuſtomed to relate ſurprizing ſtories, as particularly one of a man who fell out of the moon. Strabo (53) has taken pains to confute the report of our Philoſopher's caſting himſelf into Ætna, by ſhewing, that it is impoſſible for any perſon to approach near that burning mountain, where he is ſaid to have diſpoſed of himſelf; or to throw any thing in by reaſon of the violent wind ſtill ruſhing upwards, and beating all before it. Neanthes cited by Laertius informs us, that our Philoſopher going in his chariot to a great ſolemnity at Meſſana, fell and broke his thigh, of which he died being 77 years old: and that his ſepulchre was at Megara. But Ariſtotle differs in the account of his age, affirming, that he died at 60; though others ſay that he lived to 109 years of age (54). Democritus the Trœzenian relates in Homer's words, that

(49) See Remark [*E*].
(50) *Apud* Laert.
(51) *Apud eundem.*
(52) *Apud eundem.*
(53) Lib. 6. pag. 420, 421. edit. Amſtelod. 1707.
(54) Laert.

About his neck he knit a rope, and fell
From a high Cliff; his ſoul went down to Hell.

Ἀψάμενον βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο κρεμάσσης
Ἀυχέν' ἀποπρομόσαι, ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδός δε κατελθεῖν.

But in the Epiſtle of Telauges, cited by Laertius, it is ſaid, that being extremely old he fell into the ſea and died. Horace mentions the ſtory of his caſting himſelf into Ætna (55).

(55) *De Arte Poeticâ.*

——— *Dicam, Siculique Poetæ*
Narrabo interitum: Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Inſiluit; ſit jus, liceatque perire Poetis.

brought thither by the Romans. And Laertius tells us, that there were ſeveral pictures of it in his time.

" I'll tell my reaſons, and in ſhort relate
" A poor Sicilian Poet's wretched fate :
" Empedocles muſt needs be thought a God,
" And therefore in a melancholy mood,
" Leap'd into Ætna's flames." CREECH.

Lucian likewiſe relates this in his *Dialogue of Menippus and Æacus*, in his Tract *concerning the death of Peregrinus*, in his *True Hiſtory*, and his *Icaromenippus*. And Tertullian (56) refers to it (56). (56) *De Animâ*, T. cap. 31.

ENCOLPIUS the Author of an Hiſtory of the Emperor Alexander by whom he was very much beloved (*a*). I ſhall add two obſervations to what Moreri ſays of him. The firſt is, that this Hiſtory is not extant, and that the Engliſh Writer who boaſted that he had tranſlated it out of Greek, juſtly paſſes for an Impoſtor [*A*]. The ſecond will only be the clearing up of an action which Encolpius had related, and which Moreri does by no means acquaint us with. I do not pretend that he was obliged to relate it, but I hope the Readers will not be diſpleaſed to find it here [*B*].

(*a*) *Quo* (Encolpio Alexander) *familiariſſimo uſus eſt* Lamprid. *in Alexandro Severo*, cap. 27.

[*A*] *The Engliſh Writer who boaſted that he had tranſlated Encolpius's Hiſtory out of Greek, juſtly paſſed for an Impoſtor.*] He lived in Henry the VIIIth's reign, and his name was Thomas Elyot. He publiſhed a Book intitled, *Image of Governance compiled of the Acts and Sentences notable of Alexander Severus*. He boaſted that he had tranſlated this Work from a Greek Manuſcript of Encolpius, which a Gentleman of Naples named Puderic had lent him. But it has been proved (1), that he borrowed his materials from Lampridius and Herodianus, whoſe meaning he miſtook, or miſrepreſented ſeveral things which theſe Hiſtorians relate, and that he invented a great many facts which they do not mention. Selden (2) thought that he tranſlated a Greek Manuſcript compoſed by a modern Writer. But Mr. Wotton does not believe it, and obſerves that Bale dividing Thomas Elyot's Works into two claſſes, the one of his Compoſition, the other of his Tranſlations, places the Work which we ſpeak of among the former, which ſhews that at that time it was not doubted, but the pretended Encolpius's Work was a ſuppoſititious piece (3). I am apt to think, that what encouraged Thomas Elyot to forge this Work was the ſucceſs which Marcus Aurelius de Guevara had. I obſerve in another place (4), that this Spaniard endeavoured to perſuade the world, that he had taken from an ancient Manuſcript the Life of this Emperor, which he gave out as a model of government, and intitled it, *A Clock for Princes*.

(1) *See* Mr. Wotton's *Roman Hiſtory*, printed in Engliſh at London, in the year 1701.

(2) Selden *in Euty.* pag. 474, 475. *See* Tillemont, *Hiſt. des Emper.* tom. 3. pag. m. 372.

(3) Taken from the *Acta Erudit. Leipſ.* for Nov. 1702, pag. 489. in the Account of Mr. *Wotton's Book*.

(4) See the Remark [*H*] in the Article GUEVARA.

[*B*] *I hope the Readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here an account of an action which Encolpius had related.*] It is a very remarkable one. " Lampridius relates, " that Ovinius Camillus, a Senator, and of a very ancient family, intended to make himſelf Emperor. " Alexander was acquainted with it, and it was proved " to him unqueſtionably. Upon which he ſent to Camillus, deſiring him to come to the Palace, and " told him that he was very much beholden to him, " for being ſo willing to take upon him the weight of " State-affairs, whereas others would not do it unleſs " they were forced to it. He went afterwards to the " Senate with Camillus, who trembled for fear, being " troubled by a remorſe of conſcience; he made him " his Collegue in the Empire, gave him an apartment " in the Palace, made him eat with him, and gave " him imperial robes more ſtately than his own. There " was at that time a war with the Barbarians, which " required the Emperor's preſence. Alexander offered " to take Camillus with him, unleſs he choſe rather " to go thither alone (5)."

" Alexander who uſed to walk invited Camillus to " do the ſame; but as he was of a weak conſtitution, " he was tired after he had walked two leagues; Alexander obliged him to ride on horſeback; but as he " could not keep pace with him even on horſeback two days, Alexander made him ride in a " coach. At laſt, Camillus begged it as a favour that " he might abdicate, proteſting either ſincerely or out " of fear, that he choſe rather to die than to live as he " did; and Alexander gave him leave to retire upon " his eſtate in the country, and promiſed him that he " ſhould be ſafe: he even recommended him to the " ſoldiers. Camillus lived thus for a long time upon " his own eſtate. But afterwards the Emperor who " then reigned (for it is thought it was not Alexander (6),) cauſed him to be put to death, becauſe he " underſtood war, and was beloved by the ſoldiers. Lampridius adds, that the people aſcribed " this action to Trajan, though none of thoſe who " wrote his Hiſtory mention it; whereas ſeveral Authors relate it of Alexander in their accounts of his " life (7)."

It muſt be added for the ſake of Lampridius's reputation, that he has expreſly obſerved, that an Hiſtorian ought not to follow the opinions of the vulgar, when they do not agree with the account of Writers. Hiſtory, ſays he, is much more to be depended upon than the reports of the vulgar. Since therefore none of Trajan's Hiſtorians aſcribe this action to him, and it is aſcribed to the Emperor Alexander by thoſe who wrote his life, we ought to explode thoſe popular reports which aſcribe it to Trajan. *Scio vulgum hanc rem, quam contexui, Trajani putare; ſed neque in vita ejus id Marius Maximus ita expoſuit, neque Fabius Marcellinus, neque Aurelius verus, neque Statius Valens, qui omnem ejus vitam in literas miſerunt. Contra autem & Septimius, & Acholius, & Encolpius vitæ ſcriptores, cæterique de hoc talia prædicaverant: quod ideo addidi, ne quis vulgi magis famam ſequeretur, quam hiſtoriam, quæ rumore utique vulgi verior reperitur.* This is a very judicious obſervation of Lampridius. The fact before us is ſo remarkable, that the Writers of Trajan's life would never have omitted it, if it had belonged to him. It appears by innumerable inſtances, that extraordinary actions and notable ſentences are aſcribed by the vulgar ſometimes to one King, and ſometimes to another. Men have done the ſame with regard to Saints; their Votaries have aſſerted of ſome, what had already been aſſerted of others. It were to be wiſhed, that the Writers of Legends had on theſe occaſions followed Lampridius's example.

(5) Lampridius, *in Alexandro Severo*, cap. 48. I follow Mr. de Tillemont's Tranſlation, *Hiſt. des Empereurs*, tom. 3. pag. 344, 345. He thinks, that this happened in the year 228.

(6) This is not in *Lampridius*, who ſays only *poſt juſſu Imperatoris occiſus eſt.* i. e. " He was " afterwards " killed by the " Emperor's order." See the Commentators.

(7) Tillemont, *Hiſt. des Empereurs*, tom. 3. pag. 345.

☞ENNIUS (QUINTUS) an antient Latin Poet, born at Rudiæ, a town in Calabria [*A*], in

[*A*] *Born at Rudiæ, a town of Calabria.*] Silius Italicus affirms this (1):

Miſerunt Calabri, Rudiæ genuere vetuſtæ:
Nunc Rudiæ ſolo memorabile nomen alumno.

Pomponius Mela likewiſe aſſerts the ſame (2): *Ennio Cive nobiles Rudiæ.* Cicero (3) ſtiles him *Rudius*; and Auſonius (4) *Rudinus*.

Unde Rudinus ait, Divûm domus altiſonum Cæl.

Ennius alſo himſelf, after he had the Freedom of the City of Rome conferred on him, wrote thus of himſelf,

Nos ſumu' Romanei, qui fuimus ante Rudinei.

Rudiæ is ſaid to have been about two miles diſtant from

(1) *De Bello Punico ſecundo*, lib. 12.
(2) *De Situ Orbis*, lib. 2. cap. 4. pag. 79. edit. Lugduni Batav. 1646 in 12mo.
(3) In *Oration. pro Archia.*
(4) *In Monoſyll.*

in the year 514 [*B*]. He came firſt to Rome when M. Porcius Cato was Quæſtor (*a*), whom he had inſtructed in the Greek Language in Sardinia (*b*), and by whom he was brought to Rome [*C*]. He had an houſe in the Aventine Mount (*c*); and by the beauty of his genius, the agreeableneſs of his converſation, and the integrity of his manners gained the friendſhip of the moſt eminent perſons in the city, particularly Galba, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, by whoſe ſon, who after his father's example was greatly addicted to learning, he was made free of the city, as Cicero obſerves in his *Brutus*, though the ſame writer in his oration in defence of *Archias* tells us, that the people of Rome made Ennius free of the city out of regard to his great merit. He attended Fulvius in his war againſt the Ætolians and Ambraciotæ (*d*), and celebrated his victories over thoſe nations (*e*). He fought likewiſe under Torquatus in Sardinia [*D*], and under the elder Scipio [*E*]; and in all theſe ſervices diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his uncommon valour. He was very intimate with Scipio Naſica [*F*]. He lived with great ſimplicity and frugality, and had but one maid-ſervant to attend him (*f*). He bore the infirmities of age and the preſſures of poverty with great patience; and died at the age of 70, between the ſecond and third Punic War (*g*), under the Conſulſhip of Marcus Philippus for the ſecond time, and of Cn. Servilius Cepio (*h*). His death was occaſioned by the gout, which he had contracted from the immoderate uſe of wine, which he always drank very freely of, when he applied himſelf to writing [*G*]. He was interred in the Appian Way within

(*a*) Euſeb. *in Chronico, & Cornelius Nepos* in *Vitâ Catonis.*

(*b*) Aur. Vict. *de Viris Illuſtribus*, cap. 47.

(*c*) Euſeb. *ubi ſupra. See likewiſe* M. Varro, *de Linguâ Latina* lib. 4.

(*d*) Cicero *in Bruto* & in *Oratione pro Archia.*

(*e*) Aur. Vict. *de Viris Illuſtribus*, cap. 52.

(*f*) Euſebius, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Hieronymus *Columna in Vitâ Q. Ennii.*

(*h*) Cicero *in* Bruto.

from Lupii (5). However the Florentines claim our Poet for their fellow-citizen, as well upon the authority of Euſebius (6), as becauſe about twelve miles from Tarentum there appear the ruins of a town, which they affirm to have been the ancient Rudiæ, and which is now called *Ruſcæ*. But Euſebius, tho' he ſtiles Ennius a Tarentine, knew well enough, that he was born at Rudiæ, for in the ſame *Chronicon* obſerving, that ſome Writers had aſſerted, 'that Ennius's bones were removed from the Mount Janiculus to Rudiæ, he ſeems to intimate that our Poet was deſirous of being interred in his own Country. Nor does Euſebius without reaſon conſider him as a Tarentine, ſince the City of Tarentum by its commerce eclipſed all the neighbouring cities. The country, in which Rudiæ ſtood, whether we place it near Tarentum or Lupii, was at firſt called Peucetia from Peucetius, the brother of Oenotrus, and afterwards Japygia, Salentina, Meſſapia; whence Ennius is called by Suidas (7), Ὁ Ποιητὴς ὁ Μεσσάπιος. Servius upon this Verſe of Virgil (8),

At Meſſapus equûm Domitor, Neptunia Proles,

tells us, that Ennius uſed to boaſt, that he was deſcended from Meſſapus, the ſon of Neptune, which is likewiſe confirmed by this line in Silius Italicus (9):

Ennius antiquâ Meſſapi ab origine Regis.

This Meſſapus, who, as the Poets feign, was invulnerable, removing from Eubœa into Italy, called the Country, where he ſettled, Meſſapia from his own name. It extended, as Nicander obſerves (10), from Tarentum to Brunduſium, and afterwards was called Calabria (11); whence Ovid tells us (12), that Ennius was born in the Calabrian Mountains; and Horace ſtiles Ennius's Muſe, *Calabræ Pierides* (13).

[*B*] *In the year of Rome* 514.] This is the account of Jerom Columna (14), and Calviſius (15), who both tell us, that he was born under the Conſulſhip of C. Mamillius Turrinus and Q. Valerius Falto. Sir Thomas-Pope Blount (16) agrees with theſe Writers. But Voſſius (17) places his birth in the year of Rome 516.

[*C*] *By whom* (Cato) *he was brought to Rome.*] Cornelius Nepos informs us (18), that Cato, when he was Prætor, obtained the Province of Sardinia, from whence, when he was Queſtor there before, he had brought Ennius to Rome, "which we eſteem, *ſays* "*the Hiſtorian*, no leſs than the nobleſt triumph over "Sardinia." *Prætor Cato Provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex quâ Quæſtor ſuperiore tempore ex Africâ decedens, Q. Ennium Poetam adduxerat, quod non minoris æſtimamus, quam quemlibet ampliſſimum Sardinienſem triumphum.* The Author of the Book *de Viris illuſtribus* (19), likewiſe tells us, that Cato during his Pretorſhip ſubdued Sardinia, where he had been taught the Greek language by Ennius. *In Prætură Sardiniam ſubegit, ubi ab Ennio Græcis Literis inſtitutus.* It is ſurprizing therefore, that Cato ſhould reproach M. Nobilior for carrying Ennius with him into Ætolia, when he was Conſul (20), ſince Cato had firſt brought that Poet to Rome.

(5) Hier. Columna *in Vita Ennii.*

(6) *In Chronico.*

(7) *In Voce* Ἔννιος.

(8) Æneid. lib. 7.

(9) Lib. 12.

(10) Lib. 2. Τῶν Ἑτεροιουμένων, *apud* Columnam, *ubi ſupra.*

(11) *Vide* Licinium & Iſidorum, lib. 15. cap. 1. *apud* Columnam.

(12) *De Arte Amandi*, lib. 3.

(13) Ode 8. lib. 4.

(14) *Ubi ſupra.*

(15) *Opus Chronologicum*, pag. 337. edit. Francofurti 1685.

(16) *Cenſur. Celebrior. Authorum*, pag. 49. edit. Genev. 1694, in 4to.

(17) *De Hiſtoricis Latinis*, lib. 1. cap. 2. edit. Francof. 1677.

(18) *In Vita M. Porcii Catonis*, cap. 1.

(19) Cap. 47.

(20) Cicero, *Tuſcul.* lib. 1.

[*D*] *He fought likewiſe under Torquatus in Sardinia.*] Silius Italicus obſerves (21), that he exerted himſelf in the front of the battle, like Orpheus, who having thrown aſide his lyre, fought very bravely againſt Cizicus.

(21) Lib. 12.

Is prima in pugna, Vates ut Thracius olim
Infeſtam bello quateret cum Cizicus Argon,
Spicula depoſita Rhodopeia pectine torſit:
Spectandum ſeſe non parva ſtrage virorum
Fecerat, & dextræ gliſcebat cædibus ardor.

In this war he commanded an hundred men, as appears from theſe Verſes of the ſame Poet:

Miſcebat primas acies, Latiæque ſuperbum
Vitis adornabat dextra decus.

For the *Vitis* was the Enſign of authority of a Centurion.

[*E*] . . . *And under the elder Scipio.*] This we find mentioned by Claudian (22) in the following Verſes, where he ſpeaks of Scipio:

(22) *De Laudib. Stiliconis.*

"Non ſine Pieriis exercuit artibus arma;
"Semper erat Vatum maxima cura Duci.
"Gaudet enim Virtus teſtes ſibi jungere Muſas:
"Carmen amat quiſquis carmine digna gerit.
. . . . . .
"Hærebat doctus lateri caſtriſque ſolebat
"Omnibus in medias Ennius ire tubas."

[*F*] *He was very intimate with Scipio Naſica.*] This appears from a paſſage of Cicero (23), where he tells us, that Naſica going to viſit our Poet, and the maid-ſervant aſſuring him that Ennius was not at home, Naſica found that ſhe had told him ſo by her Maſter's Orders, and that Ennius was at home. A few days after Ennius coming to Naſica, and enquiring for him at the door, the latter called out to him, that he was not at home. Upon which Ennius anſwering, "What? Do not I know your voice?" Naſica replied, "You have a great deal of aſſurance; "for I believed your maid, when ſhe told me, that "you was not at home; and will not you believe me "myſelf?" *Naſica cum ad Poetam Ennium veniſſet; eique ab oſtio quærenti Ennium, ancilla dixiſſet, Domi non eſſe; Naſica ſenſit illam domini juſſu dixiſſe, & illum intus eſſe. Paucis poſt diebus cum ad Naſicam veniſſet Ennius, & eum a Janua quærebat, exclamat Naſica, ſe domi non eſſe: tum Ennius, Homo es impudens: ego, cum te quærerem, ancillæ tuæ credidi, te domi non eſſe; tu mihi non credis ipſi?*

(23) *De Orator.* lib. 2.

[*G*] *He always drank freely of wine, when he applied himſelf to writing.*] Horace affirms this (24),

(24) Lib. 1. Epiſt. 19. ver. 7.

Ennius ipſe pater nunquam niſi potus ad arma
Proſiluit dicenda.

That

within a mile of the city, in Scipio's ſepulchre, who had ſo great an eſteem and friendſhip for him, that he ordered him to be buried in his ſepulchre, and a ſtatue to be erected to him upon his monument (*i*) [*H*]. He wrote his own epitaph [*I*]; and left Pacuvius the Tragic Poet, his daughter's (*k*) or ſiſter's ſon (*l*), heir to his little fortune. He was a man of great virtue. T. Ælius Scillo (*m*) was of opinion that Ennius's verſes in the ſeventh book of his *Annals*, in which he deſcribes the character of a friend of Servilius Geminus [*K*], were deſigned to repreſent our Poet himſelf. He is ſaid to have been perfectly well ſkilled in the Oſcan [*L*], Latin, and Greek Languages [*M*]; upon which account he uſed to ſay, that he had three hearts, alluding perhaps to the fiction of Geryon

(*i*) *Cicero pro Archia*; Livius, lib. 38. *and* Plinius, lib. 7. cap. 31.

(*k*) Columna, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Plinius, lib. 35. cap. 4.

(*m*) *Apud* Columnam, *ubi ſupra.*

That is,

" And Ennius never dared to write of wars
" Till heated well." Creech.

Calliſthenes reproached Æſchylus with writing his Tragedies, after he had drank a large quantity of ſtrong wine; and the ſame thing is related of Alcæus and Ariſtophanes. Cratinus, who followed this example, declared, that no perſon could be a good Poet, without indulging himſelf in wine. Niceratus in an Epigram writes, that wine ſerves the Poets inſtead of Pegaſus, and that nothing valuable can be done by a water-drinker. Serenus Sammonicus ſpeaking of Ennius's gout, obſerves that it was occaſioned by exceſſive drinking:

" Ennius ipſe pater, dum pocula ſiccat iniqua,
" Hoc vitio tales fertur meruiſſe dolores."

And Ennius himſelf uſed to ſay, that he never wrote Poetry, but in a fit of the gout. *Nunquam poetor niſi podager* (25).

(25) Columna, *ubi ſupra.*

[*H*] *Scipio ordered him to be buried in his own ſepulchre, and a ſtatue to be erected to him upon his monument.*] Valerius Maximus obſerves (26), that Scipio paid theſe honours to our Poet, becauſe he thought that his own actions received luſtre from Ennius's excellent Writings; and was perſuaded that the memory of his exploits would laſt as long as the Roman Empire ſhould flouriſh, and Africa be ſubject to Italy, and the capitol command the world, if they ſhould have the advantage to be recorded in Works of genius. *Superior Africanus Ennii Poetæ effigiem in monumentis Corneliæ gentis collocari voluit, quod ingenio ejus opera ſua illuſtrata judicaret; non quidem ignarus, quamdiu Romanum imperium floreret, & Africa Italiæ pedibus eſſet ſubjecta, totiuſque terrarum orbis ſummum culmen arx Capitolina poſſideret, eorum extingui memoriam non poſſe; ſi tamen litterarum quoque lumen illis acceſſiſſet, magni æſtimans.*

(26) Lib. 8. cap. 14.

[*I*] *He wrote his own epitaph.*] It is as follows:

" Aſpicite, O Ceiveis ſenis, Ennii imagini' formam:
" Heic voſtrûm panxit maxima facta patrum.
" Nemo me lacrumis decoret, nec funera fletu
" Faciſit: quur? volito vivo' per ora virûm."

Horace has given us the ſame thought in the following Verſes (27):

(27) Lib. 2. Od. 20.

Abſint inani funere Neniæ
Luctuſque turpes, & querimoniæ;
Compeſce clamorem, & ſepulchri
Mitte ſupervacuos honores.

" Mourn not, no friendly drops muſt fall,
" No ſighs attend my funeral;
" Thoſe common deaths may crave:
" Let no diſgraceful grief appear,
" Nor damp my glory with a tear;
" And ſpare the uſeleſs honours of a grave.
Creech.

[*K*] *Ennius's Verſes in the VIIth Book of his Annals, in which he deſcribes the character of a friend of Servilius Geminus.*] They are as follow (28):

(28) *See* Aulus Gellius, lib. 12. cap. 4.

Hocce loquutu' vocat, qui cum bene ſæpe libenter
Menſam, ſermoneſque ſuos, rerumque ſuarum
Comiter impartit; magna quom lapſa diei
Parte fuiſſe de parveis ſummeiſque gerendeis
Conſilio, endo foro lato ſanctoque ſenatu.
Quoi res audacter magnas, parvaſque, jocumque
Eloqueret, quæ tincta maleis, & quæ bona dictu
Evomeret, ſi quid vellet, tutoque locaret.
Qui cum multa volup, ac gaudia clamque palamque,
Ingenium quoi nulla malum ſententia ſuadet,
Ut faceret facinus; levis (29) tamen, haud malus; idem
Doctu', fidelis, ſuavis homo, facundu', ſuoq;
Contentus, ſcitu', atq; beatu', ſecunda loquens in
Tempore, commodus, & verborum vir paucorum.
Multa tenens antiqua ſepulta, & ſæpe vetuſtas
Quæ facit, & mores vetereſque novoſque tenentem,
Multorum veterum leges, divûmque hominumque
Prudentem, qui multa loquive tacereve poſſet.

(29) Jerom Columna reads *lenis*, as the ſenſe and metre both require.

[*L*] *The .... Oſcan language.*] Jerom Columna obſerves (30), that the *Oſci* were a people of Campania, who were called ſo from King Oſcus; and that their chief cities were Puteoli, Baiæ, Cumæ, and Naples. Theſe people and the *Opici* received their name from the word ὄφις, becauſe that country extremely abounded in ſerpents, or, as the Author of the Book pretended to be written by Manetho aſſerts, becauſe the Enſign of their King was a ſerpent; from whence the Italians ſtill call a dangerous kind of ſerpents *Oſcorzone*. Their language, as Eudoxus teſtifies (31), was mixed with ſeveral other tongues, and when that nation was ſunk, it began to be made uſe of by the Romans in their pieces of humour, as appears from this paſſage of Titinius in his Comedy, intitled, *Quinctus*,

(30) *In Vitâ Ennii.*

(31) In lib. 4. περιόδου τῆς Γῆς, *apud* Columnam, *ubi ſupra.*

Qui Opſcè & Volſcè fabulantur, nam Latine neſciunt.

Hence ὀπικίζειν began generally to ſignify *ſpeaking barbarouſly*; and hence the *Oſcum Ludicrum*, *in* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 4. cap. 14.

The peculiar property of that language was to cut off the end of ſome words, as *capital*, *facul*, *difficul*, *famul*, *cæl*, *gau*, for *capitalis*, *facultas*, *difficultas*, *famulus*, *cælum*, *gaudium*. And it was from this language that Pacuvius uſed *ungulum* for *annulum*, and Alfius (32) *Mamertem* for *Martem*; tho' Varro (33) ſays, that this is a Sabine word. There are ſome few other Oſcan words extant among Authors; as *multa* for a fine; *veia* or *veha* for a waggon, derived from *vehere*; *Meſius* for the month of May; *Caſnar* for an old man; *ſollum* for *ſolidum* or the whole; *petora* for four; *Lucetius* for Jove; *pipit* for *quicquid*.

(32) *Lib.* 1. *Belli Carthagin.* apud *Columnam.*

(33) *De Ling. Latin.* lib. 4.

[*M*] *Well ſkilled in the .... Greek language.*] Suetonius tells us (34), that our Author and Livius Andronicus were half-Greeks, and taught both the Greek and Latin languages at home and abroad; and explained only in Greek, and whatever they wrote in Latin, they read in the Greek Tongue. *Antiquiſſimi Doctorum, qui iidem & poetæ & oratores ſemigræci erant (Livium & Ennium dico, quos utrâque linguâ domi foriſque docuiſſe adnotum eſt) nihil amplius quam Græcè interpretabantur; ac ſi quid Latinè ipſi compoſuiſſent, prælegebant.* Ennius therefore, beſides his uſing Greek words, as *Rumphea*, *Machæra*, *Termo*, *Lychni*, *Pauſa*, *Malaca*, *Sophia*, &c. ſometimes gives Latin words a Greek termination; for inſtead of *Metii Fufetii* in the genitive caſe, he uſes after the Ionic manner, *Metieo Fufetieo*, and for *Populo Romano* in the dative caſe, *populoi Romanoi*, in imitation of the moſt antient of the Greeks, who uſed an ωτα after ω in the dative caſe, inſtead of the point now placed under that letter, as appears from their oldeſt manuſcripts and monuments, in which we find λαῶι for λαῷ, and other inſtances of the ſame kind. He likewiſe in the accuſative caſe makes *do* for *domum* long, after the Doric manner; and in the preterperfect tenſe for *tuli* uſes *tetuli* with a ſyllabic augment. He frequently Greciſes in the manner of his expreſſion, as in theſe inſtances, *bona dictu*, *inclitu' ſaltu*, *ſuccincti corda*, &c; and in uſing an infinitive mood for a noun, as in the *VIIIth Annal*,

(34) *De illuſtribus Grammaticis*, cap. 1.

Geryon with three bodies, who is ſuppoſed by moſt Writers to have been a perſon remarkable for his ſkill in the three languages (*n*). He endeavoured to introduce the treaſures of the Greek Tongue among the Latins, and was the firſt among the Romans who made uſe of heroic verſes. He was a man of an admirable genius, and did prodigious things for the poliſhing of the Latin Poetry; but left a great deal to the improvement of the ſucceeding Ages [*N*]. He wrote the *Annals of Rome*, which were ſo highly eſteemed that they were publicly recited with vaſt applauſe at Rome by Q. Vargonteius, who digeſted them into books (*o*); and they were read at Puteoli in the Theatre by a man of learning, who aſſumed the name of *Ennianiſt* (*p*). Of all the ſeveral books of his Annals, that which was corrected by C. Octavius Lampadio, was moſt valued. Fl. Caprus is ſaid to have written an explication of the obſcure paſſages and obſolete expreſſions in theſe Annals (*q*). He tranſlated ſeveral Tragedies from the Greek, and wrote others [*O*]. He

(*n*) Columna, *ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) Sueton. *de claris Grammaticis*, cap. 2.

(*p*) Aul. Gellius, lib. 18. cap. 5.

(*q*) Columna, *ubi ſupra.*

Aſt occaſus ubi, tempuſve audere *repreſſit.*

He ſometimes imitates the Attic Dialect; as in the *Iſt Annal.*

Curantes magna cum cura;

and in another place (36, *Adgrettus fari* for *aggreſſus*, changing *s* into *t* after the Athenian manner. Nor was he ſollicitous of imitating the Greeks only in theſe minute points, but applied his whole care to enrich the poverty of the Latin tongue from the inexhauſtible riches of the Greek. He transferred a great many paſſages of Homer into his Annals, and by following of his ſteps was the firſt who introduced the majeſty of heroic verſe among the Latins; as Lucretius ſays of him (37);

(36) *In Libr. incerto.*

(37) Lib. 1. ver. 117, &c.

. . . . . *Qui primus amæno*
Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam.

And Silius Italicus confirms this (38):

(38) Lib. 12.

Hic canet illuſtri primus bella Itala verſu,
Attolletque Duces Cælo.

But becauſe Homer has made uſe of all the ſeveral Dialects of the Greek tongue, Ennius, in order to ſhew his attachment to his great exemplar, has introduced ſeveral foreign words in his Poems; and the deſign of both the Poets ſeems to have been to add a dignity and grace to their Writings by exotic words, in the ſame manner as things brought from diſtant countries do, when properly placed. Ennius therefore uſes the Gallic word *Ambactus*, the Sabine *Cata* and *Caſcus*, the Tuſcan *Falæ & ſubolo*, the Præneſtine *Tongo*; for tho' Præneſte was near Rome, yet their language was very different from that of the latter. Whence Plautus tells us (39), that the Præneſtines uſed *conia* for *ciconia:*

(39) *In Trucu-lento.*

Ut Præneſtinis conia *eſt* ciconia.

In ſhort Virgil did not ſcruple to make uſe of ſeveral foreign words; as the Sabine Word *Cupentus*, the Perſian *Gaza*, the Macedonian *Phalanx*, the Gallic *uri*, *geſa*, and the Punic *magalia*. Ennius was the firſt, who aboliſhed the ancient cuſtom of the Romans, which was never to double any letter; for they undoubtedly uſed *ſolum* for *ſollum*, *torum* for *torrum*, that is *torridum*, *polet* for *pollet*, &c. But Ennius followed the Greeks, who in writing as well as reading doubled the mutes, liquids, and ſemivowels. Victorinus (40) confirms the opinion, that the antient Romans did not double their letters, but obſerves, that it was uſual with them to place a mark over the letter, which was to be doubled. However notwithſtanding the improvements made by Ennius in the Latin tongue, yet he uſed a great many words, which afterwards grew intirely obſolete, as *ſperes* for *ſpes*, *mis* for *mei*, *ſam* for *ipſam*, *ſum* for *ipſum*, *ſos* for *ſuos*, *horitor* for *hortator*, *debilo* for *debilis*, *veter* for *vetus*, *crebiſurus* for *vallum*, *endo* for *in*, *ques* for *quis*, *lapi* for *lapide*, *anuis* for *anus*, *viâs* for *viæ*, *cette* for *date*, &c. (41).

(40) *De Orthographiâ.*

(41) *See* Columna *in Vitâ Ennii.*

[*N*] *He was a man of admirable genius, and did prodigious things for the poliſhing of the Latin Poetry, but left a great deal to the improvement of the ſucceeding ages.*] Lucretius highly applauds him in the paſſage quoted in the preceding note, which we ſhall give here at length:

Ennius ut noſter cecinit, qui primus amæno
Detulit ex Hælicone perenni fronde Coronam;
Per Gentes Italas omnium quæ clara clueret.
Etſi præterea tamen Acheruſia templa
Ennius æternis exponit verſibus edens.

" As our fam'd *Ennius* ſings, upon whoſe brow
" The firſt and freſheſt crowns of laurel grow,
" That ever learned Italy could ſhew:
" Tho' he in laſting numbers doth expreſs
" The ſtately Acheruſian Palaces." Creech.

Cicero (42) ſtiles him an ingenious Poet, and a very good Author. Ovid tells us (43), that he had a very great genius, but was rude and void of art.

(42) *Orat. pro Muræna*, cap. 14.

(43) Triſt. lib. 2.

Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis.

Macrobius (44) aſſures us, that Virgil was ſo great an admirer of him, that he borrowed many things from him, of which that Critic gives ſome inſtances; tho' it is affirmed by the Author of the Life of Virgil, that this Poet being one day found reading of Ennius, and ſomebody aſking him what he was doing, he anſwered, " that he had been gathering gold out of a dunghill." *ſe aurum in ſterquilinio colligere.* The Emperor Hadrian was ſo fond of the old Latin Language, that he preferred Ennius to Virgil, Cato to Cicero, and Cælius to Salluſt (45). *Amavit præterea genus dicendi vetuſtum .. Ciceroni Catonem, Virgilio Ennium, Salluſtio Cælium* (46) *prætulit.* Jerom Columna, who refers to this paſſage in Spartian, has ſtrangely miſrepreſented it, by making that Hiſtorian ſay, that " Hadrian preferred Ennius to " Cicero, and *Cæcilius to Cicero and Salluſt.*" *Contra verò Adrianus Cæſar adeò vetuſtum hujuſmodi dicendi genus amavit, ut, quemadmodum à Spartiano proditum eſt, Ennium Virgilio, &* Cæcilium Ciceroni & Salluſtio *prætulerit.* Lilius Gyraldus (47) obſerves, that Ennius had a lively genius, and a great readineſs in writing; that his ſentiments are ſtrong, but his ſtyle rude and artleſs, becauſe he did not recede from the ordinary language of converſation. *Ingenio acri fuit, atque ad ſcribendum promptiſſimo, vehemens in ſententiis, in verbis rudis, ut qui non diſcederet a communi more Verborum.* Hadrian Turnebus (48) remarks that our Poet's verſes have ſomething in them that will at once profit and delight the Reader, and even (what one would not expect) improve the ſtyle. *Habent Enniani Verſus aliquid quod prodeſſe & delectare poſſit, & orationem etiam, quod minime quis exiſtimaret, excolere.* Joſeph Scaliger tells us (49), that Ennius had a noble genius; and wiſhes that we had him entire, tho' we had loſt Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, and the Writers of that ſtamp. *Ennius Poeta antiquus, magnifico ingenio. Utinam hunc haberemus integrum, & amiſſemus Lucanum, Statium, Silium Italicum, & tous ces garçons la.* Monſieur de la Monnoye (50) is of opinion that we ought to read in this paſſage of Scaliger *Gaſcons* inſtead of *Garçons*, in order to mark the difference between the natural ſtyle of Ennius, and the turgid ſtyle of Lucan, Statius, and Silius, eſpecially of Lucan and Statius.

(44) Saturnal. lib. 6. cap. 1.

(45) Spartian. *in Adriano*, cap. 16.

(46) Some editions read *Cæcilius.*

(47) *Dial. IV. de Poetis Antiquis.*

(48) *In Adverſar.*

(49) *Scaligerana prima*, pag. 78.

(50) See his Note (19) on Baillet's *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 3. pag. 157. edit. Amſterdam in 4to 1725.

[*O*] *He tranſlated ſeveral Tragedies from the Greek, and wrote others.*] The names of his Tragedies, of which we have Fragments now remaining, are as follow: *Medea, Iphigenia, Achilles, Ajax, Telamon, Hectoris Luſtra, Alexander, Andromache, Hecuba, Eumenides, Duloreſtes, Erechtheus, Creſphon, Athamas, Andromeda, Telephus, Thyeſtes, Phœnix, Menalippe, Alcmæon, Creſſæ, Alecſtis, Nemeæ, Ilionæ* or *Polydorus, Antiopa.*

He publiſhed likewiſe ſeveral Comedies [*P*]; but whether of his own invention or tranſlated by him, is uncertain. He gave a Latin Verſion of Evemerus's *Sacred Hiſtory* [*Q*], and Epicharmus's *Philoſophy*; and wrote *Phagetica*, Epigrams, *Scipio* a Poem, *Aſotus* or *Sotadicus*, Satyrs, *Protreptica*, and *Præcepta*, and very probably ſeveral Works. It appears from his writings, that he had very ſtrong ſentiments of Religion [*R*]. He is ſaid to have affirmed that Homer's ſoul was tranſmigrated into him [*S*]. Ludovicus Vives tells us (*r*), that he had a deſign to have collected all the fragments of our Poet into one body: but this was afterwards executed by the two Stephens; and the fragments of his Tragedies were publiſhed by Martin Delrio and Peter Scriverius. Jerom Columna, a Roman Nobleman, publiſhed his Fragments with a learned Commentary at Naples 1590 in 4to; as Paul Merula likewiſe did at Leyden 1595 in 4to. Columna's Edition was reprinted at Amſterdam 1707 in 4to, with ſeveral additions, by Francis Heſſelius, Profeſſor of Hiſtory and Eloquence in the illuſtrious School at Rotterdam.

(*r*) *In Notis ad cap.* 21. *lib.* 2. Auguſtini *de Civitate Dei.*

ENNODIUS

[*P*] *He publiſhed likewiſe ſeveral Comedies.*] The names of thoſe, of which fragments are ſtill extant, are Amphithraſo, Ambracia, and Pancratiaſtes.

[*Q*] *He gave a Latin Verſion of Evemerus's Sacred Hiſtory.*] The Country of Euhemerus or Evemerus is uncertain; for Plutarch in his book *de Dogmatibus Philoſophorum* repreſents him as a native of Tegea, but in his Diſcourſe *de Iſide & Oſiride* he ſtyles him a Meſſenian; and this is confirmed by Ælian (51), Strabo (52), and Lactantius (53). But Clemens Alexandrinus, and Arnobius (54) aſſert, that he was of Agrigentum. Athenæus (55) calls him a Coan. He was a man of notorious irreligion, for he denied the exiſtence of all the Gods. And Callimachus in his Iambics is thought to refer to him, when he ſays,

(51) *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 31.
(52) Lib. 1.
(53) Lib. 1. cap. 11.
(54) *Adverſus Gentes*, lib. 4.
(55) *Deipnoſ.* lib. 14.

Εἰς τὸ πρὸ τείχους ἱερὸν ἀλέες θέντε,
Οὔ τ' πάλαι χάλκεον ὁ πλάσας Ζῆνα,
Γέρων ἀ'λαζὼν ἄθλια βίβλια ψύχει.

Upon this account he aſſumed the name of the *Atheiſt* (56). It appears from the teſtimony of ſeveral writers that he wrote Treatiſes, in which he maintained the cauſe of Atheiſm; and this ſubject he probably treated of in his ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφὴ, tranſlated by Ennius. He gave this book the title of the *Sacred Hiſtory*, not becauſe he thought the ſubject ſacred; ſince he aſſerted in it that the Gods were originally men, and merely fictitious; but in conformity to the vulgar opinion, or perhaps by way of Irony, or becauſe he collected his whole Hiſtory from inſcriptions in the moſt antient Temples. He flouriſhed in the time of King Caſſander, who had a great eſteem for him; and in his travels over the world he viewed the ſouthern coaſt of the ocean (57).

(56) *Sext. Empir. Adverſ. Mathem.* lib. 8. *and* Theodoret. *Græc. Affect.* lib. 3. apud *Columnam in Not. ad Fragmenta Ennii ex Evemero.*

(57) *Columna*, ibid.

[*R*] *It appears from his writings that he had very ſtrong ſentiments of Religion.*] In his Tragedy of *Telamon* indeed we have the following verſes, which have a great air of impiety in them:

Ego Deum genus eſſe ſemper dixi, & dicam cœlitum,
Sed eos non curare opinior, quid agat genus humanum,
Nam ſi curent, benè boneis ſit, male maleis, quod nunc
abeſt (58).

(58) *See* Cicero, *de Divinat.* lib. 1. & *de Natur. Deor.* lib. 3.

But if we had the Tragedy, from whence theſe verſes are taken, intire, it would undoubtedly appear, that this was ſpoken, not by the Poet, but by Telamon amidſt all the diſorders of his rage. Columna (59) quotes a great many paſſages out of his writings, to ſhew his regard for Religion; and obſerves, that tho' by his tranſlating Evemerus's *Sacred Hiſtory*, he expoſed himſelf to the imputation of irreligion, yet it is highly probable that Evemerus, as well as our Poet, by exploding the Pagan Deities declared their belief of one ſupreme, unoriginated, and eternal Being, whom Ennius ſtyles

(59) *In Vitâ Ennii.*

——*Pater, Divûmque Hominumque,*
——*Divûmque hominumque Pater Rex* (60)
——*Divum pater, atque hominum Rex* (61).

(60) *In Lib. incert.*
(61) *Annal.* lib. 6.

He paid no great credit to the pretended arts of Divination, as appears from the following verſes of his (62).

(62) *See* Cicero, *de Divin.* lib. 1.

Non habeo denique nauci Marſum augurem,
Non vicanos haruſpices, non de circo aſtrologos,
Non Iſiacos conjectores, non interpretes ſomniûm;
Non enim ſunt ii aut ſcientiâ aut arte divinei;
Sed ſuperſtitioſi Vates, impudentesque hariolei,
Aut inertes, aut inſanei, aut quibus egeſtas imperat.
Qui ſibei ſemitam non ſapiunt, alteri monſtrant viam;
Quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachmam ipſei petunt;
De his divitiis ſibi deducant drachmam, reddant cætera;
Qui ſui quæſtûs cauſſa fictas ſuſcitant ſententias.

[*S*] *He is ſaid to have affirmed, that Homer's ſoul was tranſmigrated into him.*] In the *firſt Book* of his *Annals* we have theſe words:

....Viſus Homerus adeſſe Poeta.

Tum memini fieri me pavum....

Cicero (63) mentions the former of theſe verſes; and Lucretius has expreſſed this dream of Ennius in the following lines:

(63) *Acad. Quæſt.* lib. 4.

Et ſi præterea tamen eſſe Acheruſia Templa
Ennius æternis exponit verſibus edens;
Quo neque permanent Animæ, neque Corpora noſtra;
Sed quædam ſimulchra modis pallentia miris:
Unde ſibi exortam ſemper florentis Homeri
Commemorat ſpeciem, lacrumas effundere ſalſas
Cœpiſſe, & rerum naturam expandere dictis.

Some are of opinion that Lucretius tranſcribed that verſe *Quo neque* and the following out of our Poet; but Columna (64) is of opinion, that the whole paſſage was Ennius's, who perhaps wrote thus:

(64) *In Notis ad Ennii locum.*

..... " Acheruſia templa,
" Quo neq; permanent Animæ, neq; Corpora noſtra,
" Sed quædam ſimulacra modis pallentia miris;
" Inde mihi ſpecies ſemper florentis Homeri
" Exoriens viſa eſt lacrumas effundere ſalſas
" Cœpiſſe, & rerum naturam expandere dictis."

Propertius (65) alludes to this dream of Ennius; as Perſius alſo is thought to do in his *Prologue:*

(65) Lib. 3. Eleg. 2.

Nec fonte labra prolui Caballino,
Nec in bicipiti ſomniaſſe Parnaſſo
Memini, ut repente ſic Poeta prodirem.

Porphyrio in his explication of theſe verſes of Horace (66):

(66) Ep. 1. lib. 2.

" Ennius & ſapiens & fortis, & alter Homerus,
" Ut Critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur,
" Quo promiſſa cadant, & ſomnia Pythagorea."

tells us, that Ennius in the firſt Book of Annals had affirmed, that Homer had aſſured him in a dream, that, according to the Pythagorean Doctrine, his ſoul was tranſmigrated into Ennius's body. From the words of Ennius above quoted,

Tum memini fieri me pavum,

it appears that he introduced Homer declaring, that his ſoul had tranſmigrated into a peacock; and Perſius refers to this, when he ſays (67),

(67) Satyr 6.

Cor jubet hoc Enni, poſtquam deſertuit eſſe
Mæonides Quintus (68) *pavone ex Pythagoræo.*

(68) Some read it, *Mæonides, quintus &c.*

(*) He is called *Ænnodius* by Bern. Sacco, *Hiſt. Ticin.* lib. 8. cap. 1. pag. 77.

☞ENNODIUS (*) (MAGNUS FÆLIX), Biſhop of Pavia in Italy in the ſixth Century, and an eminent Writer, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family in Gaul [*A*], and born in Italy [*B*] about the year 473 (*a*). At ſixteen years having loſt an aunt, who had brought him up, he was reduced to very neceſſitous circumſtances; but by his marriage with a young Lady of great fortune and quality, he retrieved his affairs (*b*). He enjoyed for ſome time all the pleaſures and advantages, which his wealth could procure him; but afterwards reſolved upon a more ſtrict courſe of life. He entered into holy Orders with the conſent of his Lady, who likewiſe betook herſelf to a religious life (*c*). He was ordained Deacon by Epiphanius Biſhop of Pavia, with whom he lived in the moſt inviolable friendſhip. His application to Divinity did not divert him from proſecuting at his leiſure hours the ſtudies of Poetry and Oratory, in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his youth, and his writings gained him a very great reputation [*C*]. Upon the death of Epiphanius he appears to have been elected one of the Deacons of the Roman Church; and in 503 having preſented to the Synod of Rome an Apology for the Council there, which had abſolved Pope Symmachus the year before, it was ordered to be inſerted among the Acts of the Synod (*d*). He was advanced to the Biſhopric of Pavia about the year 510 [*D*], and was appointed to negotiate an union between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, for which purpoſe he took two journies into the Eaſt, the former in 515 with Fortunatus Biſhop of Catana; the latter in 517 with Peregrinus Biſhop of Miſenum. Though he did not ſucceed in theſe negotiations, he ſhewed his prudence and reſolution in the management of them. For the Emperor Anaſtaſius having uſed his utmoſt efforts to deceive or corrupt him in vain, after other inſtances of ill treatment ordered him to be put on board an old ſhip, and forbidding him to land in any part of Greece, expoſed him to manifeſt danger. However he arrived ſafe in Italy, and returning to Padua died there not long after, on the firſt of Auguſt 521 [*E*], aged forty eight years (*e*). Du Pin tells us (*f*), that his ſtyle is obſcure, and his manner of reaſoning far from exact; but that there is a conſiderable warmth and livelineſs of imagination in his writings. Arnolphus Lexovienſis (*g*) is of opinion, that he ought to be called *Innodius* inſtead of *Ennodius*, on account of his intricate and obſcure manner of writing.

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Literaria*, pag. 322. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720. *and* Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 5. pag. 11. edit. de Mons 1691, in 4to.

(*b*) Cave, *ubi ſupra*, and Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Idem, ibid. *and* Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Pag. 14.

(*g*) Epiſt. pag. 54. *apud* J. Gott. Olearium *in Bibliothec. Scriptor. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 222. edit. Jenæ 1711, in 4to.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an illuſtrious family in Gaul.*] He tells us in ſeveral paſſages of his writings, that his relations were Gauls. He was related to ſeveral perſons of the higheſt quality of that age, as Fauſtus, Boetius, Avienus, Olybrius, Senarius, Florianus, &c.

(1) *Hiſt. Literar.* pag. 322. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(2) *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 5. pag. 11. edit. de Mons 1691 in 4to.

[*B*] *Born in Italy.*] Dr. Cave (1) and Monſr. du Pin (2) aſſert this; and it is certain, that Ennodius ſpent the earlieſt years of his life in Italy.

[*C*] *His writings gained him a very great reputation.*] They are as follow: I. *Epiſtolarum ad diverſos Libri IX.* They contain 297 Letters. II. *Panegyricus Theodorico Regi Oſtrogothorum dictus.* III. *Libellus Apologeticus pro Synodo Palmari*, publiſh'd in *Tom. IV. Concil. p.* 1340. IV. *Vita B. Epiphanii Epiſcopi Ticinenſis.* V. *Vita B. Antonii Monachi Lirinenſis.* VI. *Euchariſticon de Vita ſua ad Elpidium.* VII. *Paræneſis Didaſcalica ad Ambroſium & Beatum.* VIII. *Præceptum de Cellulanis Epiſcoporum.* IX. *Petitorium, quo abſolutus eſt Gerontius.* X. *Benedictio Cerei Paſchalis I.* XI. *Benedictio Cerei Paſchalis* II. XII. *Dictiones ſacræ VI.* XIII. *Dictiones Scholaſticæ VII.* XIV. *Controverſiæ X.* XV. *Dictiones Ethicæ V.* XVI. *Poemata, ſeu Carminum Liber I.* XVII. *Epigrammata, ſeu Carminum Liber II.* All our Author's works were publiſhed by Andrew Schottus at Tournay 1610 in 8vo; and by James Sirmond at Paris 1611 in 8vo with Notes explaining the names and titles of the perſons mentioned by Ennodius, and containing a great many obſervations very uſeful for illuſtrating the Hiſtory of that Age. Ennodius's works are likewiſe publiſhed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom.* IX. *p.* 312; and the greateſt part of them are printed in the *Orthodoxographa* at Baſil in 1569.

[*D*] *Advanced to the Biſhopric of Pavia about the year* 510.] This is affirmed by Du Pin (3); but Dr. Cave tells us (4), that it was about the year 511, or not long after. Father Labbe (5) is groſly miſtaken in aſſerting, that he was choſen Biſhop of Pavia in 490; for this is impoſſible, ſince he was then but ſeventeen years of age. And it is evident, that he was not a Biſhop in 503, when his *Libellus Apologeticus* was approved in the Synod of Rome, becauſe he had not the title of Biſhop given him then.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Pag. 323.

(5) Tom. 1.

[*E*] *Died . . . . on the firſt of Auguſt* 521.] This is the account of Du Pin; but Dr. Cave tells us, that he died *die xvi Cal. Auguſti*, i. e. "On the 17th of July. T.

EPHORUS an Orator and Hiſtorian, was of Cumæ in Æolia (*a*). Iſocrates, whoſe diſciple he was (*b*), adviſed him to write an Hiſtory. I have obſerved elſewhere (*c*), that he gave the ſame advice to Theopompus another of his ſcholars, and I have ſhewed in what the genius of thoſe two differed. Ephorus, who would not meddle with the darkneſs and trifles of the fabulous times, began at the return of the Heraclides into Peloponneſus (*d*), and carried his Hiſtory from that famous Æra, to the 20th year of the Reign of Philip King of Macedon, Alexander the Great's father, which was a term of about 750 years. He divided his Hiſtory into thirty books, to each of which he added a Preface (*e*). Men differ very much in their opinion of this Author; ſome commend him, others blame him, and charge him with errors both active and paſſive [*A*]. He compoſed

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 428.

(*b*) Plut. *in Vita Iſocrat.* pag. 837.

(*c*) In the Article THEOPOMPUS, Remark [*B*].

(*d*) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 1. cap. 1.

(*e*) Idem, lib. 16. cap. 77. pag. m. 795.

[*A*] *Some commend him, others blame him and charge him with errors both active and paſſive.*] Diodorus Siculus reckons him one of the three Hiſtorians who are moſt eſteemed (1). The two others are Calliſthenes and Theopompus. Diodorus having found fault with ſeveral Hiſtorians, who neglected to treat their ſubject with good order and method, adds that Ephorus was not guilty of that defect, and that his work was not leſs commendable for the elegance of his ſtile than for the diſpoſition of his materials. Ἔφορος τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀναγράφων ὠ μόνον κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, ἀλλὰ κ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐπιτέτυχε (2). We ſhall ſee below (3), that he has been placed above Theopompus, which is ſaying a great deal. The praiſes which Strabo beſtows upon him are very conſiderable; he conſiders him as a man that deſerves a reputation (4). He quotes him often, and ſays it is becauſe of his great exactneſs in making inquiries, which Polybius a proper judge in theſe matters

(1) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 1.

(2) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 5. *init.*

(3) In the Remark [*C*].

(4) Ἀνὴρ ἄξιος μνήμης. Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 428.

composed other Books [*B*], and there was one wrote against him in which his plagiarisms

ters acknowledges, and for which he commends him. Ἔφορος δ' ᾧ τὸ πλεῖστον χρώμεθα διὰ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμέλειαν καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος μαρτυρῶν τυγχάνει αἰνὲ ἀξιόλογος (5). Having observed a defect in this Author, he adds, that notwithstanding this, he excelled the other Historians. Τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν Ἔφορος ἑτέρων ὅμως κρείττων ἐστί· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐσπουδασμένως ἔτως ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν Πολύβιος καὶ φήσας περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καλῶς μὲν Εὔδοξον, κάλλιστα δ' Ἔφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ κτίσεων, συγγενειῶν, μεταναστάσεων, ἀρχηγετῶν (6). i. e. "Notwithstanding this, "Ephorus is yet the best of Historians. And even "Polybius commends him in a very particular manner, saying, that Eudoxus wrote well of the affairs of the Greeks, but Ephorus very well, concerning the origin of cities, their alliances, their "colonies, and their leaders." This defect was a very plain contradiction (7), and so much the less excusable, that the Author had taken a great deal of pains to clear up the subject, and to refute them who spoke of it with very little accuracy. He had even boasted of his diligence. Ὁ δ' ὥσπερ κατωρθωκὼς ἐπιλέγει· ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διακριβοῦν εἰώθαμεν, ὅταν ᾖ τι τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ παντελῶς ἀπερούμενον, ἢ ψευδῆ δόξαν ἔχον (8). i. e. "And yet, as tho' he had admirably well succeeded, he concludes in this manner. These and "such things I use to examine very accurately, wherever there is any uncertainty in the subject before "me, or when men have a false notion of it." This was not the only contradiction which dropped from his pen; he has been sometimes guilty of that fault: Δοκεῖ μοι ταὐναντία ποιεῖν, ἔσθ' ὅτε τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ ταῖς ἐξαρχῆς ὑποσχέσεσι (9). i. e. "He seems to me to perform the "condition of what he designed and promised in the "beginning." These are Strabo's words, who immediately gives an instance of what he asserts, for he says, that Ephorus having condemned those Authors who intermix Fables with History, expatiates upon the praises of truth, and promises to follow it particularly in the account of what relates to the oracle of Delphos; there being nothing more absurd than to lie when one treats of an Oracle so remote from all deceit. Προσίδηται τῷ περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦτο λόγῳ, σεμνήν τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ὡς παντα χῇ μὲν ἄριστον νομίζει τ' ἀληθὲς, μάλιστα δ' κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην· ἄτοπον ἦ, εἰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀεὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον τρόπον διώκομεν, φησί· περὶ δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον λέγοντες, ὃ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀψευδέστατον, τοῖς οὕτως ἀπίστοις καὶ ψευδέσι χρησόμεθα λόγοις (10). This is very reasonable; such a discourse is very honourable to Ephorus's person and judgment; but what he says afterwards does not answer it; for the account he gives of the Oracle of Delphos, is not much better than the opinion of the vulgar.

The account he gave of Egypt was so full of blunders, that it shewed not only that he never travelled thither, but also that he did not take care to be exactly informed by those who knew that country (11). This is Diodorus Siculus's opinion of him. A little after, having found him guilty of a falsity, he makes the following reflection. Οὐκ ἄν τις παρ' Ἐφόρῳ ζητήσειεν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τἀκριβὲς, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ὀλιγωρηκότα τῆς ἀληθείας (12). i. e. "He who observes how little "Ephorus minded truth, will not look for any thing "accurate in his Writings." Seneca gives us still a worse opinion of him, when he despises his testimony with regard to a comet. Let us transcribe all that he says of him, for it will shew how little credit the Historians deserve in the general, when they mention prodigies. *Nec magna molitione detrahenda est auctoritas Ephoro: historicus est. Quidam incredibilium relatu commendationem parant, & lectorem aliud acturum, si per quotidiana duceretur, miraculo excitant. Quidam creduli, quidam negligentes sunt: quibusdam mendacium obrepit, quibusdam placet. Illi non evitant, hi appetunt. Et hoc in commune de tota natione: quæ approbare opus suum, & fieri popular non putat posse, nisi illud mendacio asperfit. Ephorus verò non religiosissimæ fidei, sæpe decipitur, sæpe decipit* (13). i. e. "It is not a difficult task to sink the authority "of Ephorus, for he is an Historian. Some Historians "endeavour to raise the reputation of their Works by "relating incredible things, and by mentioning prodigies, to make the Reader attentive, who would "not mind what he reads, if he met with nothing but "what happens daily. Some Historians are credulous, "others neglectful: some admit falsities unawares, o-"thers delight in them: the former do not avoid them, "the latter hunt after them. This may be asserted of "the whole tribe in general: they think their work "will not please, nor be suited to the taste of the "multitude, if it be not interspersed with fabulous "stories. As for Ephorus, who is not very scrupu-"lous, he is often imposed upon, and does also often "wilfully impose upon his Readers." You will meet in Vossius (14) with some of Ephorus's impostures; you will also see there how much Duris of Samos, Dion Chrysostom, and Suidas (15) despised his style. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (16), and Diodorus Siculus (17) had quite another opinion of him, and they were very good judges. However it be, I imagine that all the lovers of History regret the loss of Ephorus's Work, for my part I am very sorry for it. Observe, that Vossius has not given a true character of all the errors he charges him with: for he blames him only for imposing upon his Readers when he mentions a Temple of Hercules, without being first deceived himself (18). *Decipitur quidem cum . . . tradidit . . . . decipit autem in eo quod de Herculis fano in Hispania fixit, ut est apud Strabonem initio libri III, & fuere id genus apud Ephorum permulta. Unde & Diodorus Siculus Lib. I. ἔκ ἄν τις, &c.* (19). i. e. "He was mistaken indeed when . . . . he related . . . . "but he imposes upon us in his fictitious account of "the temple of Hercules in Spain, as Strabo observes "in the beginning of his third Book. And there "were a great many such falsities in Ephorus's Work; "Whence Diodorus Siculus says in his first Book, *He "who observes*, &c." In the first place it is very probable that Ephorus spoke sincerely on this occasion; for what advantage was it to him to write this against his conscience? He was so little acquainted with the condition of Spain, that he took it only for one city: Whence Josephus infers, that the Greeks knew but late what concerns the Western Nations. Vossius does not condemn this inference; Why then does he assert that Ephorus knew the truth of the matter with regard to that Temple? II. Strabo is not quoted to the purpose; for he does not determine particularly, whether Ephorus wrote according to his knowledge or against it. III. The passage from Diodorus Siculus does not prove that there were in Ephorus's Works several falsities written against the Author's own knowledge. On the contrary he is charged with neglecting to make the necessary enquiries. If we should examine all the writers accurately, we should find almost every where and *unde* (whence) as little to the purpose as that of Vossius.

[*B*] *He composed other Books.*] A Treatise Περὶ τῶν εὑρημάτων, *Of things found out.* Strabo has mentioned it (20). One Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, *Of good and evil*, divided into twenty four Books (21). One Περὶ παραδόξων τῶν ἀκουσάντων, *Of wonderful things, which happen every where*, divided into fifteen Books (22). One Περὶ Θρακίων πολισμάτων, *Of the Commonwealths of Thrace.* Harpocration has quoted the fourth Book of it (23). One intitled, Ἐπιχωρίου, in which he treated of his native Country (24). Father Hardouin ascribes to him a particular Treatise concerning the first rise of Cities (25), and another concerning the swelling of the Nile. But the Authors he quotes (26) do not assert this: for Polybius meant only, that Ephorus in his history accounted very well for the rise of Cities, their Colonies, &c; and as for the Scholiast on Apollonius he only quoted what Ephorus had said of the Nile in the same History. It is not by particular Treatises of Geography, that he deserves a place amongst Geographers (27), but because he took great care to describe the places which he mentioned in his History (28). We may be certain that he published some Orations, or a Treatise of Rhetoric, since Cicero spoke in the following manner. *Omitto Isocratem, discipulosque ejus Ephorum & Naucratem, quamquam orationis faciendæ & ornandæ autores locupletissimi, summi ipsi oratores esse debeant* (29). i. e. "I do not mention Isocrates nor "his disciples Ephorus and Naucrates, tho' they must "have been very eminent Orators, since they have "so well thought how to compose and to adorn a "discourse." How can we avoid believing that he wrote upon Rhetorick, since we know, that his Treatise

(5) Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 290.

(6) Idem, lib. 10. pag. 320.

(7) *See* Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 319.

(8) Idem, ibid. pag. 320.

(9) Idem, lib. 9. pag. 290.

(10) Idem, ibid.

(11) *Scriptor hic non solum ipse locorum Ægypti naturam non vidisse, sed nec ab iis, quibus regionis illius ratio cognita est, diligenter percunctatus nobis videtur.* Diodor. Sicul. lib. 1. cap. 39. pag. m. 35.

(12) Idem, ibid.

(13) Seneca, *Quæst. natural.* lib. 7. cap. 16. pag. m. 908.

(14) Vossius, *de Hist. Græcis*, pag. 36, 37.

(15) Ἔφορος ἦν τὸ ἦθος ἁπλοῦς, τὴν δὲ ἑρμηνείαν τῆς ἱστορίας ὕπτιος καὶ ναυδρὸς καὶ μανδεμίαν ἔχων ἐπίτασιν. Suidas, *apud* Vossium, ibid, i. e. "Ephorus had a "plain genius; and with regard to the writing of History, he was careless, lazy, and absolutely wanted sprightliness."

(16) Dionys. Halicarn. *de Collocat. Verborum*, cap. 81. pag. m. 58.

(17) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 5. *init.* I have quoted his words above, quotation (2).

(18) Vossius, *de Hist. Græcis*, pag. 36.

(19) See what follows in quotation (12).

(20) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 428.

(21) Suidas in Ἔφορος.

(22) Idem, ibid.

(23) Harpocrat. *Voce* Αἶνος.

(24) Plutarc. *de Vita Homeri, init. apud* Vossium, *de Hist. Græcis*, pag. 36.

(25) Jonsius, pag. 67. seems also to ascribe it to him.

(26) Harduin. *in Indice Authorum Plinii.* He quotes Polybius *apud* Strabonem, lib. 10. pag. 465. for the Treatise *de Origine Urbium*, and the Scholiast. *in Apollonii* lib. 4. ver. 268. for the Treatise *De Nili incremento.*

(27) Strabo, lib. 1. *init.* places him amongst them.

(28) Ibid. lib. 8. *init.*

(29) Cicero, *in Oratore*, cap. 51.

(f) In the Article THEOPOMPUS, Remark [G].

riſms were painted out [C]. All this is loſt. I have mentioned in another place (f) the

tiſe Περὶ λέξεως, (*Of Elocution, or ſtyle*), has been quoted by Theo. *Eidem* (Theoni) *laudatur* Ἔφορος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεως. *Cujus operis penè initio hexametrum effundere ait* (30). Thus Voſſius ſpeaks: he is guilty here of a fault of commiſſion, and one of omiſſion: For he aſſerts that there was an hexameter verſe near the beginning of that Treatiſe, but we do not find this in Theon: and Voſſius does not obſerve, that this verſe was in the very ſame paſſage, where Ephorus condemned the cadence and number of Poetry in a diſcourſe in proſe, which circumſtance is related by Theon, and is ſo particular, that it ought not to have been omitted. The paſſage of this Sophiſt quoted at length will make us obſerve another blunder of Voſſius. Συγγνώμης δ' ἄξιον ὅταν εἰς ἐκεῖνά τις ἐμπέσῃ ποτὲ τὰ μέτρα ἅπερ ἔχει ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸ πεζόν· οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ἰαμβικόν· διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἄκοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ γένος τοῦτο. ὁ γοῦν Ἔφορος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεως, δι' αὐτῆ τῇ ἀπαγορεύσει λόγῳ, μὴ τῇ εὐρύθμῳ χρῆσθαι διαλέκτῳ, εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ σίχον εἴρηκεν, εἰπών· πάλιν δὲ περὶ τῆς εὐρύθμου διέξειμι (31). *Venia tamen dari ſolet iis, qui forte in verſus, qui quam proxime ad ſolutam accedunt orationem, incidunt* (32): *quales iambici, quod omnibus fere ſcriptoribus invitis evenire ſolet. Ephorus certe in libro de Sermone, eo ipſo loco, ubi nimis numeroſum uſurpare elocutionem vetat, ſtatim initio verſum ipſe extulit, hoc modo.*

Poſthac modos orationis inquiram.

Theon had juſt before condemned abſolutely ſuch proſe as contains long and lofty verſes; he afterwards excuſes thoſe verſes which are like proſe, as are the iambick verſes; and he ſays that moſt Writers commit that fault unawares; and he names Ephorus for an inſtance of it, but he does not ſay, as Voſſius pretends, that this verſe of his Ephorus was towards the beginning of his Treatiſe *. Obſerve, that what Ephorus ſaid of Homer (33) was not in a particular Treatiſe upon that Poet, but in the work he compoſed concerning his own Country (34). His Treatiſe περὶ εὑρημάτων was anſwered by Strato the Philoſopher, as we are told by Pliny. *Stratone qui contra Ephori εὑρήματα ſcripſit* (35). Thus Father Hardouïn has corrected that paſſage, whereas we read *contra Ephori Theoremata*. Jonſius hints this correction (36). Obſerve that there is one Euphorus † mentioned as the Anthor of a Book περὶ εὑρημάτων, *of things found out*. Voſſius pretends (37) that Athenæus has cited him (38), and that we muſt not alter Εὔφορος into Ἔφορος, for, ſays he, the Author quoted by Athenæus in that paſſage, is not the ſame with the Hiſtorian. This might be, but I do not believe that it could be proved in the leaſt. Father Hardouïn (39) thought that we muſt read Ἔφορος as in the XIIth Chapter of Athenæus's VIIIth Book, and he underſtands both the paſſages of Ephorus the Hiſtorian. The two paſſages, quoted by Voſſius from Clemens Alexandrinus (40) may very well be applied to the ſame Hiſtorian: ſo that we have reaſon to think, that the Tranſcribers wrote Εὔφορος inſtead of Ἔφορος in theſe paſſages. This they did in the great *Etymologicon* (41), where Εὔφορος ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ is quoted inſtead of Ἔφορος, for Strabo acquaints us (42), that the fourth Book of Ephorus's Hiſtory was intitled Εὐρώπη (*Europe*). Voſſius made this obſervation: Why then ſhould we not believe, that the ſame error crept into Diogenes Laertius, as Aldobrandini and Jonſius imagined (43)? Monſieur Menage (44) choſe rather to follow Voſſius's opinion, but he did it merely out of courteſy, for Voſſius has not proved his opinion. The great Scaliger (45) aſſerts, that Εὔφορος has been put twice inſtead of Ἔφορος in Clemens Alexandrinus; and that through a blunder of the ſame kind we read Εὔφορος inſtead of Ἔφορος in Diogenes Laertius's Life of Thales. He is alſo of opinion, that the Euphorbus in Euſebius's Chronicle (46) is no other but our Ephorus, whoſe name was firſt changed into Euphorus, and afterwards into Euphorbus. It is certain that Euſtathius (47) truſting to Stephanus Byzantinus's authority, has quoted one Euphorus, who in this Stephanus's work is called Ephorus (48). I could eaſily admit Scaliger's opinion: for we ought never to multiply Authors any more than any thing elſe without neceſſity.

Here are a great many trifles, will it perhaps be ſaid. Yes, ſhall I anſwer, but they are to be met with in the writings of the moſt learned men of this Age, and it is a fate unavoidable in Criticks: and with their leave, who find fault with this, I muſt make another obſervation of the ſame nature. When the name of the ſame Writer is ſo differently ſpelt in any work, that one is apt to think that ſeveral authors are meant, the fault muſt not always be laid upon the tranſcribers; for it may very well have been in the original. We ought not to doubt, but Athenæus might have written ſometimes Euphorus, and at other times Ephorus, tho' he ſpoke of the ſame Author. It muſt be confeſſed, that there may be ſome Writers at preſent, who having occaſion to mention Father Bouhours often in a long work, would call him ſometimes *Bours*, ſometimes *Bouours*, and at ſome times *Bohours*. I have ſome Letters written by able men, in which ſuch or ſuch a proper name was ſpelt now after this manner, and then after another, ſometimes *Bordeaux* or *Tholoſe*, for inſtance, and ſometimes *Bourdeaux* or *Toulouſe*. See the Remark [B] in the Article DEMETRIUS, and the Article DURER towards the end.

[C] *There was a Book wrote . . . in which his Plagiariſms were pointed out.*] Euſebius has preſerved a beautiful paſſage from Porphyry's firſt Book περὶ τῆς φιλολογίας ἀκροάσεως, *of learned hearing*. We meet there with a controverſy between two learned men, one of whom valued Ephorus more than Theopompus (49). The other ſtiled Ephorus a Plagiary, and accuſed him of tranſcribing three thouſand lines following word for word from Daimachus, Calliſthenes, and Anaximenes. Ἀυταῖς λέξεσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τρισχιλίους ὅλους μετατιθέντος στίχους (50). I do not find, that his adverſary denied the fact; he only returned the accuſation upon others, and ſaid, that Theopompus had been a great plagiary. The reader will find in another place (51), in what reſpect he was ſo. Porphyry aſſerts ſome pages lower, that there were two Books written by one Lyſimachus περὶ τῆς Ἐφόρου κλοπῆς, *Of Ephorus's Plagiariſm*, and that Alceus a ſatyrical Poet had ridiculed this Hiſtorian's literary thefts.

But here is a little difficulty. Daimachus, one of the Authors, whom Ephorus pirated according to Porphyry, was ſent Embaſſador to the Court of Androcottus's ſon King of India, he muſt therefore have lived after Ephorus, and conſequently Porphyry is miſtaken. This is a chronological argument, which Voſſius (52) employed to refute Caſaubon (53), who thought that the Daimachus pirated by Ephorus is the ſame who was born at Platea, and has been quoted by Plutarch (54) and Athenæus (55). It is certain that he, whom Athenæus quotes, wrote an account of India, and was born at Platea (56). It is therefore certain, that the Author whom Caſaubon mentions, is the ſame with the Daïmachus who was ſent into India (57), under the reign of Allitrochades ſon of Androcottus (58). The queſtion is then to know whether Ephorus could tranſcribe from ſuch a Daïmachus. This is conſiſtent with Chronology, ſay ſome: for Androcottus reigned in India, when Seleucus was laying the foundation of that power at which he arrived afterwards (59). Voſſius thinks this argument very ſtrong. *Cave igitur putes*, ſays he (60) after having mentioned it, *Ephorum pleraque hujus Daimachi in hiſtoriam ſuam totidem verbis tranſcripſiſſe . . . . . nam Ephorum tanto eſſe antiquiorem ſatis ex iis, quæ ſupra diximus, liquet.* i. e. "Do not "think therefore, that Ephorus tranſcribed moſt part "of this Daimachus's work word for word into his "hiſtory: for it appears ſufficiently, from what we "have ſaid above, that he was much more ancient." For my part I do not find any ſtrength in this argument. Ephorus ſtudied eloquence under Iſocrates at the ſame time with Theopompus. The latter was but five years old (61) when Alexander had him reſtored to his native Country. He lived till the reign of Ptolomy in Egypt. Why then could not Ephorus have lived till the Monarchy of Seleucus was perfectly ſettled? There are no reaſons why we may not ſuppoſe that Androcottus did not reign long, and that Daimachus was advanced in years when he was ſent into India. He might therefore have publiſhed ſome Hiſtories before he went thither: Ephorus might haave read them,

(30) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, pag. 36.

(31) Theo, *Progymnaſm.* cap. 2. pag. m. 25.

(32) Theſe two words have been omitted in the Tranſlation, which Heinſius reviſed,

* But in the beginning of the paſſage where he condemns verſes in a diſcourſe in proſe.

(33) *See* Plut. *de Homero*, & Tatian. *Orat. ad Græcos.*

(34) *See* Scaliger, *in Euſeb.* num. 1101. pag. m. 62.

(35) Plin. lib. 1. *in indice*, lib. 7.

(36) Jonſius, *de Script. Hiſt. Phil.* pag. 44.

† Whether there was an Author named Euphorus.

(37) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græc.* pag. 367.

(38) Athen. lib. 4. cap. 25. pag. 182.

(39) Harduin. *in Indice Autorum Plinii.*

(40) The one is in lib. 1. *Stromat.* pag. 306. the other ibid. pag. 339.

(41) *In voce* ἐποικομένην, *apud* Voſſium, *de Hiſt. Græc.* pag. 367.

(42) Strabo, lib. 7.

(43) *See* Menage, *in Diogen. Laert.* lib. 1. num. 41. pag. 23.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Scaliger, *Anim. in Euſebium*, ad ann. 1101. pag. m. 62.

(46) Euſeb. num. 1101.

(47) Euſtathius, *in Iliad* lib. 2. folio 275. *apud* Jonſium, *de Script. Hiſt. Philoſoph.* pag. 44.

(48) Steph. *de Urbibus, Voce* Ἀλιζῶνες.

(49) Αὐτὸν καὶ Θεοπόμπου προυτίθει. *Eum ipſi quoque Theopompo anteponebat.* Porphyrius *apud* Euſebium, *Prepar.* lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. 464.

(50) Idem, ibid.

(51) In the Article THEOPOMPUS, Remark [M].

(52) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græcis*, pag. 76.

(53) Caſaub. *in Diogen. Laert.* lib. 1. num. 30.

(54) Plut. *in Paral. Solon. & Poplic.* pag. 111.

(55) Athen. lib. 9. pag. 394.

(56) Harpocrat. *Voce* Ἐγγυθήκη.

(57) Strabo, lib. 2. pag. 48.

(58) Others call him *Sandrocottus.*

(59) *Sandrocottus ea tempeſtate qua Seleucus futuræ magnitudinis fundamenta jaciebat, Indiam poſſidebat.* Juſtin. lib. 15. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 341.

(60) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græc.* pag. 76.

(61) See his Article.

the opinion men had of the long orations which he inſerted in his Hiſtory. He was ſoundly ridiculed for the manner in which he mentioned his native place [*D*]. He left a ſon of whom I ſhall ſay ſomething [*E*]. He might have followed Alexander's Court, for he was very much wiſhed for there, but he refuſed that honour (*g*). Diodorus Siculus does not approve of (*b*) his owning that the Barbarians were more antient than the Greeks.

(*g*) Plutarch. *De Repugn. Stoic.* pag. 1043, D.

(*b*) Lib. 1. cap. 9.

EPHREM

them, and be not more ſcrupulous to tranſcribe them, than thoſe of Anaximenes his contemporary. We are not to ſuppoſe that Porphyry thought, that Ephorus printed the Hiſtory of India written by Daimachus: he meant no doubt ſome other Hiſtory, as, for inſtance, that of the Greeks, which Plutarch plainly aſcribes to this Daimachus (62), who alſo wrote a Treatiſe *de bellicis machinamentis*, (Of Engines uſed in war) (63), and perhaps alſo a Treatiſe of Religion (64). If Monſr. Menage (65) had thoroughly weighed all this, he would not have been of Voſſius's opinion, which has alſo been admitted by the Author of the Collection of Plagiaries (66), who expects that the learned will find out ſome method to clear Porphyry, who has not the leaſt occaſion for it. *Eadem reprehenſio in Porphyrium cadit, ad quem provocat Caſaubonus, niſi vel doceant Eruditi alium quendam fuiſſe Daimachum, Ephoro ſupparem aut antiquiorem, vel nomen Daimachi apud Porphyrium fuiſſe corruptum* (67). i. e. "The ſame cenſure may be paſſed on Porphyry, "whom Caſaubon quotes; unleſs the learned ſhew, "that there was another Daimachus, contemporary "with or more ancient than Ephorus, or that the "word Daimachus in Porphyry is corrupted." Let us obſerve here, that all the curious ought to be obliged to Euſebius for that beautiful paſſage of Porphyry, which he has preſerved from periſhing. But in my opinion he ought not to have tranſcribed it in a work intitled *Præparatio Evangelica*. For what avails it for the advantage of the Chriſtian Religion, or for the confutation of falſe Deities, that the Greek Authors have ſtolen from each other? Is not this the cuſtom of all countries and times? Have not the Fathers tranſcribed ſeveral things from each other's Writings? Do not the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants do the ſame every day with regard to the Authors of their reſpective party? Euſebius was more judicious when he ſhewed, that the Greeks had been plagiaries with regard to the Barbarians (68). This may in ſome manner ſupport the authority of ſacred Hiſtory. Whence we may infer by the by, that it was leſs diſadvantageous to the Greeks, to ſteal from one another, than to ſteal the riches of ſtrangers. This diſadvantage is an exception to the general rules. *Marini uſed to ſay, that to ſteal from thoſe of one's own Nation was a robbery, but to rob ſtrangers was a conqueſt, and I believe he was in the right. We ſtudy only in order to learn, and we learn only in order to ſhew, that we have ſtudied.* Theſe are Monſieur Scuderi's words (69). *If I have borrowed ſomething from the Greeks and from the Latins*, continues he, *I have borrowed nothing from the Italians nor from the Spaniards, nor from the French; being of opinion that what is learning with regard to the ancients, is a theft with regard to the moderns.* La Mothe le Vayer is of the ſame opinion, for he ſpeaks thus in one of his Books. "To borrow from the an- "cients, and to make an advantage of what they "have written, is like pirating beyond the equinoc- "tial line. But to rob thoſe of one's own time "by tranſcribing their thoughts and writings, as "though they were one's own, is like robbing "wool in the ſtreets, or picking of pockets on "the Royal Exchange (70)." I believe that all Authors admit this maxim, that it is better to ſteal from the ancients, than from the moderns, and that amongſt the latter, we muſt ſpare our countrymen rather than ſtrangers. Literary Piracy is not in every thing like that of the Privateers. The latter think themſelves more innocent when they plunder in the new world, than if they did it in Europe. Authors on the contrary go a pirating with more boldneſs in the old world than in the new, and expect to be commended for the prizes they take. "The Commentator on "Taſſo's Jeruſalem thought to raiſe his Author's re- "putation by pointing out two or three thouſand "paſſages in his Poem, which are imitated from ſe- "veral Authors. The Commentators on Petrarch and "Ronſard have done the ſame (71)" All the Plagiaries follow as much as they can the diſtinction which I have mentioned: but it is not from a principle of conſcience, but that they may not be found out. Let a young French Miniſter make uſe of Monſieur Daillé's Sermons, or of thoſe of ſome other French Miniſter, will he be able to hide his Plagiariſm? Will he not have reaſon to fear, that his audience will ſoon know whence he took his materials? He ought therefore prudently to cover his theft by ſtealing the ornaments of his diſcourſe from ſome Engliſh Preacher. Woe to him however, if there be too great a difference between the paſſages which he tranſcribes and thoſe of his own to which he tacks them (72); for it makes underſtanding hearers judge, not only that he is a plagiary, but that he wants ſkill and judgment to hide it. They think that he has ſpoiled an excellent ſubject, and that he ſtole it, ſince he gave ſuch an indifferent dreſs (73). The beſt remedy in this caſe is good for nothing; it would be, to deliver without any alteration what one has borrowed; but this is the higheſt crime of that nature. *One may ſteal like bees without wronging any body; but the robbery of the ant, which ſteals whole grains of corn, ought never to be imitated* (74). Or if you like better to ſee this thought in Latin read what follows. *Multum intereſt apum more circumvolitans agilis Thyma ex variis floribus odorem excerpas, an vero ignavum fucos pecus imitando mel ex alvariis ſuffureris.* This is what Feiſchlinus repreſented to his adverſary.

(62) Plut. *in Paral. Solon. & Poplic.* pag. 111.

(63) Πολιορκητικὰ ὑπομνήματα. *See* Steph. Byzant. *Voce* Λακεδαίμων.

(64) *See* Plutarch. *in Vita Lyſandri*, pag. 439.

(65) Menage, *Not. ad Diogen. Laert.* lib. 1. num. 30.

(66) Thomaſius, *de Plagio Literario*, pag. 180.

(67) Thomaſius, *de Plagio Literario*, pag. 180.

(68) Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. 10. cap. 5.

OBSERVATIONS upon the different methods of pirating.

(69) Scuderi, *Preface d'Alaric.*

(70) La Mothe le Vayer, *Lettre* 139. pag. 261. of the 2d volume.

(71) Scuderi, *Preface d'Alaric.*

(72) *Purpureus, latè qui ſplendeat unus & alter Aſſuitur pannus.* Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 15.

(73) *Qui bene vertendo & eaſdem deſcribendo malè, Ex Græcis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas.* Terentius, *in Prologo* Eunuchi, ver. 7.

(74) La Mothe le Vayer, *Lettre* 134. tom. 12. pag. 260.

[*D*] *He was ſoundly ridiculed for the manner in which he mentioned his native-place.*] At that time, ſaid he, the city of Cumæ was at reſt. Σκώπτεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔφορος διότι τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἔχων ἐργὰ φράζειν ἐν τῇ διαριθμήσει τῶν ἄλλων πραξέων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν ἀμνημόνευτον αὐτὴν εἶναι θέλων, οὕτως ἐπιφωνεῖ. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Κυμαῖοι τὰς ἡσυχίας ἦγον (75). i. e. "Ephorus has been well ridiculed, "becauſe when he gave an account of ſeveral hiſtorical "facts, and had nothing to ſay of his own country, yet "he would ſome way or other mention it; ſo that "he made the following exclamation. *At that time* "*the Cumeans were at reſt.*" Had it not been better to ſay nothing of that nation, than to mention it in a manner ſo little to its honour?

(75) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 128.

[*E*] *He left a ſon, of whom I ſhall ſay ſomething.*] His name was Demophilus, and he was a man of letters, for it was thought that he put a finiſhing hand to his father's Hiſtory, that is to ſay, that he compleated towards the end of it what Ephorus had left imperfect. Hence it is that Athenæus (76) quoting the laſt book of that work, ſeems to doubt whether he ought to aſcribe it to Ephorus or Demophilus. Father Hardouin did not well underſtand this, for he ſuppoſes (77) that Athæneus doubted whether the thirty books which this Hiſtory contained, were written by the father or by the ſon. Jonſius's conjecture ſeems to me well grounded. *Cauſa quare ita dubitet* (Athenæus) ſays he (78), *eſt quod Ephorus belli non ita pridem confecti hiſtoriam imperfectam filio pertexendam forte reliquerit.* i. e. "The reaſon why Athenæus doubted is, "that Ephorus left perhaps the Hiſtory of the war, "that was lately finiſhed, to be compleated by his "ſon." Five or ſix lines lower he does no longer ſpeak doubtfully; he aſſerts, and does it on the authority of a famous Hiſtorian, *Brevi autem poſt . . . . hiſtoriam ſuam Ephorus imperfectam necdum abſolutam Demophilo filio tradidit pertexendam, teſte Diodoro. Ut ita Athenæus hiſtoriam belli Phocici à patre & filio ſimul deſcriptam utrique eorum dubie non immerito tribuat* (79). i. e. "Soon after . . . . Ephorus gave his Hiſtory which "was imperfect, to be compleated by his ſon, as Dio- "dorus aſſerts. So that Athenæus had reaſon to doubt "whether he ſhould aſcribe the Hiſtory of the Phocean "war to the father or to the ſon, it having been "written by both." I have not found in Diodorus Siculus that Ephorus ordered his ſon to add to his Hiſtory what it ſtill wanted; and if Jonſius read it in Diodorus Siculus, he ought not to have ſpoken ſometimes in a doubtful manner, *fortè*, *perhaps*, and ſometimes poſitively.

(76) Athen. lib. 6. cap. 4. pag. 232.

(77) Harduinus, *in Indice Autorum Plinii.*

(78) Jonſius, *de Scriptor. Hiſt. Phil.* pag. 43.

(79) Idem, pag. 44.

☞EPHREM SYRUS (St.) an antient Chriſtian Writer in the fourth Century, was a native of Edeſſa, according to ſome, or of Niſibe in Syria, as others more truly affirm (*a*); and was born under the Emperor Conſtantine (*b*). He embraced a Monaſtic Life from his earlieſt years, and in a ſhort time was choſen Superior to a conſiderable number of Monks (*c*). As he frequently viſited the Church of Edeſſa, he was ordained Deacon there; and going to Cæſarea in Cappadocia, he was received with great affection by St. Baſil, who is ſaid to have taught him Greek, and ordained him Prieſt; but this account is not very certain, ſince the Antients aſſure us, that he died a Deacon (*d*). Sozomen tells us (*e*) that being choſen Biſhop of a city, he avoided that office by pretending to be mad [*A*]. He wrote a great number of Books [*B*]; which were ſo highly eſteemed in thoſe times, that the greateſt part of them were tranſlated into Greek, and they were read publickly in ſome Churches after the Scriptures (*f*). Sozomen obſerves (*g*). that his works were ſo remarkable for the beauty and dignity of the ſtyle, and the ſublimity of the ſentiments, that the peculiar elegance appeared even in the Greek Tranſlations. And St. Jerom aſſures us (*h*), that in reading the Tranſlation of St. Ephrem's Treatiſe *of the Holy Ghoſt*, he ſaw plainly the vivacity of the Author's genius. St. Gregory Nyſſen in his Panegyric on him, is very copious with regard to the merit of his writings, and his attachment to the Orthodox Faith. He had an extreme averſion to the Hereſies of Sabellius, Arius, and Apollinarius [*C*]. St. Gregory tells us, that he confuted the Anomeans and Novatians with great ſtrength; and that he applied himſelf with the utmoſt attention to the ſtudy of the Scriptures, and wrote Explications upon every one of the ſacred Books. He

(*a*) Cave, *Hiſt. Literaria*, pag. 149. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(*b*) Du Pin, *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom 2. pag. 145. edit. Paris 1693, in 4to.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 16.

(*f*) S. Hieronym. *De Viris illuſtr.* cap. 115.

(*g*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Sozomen tells us, that being choſen Biſhop of a City, he avoided that office by pretending to be mad.*] When the people had choſen him, and ſought him, in order to be ordained to that function, he run into the market place, and ſhewed all the ſigns of a mad-man, upon which thoſe, who came for him, imagining him to be really ſo, left him; and he taking this opportunity fled and concealed himſelf till another perſon was elected Biſhop. Οσον ὁ κινῆς ἐφάτει δόξης, ἐντεῦθεν ἰσέον. ποτὲ ψῆφον ἐπισκοπῆς ἐνενόχασιν ἀυτῷ τινες, ϗ συλλαβεῖν ἐπειρῶντο, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἄξοντες· ἀυτίκα δὲ αἰσθόμενος, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξέβαλε, ϗ οἷα παραπαίων ἐθεῖκνυ ἑαυτὸν, ἀτάκτως βαδίζων, ϗ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπισύρων, ϗ δημοσίᾳ ἐσθίων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω φρενῶν εἶναι νομίσαντες οἱ συλλαβόμενοι, τῆς ἐπ' ἀυτὸν ὁρμῆς ἀνεκόπησαν, καιρὸν εὑρὼν ἀνέδρασε, ϗ μέχρι ἕτερου ἐχειροτονήθη, διέλαθεν (1).

(1) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 16.

[*B*] *He wrote a great number of Books.*] Photius tells us (2), that he wrote above a thouſand Orations, and that himſelf had ſeen xlix of his Sermons, Sozomen obſerves (3), that he compoſed three hundred thouſand Verſes; among which were thoſe, which he wrote in imitation of Ammonius, the ſon of Bardeſanes, who had compoſed ſeveral Hymns, in the Syriac Language, which were ſung with great pleaſure by the Syrians. But St. Ephrem perceiving that Ammonius had introduc'd in theſe Hymns ſome notions of his father and the Greek Philoſophers concerning the Soul, and the origin and deſtruction of the Body, and the Regeneration, περὶ ψυχῆς, γενέσεως τε ϗ φθορᾶς σώματος, ϗ παλιγγενεσίας, he wrote ſeveral pieces agreeable to the doctrine of the Church, particularly Hymns and Panegyrics on the Saints, which were ſo highly admired by the Syrians, that they ſung them to the tunes of Ammonius (4). He wrote all his works in Syriac; but a great part of them is ſaid to have been tranſlated into Latin during his life-time. His Commentaries on the Scriptures, and his controverſial Treatiſes are loſt; but we have a great number of diſcourſes, moral precepts, and hymns, tranſlated into Greek, and publiſhed under his name. Several Critics, who, ſays Du Pin (5), *have no reliſh for works relating to a monaſtic life*, have aſſerted that all the writings aſcribed to St. Ephrem are ſuppoſititious. Andrew Rivetus in particular maintains (6), that theſe writings do not ſhew that *acumen ingenii*, diſcovered by St. Jerom even in the Tranſlation of our Author's Book concerning the Holy Ghoſt, nor appear worthy to be *read publickly in the Churches after the Scripture*, unleſs that paſſage of his Book *De variis inferni Tormentis* (7) be agreeable to Scripture, where it is ſaid, that the damned in hell ſhall call upon the Saints, *Salvete omnes Sancti, ſalvete Apoſtoli, Prophetæ ac Martyres, ſalve Patriarcharum cœtus, ſalve Monachorum agmen, ſalve & tu Domina ſancta Dei Genetrix Virgo*, &c. Rivetus then obſerves, that St. Ephrem is almoſt univerſally allowed not to have underſtood the Greek Language; and conſequently, that thoſe Treatiſes are to be exploded, which appear to have been written by an Author, who evidently quotes (8) Greek Writers, and particularly Irenæus *contra Hæreſes L. 1. C. 1.* and St. Athanaſius's Life of St. Anthony. The Critic afterwards points out ſome inconſiſtencies in theſe writings. Monſr. Du Pin endeavours to anſwer all theſe objections (9). But Caſimir Oudin (10) is of opinion, that he has not ſucceeded in the attempt. However Dr. Cave (11) ſtiles the objections to the works aſcribed to St. Ephrem ſlight, and for the moſt part trifling; and obſerves, that if we meet with any thing in thoſe writings leſs worthy of the holy Father, or not ſo eaſily reconcileable with other paſſages, it is to be imputed to our ignorance of the Syriac manner of ſpeaking, or the defect of the Tranſlations, rather than to the want of judgment in St. Ephrem himſelf; or that if they are really errors, they are to be excuſed in a man of his great zeal, ſimplicity, and piety. *Leves plane ſunt ut plurimum exceptiunculæ, quæ ſcriptis ejus intentari ſolent. Si quæ occurrant, quæ ſancto Patre minus dignæ, aut quæ aliis locis non benè convenire videntur, noſtræ potius Syriacè loquendi modorum inſcitiæ, vel verſionibus ex verſione malè factis, quam Ephræmi inelegantiæ & inſcitiæ imputari poſſent; quin ſi revera errores eſſent, ſummo hominis zelo, ſimplicitati, ac pietati condonari debeant.* The firſt, who publiſh'd any of our Author's works, was Ambroſius Camaldulenſis, who tranſlated ſome of them into Latin, which were printed at Breſcia in 1490, at Straſbourg in 1509, and at Cologne in 1547. After this Gerard Voſſius or Volkens of Borchloon in Germany, collected all the writings of this Father, and tranſlated them, and publiſhed them in three Tomes; viz. the firſt tome, dedicated to Pope Sixtus V, in 1589; the ſecond, dedicated to Pope Clement VIII, in 1593; and the third in 1598. Theſe three Tomes were reprinted in one Volume at Cologne in 1603, and Antwerp in 1619. Ecchellenſis publiſhed at Rome in 1645, *Canticum de Maria & Magis*, tranſlated from the Syriac. Monſr. Cotelier has publiſhed the Greek of the Panegyric on St. Baſil written by St. Ephrem, in his laſt Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, printed at Paris in 1686 (12). A beautiful Edition of his works was printed at Oxford in fol. in 1708.

(2) *Biblioth.* Cod. 196.

(3) *Ubi ſupra.*

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Pag. 146.

(6) *Critici Sacri* cap. 21. pag. 339. & ſeqq.

(7) Tom. 1. n. 56. edit. Voſſian. Romæ 1589.

(8) *De Virtute*, cap. 8.

(9) Pag. 146, 147, 148.

(10) *Commentar. de Scriptorib. & Scriptis Eccleſiaſticis*, tom. 1. col. 510. edit. Francofurti 1722.

(11) *Hiſt. Liter.* pag. 150. edit. Collon. Allobrogum 1721.

(12) Du Pin, pag. 151.

[*C*] *He had an extreme averſion to the Hereſies of Sabellius, Arius, and Apollinarius.*] St. Gregory Nyſſen in his Panegyric upon him relates a very remarkable ſtory concerning his treatment of Apollinarius; who having written two Books, in which he had inſerted all the Arguments and paſſages, which he made uſe of in defence of his opinion, and intruſted them with a Lady; St. Ephrem pretended to be of Apollinarius's ſentiments, and borrowed the Books of the Lady; but before he returned them, he glewed all the leaves together. The Lady ſaw the binding of the Books to be the ſame as before, but did not diſcover what had been done with them, and returned them to Apollinarius to be made uſe of in a public conference, which he was to have with a Catholic; but he not being able to open his Books, was forced to go away with diſgrace.

He was a man of the greateſt ſeverity of morals, and ſo ſtrict an obſerver of chaſtity, that he avoided the ſight of Women [D]. In his youth he had been of a very choleric diſpoſition; which he afterwards reſtrained in ſuch a manner, that he was never ſeen to be angry with any man (*i*). His charity was very exemplary [E]. He died on the 1ſt of February 378 under the Emperor Valens (*k*). Upon his death-bed he exhorted the Monks who were about him to remember him in their prayers, and forbid them to preſerve his cloaths as relicks (*l*), and ordered his body to be interred without the leaſt funeral pomp, or any monument erected to him (*m*).

(*i*) Sozomen, *ubi ſupra*.

(*k*) Du Pin, pag. 151.

(*l*) Idem, ibid.

(*m*) Cave, pag. 150.

[D] *So ſtrict an obſerver of chaſtity, that he avoided the ſight of women.*] Sozomen tells us (13), that a certain woman of diſſolute character, either on purpoſe to tempt him, or elſe being hired to it by others, met him on purpoſe in a narrow paſſage, and earneſtly ſtared him in the face. St. Ephrem ſharply rebuked her for this, and bid her look down upon the ground. But the woman ſaid: *Why ſhould I do ſo, ſince I am not made out of the earth, but of thee? It is more reaſonable that thou ſhouldſt look upon the ground, from which thou hadſt thy original; but that I ſhould look upon thee, from whom I was procreated.* St. Ephrem wondering at the woman, wrote a Book of theſe paſſages between them, which the moſt learned of the Syrians eſteemed one of the beſt of his performances.

(13) *Ubi ſupra.*

[E] *His charity was very exemplary.*] Edeſſa having been long afflicted with a plague, he quitted his cell, and applying himſelf to the rich men, expoſtulated ſeverely with them, for ſuffering the poor to ſtarve, while they in a covetous manner kept their riches by them to the deſtruction of their own ſouls: which he ſhewed them to be of much greater value than all their wealth, or their bodies themſelves. They were ſo extremely affected with what he ſaid, that they did not regard their riches; "but we do not know, *ſay they*, whom "to intruſt with the diſtribution of them, ſince al-"moſt every man is greedy of gain, and makes a "merchandize and advantage to himſelf upon ſuch oc-"caſions." St. Ephrem anſwered, *What do you judge of me?* They replyed, that they eſteemed him a man of great integrity, as he was univerſally thought to be. *For your ſakes therefore*, ſays he, *I will undertake this work*; and ſo receiving their money, he cauſed three hundred beds to be provided, and laid in the public portico's, and took care of thoſe, who were ſick thro' the famine, as well ſtrangers, and thoſe who had been driven by want out of the country into the city, as the inhabitants of it. And thus he continued, till the famine ceaſing he returned to his cell, where he applied himſelf again to his ſtudies, and died not long after (14).

(14) Sozomen, T. *ubi ſupra.*

☞ EPICHARMUS, an antient Poet and Philoſopher was born in Sicily, according to Horace (*a*), and Suidas (*b*); but Diogenes Laertius tells us (*c*), that he was born in the Iſland of Coos. But his being carried into Sicily, when he was but three months old, firſt to Megara, and afterwards to Syracuſe, might well juſtify the calling him a *Sicilian*, tho' born in another country. Now that he was removed from home ſo early, Laertius brings his own word to vouch; and it is probable therefore that he made uſe of the ſame authority in determining his birth-place (*d*). Laertius tells us, that his father's name was Helothales; but Suidas obſerves, that it was Tityrus or Chimarus, and that his mother was named Sicis. He was a ſcholar of Pythagoras (*e*). He and Phormus are ſaid to have invented Comedy in Syracuſe (*f*); tho' many other places have pretended to the glory of that diſcovery (*g*). He preſented fifty five, or according to others, thirty five plays (*h*). But his works have been ſo long loſt, that even their character is ſcarce on record. Only Horace has preſerved the memory of one of his excellencies [A]. Beſides his Comedies he wrote a great many Treatiſes in Philoſophy and Medicine; which gave occaſion to Aldobrandini (*i*) to make two Authors of this name, one a Comic Writer, and the other a Philoſopher [B]. He died aged 90 years, according to Laertius, or 97, as Lucian aſſerts (*k*). Laertius has preſerved four verſes inſcribed on his ſtatue [C]. Pliny obſerves (*l*) that Ariſtotle thought that Epicharmus added the letters Θ X to the Greek Alphabet, tho' others aſcribe them to Palamedes.

(*a*) Lib. 2. Epiſt. 1. ver. 58.

(*b*) Suidas *in Voce* Ἐπίχαρμος.

(*c*) *De Vitis &c. Philoſophorum*, lib. 8.

(*d*) *Lives and Characters of the Antient Greek Poets. By* Baſil Kennet, M. A. Part 2. pag. 56. edit. London 1697, in 8vo.

(*e*) Laert.

(*f*) Suidas.

(*g*) *Ariſt. Poet.* cap. 3.

(*h*) Suidas.

(*i*) *In Laert.* lib. 3. *in Vitâ Platonis.*

(*k*) *In Macrobiit.*

(*l*) *Hiſt. Nat.* lib. 7. cap. 56.

[A] *Only Horace has preſerved the memory of one of his excellencies.*] He has preſerved it by commending Plautus for copying it, and that is his judicious care of keeping his ſubjects always in view, and following the chace of the intrigue ſo cloſely, as not to give the Reader or Spectator time to trouble themſelves with doubts concerning the diſcovery.

(1) Ep. 1. lib. 2. ver. 58.

Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi (1).

[B] *He wrote a great many Treatiſes in Philoſophy and Medicine; which gave occaſion to Aldobrandini to make two Authors of this name, one a Comic Writer, and the other a Philoſopher.*] But we may venture as Mr. Baſil Kennet obſerves (2), to keep them undivided, becauſe Suidas who ſpeaks only of the Comedies, obſerves, that ſome perſons made *Coos* the birth-place of our Author in the ſame manner as Laertius does, who mentions him chiefly as a Philoſopher. Beſides when Laertius in the Life of Plato has told us, that it was reported that Plato had tranſcribed many things from the writings of Epicharmus the Comedian, he immediately after ſets down an opinion maintained by Plato, and ſubjoins the Phyſical verſes of Epicharmus, whence it may be ſuppoſed to have been borrowed. And even Aldobrandini himſelf when he comes to illuſtrate Laertius's Life of Epicharmus, remarks, that whereas it had been ſaid under the account of Plato, that the Philoſopher was much indebted to our Author, it was meant of his borrowing from the Phyſiological Commentaries, which Laertius places among Epicharmus's works.

(2) *Lives and Characters of the Antient Greek Poets*, lib. 2. pag. 57.

[C] *Laertius has preſerved four verſes inſcribed on his ſtatue.*] They are as follow:

Εἰ τι παραλλάσσει φαεσφόρων μείγας ἅλιος ἄφρων,
Καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζων ἔχει δύναμιν·
Φησὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφίᾳ προέχειν Ἐπίχαρμον,
Ὃν πατρὶς ἐξεφάνως ἄνδρ' Συρακοσίων.

The Starry Train, as far as Phœbus drowns,
And antient Ocean his unequal ſons;
Beyond mankind, we'll Epicharmus own,
On whom juſt Syracuſe beſtowed the crown. KENNET.

T.

(*a*) *See* Giles Boileau, *Vie d'Epictete, & l'Enchiridion, ou l'Abregé de ſa Philoſophie*, edit. Paris 1655 in 8vo.

☞ EPICTETUS, a celebrated antient Philoſopher, was probably born near the end of Nero's reign (*a*), at Hierapolis in Phrygia (*b*). He was a ſlave to Epaphroditus,

(*b*) Suidas, *in voce* Ἐπικτήτος.

ditus [A], a freedman of Nero's, and one of that Emperor's Guards (c). At what time, or by what means he obtained his liberty, we have no certain account; but thus much we are assured of, that upon an Edict of Domitian for banishing all Philosophers from Rome and Italy, about the year 94 of the Christian Æra (d) [B] he withdrew to Nicopolis, a city of Epirus (e). And his being included under that prohibition in the quality of a Philosopher, is a manifest proof that he was a Freeman. For indeed it is not to be imagined that a person whose merit had recommended him to the particular favour and esteem of the Emperors of his time, should be suffered to continue in slavery (f). It hath been generally thought, that after this retreat he never returned any more to Rome, but passed the remainder of his life at Nicopolis. And this opinion is grounded upon Arian's taking express notice in several parts of his collections, that those Discourses of which his Book consists, were made and delivered at Nicopolis. But notwithstanding this conjecture is supported by Salmasius, it still seems to want confirmation (g). For we may observe that Spartian (b) tells us, that the Emperor Hadrian was very intimate with Epictetus; which could not possibly be, if the latter had been constantly resident from the time of Domitian's Edict, in a place so remote as Nicopolis. It does not certainly appear whether he was ever married [C]; but it is unquestionable that he lived in great poverty [D]. Suidas tells us, that he lived to the reign of Marcus Aurelius; and Themistius (i) asserts that he was highly esteemed by that Prince as well as his Predecessor. But this account is rejected by some Writers [E]; though it is certain, that Epictetus lived to a very considerable

(c) Idem, ibid. *and* A. Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 18.

(d) Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 2. Part 1. Art. 18. pag. 171. edit. Bruxelles 1711.

(e) A. Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 11.

(f) Boileau, *ubi supra.*

(g) Idem, ibid.

(b) *In Vitâ Adriani*, cap. 16.

(i) Orat. 3. *ad Jovinian.* pag. 63. d. edit. Harduini Paris. 1684.

which we owe those excellent thoughts, of which Arrian hath preserved some noble remains. And by all these circumstances we may judge how poor this Philosopher was (6).

[A] *He was a slave to Epaphroditus,*] Monsr. de Tillemont (1) is of opinion, that this is the same freedman of Nero, to whom Josephus dedicated almost all his works, and who was afterwards banished, and at last put to death by Domitian in the year 95, because he had assisted Nero in killing himself. In the Preface to Berkelius's Edition of Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, with Wolfius's Notes, printed at Leyden in 1670, this Epaphroditus is mistaken for the person of that name, mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to the *Colos.* iv. 18. who brought that Church's charity to St. Paul at Rome. It is true, as Dr. Stanhope observes (2), that Chapter mentions (3) *Saints of Cæsar's Houshold.* But the character given of Epictetus's master will not incline us to believe him one of them. And tho' it be highly probable, that Epictetus had some knowledge of the Christian Doctrine, (as indeed the Philosophers, who write after the publication of the Gospel, by their way of arguing so much more refined than their Predecessors, seem all to have had,) yet we have little ground to imagine, that a person of such infamous qualities, such insolence, barbarity, and meanness of spirit, as this Epaphroditus, either instructed him in it, or ever imbibed it heartily himself.

(1) *Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. 2. Part. 1. Art. 19. pag. 176. & Part. 2. Art. 20. pag. 451. edit. 2. Bruxelles 1711.

(2) Note on the *Life of Epictetus*, prefixed to his Translation of *Epictetus's Morals, with Simplicius's Comment*, pag. 30. 4th edit. London 1721, in 8vo.

(3) Ver. 23.

[B] *Upon an Edict of Domitian for banishing all the Philosophers from Rome and Italy, about the year 94 of the Christian Æra.*] In the *Chronological Table* subjoined to Giles Boileau's life of Epictetus, cited in the text of this article, the banishment of the Philosophers is placed under the year of Rome 840, and of the Christian Æra 90.

[C] *It does not certainly appear whether he was ever married.*] But as there is not authority sufficient for affirming, so neither is there enough for denying it. For Arrian in several passages takes notice of Epictetus's aversion against the Epicureans, upon this provocation particularly that they spoke in prejudice of marriage. But whether he was a married or a single man, it is highly probable that he had no children; for besides that no Author mentions any such, that repartee of Demonax in Lucian (4) intimates, that he had none; who when Epictetus advised him to marry and leave children, replied, *With all my heart, provided you give me one of your own daughters.*

(4) Lucian. *de Vitâ Demonactis.*

[D] *It is unquestionable, that he lived in great poverty.*] Though Spartian (5) greatly commends Hadrian's generosity and high esteem for the Poets, Orators, Philosophers, Mathematicians, and the masters of any sort of science, (though at the same time no man took more delight in rallying them than he;) yet we have no grounds to believe, that either this Emperor or any of his successors, who professed such veneration for Epictetus, bestowed upon him so much, as might set him above even extreme poverty. The reason of this probably was his obstinate contempt of riches, which would not suffer any favours of that kind to be fastened upon him. And this appeared by his manner of living at Rome, in a little cottage, without so much as a door to it, no attendance but one old woman, and no furniture but an earthen lamp, to the light of

(5) *In Vitâ Hadriani*, cap. 16.

(6) *See* Giles Boileau, *Vie d'Epictete, & l'Enchiridion, ou l'Abregé de sa Philosophie*, edit. Paris 1655 in 8vo.

[E] *But this account is rejected by some Writers.*] Salmasius (7) is of opinion, that Suidas is mistaken; and produces several reasons for thinking so, which Monsr. Giles Boileau considers (8). The first reason is, that Suidas himself tells us, that Epictetus was a slave to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's guards: Δοῦλος ὢν Ἐπαφρόδιτου τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ Βασιλέως Νέρωνος. Now from the death of Nero to the beginning of Marcus Aurelius's reign there intervened no less than ninety four years. That which adds more to the improbability of this account, is, that we must suppose Epictetus some years old, before he was capable either of doing Epaphroditus any service, or of removing from Hierapolis to Rome. So that, according to this computation, Epictetus may be presumed to have reached an hundred and fifteen years or thereabouts, which is not very easy to believe. This conjecture carries somewhat of argument in it, tho' it be not absolutely conclusive, because as Lipsius (9) hath observed judiciously enough, it is possible, that he might not be taken into Epaphroditus's family till after Nero's death. But in answer to this solution, it may be replied, that Epaphroditus being distinguished by the title of one of the guards of Nero, it is more credible, that Nero was living at the time when Epictetus belonged to him, and that he served him whilst in that quality. II. The second argument is, that Marcus Aurelius (10) does not reckon this Philosopher among the persons, with whom he had any conversation, but only speaks of reading some discourses of his, which Junius Rusticus had communicated to him. But this argument seems to carry less strength than the former. For besides that Epictetus had retired to Nicopolis long before that time, we may allow his death to have happened much about the beginning of this Emperor's reign. Suidas affirms no more than that he lived till the time of Marcus Aurelius: διατείνας μέχρι Μαρκου Ἀντωνίνου. And he might very well be supposed to live till the beginning of his reign, without implying any necessity of this Emperor's seeing his discourses till after the Author was dead. III. The third reason appears to be of little or no importance. Epictetus's lamp was sold in Lucian's time (11); and from thence it is inferred, that Epictetus was dead, before that sale was made. But this is of no consequence at all. For we have all the reason imaginable to believe, that Lucian out lived Marcus Aurelius. And so this Lamp being sold while Lucian was yet alive, is no bar to Epictetus's being alive in the reign of Marcus. Nay, it might very well happen, that the Lamp might be sold in Epictetus's own life time; and if this be admitted, that circumstance will create us no difficulty at all. IV. The fourth is, that Aulus Gellius (12), who wrote under Antoninus Pius, or at least in the very beginning of Marcus Aurelius, says of Epictetus, that the memory of that Philosopher was still fresh at

(7) *In Annot. ad Epictet. & Simplicium.*

(8) *Vie d'Epictete, ubi supra.*

(9) *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosoph.* lib. 1. edit. Antwerp. 1604.

(10) Lib. 1. cap. 7. edit. London 1643.

(11) *See* Lucian. *in Dialog.* πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὠνούμενον.

(12) Lib. 2. cap. 18.

derable age (*k*). Marcus Aurelius mentions it as one part of his happineſs, not that he had learned any thing of Epictetus himſelf, but that he had read his writings (*l*). He was a man of great modeſty, which was eminent in his own practice, as well as in his recommendation to others (*m*). Hence he uſed to ſay (*n*) that there is no need of adorning a man's houſe with rich hangings or paintings ſince the moſt graceful furniture is temperance and modeſty (*o*), which are laſting ornaments, and will never be the worſe for wearing. And as no man of his age did ſo much good as he did, ſo no body was more induſtrious to conceal the good which he did [*F*]. Another inſtance of his freedom from vanity was, that though no perſon whatſoever was better qualified to become an Author, yet

(*k*) Lucian. *in Dialog.* πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὠνούμενον.

(*l*) Marci Aurelii Antonini *Opus de ſeipſo*, lib. 1. pag. 7. edit. London 1643.

(*m*) Boileau, *ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) Stob. Serm. 38.

(*o*) Arrian, lib. 4. cap. 8.

Rome. But Salmaſius hath not produced that paſſage intire; for A. Gellius does not ſpeak there of his memory in general; but of every body's remembering that he had been a ſlave; which alters the caſe very much. V. The laſt reaſon alledged by Salmaſius is taken from that expreſſion of A. Gellius (3), *I have heard Favorinus ſay*; and ſince Favorinus died under Hadrian, Salmaſius concludes it impoſſible for Epictetus not to have died before the reign of Marcus Aurelius. But this reaſon is not convincing, becauſe Favorinus might very well inform A. Gellius what Epictetus had ſaid upon ſome certain occaſions, though Epictetus himſelf was ſtill alive. But ſtill it muſt be confeſſed, that there is ſome ground for urging it. For A. Gellius, who wrote his Book under Antoninus Pius, the Predeceſſor of Marcus Aurelius, when he mentions Epictetus, does it in theſe terms; *Epictetus would ſay, That venerable old man uſed to ſay, Such a perſon hath told me, that Epictetus was wont to ſay*, and the like. Now this is a manner of ſpeaking very unuſual and odd, when the perſon ſpoken of is yet in being. And indeed Salmaſius's opinion is the more convincing, becauſe it ſeems highly probable, that Epictetus was dead before the compoſing of Arrian's Book, in which he collects his diſcourſes. And if this be the caſe, there appears to be no poſſibility, that Suidas's account of his living down to the time of Marcus Aurelius ſhould ſtand good. For it is evident, that this Book was publiſhed before A. Gellius wrote his *Noctes Atticæ*; and that is as much as to ſay, that it was well known, and commonly read in the reign of Antoninus Pius. It may indeed be objected, that Arrian might collect and publiſh thoſe Diſſertations before the death of his maſter; but it is not very probable that he did ſo, ſince it is a very extraordinary thing to ſet forth the diſcourſes and memorable actions of a perſon ſurviving the publication. And therefore without ſome authority to warrant ſuch a conjecture, bare preſumption ought not to prevail for its being received. One difficulty more occurs, which Salmaſius takes no notice of, and yet ſeems to be as conſiderable as any of the former. It is the ſpace of time between the death of Nero and the edict of Domitian for baniſhing the Philoſophers. Now this very little, if at all exceeds twenty years (14). For that Edict is placed in the eighth of Domitian (15); and if Lipſius's notion be admitted, that Epictetus did not ſerve Epaphroditus, till after Nero's death, the difficulty grows yet more upon us. For at that rate he could not be above eighteen or nineteen at moſt, when he left Rome, in obedience to the Emperor's prohibition. But this is never to be reconciled with A. Gellius's account, who ſpeaks of him, as a perſon of great repute at that time, and obliged to retire to Nicopolis, in the quality of a Philoſopher concerned in the Edict. We can hardly allow him this character at leſs than thirty years old; and according to that calculation, to bring him down as far as Marcus Aurelius's reign, will require an hundred and eight or nine years. And yet ſo many we cannot afford him neither, when it is remembered, that Lucian, who was his contemporary, makes no mention of him in his dialogue *concerning perſons who lived to a great age* (16). It muſt be owned, that Euſebius takes notice of a ſecond Edict againſt the Philoſophers, not publiſhed till the fifteenth of Domitian; but beſides that he ſtands ſingle in this point, and is not ſtrengthened by the teſtimony of any other Chronologer or Hiſtorian, Scaliger (17) hath obſerved expreſſly, that the decree meant by A. Gellius (which is plainly that under debate at preſent) was publiſhed in the eighth year of Domitian. This argument is of ſo great weight with Monſr. Boileau (18), that it would quite bear down all that Suidas hath ſaid, were it not for the paſſage of Themiſtius (19), where he poſitively affirms, that the two Antonines ſhewed Epictetus particular marks of their favour and eſteem. But this objection too may be taken off by replying, that Orators in their ſpeeches do not always tie themſelves up to the ſame rules of exactneſs, which are ſtrictly required of a faithful Hiſtorian; or elſe by ſaying, that Marcus Aurelius might expreſs an honour for Epictetus in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and before he came to be Emperor himſelf; or laſtly, that this veneration was paid to his character and memory after the perſon was dead. And this we plainly find done in the Book which he has left us, where Epictetus is mentioned upon ſeveral occaſions with a more than ordinary reſpect. *Upon the whole matter*, ſays Monſ. Boileau (20) *the difficulties on both ſides of the queſtion are ſuch, that I will not take upon me to determine either way; but ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with thus laying before my Reader what may be ſaid for and againſt this relation of Suidas. And yet, if I may be admitted to interpoſe my own private opinion, this, I confeſs, inclines rather to Salmaſius; and I am apt to think Epictetus was dead before Marcus Aurelius began to reign. For beſides that Suidas is not always in the right, we have an inſtance in the perſon before us, where he is manifeſtly in the wrong; that, I mean, in which he affirms Epictetus himſelf to have been a great writer of books. And he who hath miſtaken in this point, may be preſumed to have miſtaken in the calculation of his age too.* Monſr. Menage (21) inſiſts upon the account of Suidas, which he ſuppoſes was taken by that Author from ſome antient Writer, and is confirmed by Themiſtius in the paſſage referred to above; which paſſage Menage tells us he ſhewed to Salmaſius, who obſerved upon it that he thought himſelf obliged to re-examine his former opinion. Menage affirms, that this critic's arguments againſt Suidas are of no manner of force, which he promiſed to prove in ſome other place. *Epictetus uſque ad Marci tempora vitam produxit, ut Suidas refert, qui id procul dubio ab aliquo ſcriptore antiquo acceperat. In quo non falli Suidam, ut ad Epicteti Enchiridion eum falli Salmaſius contendit, patet ex Themiſtio, auctore non contemnendo, qui Oratione XII. duos Antoninos Epicteto plurimum tribuiſſe ait; quod niſi de Pio & Marco intelligi non poteſt. Hunc Themiſtii locum cum olim Salmaſio oſtendiſſem, memini illum dicere, de ſuâ ſententiâ amplius cogitandum. Certè illius argumenta, quibus Suidam refellere tentat, nihil evincunt, ut alibi oſtendemus.*

[*F*] *As no man of his age did ſo much good as he did, ſo no body was more induſtrious to conceal the good which he did.*] This gave occaſion to the rules, which we meet with in his *Enchiridion* (22): "If you have ſo "far maſter'd your appetite, as to have brought your "body to coarſe fare, and to be well contented with "mere neceſſity, do not glory in your abſtemious "diet. And if you drink nothing but water, pro"claim not your own ſobriety upon every occaſion. "Or if you would inure yourſelf to hardſhip, do it "for your own benefit, not to attract the admiration "of the people. Let vain-glorious fools embrace ſta"tues in the ſtreets, to ſhew the crowd how long they "can endure the cold; but let your trials of yourſelf "be private. And if you would be hardy in good "earneſt, when you are almoſt quite parched with ex"treme thirſt, take cold water in your mouth; then "deny yourſelf the ſatisfaction of drinking, and ſpit "it out again, and tell no body (23)." Ὅταν ἐντελῶς ἠρμοσμένον ᾖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, μὴ καλλωπίζου ἐπὶ τούτῳ· μηδ' ἂν ὕδωρ πίνῃς, ἐκ παντὸς ἀφορμῆς λέγε ὅτι ὕδωρ πίνεις. Κἂν ἀσκῆσαί ποτε πρὸς πόνον θέλῃς, σεαυτῷ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἔξω, μὴ τοῦ ἀνθρωπάριου περιλάμβανε, ἀλλὰ δίψῶν ποτὲ σφοδρῶς, ἐπίσπασαι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, καὶ ἔκπτυσον, καὶ μηδενὶ εἰπῇς.

(21) *Obſervat. & Emendation. in Diogenem Laertium*, lib. 1. pag. 1. edit. Amſtelodami 1692.

(22) Cap. 70.

(23) Stanhope's Tranſlation.

(13) Lib. 17. cap. 19.

(14) Euſeb. *in Chronic.*

(15) Boileau, *ubi ſupra.* Tillemont, tom. 2. Part 1. pag. 171. places it in the 13th or 14th year of that Emperor.

(16) *Macrobii.*

(17) *In Animadverſion. in Euſeb.*

(18) *Vie d'Epictete*, ubi ſupra.

(19) *Orat.* 3. *ad Jovin.* edit. Harduini.

(20) *Ubi ſupra.*

yet he left nothing of his own compoſition behind him [G]. It was his judgment, that a true Philoſopher was obliged to diſtinguiſh himſelf, not ſo much by what he ſpoke, as by what he did [H]. He was a great lover of neatneſs; and ſaid upon occaſions, that he had much rather ſee one of his ſcholars come to him well dreſſed and curled, and had more hopes of ſuch an one's improvement, than of one who was negligent of his habit. He had the misfortune of an ill perſon himſelf, and was lame [I], by means of a defluxion of an humour, which fell into his leg. The meanneſs of his fortune had no influence upon the greatneſs of his ſoul; nor could he be brought to a ſervile flattery of perſons in the moſt exalted ſtations, but dealt with them very plainly, when he ſaw occaſion [K]. His patience was very extraordinary; for while he was a ſlave to Epaphroditus,

[G] *He left nothing of his own compoſition behind him.*] Suidas indeed tells us, that *he wrote a great many Books.* Ἔγραψε πολλὰ. But this is generally allowed to be a miſtake (24). And Jo. Daniel Snecanus, M. D. in his Notes upon the *Enchiridion* (25) informs us, that tho' this piece is aſcribed to Epictetus, it was written by Arrian, as appears evidently from Simplicius's Preface to his Commentary on the *Enchiridion*; in which he remarks, that it is called ſo, becauſe all perſons, who are deſirous to live as they ought, ſhould be perfect in this Book, and have it always at hand: a Book of as conſtant and neceſſary uſe, as the ſword (which commonly went by this name, and from whence the metaphor ſeems to be taken) is to a ſoldier. Simplicius likewiſe informs us, that the deſign of it (if men would but ſuffer themſelves to be wrought upon by it, and would reduce what they read into practice) is, to ſet our ſouls as free, as when their great Father and Creator firſt gave them to us; to diſengage them from all thoſe ſlaviſh fears, and confounding troubles, and other corruptions of human nature, which are wont to ſubdue and tyrannize over them. "The inſtructions "he gives, are built upon human nature; and on the "foundation of them all is man, conſidered as a ra"tional ſoul, making uſe of the body, as an inſtru"ment of operation. Upon this account he allows "all thoſe innocent pleaſures, which nature requires, "and ſuch as are neceſſary to keep up a ſucceſſion of "mankind in the world; and ſo he does likewiſe the "enjoyment of ſuch other things, as the condition of "the preſent life makes deſirable to us. But then it "is conſtantly with this reſerve, that the reaſoning "faculty preſerve its own liberty, ſo as not to be in"ſlaved to the body, or any of its ſenſual inclinati"ons; but be conſtantly raiſing itſelf up above theſe, "and aſpiring to the enjoyment of its own proper "happineſs. So that we may take the advantage of "all the world calls good, which can any ways con"duce to our true happineſs, provided it be done with "due temper and moderation. But as for ſuch as are "wholly inconſiſtent with that true happineſs, we are "abſolutely forbidden the having any thing at all to "do with them (26)." Simplicius remarks, that one remarkable excellency of theſe writings, is, that they render all, who govern themſelves by them, truly happy at preſent, and do not content themſelves with turning men over to a long payment by diſtant promiſes of their virtue's being rewarded in a future ſtate. Not but that there muſt certainly ſhall be ſuch a ſtate, and ſuch rewards; for it is impoſſible, that that Being, which makes uſe of the Body, and of its appetites and affections, as ſo many inſtruments to act by, ſhould not have a diſtinct nature of its own; a nature, which continues entire, after theſe are loſt and deſtroyed; and conſequently, it muſt needs have a perfection of its own too, peculiar and agreeable to its eſſence and nature. *Now tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe the ſoul to be mortal, and that it and the body periſh both together; yet he that lives according to theſe directions, will be ſure to find his account in them; for he cannot fail of being a truly happy man, becauſe he attains to the perfection of his nature, and the enjoyment of that good, which is accommodated to a rational ſoul. And thus the body of a man, which is confeſſedly mortal, enjoys its own proper happineſs, and can aſk nothing further, when it attains to all that vigour and perfection, of which the nature of a body is capable. The Diſcourſes themſelves are ſhort and ſententious; much after the manner of thoſe precepts, which the* Pythagoreans *call their* Memorandums *or* Moral Inſtitutions; *tho' among theſe indeed there is ſome ſort of method and connexion, and a mutual relation almoſt all through. . . . . And theſe obſervations and maxims tho' they be put into diſtinct chapters, are all yet upon one ſubject, and belong to the ſame ſubject, viz.* that of amending the life of man. *They are directed to one and the ſame end, which is to rouſe and invigorate the reaſonable ſoul, that it may maintain its own dignity, and exert all its powers in ſuch operations, as are agreeable to uncorrupt nature* (27).

(24) See the latter end of the Note [E].

(25) Pag. 267. edit. Amſtelod. 1670.

(26) *Simplic. Comment. in Epictet.* Dr. Stanhope's *Tranſlation.*

(27) Idem, ibid.

[H] *It was his judgment, that a true Philoſopher was obliged to diſtinguiſh himſelf, not ſo much by what he ſpoke, as by what he did.*] This we are informed of by Arrian (28). One day Epictetus meeting with a certain perſon, who was angry at being pitied, Epictetus repreſented to him how very unjuſt that anger was, ſince his very being out of humour upon ſuch an occaſion was an evident proof, that his caſe was ſo wretched as to call for pity (29). Another time, upon meeting a man of a moſt profligate life and infamous character, who had yet the confidence to ſet up for learning and philoſophy, he accoſted him thus: "O ſenſe"leſs creature, what is it thou wouldeſt be at? Haſt "thou been careful to ſee that thy veſſel be ſweet and "clean, before thou put any liquor into it? For if "that be not ſeaſoned, whatever is poured into it, "will turn ſour as vinegar, rank as urine, or if you "can think of any thing yet more offenſive and cor"rupt than either (30)." Aulus Gellius, who cites the paſſage, gives it this commendation, that nothing could be more weighty, nothing more true; meaning, that when moral principles, or any ſort of uſeful knowledge, are infuſed into a ſoul depreſſed and polluted with vicious habits; this, like a foul Veſſel, gives them ſuch a tincture, that they preſently become good for nothing, and turn all to corruption.

(28) Lib. 2. cap. 19. lib. 3. cap. 12, &c.

(29) Idem, lib. 4. cap. 6.

(30) A. Gellius, lib. 17. cap. 19.

[I] *He . . . . was lame.*] This he acknowledged very frankly in an Epigram compoſed by himſelf, and quoted by A. Gellius (31);

(31) Lib. 2. cap. 18.

Δοῦλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμην, καὶ σώματι πήρος,
Καὶ πενίην Ἴρος, καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτοις.

Altho' by birth a ſlave, in body lame,
In fortune poor, yet dear to heaven I am.

Planudes in his *Anthologia* muſt needs be miſtaken in attributing this Epigram to Leonidas, becauſe, as Salmaſius hath rightly obſerved, he was a Poet of note long before Epictetus's time. But then Salmaſius himſelf will not allow this to be compoſed by Epictetus, imagining that ſome half-witted Pedant firſt made, and then inſerted it into the text of A. Gellius. The only argument alledged for this opinion, is, that this Epigram is not to be found in any ancient manuſcript of A. Gellius. But admitting this to be ſo, if the conjecture be true, we muſt ſay, that the ſame pedant foiſted it into Macrobius too: for he alſo quotes it for Epictetus's own (32). However there is one reaſon, which would incline Monſr. Boileau to ſuſpect his being the Author of it, which is the inconſiſtence, that appears for a man of our Philoſopher's ſingular modeſty and humility, to ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of himſelf. But Caſaubon will by no means admit of this argument, but contends for a very different ſenſe of this diſtich, and thinks it deſigned only to ſhew, that the proſperity or adverſity men meet with in the affairs of the world, ought not to be eſteemed a diſtinguiſhing mark of their being more or leſs favourites of heaven.

(32) Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 11.

[K] *Nor could he be brought to a ſervile flattery of perſons in the moſt exalted ſtations, but dealt with them very plainly, when he ſaw occaſion.*] Speaking of Princes and Tyrants, the power, which they boaſt over their inferiors, and the ſubmiſſions, which they expect upon that account, he expreſſes himſelf to this purpoſe,

tus, his maſter one day took a frolick to wrench his leg. Epictetus obſerving him delight in ſo barbarous a pleaſure, and that he continued it with greater violence, ſaid with a ſmile, and free from any emotion, "If you go on, you will certainly break my leg." And when it happened ſo, all the return which he made was this, "Did not I tell you, "Sir, that you would break my leg?" Celſus, who relates this ſtory (*p*), pretends that this conſtancy of our Philoſopher was ſuperior to that of Chriſt. In him the habit of ſuffering was ſo maſterly, that no man ever had learned that art more perfectly [*L*]; and in the mean time he juſtly diſtinguiſhed between courage and foolhardineſs [*M*]. In ſhort he made his whole Philoſophy conſiſt in continence and patience; for which reaſon he had always thoſe two words in his mouth, *bear* and *forbear* (*q*). He all along profeſſed the Stoic Philoſophy [*N*], which was of all others the moſt ſevere and exalted. Fancy and Fortune, the two things by which mankind are governed, were what he waged war againſt during his whole life [*O*]. He entirely renounced all the Delights which gratify the ſenſes to

(*p*) *See* Origen. *contra Celſum*, lib. 7. pag. 368. edit. Cantabrig. 1658.

(*q*) Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου.

purpoſe (33): "Theſe great people are much in the "wrong, when they value themſelves upon the de"ference and ſervices paid them by thoſe under their "juriſdiction. Do they think all this court is made "to them for their own ſakes? Nothing leſs. Each "man, that makes it, hath a regard to his particu"lar intereſt; and, when ſuch addreſſes ceaſe to be "the intereſt of their ſubjects, the Prince quickly finds "himſelf neglected and deſpiſed. We take care of "ſuch, as we do of beaſts of burden, as we feed and "rub down our horſes, that they may be capable of "doing us better ſervice. We adore them, as the "men of Rome ſacrifice to diſeaſes; if the fever "have altars, it is from the fear of being hurt by it." And in another place he ſays (34): *Why all theſe terrors? What is it that they can do to us, which we ſhould be ſo much afraid of? The worſt their malice can inflict upon us is death. And muſt we not of neceſſity die, ſome time, and ſome way or other? If we cannot avoid going out of the world, what mighty matter is it how we go? Nay is not that the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way, which violence and rage ſends us out by? Was any Tyrant ever ſo cruel to his bittereſt enemy, as to be killing him ſix months together? And why then is not ſuch a death rather to be choſen, than a hectic fever, which oftentimes is whole years before it has diſpatched us?* He takes great freedom with thoſe, who fancy themſelves free, becauſe they were nobly deſcended. "You think, *ſays he* (35), becauſe you have been "twice Conſul, your father was a Senator, and you "are the Emperor's favourite, that your quality makes "you more free, than others of a meaner birth and "fortune. Alas! you are more a ſlave, than the "deſpiſed man, who was born ſo; and his condition "is more at large than yours. He may be ſome"times ill uſed by a barbarous maſter, but you are "perpetually plagued and haraſſed by as many ma"ſters as you have ungoverned paſſions. The differ"ence is, that he is a ſlave in hemp and hair-cloth, "and you in ſilk and tiſſue."

(33) Arrian, lib. 1. cap. 19.

(34) Idem, lib. 2. cap. 6.

(35) Idem, lib. 4. cap. 1.

[*L*] *In him the habit of ſuffering was ſo maſterly, that no man ever had learned that art more perfectly.*] He needed no partakers in his afflictions, to ſoften them; but had all the guard within himſelf. Nay he thought it a ſign of a very corrupt nature for a man to ſolace himſelf from other's ſharing in his miſeries, as if what any one felt were abated or increaſed in proportion as his neighbours felt more or leſs. And he would expoſe the ridiculous folly of thoſe, who aggravated their own misfortunes by the conſideration of their being ſingular. *What*, ſays he, *in caſe you were condemned to be beheaded, muſt all mankind be ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment merely for the ſake of giving you that fantaſtical comfort, that other people ſuffer as well as you* (36)?

(36) *See* Giles Boileau, *Vie d'Epictete.*

[*M*] *In the mean time he juſtly diſtinguiſhed between courage and foolhardineſs.*] He adviſed no man to chooſe a rough way, if he had it in his power to take a ſmooth one; nor to climb rocks and precipices, when Providence allowed him to travel this journey of life upon even ground. He was not like that ſturdy Philoſopher, who would rather ſuffer a carriage to drive over his body, than turn out of the way to avoid it. When his maſter broke his leg, he bore it patiently; but he could have been very well ſatisfied to have found him better natured. He thought it as much a reproach to run into danger, as to run away from it; and tho' honour obliges men to encounter it, when it aſſaults them, yet he acknowledged no ſuch high-flown punctilio as ſhould render it commendable to prefer it before ſafety, and make it their own act and deed. When reaſon leads us on, then he admits of no changing a right courſe, upon the account of any hazards and inconveniences, which may attend our perſevering in it (37). To ſuch occaſions we muſt apply what he ſays of the advantage ſuch tryals are to good men. "Had *Hercules* ſate at home by the fire"ſide, and paſſed his life in effeminate eaſe and in"dulgence, he had never been *Hercules* (38). They "were the lyon, the hydra, the boar, and all thoſe "monſters he ſo laborioufly defeated, which exerciſed "his gallantry. What honour had he acquired, if his "virtue had not been thus dangerouſly employed? "What benefit had mankind reap'd from ſo great a "ſoul, if he had declined the occaſions of exerting "it (39)?" This plainly ſhews, that he did not think thoſe monſters deſirable things; but only maintained the combating with and quelling of them, to have been an occaſion of diſcovering what kind of perſon Hercules was, and of perpetuating his glory in the world.

(37) Idem, ibid.

(38) Arrian, lib. 2. cap. 16.

(39) Idem, lib. 1. cap. 6.

[*N*] *He all along profeſſed the Stoic Philoſophy.*] No man of all the Antients was more expert at reducing the rigour of their maxims and precepts into practice. For tho' he was one of the laſt, who formally applied himſelf to the rules of this ſect, yet he was one of the greateſt ornaments of it. He conformed himſelf in his diſcourſe and behaviour to the manner of Socrates, Zeno and Diogenes. And upon undertaking any thing of moment, uſed in the firſt place to conſider what one of thoſe worthies would have done upon a like occaſion. Whenever he reproved any perſon for his vices, or inſtructed him in virtue, it was his conſtant cuſtom to quote ſome of theſe Philoſophers for examples. In ſhort he reverenced them, as perſons of an extraordinary character far above the common ſtandard; but above all, he was an admirer of Socrates, and formed his ſtyle upon the model, which he had ſet him. The compariſons which he made uſe of in all his diſcourſes, were ſo familiar, ſo apt, ſo juſt in every circumſtance, that every body was inſenſibly won over by them. He did not affect elegance and politeneſs in ſpeaking; but was content with making himſelf intelligible, and delivering ſound and good ſenſe in perſpicuous and ſignificant terms. In this too he copied after Socrates, as indeed he did throughout, making him his univerſal pattern for all his actions, and all his inſtructions. Though he bore a particular regard to Pyrrho himſelf, yet he was a moſt irreconcileable enemy to the ridiculous ſcepticiſm, which went under his name (40).

(40) Giles Boileau, *ubi ſupra.*

[*O*] *Fancy and fortune, the two things, by which mankind are governed, were what he waged war againſt during his whole life.*] With regard to the former, he obſerved, that all the moſt important events of human life, all the revolutions, which make the greateſt noiſe in ſtory, were at the bottom nothing but fancy and humour. *What is the whole Iliad of Homer, but a ſucceſſion of moſt unreaſonable humours? Paris took a fancy to carry off Menelaus's wife, and Helena to go away with him. Now if her huſband had been ſo prudent, as to account the loſs of ſuch a wife, rather a deliverance than an affliction, the whole jeſt had been ſpoiled. We had had neither Iliad nor Odyſſey. But upon his being as extravagantly humourſome as the reſt, followed wars and tumults, the ſlaughter of infinite innocent men,*

to devote himſelf ſolely to the nobler ſatisfactions of the ſoul [*P*]. But that which ſeems to be the peculiar glory of Epictetus, is, that of all the antient Philoſophers, he ſeems to have made the neareſt approaches to the Chriſtian Morality, and to have entertained more juſt and becoming notions concerning the nature and providence of God, than any who were unenlightened with the Goſpel. St. Auguſtine (*r*), notwithſtanding his violent prejudice againſt the generality of the Heathen Sages, ſpeaks of him with great reſpect, and honours him with the character of a wiſe and exceeding good man. Another excellence peculiar to himſelf is, that he admitted of all the ſeverity of the Stoics, without taking in any of their ſourneſs. He hath nothing of that inſolence ſo uſual with that ſect of making their romantick wiſe man in a manner equal to God. He rejected their chimerical and impracticable perfections; ſo that he reformed Stoiciſm, as well as profeſſed it. And beſides his vindicating the immortality of the ſoul as ſtrenuouſly as ever any Stoic did, he declared openly againſt ſelf-murder, the lawfulneſs of which was maintained by the reſt of this ſect [*Q*]. His reputation was ſo great, that Lucian who calls him a wonderful man, rallies an ignorant fellow for purchaſing Epictetus's earthen lamp at three thouſand drachms, upon a vain imagination, that ſtudying by the light of this lamp would inſpire him with the wiſdom of its former maſter (*s*). Arrian his Diſciple wrote a large account of his life and death which is now loſt (*t*). Hadrian Reland publiſhed at Utrecht in 1711 in 4to a beautiful Edition of his *Enchiridion*.

(*r*) *De Civit. Dei, apud* Boileau, *ubi ſupra.*

(*s*) Lucian. *in Dialog.* πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὠνούμενον.

(*t*) Simplic. *in Epictet.*

and the utter ſubverſion of ſeveral antient cities. And this, in good truth, is the general way of the world (41). The latter viz. Fortune he uſed to compare to a woman of quality, who proſtituted herſelf to ſervants. "The life "which men lead in dependence upon fortune, he "would reſemble to a torrent foul and rapid, whoſe "ſtream is dangerous to paſs, fierce in its courſe, and "yet runs quickly off. On the other hand, a man "devoted to virtue he compared to a perpetual unex-"hauſted ſpring, whoſe waters are clear and ſmooth, "delightful to the eye and taſte, ſweet and wholſome, "free from all manner of ſtain or corruption (42)."

(41) Arrian, lib. 1. cap. 28.

(42) *See* Giles Boileau, *ubi ſupra.*

[*P*] *He entirely renounced all the delights which gratify the ſenſes, to devote himſelf ſolely to the nobler ſatisfactions of the ſoul.*] When he was at any time at an entertainment, his care was not ſo much to regale his body as his mind, as being ſenſible, that whatever is beſtowed on the body periſhes quickly, and turns to no account, but whatever is beſtowed on the mind is a laſting advantage, and can never be loſt. This conſideration moved him to prefer inward peace and tranquillity before the greateſt advantages in the world; for as it would be of no comfort to a man to be drowned in a veſſel, tho' ever ſo beautiful, or laden with the richeſt treaſures; ſo that man makes a very ill choice for himſelf, who for the ſake of wealth and magnificence is content to be oppreſſed with cares and diſquiets, and purchaſes any degree of grandeur, or what the miſtaken world calls happineſs, at the expence of his own eaſe and happineſs. To this purpoſe he would ſometimes argue as follows: "A man born in Perſia would "never be uneaſy, that he did not dwell in Greece. "All that nature ſuggeſts upon this occaſion being "only a deſire to live happily in one's own native "country (43). When a man is therefore born in "mean and low circumſtances, why ſhould he tor-"ture himſelf with ambitious thoughts, and ſo ea-"gerly aſpire after greatneſs and abundance? Why "does he not rather employ his care about making "that condition eaſy to him, which providence at "firſt had placed him in? Is it not much more deſir-"able to ſleep in an hard bed, ſhort and narrow, "with good health, than to be ſick in damaſk or vel-"vet, and toſs about in down? And the preference "is manifeſtly due to a mind perfectly compoſed, and "eaſy with a moderate fortune, when compared with "the high elevation of worldly greatneſs, ſoured "by vexation and perpetual anxiety of heart (44)." He would often ſay, that *we are infinitely in the wrong to charge our miſery upon poverty; when it is our ambition or diſcontent, that makes us truly miſerable. And had we the whole earth at command, the poſſeſſion even of this could not ſet us at eaſe from our fears and melancholy. That muſt and can be the work of reaſon only: therefore the man who cultivates his mind well, and provides againſt the evil, by ſtocking it with ſound principles, is ſatisfied from himſelf, and never complains of poverty or fortune* (45).

(43) Stobæus, Serm. 38.

(44) Arrian, lib. 2. cap. 16.

(45) Stobæus.

[*Q*] *He declared openly againſt ſelf-murder, the lawfulneſs of which was maintained by the reſt of this ſect.*] Wolfius indeed thinks him as deep in this notion as the reſt; but this ſeems to be only from a wrong interpretation of that paſſage, "That when a man is "weary of playing his part, he may be comforted "with remembering that the door is open." But the meaning of the *door being open* is not, that we may go out when we pleaſe; but that our term of life is ſo ſhort, that it cannot be long before we are called out. That this was his true intention is evident from another paſſage, where he expoſes the folly of being full of care for to morrow: *If you have any ſuſtenance, you will be ſupported; if not, you will make your exit; the door ſtands always open* (46). The phraſe here is the ſame, and let Epictetus be his own Expoſitor, who two or three lines before hath this remarkable ſentence: *Let us wait God's leiſure to deliver us from enraged tyrants: when he gives the ſignal, then march out to him.* And again: "How ridiculous is it to "ſuppoſe, that a man ought not rather to be cut in "pieces, than deſert the poſt which his General hath "fixed him in, and to imagine ourſelves at liberty to "quit the poſt which God hath ſet us in, whenever "we pleaſe."

(46) Arrian, lib. 1. cap. 7.

H

EPICURUS, one of the greateſt Philoſophers of his age, was born at Gargettium [*A*]. in

[*A*] *He was born at Gargettium.*] For this reaſon Statius calls him *Gargettius auctor* (1), and *Senior Gargettius:*

(1) Stat. lib. 2. Silva I. ver. 113.

Deliciæ quas ipſe ſuis digreſſus Athenis
Mallet deſerto ſenior Gargettius horto (2).

(2) Idem, lib. 1. Silva III. ver. 93.

That is,

"Delights which the Gargettian ſage to prove
"Would after quitting Athens, quit his grove."

Cicero had ſhewn him the example. *Catius . . . . quæ ille Gargettius, etiam ante Democritus* ἴδιωλα, *hic ſpectra nominat* (3). Ælian (4), and ſeveral others have made uſe of the ſame ſurname, ſpeaking of our Epicurus. I am ſurprized, therefore, that Cruquius ſhould have imagined that Stobæus, when he made uſe of this ſurname, meant another Epicurus. *Yet*, ſays he, *Stobæus frequently mentions a certain Epicurus, whom he alſo ſurnames the Gargettian.* We do not ſpeak thus when the great Epicurus is the perſon deſigned, or if we do, we deſerve to be hiſſed, as that honeſt country Gentleman was, who ſaid *one Turenne* (5). Cruquius muſt take his choice, and let him determine as he pleaſes, he will be found guilty of a blunder. If he ſays the *Gargettius Epicurus* of Stobæus is the Founder of the Sect of the Epicureans, he muſt allow that he has ſpoken impertinently: for nobody makes uſe of the terms *Epicuri cujuſdam* in ſpeaking of that Founder (6). If he ſays he did not know that the epithet of *Gargettius* properly belonged to the great Epicurus, he will acknowledge himſelf ignorant of a very obvious thing. I do not think him guilty of the ruſtical incivility,

(3) Epiſt. 16. lib. 15. *ad Familiares.*

(4) Lib. 4. cap. 13. *Var. Hiſt.*

(5) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 1. pag. 39. *I had heard him ſay it in his Aſſembly, on occaſion of one of the Company's having related* that one Monſ. Coſpeau had done a certain thing.

(6) See above the Remark [*F*] of the Article ARNAULD (Antony) Doctor of the Sorbonne.

in Attica, the third year of the 109th Olympiad (*a*) [*B*]. His father Neocles, and his mother Chæreſtrata [*C*] were of the number of thoſe inhabitants of Attica whom the Athenians ſent into the Iſle of Samos (*b*). This was the occaſion of Epicurus's paſſing his childhood in that Iſland, and he did not return to Athens till he was eighteen years old (*c*). It

(*a*) Diogenes Laert. *in Epicuro*, lib. 10. num. 14.
(*b*) Idem, ibid. num. 1.
(*c*) Ibid.

civility, or impertinence rather, which is found in the expreſſion *one Epicurus*, applied to him who is the ſubject of this Article. I believe that remembring there were ſeveral perſons of the name of Epicurus (7), he fancied that he to whom Stobæus gave the epithet of *Gargettian* was one of thoſe who are different from the Founder of the Epicurean Sect. That my Readers may judge whether my conjecture be well grounded, I ſhall ſet down the whole paſſage of Cruquius. I I take it from his Commentary on theſe words of Horace *Gallis hanc Philodemus*, in the 121ſt verſe of the IId Satyr of the Iſt Book: *Fuit hic Philodemus Epicurus (ut Strabo ſcribit) patria Gadaræus, quem Aſconius Pedianus in Oratione Cic. pro Lucio Piſone ſcribit Epicureum fuiſſe ea ætate nobiliſſimum: ſed arbitror apud Aſconium legendum eſſe pro Epicureum, Epicurum dictum, ut habet Strabo, vel hunc ex illo reſtituendum: tamen Epicuri cujuſdam (quem etiam Gargettium nominat) frequens eſt mentio apud Stobæum.* This *tamen* ſhews that our Author had rather the word *Epicurus* ſhould be inſerted in Aſconius Pedianus, than the word *Epicureus* in Strabo; and I even do not know whether his deſign was not to inſinuate that the Epicurus *Gargettius* of Stobæus, and the Epicurus *Gadaræus* of Strabo, differ only becauſe the Tranſcribers have altered the ſpelling. However, he plainly inſinuates that ſince Stobæus has mentioned a Gargettian Epicurus, it is very probable that Strabo ſpeaks of a Gadaræan Epicurus. Now this, in my opinion, is to diſtinguiſh theſe two Epicurus's from him who was the Founder of the Sect. Cruquius might be criticiſed in ſeveral other particulars. I. The Philodemus of Horace is not the ſame with him mentioned by Aſconius Pedianus: for the maxims of Horace's Philodemus with reſpect to love, are directly oppoſite to thoſe of Pedianus Philodemus (8). II. It is not true that we may read in Strabo (9) *Epicurus* inſtead of *Epicureus*. III. Cicero's Oration is not for Piſo, but againſt Piſo, and that in a very violent manner.

(7) Diog. Laertius, lib. 10. num. 26. reckons up 4. Mr. *Menage* ibid. reckons 3 more, beſides whom Gaſſendi, *Præfat. de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, ſpeaks of an *Epicurus* a maker of Plaiſters, mentioned by Galen.

(8) *See* Mr. Dacier on the 2d Satyr of the 1ſt Book of Horace, pag. m. 176.

[*B*] . . . . *the third year of the* 109*th Olympiad.*] We muſt here take notice of a miſtake of Voſſius. He places the death of Epicurus in the 107th Olympiad, and under the 12th year of the reign of Philip the father of Alexander the Great. *At Epicurus eſt mortuus Olymp. CVII. quo tempore Philippus Alexandri M. parens, duodecimum regnabat annum* (10). We cannot excuſe him by ſaying that he had written *Olymp. CXXVII*, which is the true time of that Philoſopher's death (11), but that the Printer forgot two numeral Letters. This Apology would be of no avail here, but would precipitate him into another error as palpable as that from which we ſhould endeavour to clear him; it would charge him with having imagined that the 12th year of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, belongs to the 127th Olympiad. Let us conclude, therefore, that the fault was in his Manuſcript. Now it is very ſtrange his memory ſhould fail him ſo far that day as to ſuffer him to write that Epicurus left the world before Alexander aſcended the throne.

(9) Lib. 16. pag. 522. Diogenes Laertius, lib. 10. num. 3. calls this Philodemus an *Epicurean*. See thereon Mr. *Menage*, who believes, with the old *Scholiaſt of Horace*, that that Poet ſpoke of the ſame Philodemus.

(10) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græc.* lib. 1. cap. 21. pag. m. 137.

(11) Laert. lib. 10. n. 15.

[*C*] *And his mother Chæreſtrata.*] I do not know what foundation Moreri has to ſay that ſhe was *deſcended of a very noble family*. Laertius and Gaſſendi, whom he cites, ſay nothing of it. He names her Chærecrate in the Article of Epicurus: this is his ſecond fault. He may alſo be reproached with faults of omiſſion; for there were two curious particulars to be taken notice of with regard to this woman.

I. She went with her ſon *even into uninhabited houſes, to drive away hobgoblins by prayers*. Thus the learned Mr. du Rondel (12) has rendered the following Greek of Diogenes Laertius: Σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιϊόντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκίδια καθαρμοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν (13). He has explained the matter more fully in his Latin Edition, and always to the advantage of Epicurus. *Certum eſt*, ſays he (14), *Epicurum utpote puſionem & matris aſſeclam hinc hauſiſſe pietatem ſuam ineffabilem, ὁσιότητα ἄλεκτον, ex illoque tempore fuiſſe Divis addictiſſimum, ut patet ex illa portentificâ ſuperſtitione, quâ cum matre Epicurus circumeundo ædiculas* carmina luſtralia, καθαρμούς, legeret, *vel ad affectus moderandos, vel ad ſpectra abigenda; quaſi Hecates diaconi fuiſſent, in cujus nomine pleraque patrare tum poterant miracula.* i. e. "It is certain that Epi- "curus, being the favourite and attendant of his mo- "ther, drew hence his unſpeakable piety, and from "that time became ſtrictly devoted to the Gods, as "appears from that exceſſive ſuperſtition which Epi- "curus ſhewed in going about with his mother from "one houſe to another, and reading *expiatory verſes*, "either to lull the diſorders of the mind, or to drive "away ſpirits; as if they had been the Miniſters of "Hecate, in whoſe name they could then perform al- "moſt all kinds of miracles." When I ſay he has turned the thing to the advantage of Epicurus, I do not mean to charge him with having ſuppoſed that Chæreſtrata's employment was an honourable one. He has too much underſtanding and learning not to know that the employment of thoſe old women who went to read certain forms of prayer to purify houſes or perſons, was looked upon as vile and mercenary (15). The trade of an Exorciſt did not paſs for a creditable one. The Orator Æſchines, the ſon of a woman who had followed it, had a thouſand ignominious reproaches caſt on him on that account by Demoſthenes. Epicurus and he were in the ſame predicament: they had each of them aſſiſted his mother in that ceremony; Demoſthenes upbraided the one with it, as the Stoics did the other. This is what one of the new Commentators of Laertius (16) has obſerved on the words καθαρμοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν. *Eadem exprobrat Æſchini Demoſthenes in Orat. de Coron.* (17) Τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκειν ἢ τἆλλα συνιστανούσῃ &c. *Nempe Epicuri mater dicitur fuiſſe anicula piatrix quæ domos circumibat, & piaculo aliquo contactos ſolvebat aut totam domum expiabat. Epicurus vero matri præibat carmen piaculare: utrumque miniſterium ἄτιμον.* Take notice that ſome celebrated Authors have compoſed ſuch forms of expiation (18). I may be told, perhaps, that we do not find that the forms of Chæreſtrata and her ſon Epicurus were exorciſms of hobgoblins: but what does this ſignify? Mr. du Rondel had notwithſtanding a reaſonable foundation for advancing what he has ſaid; for it is indubitable that the Pagans had ceremonies appointed for the chaſing away of ſpirits. Mr. Lomeier has quoted Ovid (19), Valerius Flaccus (20), and Lucian (21). Now let us ſee in what manner the turn which Mr. du Rondel has taken is advantageous to Epicurus. That Philoſopher, believing the Gods did not meddle with human affairs, was ſuſpected of irreligion: this rendered him odious, and expoſed him to infamy. There is nothing more proper, therefore, to preſerve his reputation, than to ſay that from his infancy he went to read prayers in houſes for the ſervice of his neighbours. This was an act of ſuperſtitious piety.

(12) Du Rondel, *dans la Vie d'Epicure*, pag. 3, 4.

(13) Diog. Laert. *in Epicuro*, lib. 10. num. 4.

(14) Du Rondel, *de Vita & Morib. Epicuri*, pag. 3.

(15) *Et veniat quæ luſtret anus lectumque, locumque, Præferat & tremula ſulphur & ova manu.* i. e. "Let the "lean hag her "eggs and ſul- "phur bring, "And round the "bed-place walk "the magic ring. Ovid. *de Arte amandi*, lib. 2. ver. 329. *See* Lomeier, *de Luſtrationibus Gentilium*, cap. 13. pag. 119.

(16) Joachimus Kuhnius, pag. 554. edit. Laertij Amſtelod. 1692.

(17) *See* Lomeier, *de Luſtrationibus*, pag. 119.

(18) Epimenides *is one of them. See* Voſſius, *de Pottis Græcis*, pag. 17.

(19) Lib. V *Faſtor. apud* Lomeierum *de Veterum Gentilium Luſtrationibus*, pag. 231, 232.

II. The ſecond curious thing which might be ſaid of Chæreſtrata is, that, as her ſon affirmed, ſhe had had in her body the quantity of atoms, the concourſe of which was neceſſary to form a wiſe man. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἀτόμους ἔσχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσαύτας, οἵαι συνελθεῖσαι σοφὸν ἂν ἐγέννησαν. *Matrem quoque ſuam in ſe tot tantaſque habuiſſe atomos, quarum congreſſu ſapiens ederetur* (22). Plutarch alledges this as a proof of Epicurus's vanity. This proof is not ill choſen, for it is a great preſumption to believe that one has been formed of the choiceſt atoms, and that one had a mother in whom nature had joined together full as many ingredients as were neceſſary for the forming a wiſe man. I do not find any Writer has quoted this paſſage of Plutarch faithfully. Every body imagines it was Neocles, the brother of Epicurus, who ſaid this of his mother. Gaſſendi, who underſtood Greek well, would not have committed this miſtake (23), if he had had recourſe to the original; but as he believed the Tranſlations were true, he went no farther. The Latin Verſion, and that of Amiot, are ſuch, that it cannot be maintained they do not contain the ſenſe of the original: nevertheleſs they are defective becauſe they are

(20) Argon, lib. 3. ver. 448. *apud eund.* pag. 309.

(21) *In* Necyom. *apud eund.* pag. 313.

(22) Plut. *in Tractatu quod non poteſt ſuaviter vivi juxta Epicurum*, pag. 1100, A.

(23) *De Vita & Morib. Epicuri*, lib. 1. cap. 8.

It was not to fix there; for at the age of twenty three he went to his father who dwelt at Colophon, and afterwards resided at divers places before he settled himself at Athens, which he did at the age of about thirty six (*d*). He set up a school in a fine garden he had bought (*e*); where he lived with his friends in great tranquillity, and brought up a great number of Disciples. They lived all in common with their master [*D*], and a better

(*d*) *See* Gassendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 1. cap. 3.

(*e*) Laert. *in Epicuro*, lib. 10. num. 10.

are equally liable to both interpretations. They may as well signify that Neocles said this, as that Epicurus said it. Whence, by the way, we may gather that the Vaugelas's, and the Bouhours's are more in the right than is commonly imagined, to recommend such a placing of words as may exclude even the least ambiguities. Naudé has committed the same fault before Gassendi. *Neocles*, says he (24), *said in praise of Epicurus his brother, that at his generation nature had assembled all the atoms of prudence in his mother's womb.* It is plain that this is a very loose paraphrase of Plutarch's Greek, or rather a falsification of it. Father Rapin has wandered yet farther out of the way. *Epicurus*, says he (25), *was naturally wise, since he was a Philosopher even in pleasure: he was a man of such understanding, that his brother Neocles says in Plutarch, that nature had assembled all the atoms of wisdom and knowledge to compose his person, while he himself says that he knows nothing.* What is extraordinary here is, to see that alledged as a proof of Epicurus's modesty, which Plutarch had alledged to convict him of pride. It is supposed that he very humbly rejects the encomiums which his brother offers him, and it is he who bestows those encomiums on himself in the Author quoted. So true it is that when we undertake to apply passages taken elsewhere, than from their source, or venture to draw consequences from them before we are certain of the literal and original meaning, we expose our selves to strange mistakes!

(24) *Apologie des grans Hommes*, chap. 17. pag. m. 502.

(25) *Reflexions sur la Philosophie*, num. 29. pag. 361. of the Dutch Edition 1686. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, May 1686, Art. IV. pag. 528. where it is only insinuated that this is a bad translation of Plutarch's words.

Mr. Chevreau has followed the error of Gassendi and Father Rapin. See the second page of the first volume of the *Chevræana*.

[*D*] *His disciples lived all in common with their master.*] Laertius (26) testifies that Epicurus had so many friends, that the very cities could not have contained them. People went to him from all the cities of Greece and Asia (27). Egypt itself sent him disciples (28). The city of Lampsacus, where he had professed Philosophy (29), sent him a great many. He would not imitate Pythagoras, who taught that among friends goods ought to be in common: he found such an establishment shewed distrust (30), and he had rather things should be on such a foot that every one might voluntarily contribute to the needs of others when it was necessary. It is certain that this idea approaches nearer to perfection than the community of goods, and that we cannot sufficiently admire the union of Epicurus's disciples, and the kindness with which they assisted one another, every one continuing master of his patrimony. Here is a fine passage of Cicero. *De qua* (amicitia) *Epicurus quidem ita dicit, omnium rerum, quas ad beate vivendum sapientia comparaverit, nihil esse majus amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil jucundius. Neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vita, & moribus comprobavit. Quod quam magnum sit, fictæ veterum fabulæ declarant, in quibus tam multis tamque variis ab ultima antiquitate repetitis, tria vix amicorum paria reperiuntur, ut ad Orestem pervenias profectus à Theseo. At vero Epicurus una in domo, & ea quidem angusta, quàm magnos, quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges? Quod sit etiam nunc ab Epicureis* (31). "Of which *(friendship)* Epicurus "says, that of all things which wisdom has provided to render life happy, nothing is greater, more "abundant, or more agreeable, than friendship. Nor "did he maintain this by words alone, but much more "by his life and manners. The greatness of which "behaviour is declared by the fabulous stories of the "ancients, in so infinite a number of which and of "such variety, fetched from the most remote antiquity, there are scarce three pair of friends to be "met with from Theseus down to Orestes. But what "large assemblies of friends, and how strictly united "in reciprocal love did Epicurus entertain in one little house? Which harmony is at this day kept up "by the Epicureans." Let any man tell us after this, that people who deny Providence, and lay down their own pleasure for their ultimate end, are by no means capable of living in Society; that they are necessarily perfidious, deceitful, poisoners, thieves, &c. Are not all these fine doctrines confounded by this one passage of Cicero? Does not a true fact, like that which Cicero has just now attested, overthrow a hundred volumes of speculative reasonings? Behold the Sect of Epicurus, whose moral practice with regard to the duties of friendship had not degenerated for some ages: and we shall see immediately that whereas the most devout Sects were full of quarrels and acts of partiality, that of Epicurus enjoyed a profound peace. They followed the doctrine of their Founder without contestations or contradictions (32). *Dolet profecto mihi eos* (successores Platonis) *omnia molitos non esse, ut plenam sibi atque integram in omnibus cum Platone consensionem defenderent. Et ea quidem Plato dignus erat, qui magno illo Pythagora ut melior non fuerit, non fuit tamen fortasse deterior: quem discipuli quod sequuti omnes ac venerati fuerint, id etiam egere potissimum, ut summo apud omnes in pretio habeatur. Hoc ipsum Epicurei, perperam illi quidem, sed tamen cum intelligerent, nulla unquam in re ab Epicuro dissidere visi sunt, sed potius eadem omnino se cum Sapiente suo sentire professi, jure propterea id nominis habuere. Quin etiam, qui longissimo deinceps intervallo consequuti Epicurei sunt, ii nec abs se mutuo, nec ab eodem Epicuro tantillum, quod quidem meminisse attineat, discessere. Imo sceleris apud eos, vel potius impietatis ille damnetur, qui novi quippiam invexerit. Quare nemo prorsus id audeat. Sed eorum dogmata ob constantem illam omnium inter se perpetuamque concordiam, in altissima quadam & tranquillissima pace versantur. Ita hæc Epicuri secta veræ cuidam Reipublicæ perfimilis est, quam ab omni seditione remotissimam, mens quædam una communis, unaque sententia moderetur. Quam illi disciplinam & antea sequuti sunt multi perlibenter, & sequuntur etiamnum, atque adeo, ut simillimum veri est, in posterum sequentur. At Stoicos inter factiones extitere, quæ ab ipsis eorum commissæ Principibus, ad nos usque propagatæ sunt* (33). i. e. "Truly I am sorry that the successors of Plato did "not employ their utmost means to maintain a per"fect and absolute agreement with him in all things. "And this Plato deserved, who tho' he was not better "than the great Pythagoras, neither, perhaps, was "he inferior to him; whose disciples, as they all fol"lowed and reverenced their master, made this their "chief aim, that he might be held in the highest "esteem. The Epicureans when they understood this, "tho' they took the matter wrong, have never been "seen to dissent from Epicurus in any one thing, but "rather professing to agree entirely in opinion with "their master, justly deserve that appellation. And "even the Epicureans who have succeeded after a long "interval of time, have neither dissented from one "another, nor from the same Epicurus in the least "particular worthy of notice. Nay, among them "that man would be judged guilty of a crime, or ra"ther of impiety, who should introduce any novelty. "For which reason none dares to do it: but their doc"trines, by reason of that constant and perpetual con"cord which subsists among them all, enjoy a most "profound and undisturbed peace. So that this Sect "of Epicurus resembles some real Republic, which "being most free from all sedition is governed by one "common mind and one will. Which discipline "they have formerly most willingly followed in great "numbers, and yet do follow, so that it is probable "they will continue the same for the future. But "among the Stoics factions have arisen, which being "begun by their Heads, have been continued down "to us." This is what one says who lived in the second Century: the union among the disciples of Epicurus was preserved to that time, and seemed not to be threatened with any reverse. This is what Numenius testifies. His conjecture was not contradicted by the event, that I know of.

(26) Lib. 10. num. 9.

(27) *See* Gassendi, *de Vita & Mor. Epicuri*, lib. 1. cap. 7.

(28) Idem, ibid. *ex Plutarcho.*

(29) For 4 years, according to *Suidas.*

(30) Laert. lib. 10. num. 11.

(31) Cicero, *de Finibus*, lib. 1. cap. 20.

(32) *Ea quæ Epicuro placuerunt, ut quasdam Solonis aut Lycurgi leges ab Epicureis omnibus servari.* Themistius, *Orat. IV. apud* Gassendum, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 2. cap. 5. *Apud istos quicquid dicit Hermachus, quicquid Metrodorus ad unum refertur. Omnia quæ quisquam in illo contubernio loquutus est, unius ductu & auspiciis dicta sunt.* Seneca, Epist. 33.

(33) Numenius *apud* Eusеb. *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 14. cap. 5. pag. 727.

Let us speak here of a particular which I have promised in the last lines of the article of CARNEADES.

better regulated ſociety had never been ſeen. The reſpect which his followers preſerved for his memory is admirable. His ſchool was never divided; but his doctrine was followed there as an Oracle (*f*). His birth-day was ſtill kept in Pliny's time, and the month he was born in, was a continued feſtival. They placed his picture every where (*g*). He wrote

(*f*) See the Remark [*D*].

(*g*) Gaſſendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 2. cap. 4. *ex Cicer.* lib. 5 *de Finibus, init. & ex* Plinio, lib. 35. cap. 2.

One of the accuſations brought againſt Epicurus was his having ſpoken ſatyrically of the moſt illuſtrious Philoſophers. Diogenes Laertius (34), deſigning to ſhew that it was a ſenſeleſs calumny, contents himſelf with ſaying that there were ſufficient teſtimonies of the civility and extreme goodneſs of Epicurus towards every body. He alledges the ſtatues of braſs raiſed to that Philoſopher, the great number of his friends, the immoveable attachment of all his diſciples, and the perpetual ſucceſſion of his ſchool. He ſays the leſſons of Epicurus were a Syren's ſong, which captivated all his Auditors, excepting Metrodorus of Stratonice, who left him to follow Carneades: Οὗτε γνήσιοι ἀκόλουθοι, ταῖς δογματικαῖς αὐτοῦ σειρῆσι προκατασχεθέντες, πλὴν Μητροδώρου τοῦ Στρατονικέως πρὸς Καρνεάδην ἀποχωρήσαντος, πάλαι βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτοῦ χρηστότησιν. That is, according to the Latin verſion printed with the Greek of Diogenes Laertius, *Præterea omnes diſcipuli quos illius dogmaticæ ſyrenes occuparunt: præter unum Metrodorum Stratonicenſem, qui ab illo ſe ad Carneadem contulit: cui forte gravis erat viri incomparabilis bonitas.* According to this Tranſlation, the extraordinary goodneſs of Epicurus was the cauſe of Metrodorus's leaving him. This ſenſe ſhocks the Readers at firſt ſight; but agrees perfectly well with the deſign of Diogenes Laertius, and on a ſerious attention to the caprices of the heart of man, it will not be found incredible that there ſhould be people who are diſpleaſed, troubled, and fatigued with the exceſſive goodneſs of their benefactor. Wherefore, let it be ſuppoſed Diogenes Laertius meant to ſay that Metrodorus, who of all Epicurus's diſciples was the only one who forſook him, did it, perhaps, for no other reaſon than becauſe Epicurus's too great kindneſs made him uneaſy: we ſhall find a coherent argument, and a very poſſible fact; we ſhall find that the very deſertion of Metrodorus ſerved to prove that incomparable humanity, to aſſure the praiſe and poſſeſſion whereof to Epicurus was the point in view. But as it happens more frequently without compariſon that exceſſive marks of friendſhip attract peoples affection, than that they alienate it, there is an interpretation of Laertius's words a thouſand times more natural than that which has been hitherto followed; that is, that Metrodorus did not ſeparate himſelf from Epicurus to adhere to Carneades for any other reaſon than becauſe he perhaps found himſelf overwhelmed with the favours which Carneades had heaped on him. This interpretation is not ſo favourable to the Author's deſign as the former, and yet it does not thwart it much: for if you ſuppoſe that nothing debauched Metrodorus but the extraordinary friendſhip, and exceſſive careſſes of Carneades, you cannot maintain that his deſertion ſhakes what has been ſaid of the good nature of Epicurus, and which has been proved, among other reaſons, by the faithful attachment of his Diſciples. So that nothing hinders us from taking this new ſenſe of Diogenes Laertius's words to be more natural. Yet perhaps it is not what he meant, for that Author not being much more exact in his reaſonings than in his narrations, we may eaſily be miſtaken in imputing to him thoſe thoughts which ſeem to have the greateſt connection with his phraſes. However it be, I muſt acquaint the public that Mr. de la Monnoie is the Author of the new interpretation which has been ſeen above, and ſhall inſert here an Extract of one of his Letters. "I am perſuaded, with Gaſſendi, that when Diogenes writes that of all the Diſciples of Epicurus Metrodorus is the only one who left him to follow Carneades, we are not to underſtand that Metrodorus was the Auditor of Epicurus, but ſimply that he was the only Epicurean who changed his ſect, and renounced the Philoſophy of Epicurus to embrace that of Carneades. Mr. Menage declares that he ſhould willingly be of the ſame opinion, were it not for theſe words of Diogenes, τάχα βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτοῦ χρηστότησιν, by which it appears, ſays he, that notwithſtanding the explications of Gaſſendi, this Metrodorus muſt have been the contemporary of Epicurus, ſince it was only to get rid of the fatiguing kindneſs of ſo good a maſter, with which he was overburthened, that he ceaſed to be an Epicurean, and went over from that party to that of Carneades. Neither Mr. Menage nor Gaſſendi have perceived that the true ſenſe of the paſſage of Diogenes is, that if Metrodorus, from an Epicurean as he was before, became a follower of Carneades, it was perhaps for no other reaſon than on account of the unbounded favours which the latter loaded him with. The pronoun αὐτοῦ, which ought to be underſtood of Carneades, has hitherto been wrongly referred to Epicurus; and this has cauſed all the confuſion (35)."

(34) Laert. lib. 10. num. 9.

(35) La Monnoie, *Remarque MS.*

They who refer the pronoun αὐτοῦ to Epicurus, muſt agree that Diogenes Laertius is guilty of a notorious falſhood; that is, that he imagined Carneades and Epicurus philoſophized at the ſame time. Gaſſendi (36) plainly ſhews it to be a groſs miſtake; and proves that Epicurus died before Carneades was born. He obſerves that Metrodorus did not go over from the ſect of Epicurus to the ſchool of that Carneades, whom Cicero ſpeaks of in the 5th Book *de Finibus*; for that Carneades was himſelf an Epicurean, *Epicuri perfamiliaris.* He proves alſo that Metrodorus of Stratonice was not the Auditor of a Carneades contemporary with Epicurus and Arceſilaus, but of the Carneades who was the fourth Succeſſor of Arceſilaus, and founded the third Academy. We may add to theſe proofs what Jonſius (37) obſerves, that Metrodorus of Stratonice could not be the friend of Epicurus, who died before the city of Stratonice was founded. Take notice that Jonſius (38), and Mr. Menage (39) agree in ſaying that Diogenes Laertius has expreſſed himſelf like one who deſigned to tell his Readers that Epicurus and Carneades flouriſhed at the ſame time. This is to reject the explication of Gaſſendi (40); and I am not ſurprized at their rejecting it, for it is forced to the laſt degree. He fancies the Hiſtorian meant only this; that Metrodorus was the only Epicurean who quitted the ſect, and that he quitted it becauſe the tenderneſs of Epicurus, who had been dead a conſiderable time, was ſtill living in his ſect: *Quod bonitas verò Epicuri gravis illi* (Metrodoro Stratonicco) *fuiſſe dicatur, intelligi poteſt de ea quam Epicurus tametſi mortuus ſpiraret adhuc in ſummâ illa conſenſione, charitate, & ſui memoria apud ſectatores* (41). There is no occaſion for ſo bad a ſolution, if we explain the paſſage as Mr. de la Monnoie does. I muſt not forget that Mr. Foucher (42) took advantage of theſe words of Diogenes Laertius to maintain his falſe ſuppoſition that Carneades and Epicurus lived at the ſame time. Mr. Lantin anſwered him among other things, that *Diogenes Laertius is not an Author to be depended on, and that it is eaſy to obſerve in his Hiſtory ſeveral paſſages which contradict one another, becauſe he has followed Authors of contrary opinions* (43). We ſhall meet with one of his contradictions without departing from our ſubject: we have ſeen he aſſerts that Metrodorus of Stratonice was the only one who had abjured, and yet he had ſaid a little before that Timocrates a Diſciple of Epicurus had quitted that ſchool (44), and afterwards publiſhed a great many calumnies againſt his old Maſter (45) I have not read any Author who has taken notice of this fault. If Gaſſendi had perceived it, he would not have made uſe of the argument we are going to ſee: *Sane*, ſays he (46), *ſi Metrodorus à vivente adhuc Epicuro defeciſſet, quæſitum non fuiſſet ex Arceſila (qui duodecim annis Epicuro ſupervixit)* (*) cur homines à cæteris ad Epicureos, ab Epicureis verò ad cæteros non commigrarent. i. e. "Indeed, if Metrodorus had forſaken Epicurus while he was living, it would not have been demanded of Arceſilaus, who ſurvived Epicurus twelve years, *why men went over from the other ſects to the Epicureans, but not from the Epicureans to the other ſects?*" Is it not certain that Timocrates left Epicurus? Since his deſertion therefore did not prevent the queſtion which was put to Arceſilaus, the deſertion of Metrodorus would not have prevented that queſtion, and conſequently Gaſſendi makes uſe of a bad proof. The proverb *one ſwallow makes no ſummer* is the ſolution of this; for tho' the inconſtancy of one ſingle follower of Epicurus was known, it was nevertheleſs deemed in general that nobody had quitted Epicureiſm.

(36) Gaſſendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. m. 205.

(37) Jonſius, *de Scriptor. Hiſt. Philoſ.* pag. 350.

(38) Idem, ibid. pag. 111.

(39) Menag, *in Diogen. Laert.* lib. 10. num. 9. pag. 451.

(40) Gaſſendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. 205.

(41) Idem, ibid.

(42) See the *Journal des Savans* of the 6th of Auguſt 1691, pag. m. 511.

(43) *Journ. des Savans* of the 24th of March 1692, pag. m. 210.

(44) Μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς σχολῆς ἐκποιήσατο. *Ipſiuſque* (Epicuri) *diſcipulus ejus relictâ ſchola.* Diogen. Laert. lib. 10. num. 6.

(45) See Remark [*K*].

(46) Gaſſend. *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, pag. 205.

(*) *Apud* Laert. lib. 4.

wrote a great many Books, and valued himſelf on making no quotations [*E*]. He raiſed the Atomical Syſtem to an exceeding great reputation. He was not the inventor of

[*E*] *He wrote a great many Books, and valued himſelf on making no quotations.*] Diogenes Laertius, ſpeaking of the Philoſophers who have written the moſt (47), places Chryſippus in the firſt rank, and Epicurus in the ſecond: thus he diſpoſes of the places in his preface; but in his tenth Book he ſays abſolutely and without reſerve, that of all Authors, Epicurus is the man who has written the moſt (48). His works, continues he, amount to 300 volumes, which contain nothing but what is his own: for he borrows the words of no Author, nor cites any body. But as to Chryſippus, who would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſurpaſſed by Epicurus in the number of compoſitions, he did nothing but heap up quotation on quotation, ſo that if what he cited had been taken away from him, his writings would have been reduced to blank paper. Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν δογμάτων βυλόμενος παριστάνειν, ὅτι τὰ Ἐπικούρου οἰκεῖα δυνάμει γεγραμμένα, καὶ ἀπαράθετα ὄντα, μυρίῳ πλείω ἐστὶ τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων, φησὶν ἔτως αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει, Εἰ γάρ τις ἀφέλοι τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων ὅσ' ἀλλότρια παρατέθειται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρτης καταλελείψεται. *Appollodorus quoque Athenienſis in collectione dogmatum, cùm vellet aſſerere Epicurum viribus ſuis fretum conſcripſiſſe & abſque auctorum teſtimoniis, eſſe ejus incomparabiliter plura quàm Chryſippi opera, ſic ad verbum dixit. Nam ſi quis tollat de Chryſippi libris, quæ aliena ſunt, vacua illi charta relinquetur* (49). His emulation was ſuch, that ſo ſoon as he ſaw a new book of Epicurus publiſhed, he compoſed another (50); and that in ſuch haſte, not to be long behind-hand, that he did not read his compoſition over again; which engaged him in repetitions, and made him advance many things very incorrect. Diogenes in another place (51) quotes Apollodorus, who proves by this argument that Epicurus had compoſed more Books than Chryſippus. The latter had only copied what others had ſaid, but Epicurus had taken every thing out of his own ſtock.

(47) Diog. Laert. *in Proœmio*, num. 16.

(48) Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἐπίκουρος πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος πλήθει βίβλων. *Scripſit autem Epicurus infinita volumina, adeo ut illorum multitudine* CUNCTOS *ſuperarit.* Idem, lib. 10. num. 26.

(49) Idem, lib. 8. num. 181.

(50) Idem, lib. 10. num. 26.

(51) See the Citation (49).

AN Obſervation on Books full of Quotations.

Since an opportunity offers, let us ſay ſomething of theſe two ways of writing, I mean that of Epicurus, and that of Chryſippus. It would be very unreaſonable to inſiſt, generally ſpeaking, that Epicurus's method is that of great genius's, and the moſt troubleſome; and that Chryſippus's method is that of narrow underſtandings, and the leaſt laborious. Take good notice that by Chryſippus's method I only underſtand the cuſtom of collecting authorities, and not the perſonal negligence of that Philoſopher, and the exceſſes he abandoned himſelf to in compiling. This being premiſed, I maintain that there are as great Authors, and as ſublime genius's in Chryſippus's ſect, as in the oppoſite; and I prove it by the three great names which Gabriel Naudé is going to produce. *Methinks*, ſays he (52), *it belongs only to thoſe who never hope to be quoted, to quote no body: and it is too great a preſumption to perſuade one's ſelf that one has conceptions capable of pleaſing ſo great a variety of Readers, without borrowing any thing from another: for if ever there were any Authors who could eſteem themſelves ſuch, they were, without controverſy, Plutarch, Seneca, and Montagne; who yet have left nothing unborrowed from others, which might ſerve to embelliſh their own writings: witneſs the Greek and Latin verſes, which are to be met with in almoſt every line of their works, and among others that piece of conſolation of ſeven or eight ſheets which the firſt ſent to Apollonius, wherein we may find on computation, above* 150 *verſes of Homer, and almoſt as many of Heſiod, Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides. And beſides, I do not think that theſe new Cenſors of the manner of writing are ſo injudicious as to oppoſe to the preceding authorities that of Epicurus, who in* 300 *volumes which he left behind him, had not inſerted one ſingle quotation; becauſe they would thereby furniſh me with means to confute them, ſince the works of Plutarch, Seneca, and Montagne are every day read, turned over, ſold, and reprinted; whereas we have ſcarce the catalogue of thoſe of Epicurus left remaining in Diogenes Laertius.* We might add Cicero to theſe three examples; and we cannot condemn thoſe who add to them Apuleius, ſince he was one of the moſt ingenious men of his age. Count well all the examples that follow. "We "ſee in that beautiful dialogue of the moſt illuſtrious "Orators of Rome, that they did not think their elo- "quence could be corrupted by quotations; the ſpeech "of Aper teaching us it was then expected that Ora- "tions ſhould be adorned with the beauties of the "Poetry of Horace, Virgil, or Lucan; to ſay no- "thing of that of Ennius or Nævius, which fills "whole pages in Cicero's Philoſophical Works (53)... "and we may obſerve from the apology of Apuleius, "one of the moſt eloquent pieces of all antiquity, "notwithſtanding the impurity of ſome expreſſions of "which we have already ſpoken, that in the time of "the Antoninus's, it was not thought that Greek and "Latin paſſages could ſpoil a fine work; ſince that "is full of paſſages taken from Plato and ſeveral other "Philoſophers, with a great number of verſes of Homer, "Catullus, and Virgil (54)." La Mothe le Vayer is here pleading his own cauſe; for he was the greateſt Quoter in the world. People may ſay as long as they pleaſe, that his Books would be better if they were not ſo ſtuffed with foreign thoughts: it will never be denied unleſs by thoſe who want judgment and taſte, but that he had a great deal of genius. People may ſay as long as they pleaſe that Coſtar's writings are too full of authorities, they may call him as long as they pleaſe, the Protector of common-places (55); it will not be the leſs true that he was a great Wit. Mr. Menage, who beſtows this encomium upon him, is himſelf one of thoſe Authors who will do France moſt honour. I meet with but few who diſpute his right to the title of the French Varro (56). In a word, he is a great Author; and yet he ſaid himſelf, *Mademoiſelle de Scuderi . . . has written fourſcore volumes all out of her own head, and I have collected here and there all that I have written* (57). Let us content our ſelves with theſe examples, without alledging the Tiraqueau's, the Briſſon's, the Servin's, and ſuch other illuſtrious Members of the Parliament of Paris: let us not ſay that they quoted prodigiouſly, and that it was alſo done in thoſe ſtudied ſpeeches which the firſt Preſidents of the King's Counſel recited in that age (58) at the opening of the Courts. Neither let us ſpeak of the excellent and admirable pleadings of MR. le Maitre, the ornament of the ſame Bar in the following age. Who does not know that they are full of quotations (§ *α*)?

§ (*α*) Not that they were ſo pronounced: but Mr. le Maitre adorned his pleadings with thoſe quotations, particularly in an Edition which he publiſhed on purpoſe. Every body knows this. REM. CRIT.]

It is therefore an inconteſtable fact, that there are great Genius's, and great Authors to be found in the ſect of Chryſippus, and that it is not the diſtinguiſhing character of Genius's or Authors of that kind, to make few or no citations. Let us now conſider the other queſtion; and examine what method of compoſing is the moſt laborious.

I think Writers who quote much may be reduced to two claſſes: there are ſome who content themſelves with pillaging modern Authors, and collecting into one body the compilations of ſeveral others who have written on the ſame ſubject. Theſe verify nothing, and never have recourſe to the originals: they do not even examine what goes before and what follows in the modern Author which ſerves them for an original; they do not tranſcribe the paſſages, but only refer their Printer to the pages of the printed books from whence thoſe paſſages are to be taken. It cannot be denied but this method of compoſing books is very eaſy, and that without much fatiguing a Writer's brain, it may ſoon help them to fill ten large volumes. There are other Quoters who truſt none but themſelves; they will verify every thing, and always go to the fountain-head; they examine into the deſign of the Author, they do not confine themſelves to the paſſage they have occaſion for, but attentively conſider what goes before, and what follows. They endeavour to make beautiful applications, and to connect their authorities properly; they compare them with one another, and either reconcile them, or ſhew wherein they claſh. Beſides they may be men who are religiouſly ſcrupulous in matters of fact, not to advance any thing without proof. If they ſay ſuch a Greek Philoſopher was of this or that opinion, or ſuch a Roman Senator or General followed ſuch and ſuch maxims, they immediately produce evi-

(52) Naudé, *Preface de l'Apologie des grans Hommes.*

(53) See the firſt Part of the *Proſe chagrine* of *la Mothe le Vayer*, pag. 341. of the 9th Volume, where it is ſaid that *Cicero, Seneca*, and *Plutarch*, in their Philoſophical Works, let ſlip no opportunity of quoting what they had learned from the greateſt Poets, Orators, and Philoſophers, who were Ancients with reſpect to themſelves, whoſe Works they endeavoured to imitate, and which they had reduced into common places.

(54) La Mothe le Vayer, *Diſcours de l'Eloquence Françoiſe*, pag. 84. of the 4th Volume of the Edition in 12mo.

(55) This is the Title *Furetiere* gives him in the *Nouvelle Allegorique.*

(56) He even ſurpaſſes *Varro*, who was learned without being polite. Mr. *Menage* with a great deal of erudition was maſter of the trifling delicacies of wit.

(57) *Menagiana*, pag. 290. of the firſt Dutch Edition.

(58) That is, in the 16th Century.

(b) See the Article of LEUCIPPUS.

of it (b); but he made some change in it, which was not always for the better: for instance, he spoiled the System by not retaining Democritus's doctrine concerning the Soul of Atoms [F]. What he taught with respect to the nature of the Gods is most impious [G]. As to his doctrine concerning the supreme good or happiness, it was very liable

dence for it; and because in some instances the singularity of the thing requires several testimonies, therefore they collect several. I am not afraid to say of this way of composing, that it is an hundred times more laborious than that of our Epicurus; and that a man might write a Book of a thousand pages according to the last method, in less time than one of four hundred pages according to the first. This will be better comprehended by an example. Suppose an able man is to prove that such a Father of the Church was of such an opinion (59); I am sure it will take him up more days to collect the passages which he will have occasion for, than to argue at random on those passages. Having once found out his authorities and his quotations, which perhaps will not fill six pages, and may have cost him a month's labour, he will have finished in two mornings work twenty pages of arguments, objections, and answers to objections: and consequently what proceeds from our own genius sometimes costs much less time than what is requisite for compiling (60). I am sure Corneille would have wanted more time to defend a Tragedy by a great collection of authorities, than to write it; and I suppose the same number of pages in the Tragedy, and in the Defence. Heinsius, perhaps, bestowed more time in defending his *Herodes infanticida* (61) against Balzac, than a Spanish Metaphysician bestows on a large Volume of Disputations, where he takes all from his own stock. I believe the Pleadings wherein Mr. le Maître collected a great many authorities, cost him more than the others, and were composed with more labour than those of Mr. Patru, who scarce quoted at all.

(59) I do not mean all sorts of opinions, but certian particular opinions which are only insinuated here and there.

(60) See the *Nouvelles Lettres du Critique de M. Maimbourg*, at the beginning of the 10th Letter, pag. 298, 299.

(61) This *Apology* contains 264 pages, in 8vo.

I do not enter into the question, which of the two methods is to be preferred; I shall only say, that the Authors who borrow nothing are for the generality less instructive than those who display their collections. *A good thought, from whatever author it proceeds, will always be better than a piece of nonsense of one's own* (62), *with submission to those who boast of finding every thing at home, and being beholden to no body* (63). I add, that there is not less invention in justly applying a thought one finds in a book, than in being the first author of that thought. This appears in the Conversations of Voiture. Cardinal du Perron has been heard to say that the happy application of a verse of Virgil was worth a talent (64). I omit those who compare the first production of a thought to the act of generation, and the art of applying old thoughts to the power of raising the dead: this is declaring ourselves too much prepossessed favour of Collections. However I shall quote the words of the person who has shewn himself thus partial. "As a great many people are guilty of a fault in the "immoderate use of quotations, there are others who "are ridiculous by a silly affectation of never quoting "any body, and of fetching every thing from home; "like that Hippias of Elis who merrily bragged that he "wore nothing but what was made by his own hands. "For I easily ascribe to this vanity the great contempt "some express for authorities of all sorts, to shew that "they produce nothing but what is their own, that "fine thoughts spring out of their head, as Pallas did "from that of Jupiter, and that they procreate as he "did without the help of another. To which nevertheless it may be answered, that generation is performed by so common an action in all kinds of animals, that there is no reason to make so great account of so easy a thing; whereas it is a miracle to "raise the dead by making them speak again; so that "as it has been said with regard to Religion, that "dead bones have wrought more miracles than living "bodies, it may likewise be maintained with regard "to Rhetoric, that those who are not now in being "have much more power to persuade us than the "living (65)."

(62) See Saint Amant's Preface to his *Moïse Sauvé*.

(63) La Mothe le Vayer, tom. 9. pag. 341.

(64) See the Abbot des Maroles, in the Preface to his *Abrégé de l'Histoire de France*.

(65) La Mothe le Vayer, tom. 4. pag. 83, 84.

[F] *He spoiled the Atomic System ... by not retaining Democritus's doctrine concerning the Soul of Atoms.*] S. Augustine gives us no room to doubt that Democritus believed all Atoms were animated. *Democritus*, says he (66), *hoc distare in naturalibus quæstionibus ab Epicuro dicitur, quod iste sentit inesse concursioni atomorum vim quandam animalem & spiritalem .... Epicurus verò neque aliquid in principiis rerum ponit præter atomos.* i. e. "Democritus is said herein to differ from Epicurus in "natural Philosophy; the former supposes the concourse "of Atoms endued with a certain animal or spiritual "vertue ... whereas Epicurus in the principles of things "acknowledged nothing but Atoms." To pretend that a collection of inanimate Atoms may be a soul, and may emit images which produce thoughts in us, is to swallow an Hypothesis more confused than Hesiod's chaos. Yet this was what Epicurus pretended. *Quorum corpusculorum concursu fortuito & mundos innumerabiles, & animantia, & ipsas animas fieri dicit, & Deos quos humana forma, non in aliquo mundo, sed extra mundos, constituit, & non vult omnino aliquid, præter corpora, cogitare: quæ tamen ut cogites, imagines dicit ab ipsis rebus, quas atomis formari putat, defluere, atque in animum introire subtiliores, quàm sunt illæ imagines, quæ ad oculos veniunt* (67): i. e. "By the for- "tuitous concourse of which Atoms he teaches that "innumerable worlds, and animals, and souls them- "selves were formed, and also Gods, whom he makes "to be of human shape, and places not in any of the "worlds, but without them all; neither will he allow "any thing, except bodies, to think: and in order "to make you comprehend this, he says that images flow from those things which he supposes to be "formed of Atoms, and insinuate themselves into the "mind, as being more subtle than those images are "which present themselves to the eye." But if we once suppose that all Atoms have a soul, we may easily conceive that their different combinations form divers species of animals, divers sorts of sensation, divers combinations of thoughts; and by this means we are sheltered from the terrible objection of Galen: *Cum atomus una dolere non possit, quòd alterationis, & sensus incapax sit, si dum caro acu pungitur, atomus una non sentiat, non sensuras duas, nec treis, nec quatuor, nec plureis; perindeque fore, ut si adamantum, aliarumve rerum invulnerabilium acervus fodiatur. Et, ut digiti connexi absque dolore separantur; sic iri atomos diductum, absque ullo doloris sensu, cùm sese mutuò contingant* (68). i. e. "Since a single Atom cannot be affected with "pain, because it is incapable of change or of sensa- "tion, if when the flesh is pricked with a needle, one "Atom does not feel, two will not feel; neither will "three, nor four, nor any other number: and it "would be the same thing as if a heap of diamonds "or other impenetrable bodies were dug into. And "as the fingers joined together are separated without "pain, so Atoms which touch each other might be dis- "joined without any sense of pain." Plutarch had before made the same objection to Colotes (69). Let a man turn himself every way imaginable, as Lucretius and Gassendi (70) have done, to solve this difficulty, he will never be able to make the least impression; and the best that can be said is, that all Philosophers who allow the principles of mixed bodies to be destitute of sensation, expose themselves to the same difficulty as much as Epicurus. We must confess the truth; the Hypothesis of the Soul of the world, or that of *Automata*, is the only way to extricate one's self out of this perplexity; for it would be dangerous to acknowledge an immaterial soul in brutes as we do in man: and as to the distinction of our Peripatetics between matter and the material soul of brutes, it is a vain subterfuge, and no less defeated by the objection of Galen, than the Atoms of Epicurus (71). However it is not more absurd to suppose that Atoms are essentially animated, than to suppose they exist and move of themselves. See the Article of LEUCIPPUS Remark [E].

(66) Augustin. *Epist.* 56. I have quoted this passage before at length, in Citation (107 of the Article DEMOCRITUS.

(67) Idem, ibid. pag. m. 273.

(68) Galenus dum interpretatur illud Hippocratis, *si unum esset homo, non doleret, quia non foret unde doleret.* *Apud* Gassendum, *Phys.* Sect. 3. lib. 6. cap. 3. Oper. tom. 2. pag. 343. He cites *Lib. de const. art. cap.* 4. *de Elem.* 3 & 4.

(69) Plutarch. *adv. Colot.* pag. 1111.

(70) *See* Gassendi, ibid.

(71) See the Remarks [C] and [L] of the Article DICÆARCHUS, Aristotle's Scholar.

Those who have a mind to know the other differences between Democritus and Epicurus need only consult Cicero (72).

(72) Lib. 1. *de Finibus.*

[G] *What he taught with respect to the nature of the Gods is most impious.*] It would be too great a neglect of

liable to be misinterpreted, and some ill effects proceeded thence which discredited his sect: but at the bottom it was very reasonable, and it cannot be denied but that taking the word happiness in the sense he did, the felicity of man consists in pleasure. Mr. Arnauld has criticised this doctrine in vain [*H*]. The Stoics, who may be called the Pharisees of Paganism,

of the sacred laws of equity to accuse Epicurus of having believed that the Gods do not deserve our worship, respect, and homage: for he openly professed the contrary, and published excellent Books concerning the worship which men owe to the Gods (73). I own it was objected to him, that if he acted according to his own principles he could have no Religion; but herein they only disputed concerning the right, they did not deny the fact; for his outward Religion was never questioned We cannot produce a more credible Witness than Seneca; and this is what he says of the matter: *Tu denique, Epicure, Deum inermem facis; omnia illi tela, omnem detraxisti potentiam .... hunc non habes quare verearis, nulla illi nec tribuendi nec nocendi materia est ... Atqui hunc vis videri colere, non aliter quam parentem: grato, ut opinor, animo: aut si non vis videri gratus, quia nullum habes illius beneficium, sed te atomi & istæ micæ tuæ forte ac temere conglobaverunt, cur colis? Propter majestatem, inquis, ejus eximiam, singularemque naturam. Ut concedam tibi: nempe hoc facis nulla spe, nullo precio inductus. Est ergo aliquid per se expetendum, cujus te ipsa dignitas ducit: id est honestum* (74). i. e. "In "short, Epicurus, you disarm God; you have strip- "ped him of all his thunder, and all his power ..... "such a Deity you have no reason to fear, since he is "unable to reward or to do hurt... Yet you would "seem to revere this Deity, as a parent; out of a "principle of gratitude, as I suppose: or, if you do "not desire to seem grateful, because you are not o- "bliged to him for any benefit, since you was fortui- "tously formed by a blind concourse of Atoms, why "do you worship him? you answer, for the superla- "tive majesty and singular excellence of his nature. "Be it granted, that you are induced to this by no "hope nor expectation of reward. There is something "therefore which is desirable in itself, the dignity "whereof affects you: that is, what is fit and de- "cent." We have here, in few words, the Religion which Epicurus professed; he honoured the Gods on account of the excellence of their nature, though he expected no good from them, nor feared any ill (75). He paid them a worship which was not mercenary; wherein he did not at all regard his own interest, but the pure ideas of reason which require us to respect and to honour whatever is great and perfect. Perhaps they were not mistaken, who accused him of acting in this manner only out of policy (76), and to avoid the punishment which he would infallibly have suffered, if he had overthrown the worship of the Gods: but though this accusation should have been well grounded, it would nevertheless have been rash. Equity requires that we judge of our neighbour by his words and actions, and not by the secret intentions we imagine he has. We must leave the judgment of what passes in the recesses of the heart to God, who is the only searcher of hearts. And after all, why will we not allow Epicurus to have had the idea of a worship which our most orthodox Divines recommend as the most lawful, and the most perfect? they tell us daily, that though there was neither Paradise to hope for, nor Hell to fear, we should notwithstanding be obliged to honour God, and to do all we think may be pleasing to him (77). I shall cite below (78) the testimony which Diogenes Laertius has borne to Epicurus's piety.

Therefore the sole proof of the Text of this Remark is, that Epicurus reduced the Divine Nature to a state of inaction: he deprived it of the Government of the World, and did not acknowledge it to be the cause of this Universe. This is an enormous impiety. Authors are not agreed concerning the question, whether he taught that the Gods were composed of Atoms. If he had taught that, he would have robbed the Divine Nature of its eternity, and indestructibility; a horrid and most blasphemous doctrine! But I do not believe this can be charged upon him; for one of his first principles was, that God being happy and immortal does hurt to nobody, nor concerns himself with any business. *In illis selectis ejus brevibusque sententiis quas appellant κυρίας δόξας hæc, ut opinor, prima sententia est, quod beatum & immortale est, id nec habet, nec exhibet cuiquam negotium* (79). We see that the first point of Meditation which he gave his Disciples, was the immortality and felicity of God. Πρῶτον μὲν, τὸν Θεὸν, ζῷον ἄφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόησις ὑπεγράφη· μηδὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον, μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον, αὐτῷ πρόσαπτε· πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα, περὶ αὐτὸν δόξαζε. *Primum quidem, Deum esse animal immortale ac beatum, puta, sicut communis de Deo dictat intelligentia; nihil illi aut ab immortalitate alienum, aut à beatitudine, applicans. Cæterùm omne quod illius cum immortalitate beatitudinem servare possit, de eo opinare* 80). i. e. "First, consider God as an immortal and happy Be- "ing, such as common sense tells us he must be; "applying nothing to him which may be re- "pugnant to immortality, or felicity. But what- "ever may preserve his happiness together with "his immortality, that think of him." He did not believe, therefore, that the Gods were made like the World, by the fortuitous concourse of Atoms; he was sensible that by that means he would manifestly have subjected them to death. *Idem facit in natura Deorum, dum individuorum corporum concretionem fugit nè interitus & dissipatio consequatur, negat esse corpus Deorum, sed tanquam corpus: nec sanguinem, sed tanquam sanguinem* (81). i. e. "He proceeds on the same principle, when he "discourses of the nature of the Gods, avoiding a "concretion of Atoms, lest death and dissipation "should follow. He denies the Gods have either "bodies, or blood; but something analogous to each." Nevertheless Tertullian (82), and St. Augustin (83), maintain he taught that the Divine Nature was composed of Atoms; but Lactantius has better represented this Philosopher's opinion. *Deos*, says he (84), *ajunt incorruptos, æternos, beatos esse: solisque dant immunitatem, ne concursu atomorum concreti esse videantur: si enim Deos quoque ex illis constituissent, dissipabiles fierent, seminibus aliquando resolutis, utque in naturam suam revertentibus.* i. e. "They affirm the Gods to "be incorruptible, eternal, and happy; and allow "them alone the privilege of not being formed of a "concourse of Atoms. For if they had made them "also to consist of the same principles, they would "be liable to dissolution; the constituent particles at "length disuniting, and returning to their primitive "nature." I end this Remark with censuring the following words of Moreri: *The opinions* of Epicurus *concerning the Soul and the Deity do not seem reasonable to some.* Is it possible that a Priest should speak thus of an opinion which overthrows the immortality of the Soul, and the providence of God?

[*H*] *Mr. Arnauld has criticised this doctrine in vain.*] To make what I have to say more intelligible, I observe first of all, that almost all the old Philosophers, who have treated of the happiness of man, have stuck to an external notion; and this has produced a great variety of opinions among them (85). Some have placed the happiness of man in riches; others in knowledge; others in honours; others in reputation; others in virtue, &c. It is clear that they fixed the idea of happiness, not to its formal cause, but to its efficient cause; that is, they called that our happiness which they judged capable of producing in us a state of felicity, without defining the state of our soul when she is happy. This state is what I call the formal cause of happiness. Epicurus was not deceived in this point: he considered happiness in itself, and in its formal state, and not according to the relation it has to beings altogether external, as efficient causes are. This way of considering happiness is doubtless the most exact, and the most worthy of a Philosopher. Epicurus, therefore, has done well to pitch upon it; and he has made so good use of it, that it has led him precisely where he ought to go: the only dogm, which could reasonably be established according to this method, was to assert that the happiness of man consisted in his being at ease, and in feeling pleasure, or, generally, in contentment of mind. This does by no means prove that Epicurus placed the happiness of man in good chear, and in the impure commerce of the

(73) *De sanctitate, de pietate adversus Deos libros scripsit Epicurus. At quo modo in his loquitur? Ut Coruncanum aut Scævolam Pontifices maximos te audire dicas.* i. e. "Epicurus wrote "Books of holi- "ness, and piety "towards the "Gods. But in "what manner "does he there "speak? In "such a manner "that you would "say you heard "the High- "Priests Corun- "canus or Scæ- "vola." Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 41.

(74) Seneca, *de Beneficiis*, lib. 4. cap. 19.

(75) See what Cicero makes Velleius the Epicurean say in his 1st Book *de Natura Deorum*, cap. 8, & *seq.*

(76) *See* Cicero, ibid. cap. 44, *fin.*

(77) *See* Gassendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 4. cap. 3.

(78) In the Remark [*P*].

(79) Cicero, *de Natura Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 30. See also cap. 17.

(80) Diog. Laert. lib. 10. num. 123.

(81) Cicero, *de Natura Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 25, *fin.*

(82) Tertull. *adv. Gentes*, cap. 47.

(83) *Quorum corpusculorum concursu fortuito & mundos innumerabiles, & animantia, & ipsas animas fieri dicit &* Deos. August. Epist. 56. pag. 273.

(84) Lactant. *de Ira Dei*, cap. 10. pag. m. 538.

(85) Do not believe, however, what so many people tell us, that according to *Varro* there were 288 different opinions concerning the nature of the supreme Good. It is a Jest of *Varro*'s. *See* S. August. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 19. cap. 1.

Paganiſm, did all they could againſt Epicurus, in order to render him odious, and expoſe him to perſecution. They charged him with ſubverting the worſhip of the Gods, and inciting mankind to debauchery. He did not forget himſelf on this occaſion (*i*): he publiſhed his opinions to the whole world, he wrote ſome books of devotion, he recommended the veneration of the Gods, ſobriety, chaſtity; and it is certain that he lived in an exemplary manner, and conformably to the rules of philoſophical wiſdom and frugality (*k*): yet calumnies were ſpread againſt his morals [*I*], and there was a deſerter of his ſect who ſpoke

(*i*) Rondellus, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, pag. 19, 20.

(*k*) See the Remark [*N*].

the different ſexes; for at moſt theſe can be no more than efficient cauſes, which are not here in queſtion: when the efficient cauſes of contentment are conſidered, the beſt ſhall be pointed out; you ſhall be directed, on the one hand, to thoſe objects which are moſt effectual to preſerve the health of your body, and, on the other, to thoſe occupations which are moſt proper to prevent the uneaſineſs of your mind: therefore you will be preſcribed ſobriety, temperance, and the checking of tumultuous and diſorderly paſſions, which deprive the ſoul of her ſtate of happineſs, that is, the ſoft and quiet acquieſcence in her condition. Theſe were the pleaſures wherein Epicurus made the happineſs of man to conſiſt. People exclaimed againſt the word pleaſure: thoſe who were already corrupted made an ill uſe of it; the enemies of his ſect took advantage of it, and ſo the name of an Epicurean became moſt odious. All this is accidental to the doctrine, and hinders not but Epicurus may have philoſophized in a ſolid manner: it being always underſtood, that he committed a great fault, in not acknowledging that God alone can produce in our ſoul the ſtate which renders her happy.

Let us now come to Mr. Arnauld. He cenſured with all his might this doctrine of Father Mallebranche, *Every pleaſure is a good, and actually renders him happy who taſtes it* (86). The Author * of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, giving an Extract of Mr. Arnauld's Book, declared for Father Mallebranche in this point. *There is nothing more innocent*, ſays he (87), *nor more certain than to ſay*, that every pleaſure renders him happy who enjoys it, during the time he enjoys it; and that nevertheleſs we muſt fly thoſe pleaſures which attach us to bodies .... *But, ſome will ſay, it is virtue, it is grace, it is the love of God, or rather it is God alone, that is our happineſs. I agree it is, as an inſtrument or* efficient *cauſe, as Philoſophers ſpeak; but as a* formal *cauſe, it is pleaſure, it is contentment; that is our ſole felicity.* Thereupon Mr. Arnauld attacked the Author of the *Republique des Lettres*, and addreſſed an Advice (88) to him, wherein he refuted him point by point, and according to all the rules of his method of diſputing, which doubtleſs was that of a very able Logician. The Journaliſt replied (89), and continued to maintain his opinion, and made it his principal buſineſs to remove the equivocations which have been thrown over this ſubject, by the diverſity of *tropological* phraſes which have been uſed: moſt Writers having given the cauſe the name of the effect, I mean, having called happineſs or unhappineſs, not what effectively is ſuch, but what cauſes it. He even undertook to refute thoſe who imagine that the pleaſures of our ſenſe are not ſpiritual: he maintains, that conſidering them only according to their phyſical *entity*, they are purely ſpiritual, and cannot be called corporeal but in conſequence of an accidental and arbitrary relation they have to the body; for that relation is founded only on God's having been pleaſed to eſtabliſh for the occaſional cauſe of thoſe pleaſures, the action of certain objects on man's body. Mr. Arnauld would not take the laſt blow: he refuted his Adverſary over again by a learned Diſſertation (90), wherein there is nothing more important, in my opinion, than the latter part. It is entitled, *An Examination of a new ſpeculation concerning the ſpirituality and materiality of the pleaſures of ſenſe*. He begins it in this manner: "I have nothing more to do now, Sir, than "to ſay one word to you concerning the moſt important point in that Writing. It is a Metaphyſical "thought, ſo ſubtle and abſtracted, that I have a double fear upon me: one, that I have not perfectly "comprehended your meaning; and the other, that I "ſhall not be able to expreſs mine ſo as to be underſtood by every body. You pretend, Sir, that "we muſt diſtinguiſh two things in the pleaſures "of the ſenſes; their *Spirituality*, which you "look on as eſſential to them; and their *materiality*, which you will have to be *acceſſory* and *accidental* to them; from whence you conclude that "a pleaſure of the ſenſes might remain *numerically the ſame* *, and have nothing material, becauſe "materiality may be ſeparated from it (91)." He afterwards very clearly unfolds the doctrine of his Adverſary, and oppoſes it in a manner very worthy of his Logic and ability; but yet I am of opinion that he is miſtaken at the bottom, and that he has not ſufficiently obſerved the difference there is between our ſenſations and our ideas. The Relation between our ideas and their object is eſſential; and he is in the right to ſay that God cannot make the idea of a circle be ſeparated from its relation to a circle. But it is not the ſame with regard to our ſenſations. Our ſoul might feel without referring it to a foot, or a hand, juſt as ſhe feels joy at good news, and grief at bad, without referring them to any parts of the body; and if while ſhe is united to a body, ſhe refers to ſome part of that body grief and certain pleaſures, the ſenſation of burning, tickling, &c. it is only by an arbitrary eſtabliſhment of the Author of her union with the body, it is only that ſhe may the better watch over the conſervation of the machine which is united to her. If this reaſon were to ceaſe, it would be no longer neceſſary for her to refer her ſenſations to any thing without herſelf, and yet ſhe would always be ſuſceptible of the modification which is called pain, pleaſure, cold, heat: God might impreſs on her all thoſe modifications, either without regulating himſelf by any occaſional cauſe, or regulating himſelf by an occaſional cauſe which ſhould not be a body, but the thoughts of ſome ſpirit. The Author of the *Art of thinking* is in the right to ſay, *that it is very poſſible for a ſoul ſeparated from the body to be tormented by the fire either of Hell or of Purgatory, and to feel the ſame pain as one feels when one is burned; ſince even while ſhe was in the body, the pain of burning was in her and not in the body, and was nothing elſe but a thought of ſorrow which ſhe felt, on occaſion of what paſſed in the body to which God had united her* (92). But he is in the wrong to ſuppoſe that it would be neceſſary that God ſhould diſpoſe a certain portion of matter, with regard to a ſpirit, in ſuch a manner, that the motion of that matter may occaſion afflicting thoughts in that ſpirit. A being perfectly immaterial might perform the office of ſuch an occaſional cauſe, and in that caſe our Soul might feel the ſame pleaſure which we call ſenſual and corporeal; ſhe might, I ſay, feel it without referring it to a mouth, or an ear, as we now do the pleaſure of good chear, and of muſic. From whence it reſults, that pleaſure, of what kind ſoever it may be ſuppoſed, may conſtitute the happineſs of the ſoul in whatever ſtate ſhe be ſuppoſed, whether ſhe be united to matter, or not. This would deſerve a particular Treatiſe. If the Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* had not been ſick, when Mr. Arnauld's Diſſertation appeared, he would have refuted it; but he judged it would be too late to do it, when his health permitted him to take his pen in hand.

(86) See the *Reflexions Philoſophiques & Theologiques ſur le Nouveau Syſteme de la Nature & de la Grace*, liv. 1. cap. 21. pag. 407, &c.

* Who was Mr. Bayle himſelf.

(87) *Nouv. de la Republ. des Lettres*, for Auguſt 1685. Art. 3. pag. 876.

(88) See ibid. for December 1685, Art. 1.

(89) Ibid. for January 1686, pag. 93.

(90) See the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, tom. 6. pag. 379.

* *Idem numero.*

(91) Arnauld, *Diſſertat. ſur le pretendu Bonheur des ſens*, pag. 108.

(92) *Art de Penſer*, 1 Part. chap. 9. pag. m. 86.

(93) *See* Gaſſendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 8. cap. 5.

[*I*] *Some calumnies were ſpread againſt his morals.*] He was repreſented as a glutton, a lewd fellow, and a new Sardanapalus; and becauſe, according to the cuſtom of thoſe ages (93), he admitted ſome women who loved Philoſophy into the number of his diſciples, his ſchool was repreſented as a downright brothel. It was reported that the courtezan Leontium, being grown curious of Philoſophy, and having applied to that Philoſopher, had not diſcontinued her former trade, and that ſhe gratified the whole Society with the enjoyment of her perſon, and Epicurus, in particular, in public (94). They were not contented with ſpreading theſe ſlanders in converſation, but inſerted them in Books; and what was the moſt unjuſt of all, they forged 50 laſcivious Letters, and publiſhed them under the name of that Philoſopher.

(94) Ἡ δὲ οὐχ ὅτε φιλοσοφεῖν ἠρξατο, ἐπαύσατο ἑταιρουσα, πᾶσι τε τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις. Ἐπικούρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδὸν. *Quæ Philoſophiæ operam navare cum incæpiſſet non ideo ſcortari deſtitit, ſed Epicureis omnibus in hortis ſe proſtituit, & palam quidem Epicuro.* Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 588.

ſpoke very ſcandalouſly of him [K]. A very learned man has maintained, within theſe two years (l), that this Philoſopher did not deny a divine providence [L]. Tho' we have none of Epicurus's works remaining, there is no ancient Philoſopher whoſe opinions are better known than his. For this we are obliged to Diogenes Laertius, and yet more to the learned Gaſſendi

(l) This was written in the year 1695.

Philoſopher. Diotimus the Stoic was the Author of this villany. Διότιμος ὁ Στωϊκὸς δυσμενῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πικρόταλα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν ἐπιστολὰς φέρων πεντήκοντα ἀσελγεῖς, ὡς Ἐπικούρου, καὶ τὰς εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερομένας ἐπιστόλια, ὡς Ἐπικούρου συνταξας. *Diotimus autem Stoicus infeſto adverſus illum animo, acerrimè infectatus eum eſt, quinquaginta circumferens laſciwas, veluti ab Epicuro ſcriptas, epiſtolas, eaſque quæ Chryſippi feruntur, veluti ſub Epicuri nomine componens* (95). We have ſtill a Letter extant attributed to Leontium; but it is a ſuppoſititious piece. They feign that Leontium wrote to Lamia and deſcribed the trouble ſhe underwent with Epicurus, an old fellow of fourſcore, and in his ſecond childhood, ſwarming with lice, and ſo croſs that he did nothing but ſcold at his miſtreſs, and teize her with his ſuſpicions. Οὐδὲν δυσαρεστότερον, ὡς ἔοικέν, ἐστι παλιν μειρακιευομένου πρεσβύτου. οἷα με Ἐπίκουρος ἔτος δωδεκατῖ, πάντα λοιδορῶν, πάντα ὑποπτεύων, ἐπιστολὰς ἀδιαλύτους μοι γράφων. ἐκδιώκων ἐκ τῆ κήπου μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, εἰ Ἄδωνις ἦν, ἤδη ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη· ὑφ' ὧν αὐτῆ ἠνεσχόμην, φθειριῶντος, καὶ πολυνοσοῦντος καὶ καταπεπλημένου, εὖ μάλα πόκοις, ἀντὶ πίλων, &c. *Nihil eſt, ut mihi videtur, repueraſcente ſene importunius: Quo ſanè modo erga me Epicurus iſte ſe habet, omnia improbans, omnia in ſuſpicionem vertens, literas ad me ambagioſas ſcribens; abacturus ſanè ex Horto ipſam Venerem, tametſi Adonis foret, natus jam, ut eſt, annorum octoginta. Abſit illius amore tenear, qui & ſcatet pediculis, & planè morbidus eſt, contractus præ ſenio, nec injuriâ velera geſtans pro pileis, &c* (96). The forgery of this Letter is evident, ſince Leontium died before Epicurus (97), and Epicurus lived not much above ſeventy one years. It is certain that Metrodorus, one of Epicurus's principal friends, lay with this Leontium; perhaps he had married her; at the worſt he kept her as his concubine: but concubinage was not very ſcandalous among the Pagans. Danae, the daughter of Leontium, was not more chaſte than her mother (98). Some pretend that Leontium lay with one Corniades, and that he could tell how many times: for he kept a regiſter of his debauches; and when he had a mind to recall to his remembrance the favours he had received from the ſex, and his days of pleaſure, he conſulted his Journal: *Non inepte quis intelligat*, they are Gaſſendi's words (99), *ex hoc contubernio deſumptum quod Plutarchus ſcribit Corniadem quaſi ex Ephemeride repetere ſolitum quoties cum Hedia & Leontio rem habuiſſet, Thaſium bibiſſet, opipare cœnaſſet.* Others pretend that Gaſſendi has ſuffered himſelf to be deceived here by the Latin Tranſlator of Plutarch, and that the Greek imports that modeſt and grave people do not entertain in their minds the images of paſt pleaſures, and are not guilty of what expoſed Corniades to ridicule; they do not repeat, as if they were reading in their Table-Books, or Books of Account, how many times they had to do with Hedia or Leontium, &c. Thoſe who are capable of underſtanding the Greek I quote, may judge of the true ſenſe. I ſhould rather follow that of Gaſſendi. Οὔτε τὰς μετρίους καὶ σώφρονας εἰκὸς ἐνδιατρίβειν τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἐσκῶφθαι τὸν Κορνιάδην περάτιονται, οἷον ἐξ ἐφημεριδῶν ἀναλέγεσθαι, ποσάκις Ἡδείᾳ καὶ Λεοντίῳ συνῆλθον, ἢ πῦ θάσιον ἔπιον, ποίας εἰκάδας ἐδείπνησαν πολυτελέσατα, δεινὴν γὰρ ἐμφαίνει καὶ θηριώδη περὶ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ προσδυκώμενα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔργα ταραχὴν καὶ λύσσαν ἡ τοσαύτη πρὸς ἀναμνήσεις βάκχευσις αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πρόστηξις. *Neque probabile eſt, modeſtos ac temperantes homines hujuſmodi cogitationibus immorari, aut ea facere, ob quæ Corniadem ſubſannat ille, tanquam ex ephemeridibus repetentem, quoties cum Hedeia aut Leontio rem habuiſſet, ubi Thaſium vinum bibiſſet, quibus Idibus ſplendidiſſimè cœnaſſet. Atrocem enim ac belluinam in fruendis aut expectandis voluptatibus exagitationem animi ac rabiem deſignat tanta ipſius ad recordandum bacchatio atque adhæſio* (100). See in Gaſſendi, in the ſeventh Book of the Life of Epicurus, a ſolid refutation of the calumnies which I have mentioned. See alſo the remark [N]. Obſerve, that inſtead of Κορνιάδην, I think we ſhould read Καρνεάδην in this paſſage of Plutarch; for we know that one of Epicurus's friends was named Carneades. I have quoted a paſſage of Cicero as to this particular in the remark [M] of the article ARCESILAUS.

(95) Diogen. Laert. lib. 10. num. 3.

(96) *Ex ſecundo Libro* Alciphronis, *apud* Gaſſend. *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 7. cap. 2.

(97) *Metrodorus and Leontium his concubine left a ſon, whom Epicurus takes notice of in his Will, as an Orphan whom he recommended. See* Gaſſendi, *ibid.* cap. 6.

(98) Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 593. See the Article LEONTIUM, Remark [D].

(99) *De Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 7. cap. 1.

(100) Plut. *non poſſe vivi ſuaviter juxta Epicur.* pag. 1089, C. *ex Verſione* Xylandri.

[K] *A deſerter of his Sect ſpoke very ſcandalouſly of him.*] Theſe people generally abuſe the party they quit in an outrageous manner. The deſire of revenging ſome injury, or of making mankind believe that they have not left it out of inconſtancy, prompts them to defame it; and be they ever ſo ſuſpected, they fail not to meet with many credulous enough to believe them. I remember to have read that a Nun, who left the cloyſter of Port-Royal in great diſcontent, ſpread ſeveral little ſtories, which the Jeſuits took advantage of in their writings (101). But let us ſpeak of the deſerter here in queſtion. He was brother to Metrodorus, and was named Timocrates. He gave out that nocturnal aſſemblies were held in Epicurus's garden, which he had a thouſand difficulties to eſcape from (102); and as there were ſome women among Epicurus's diſciples, I leave you to judge what Commentaries were made on theſe words of Timocrates. They went ſo far as to compare thoſe conventicles of Epicurus to the midnight meetings of witches (103); and I doubt not but they reported the ſame of them as were ſaid of the Aſſemblies of the Adamites. *Præter commeſſationes & compotationes poſſunt ea intelligi quæ in nocturnis Bonæ Deæ ſacris patrari quondam objecta ſunt* (104). "Beſides feaſting and revelling ſuch "actions alſo may be underſtood as were charged to "be committed in the nocturnal ſolemnities of the "Good Goddeſs." Moreover, Timocrates repreſented Epicurus as a glutton and a drunkard, who thro' exceſſes of that kind vomited twice a day (105). Epicurus did not ſpare this deſerter of his Sect: he wrote againſt him, and uſed him very ſeverely. We find in a work of Cicero, that in order to inſult this Philoſopher, they ſuppoſed his quarrels with Timocrates aroſe only on a trifle. *Cum Epicurus . . . Metrodori ſodalis ſui fratrem Timocratem quia neſcio quid in philoſophia diſſentiret totis voluminibus conciderit* (106). i. e. "When Epicurus . . . cruelly inveighed againſt "Timocrates, the brother of his companion Metro-"dorus, through whole volumes, becauſe he differ-"ed from him in ſome inconſiderable point of Philoſo-"phy." There is no fair dealing in this objection: for if ever a Writer's paſſion is excuſable, it muſt be in ſuch diſputes as Epicurus had with his fugitive diſciple.

(101) See the Letters intitled, *Les Imaginaires & les Viſionaires.*

(102) Ἑαυτόν τε διηγῆται μόγις ἐκφυγεῖν ἰσχύσαι τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκείνας φιλοσοφίας καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην συναγωγήν. *Seque ipſum narrat vix effugere potuiſſe nocturnas illas philoſophandi conſuetudines arcanamque illam conventiunculam.* Laert. lib. 10. num. 6.

(103) *Cur item illud ſodalitium comparetur gregi ſociorum Ulyſſis, ac jam à noſtrorum pleriſque dictæ Magorum Synagogæ.* Gaſſendi *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 7. cap. 1.

(104) Idem, ibid.

(105) Laert. lib. 10. num. 6.

(106) Cicer. *de Natur. Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 33.

[L] *A very learned man has maintained . . . . that Epicurus did not deny a divine Providence.*] This learned man's name is Mr. du Rondel. He had been Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Univerſity of Sedan a conſiderable number of years, when that Univerſity was ſuppreſſed in the year 1681. He retired to Holland, where his merit ſoon procured him employment: he was invited to Maeſtricht to be Profeſſor of polite learning there, which chair he fills with great reputation. Before he left his native country, he had preſented the public with an Edition of Muſæus in Greek and Latin, with Notes (107); the Life of Epicurus in French (108); and a Diſſertation *de Gloria* (109). Since he has been out of France he has publiſhed ſome Reflections on a Chapter of Theophraſtus (110); a Diſſertation on the Chœnix of Pythagoras (111); and a Treatiſe *de Vita & moribus Epicuri* (112). It is in this laſt Work that he has undertaken to prove that Epicurus did not deny the providence of God. They who are deſirous of knowing the merit of his productions (113), and have them not, will do well to conſult the Journaliſts who have ſpoken of them. They will there find ſome of the praiſes due to his profound erudition, and his penetrating genius. When he ſhall be pleaſed to produce the treaſures of his Cloſet, the public will be convinced that the Journaliſts muſt make uſe of expreſſions full of the greateſt encomiums, if they deſign to do him juſtice. I ſhould expatiate farther on this ſubject, if the friendſhip which is between us had not taught me that I ſhould diſpleaſe him. See the Preface to the Project of this Dictionary, which I have addreſſed to him. It is not poſſible to maintain more learnedly or more artfully than he has done the

(107) Printed at Paris, for Cramoiſi, 1678, in 8vo.

(108) At Paris, for Anthony Cellier, 1679, in 12mo. It has been reprinted in Holland with a captious Title. See the *Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres*, for Jan. 1686, pag. 86.

(109) Printed at Leyden, 1680, in 12mo.

(110) At Amſterdam, 1689, in 12mo.

(111) At Amſterdam 1690, in 12mo.

(112) At Amſterdam, 1693, in 12mo.

(113) I do not pretend to have given a complete Liſt of them.

Gaſſendi, who has laboured with extreme diligence to collect whatever could be found concerning the doctrine and perſon of this Philoſopher in the writings of the Ancients, and to reduce the ſame into a complete Syſtem. If ever we have had reaſon to know that time at length does juſtice to oppreſſed innocence, it is with regard to Epicurus: for there have riſen ſo many illuſtrious defenders of his morals [*M*], both practical and ſpeculative, that at preſent none but obſtinate or ignorant people judge ill of either. He died in great pain of a retention of urine, with ſingular patience and conſtancy, in the ſecond year of the 127th Olympiad (*m*). He had juſt entred on the ſeventy ſecond year of his age. The purity of his morals cannot be ſufficiently commended, nor his opinions in point of Religion ſufficiently condemned. Infinite numbers of people are orthodox in their belief, but live ill: he, on the contrary, and many of his followers, had very bad tenets, and lived well [*N*]. Let us not forget

(*m*) Diogenes Laert. lib. 10. num. 15 & 22.

Paradox of Epicurus's Orthodoxy with regard to Providence. He has not forgotten to take advantage of (114) the VIS ABDITA QUÆDAM of Lucretius. When Mr. Minutoli knew that this Book of Mr. du Rondel's was publiſhed, he wrote me word that in the Collection of John Michael Brutus there was a Letter of *Peter Victorius to John della Caſa, Archbiſhop of Benevento, the ſubject whereof is the queſtion whether Lucretius, who in the beginning of his Poem invokes Venus, does not in that particular contradict the doctrine of Epicurus; and whether it be conſiſtent with the inaction which that Philoſopher attributes to the Gods?*

(114) Pag. 79.

[*M*] *So many illuſtrious defenders of his Morals have ariſen.*] The learned Gaſſendi obſerves that ſo ſoon as polite learning began to revive in the XVth Century, ſeveral able men ſpoke in behalf of Epicurus, who, during ſo many ages of barbarity, had been oppreſſed under a load of prejudices. *Cum Epicurus infamis fuiſſet habitus totâ illâ penè ſæculorum ſerie, quâ literæ bonæ ſepultæ jacuerunt; vix tamen libros humaniores, pulvere excuſſo, rediiſſe in manus ante duo ferè ſæcula, quàm omnes penè eruditi ſymbolum pro eo contulerunt* (115). He names Philelphus, Alexander ab Alexandro, Cœlius Rhodiginus, Volaterranus, and Joannes Franciſcus Picus (116). He obſerves, on the credit of Trithemius, that Baptiſta Guarinus wrote a Book concerning the Sect of Epicurus. He adds that Marc Antony Bonciarius had compoſed one, to prove that of all the ancient Philoſophers Epicurus is the man who came neareſt the truth (117). Laſtly, beſides Palingenius, from whom he quotes ſeveral Verſes in honour of Epicurus, he obſerves that Andrew Arnaud of Provence has made an Apology for that Philoſopher. *Andreas Arnaudus Forcalquerienſis in hac Provincia Proſeneſcallus in libello, cui nomen* Joci, *Apologiam pro Epicuro inter cætera edidit, brevem illam quidem, & foliolis paucis; ſed in quâ tamen ea delibantur ex Laërtio præſertim, atque Seneca, under convincatur, quod vir ille pereruditus initio propoſuit,* fuiſſe Epicurum injuſtius laceſſitum, & laniatum ab obtrectatoribus (118). i. e. "Andrew Arnaud, Deputy-Seneſchal of Forcalquier in this province, in a little Book, intitled *Jeſts*, has, among other things, publiſhed an Apology for Epicurus; a ſhort one indeed, and contained in a few pages, but which notwithſtanding gives us a taſte of thoſe particulars, chiefly from Laertius and Seneca, which are ſufficient to evince what the learned Author propoſed at the beginning, *that Epicurus had been unjuſtly attacked and abuſed by his enemies.*" The curious will not be diſpleaſed to find here a farther Account of this Apology. I am indebted for it to the obliging and very learned Mr. Minutoli (119). Here is what he wrote to me in November 1693. "The other day I met with a little Book printed at Avignon, intitled *Andreæ Arnaudi Joci, Epiſtolæ, Rara, Epigrammata, Tumuli, Apologiæ.* This laſt claſs of Pieces contains the Apologies of Bacchus, Epicurus, Phalaris, and Apuleius. . . . In the Collection of Epiſtles there is one of *Guirandus Arnaudo*, wherein having ſpoken advantageouſly of Raviſius Textor, whole Dialogues he ſent him as a Novelty, he ſays to him, *In nono Dialogo mirabéris Textorem, cujus ſcripta tantam doctrinam teſtantur, tam male de Epicuri voluptate teſtari, nec animadvertiſſe Epicurum opinione Sardanapalum re Stoïciſſimum, Bacchanalia ſimulaſſe, & Curios vixiſſe.* Epigr. 152.

(115) Gaſſendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 7. cap. 7. pag. m. 224.

(116) I wonder he has omitted *Laurence Valla.*

(117) See the *Words* of *Gaſſendi* above in the Article of BONCIARIUS, Remark [C], Citation (6), where I have found a miſtake.

(118) Gaſſendi, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, lib. 7. cap. 7. pag. 224.

(119) A Miniſter and Profeſſor at Geneva.

"Nam licet illecebris hominem velit eſſe beatum,
"Stoïcus interea moribus ipſe fuit.

"*Ita* Fruſius, *ſed tu fuſius nuper dicebas & docebas,* "*cum non ſine miratione opinionem quorundam rapiebas* "*ad paradoxum de Baccho, Epicuro, Phalaride, &* "*Apuleio. O noſtri ſæculi felicitudo, ſi omnes Epi-* "*curi eſſent, nulla hypocriſis, ſi Bacchi, nulla Baccha-* "*nalia, ſi Phalarides, nulla injuſtitia, ſi Apuleji, nulla* "*ineloquentia.*" i. e. "In the ninth Dialogue you "will be ſurprized that Textor, whoſe writings de-"monſtrate ſo great learning, ſhould have ſo wrong "a notion of the pleaſure of Epicurus, not conſider-"ing that he was a Sardanapalus in ſpeculation, but "a rigid Stoic in practice, a debauchee in appearance, "but a ſober man in reality.

"For tho' in pleaſure happineſs he plac'd,
"His life was with a Stoic's virtue grac'd.

"Thus Fruſius ſpeaks; but you have lately obliged "us with a more ample information, when in a ſtrange "and irreſiſtible manner you forced ſeveral to a be-"lief of the Paradox concerning Bacchus, Epicurus, "Phalaris, and Apuleius. How happy an age would "ours be, wherein, if all were like Epicurus, there "would be no hypocriſy, if like Bacchus, no revels, "if like Phalaris, no injuſtice, if like Apuleius, no "defect in eloquence!"

I forgot to ſay that Gaſſendi has mentioned Erycius Puteanus among thoſe who have praiſed Epicurus. The famous Don Franciſco de Quevedo publiſhed an Apology for that Philoſopher at Madrid, in the year 1635. His Book is intitled, *Epicteto Eſpañol en verſos conſonantes, con el origen de los Eſtoicos y ſu defenſa contra Plutarcho, y defenſa de Epicuro contra la opinion comun* (120). I have not ſeen that which Sarrazin has written in the French tongue for the Morals of Epicurus, and which Mr. Colomiés mentions in the 155th page of his *Bibliotheque Choiſie:* but I have ſeen the Reflections of Mr. de S. Evremond on this Subject *, which are curious and written in a good taſte. They are to be found in the Edition of his Works reprinted in Holland in the year 1693, at the end of the IIId Volume. They had been printed at Amſterdam in the year 1684, with three or four pieces of the ſame Author. The Baron des Coutures publiſhed this Philoſopher's Morals with Reflections in 1685: the Edition of Paris was twice reprinted in Holland the ſame year (121). This Book ſhews Epicurus in a very good light, and is worth a Panegyric. It makes the Chancellor of the Church and Univerſity of Paris (122) appear as an Apologiſt for Epicurus. La Mothe le Vayer (123) and Sorbiere (124) have acted the ſame part; but I do not believe that in any country, or in any age, any thing has been written in defence of that Philoſopher, which can equal the performance of our Gaſſendi. What he has compoſed on that ſubject is a maſter-piece, the moſt curious and judicious Collection that can be ſeen, and diſpoſed in the cleareſt and moſt regular method. Sir William Temple, ſo illuſtrious by his Embaſſies and fine Writings, has lately declared in defence of Epicurus with a very ſingular addreſs (125).

(120) Nic. Antonio, *Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 354.

[* Theſe Reflections had been falſly aſcribed to S. Evremond. They are Sarrazin's, and have been inſerted in the *New Works* of that Author printed at Paris in 1674. See the *Life of S. Evremond* by Mr. des Maizeaux, pag. 135. of the London Edition 1728. ADD. *of the Ed. of Amſt.*]

(121) See the *Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres*, for January 1686, Art. 9. pag. 86.

(122) Mr. Coquelin, *in the Approbation of the Book, which contains four pages.*

(123) *Traité de la Vertu des Païens*, in the 5th Volume of his Works, in 12mo.

(124) Letter 33. in 4to.

(125) See his *Miſcellanies.* They were tranſlated from Engliſh into French, and printed at Utrecht in the year 1694.

[*N*] *He and many of his followers had very bad tenets, and lived well.*] Nothing is more capable of extinguiſhing devotion in the heart of man, and to make

get that he taught an excellent point of morality with regard to the obedience due to

make all worſhip of God to be abſolutely renounced, than the belief that God does neither good nor harm to mankind, that he never chaſtiſes thoſe who offend him, nor rewards thoſe who ſerve him. The moſt devout Chriſtians, if they will be ſincere, muſt acknowledge that the ſtrongeſt tie which unites them to God, is to conſider him under the idea of a beneficent Being; that is, to conſider that he diſtributes infinite rewards to thoſe who obey him, and, on the other hand, eternally puniſhes thoſe who offend him. Here is a man who diſcharged the duties of Religion according to the cuſtom of his country (126), without any motive of intereſt; for he profeſſed his belief to be, that the Gods diſtributed neither rewards nor puniſhments (127). " He was very aſſiduous at the Tem-
" ples, and the firſt time that Diocles ſaw him, he
" could not forbear crying out, What a delight, what
" a ſight is it for me to ſee Epicurus in a Temple (128)!
" all my ſuſpicions vaniſh, piety reſumes its place,
" and I never had a better idea of the grandeur of
" Jupiter, than ſince I ſee Epicurus on his knees.
" Ὢ φαιδνγνεις ὀφθαλμῶν, &c." To this I add the following words of Laertius: Τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς Θεὸς ὁσιότητος, καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα φιλίας ἄλεκτος ἡ διάθεσις (129). According to ſome they ſignify, *that he had an unſpeakable attachment to piety, and the love of his country* (130); but hitherto the Editions of Laertius furniſh us with another interpretation. The Greek words there ſignify that Epicurus never grew remiſs, either in the worſhip of the Gods, or in zeal for the good of his country: *Nam quid de cultu in Deos, & de amicitia adverſus patriam dicam quam conſtantiſſimè uſque ad finem tenuit?* It ſeems as if the Tranſlator had read, not ἄλεκτος, as it is in the printed copy, but ἄληκτος. However the paſſage be tranſlated, it contains a great encomium on Epicurus's piety.

Fully to refute thoſe who accuſe him of intemperance, it is ſufficient to refer them to the teſtimony which his enemies themſelves have borne to his frugality. Conſult Seneca, who, as a great Stoic, ſhould have cenſured him on all occaſions, if appearances were ever ſo little againſt him: yet he agrees that they made very indifferent chear in the garden of Epicurus. *Eo lubentius*, ſays he (131), *Epicuri egregia dicta commemoro, ut iſtis, qui ad illa confugient, ſpe mala inducti, qui velamentum ſeipſos ſuorum vitiorum habituros exiſtimant, probem, quocunque ierint, honeſte eſſe vivendum. Cum adierint eos hortulos, & inſcriptum hortulis, Hoſpes hic bene manebis, hic ſummum bonum voluptas eſt: paratus erit iſtius domicilii cuſtos, hoſpitalis, humánus, & te polenta excipiet, & aquam quoque large miniſtrabit, & dicet: Ecquid bene acceptus es? Non irritant, inquam, hi hortuli famem, ſed extinguunt: nec majorem ipſis potionibus ſitim faciunt, ſed naturali & gratuito remedio ſedant.* i. e. " I men-
" tion the excellent ſayings of Epicurus the more wil-
" lingly, that I may prove to thoſe who, led by a
" groundleſs hope, may have recourſe thereto, think-
" ing to find a cover for their vices, that wherever
" they go, they muſt live virtuouſly. When they go
" to thoſe gardens, where the inſcription is, *Stranger,*
" *here you ſhall find welcome: here pleaſure is the ſu-*
" *preme good*; the keeper of the place will be ready,
" hoſpitable, and humane, will treat you with parched
" barley, and furniſh you with water in plenty, and
" will ſay, *Have you not been well entertained?* theſe
" gardens, I ſay, do not excite hunger, but allay it,
" nor do they increaſe thirſt by drinking, but quench
" it by a natural and cheap remedy." By Seneca's own confeſſion, Epicurus's gueſts had little better fare than bread and water. You may find ſeveral ſuch authorities in the Book I cite (132). As to venereal pleaſure, not only the maxims and counſels of Epicurus were extremely chaſte (133), but he preached ſo much by his own example that Chryſippus, his perpetual antagoniſt, was obliged to explain that phænomenon by imputing it to the inſenſibility of his temper. *Scribit Stobæus quempiam fuiſſe qui & non iri captum amore virum ſapientem dixerit, & ipſius Epicuri exemplo inter cæteros id probarit: Chryſippum autem contradixiſſe, & Epicurum quod attineret, excepiſſe nihil ex ejus exemplo concludi quoniam foret ἀναίσθητος, ſenſu carens* (134). i. e. " Stobæus writes that a certain perſon aſſerted a wiſe
" man would never be captivated by love, and proved
" it by the example of Epicurus, among others: but
" Chryſippus declared himſelf of a contrary opinion,
" and as to Epicurus, he ſaid nothing could be con-
" cluded from his example, becauſe he was inſenſible."
I refer the Reader to the fine collections of Gaſſendi (135), but I cannot forbear tranſcribing theſe words of Cicero: *Ac mihi quidem, quod & ipſe bonus vir fuit, & MULTI EPICUREI fuerunt, & hodie ſunt, & in amicitiis fideles, & in omni vita conſtantes & graves, nec voluptate, ſed officio conſilia moderantes, hæc videtur major vis honeſtatis, & minor voluptatis. Ita enim vivunt quidam, ut eorum vita refellatur oratio, atque ut cæteri exiſtimantur, dicere melius quàm facere, ſic hi mihi videntur melius facere, quàm dicere* (136). i. e. " And in my opinion, indeed, as he himſelf was a
" good man, and many Epicureans have been, and
" at this day are, faithful friends, conſtant and exem-
" plary in their lives, and guided not by pleaſure,
" but by duty; here the force of virtue ſeems greater,
" and that of pleaſure leſs. For ſome live in ſuch a
" manner, that their doctrines are confuted by their
" lives; and as others are thought to ſpeak better
" than they act, ſo theſe ſeem to me to act better
" than they ſpeak." You here ſee Epicurus and ſeveral of his followers honoured with the character of good friends, honeſt men, and grave perſons, who practiſed virtue with great exactneſs. It is only objected to them that they did not live according to their principles: an objection which holds true no leſs againſt the orthodox, and with regard to them is a thouſand times more ſhameful. Cicero aſſerts it as a matter of fact, that no fault could be found with the morals of Epicurus; and that he is only upbraided with not having the wit to reconcile his doctrines with his behaviour. *Ratio iſta quam defendis, præcepta quæ didiciſti, quæ probas, funditus evertunt amicitiam, quamvis eam Epicurus, ut facit, in cælum efferat laudibus. At coluit ipſe amicitias: quaſi quis illum neget, & bonum virum, & comem, & humanum fuiſſe. De ingenio ejus in his diſputationibus, non de moribus quæritur* (137). i. e. " The reaſon which you maintain, the precepts which
" you have learned and do approve, utterly overthrow
" friendſhip, though Epicurus may, as he does, extol
" it to the ſkies. But he, you will ſay, was an ex-
" cellent friend himſelf. Does any one deny him to
" have been a good man, complaiſant, and humane?
" in theſe diſputes the queſtion regards his genius,
" not his morals."

It may be wondred, perhaps, that Epicurus, having practiſed ſuch excellent morals, ſhould have fallen into an infamy which has rendred his ſect and his memory odious for many ages, wherever he has been known. Hereupon I make three ſmall obſervations. I obſerve firſt, that we muſt acknowledge here, as in many other things, the abſolute power of fatality. Some people are happy, and others are unhappy: this is the beſt reaſon that can be given for their different fortune. I ſay in the ſecond place, that Epicurus's competition with the famous Philoſopher who was the founder of the Stoics muſt neceſſarily have produced ill conſequences. The Stoics profeſſed a great ſeverity in their morals: to contend with theſe people was almoſt as dangerous as it is at this day to be at variance with Bigots. They intereſted Religion in their quarrel, they raiſed fears leſt the youth ſhould be perverted, they alarmed all good men, and their accuſations found credit; the people being eaſily perſuaded that true zeal and auſtere maxims always go together: ſo that theſe were the moſt effectual deſtroyers of a man's reputation. Wherefore it muſt not be thought ſtrange if by dint of defamation, pious frauds, and forged letters, they made diſadvantageous impreſſions of Epicurus which have laſted a long time. I ſay, in the third place, that it was eaſy to give an ill ſenſe to the doctrines of that Philoſopher, and to fright honeſt people with the term of pleaſure which he made uſe of. If when they ſpoke of it they had at the ſame time added his explications, no body would have been alarmed; but all the explanations which were favourable to him were carefully removed: and, beſides, there were ſome Epicureans who made an ill uſe of his doctrine. They did not debauch themſelves, indeed, in his ſchool; but they had the cunning to ſhelter their diſorders under the authority

AN enquiry into the cauſes of the ill opinion which has been entertained of Epicurus.

(126) *He was perpetually ſeen in the Temples. He made a great many ſacrifices, and offerings, &c.* Du Rondel, *Vie d'Epicure*, pag. 29. See the whole ſequel of the paſſage; and in the Latin Edition, ſee pag. 60.

(127) Ibid. pag. 34. of the French Edition.

(128) See an Application of this in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for December 1684, in the Catalogue of new Books, num. 2.

(129) Laert. lib. 10. num. 10.

(130) *Gaſſendi* has tranſlated them, *nam ſanctitatis quidem in Deos & charitatis in patriam fuit in eo affectus ineffabilis.*

(131) Seneca, Epiſt. 21.

(132) Gaſſendi, *de Vita & Morib. Epicuri*, lib. 6. cap. 3, 4.

(133) *See* Laertius, lib. 10. num. 118.

(134) Gaſſend. *de Vita & Morib. Epicuri*, lib. 7. cap. 4: he cites Stobæus, *Serm. de ven. & am.*

(135) Ibid. & cap. 5, 6, 7.

(136) Cicero, *de Finib.* lib. 2. cap. 25.

(137) Idem, ibid. c. C.

to Magiſtrates [O]. He became much more famous after his death than he had been during his life [P], as Seneca has obſerved, and Metrodorus had foretold.

It will not be uſeleſs to produce here an example of the malice and diſingenuity of thoſe who cenſured Epicurus. He wrote a work intitled *the Banquet*, wherein he treated the queſtion what time is the moſt proper to careſs a woman? his Cenſurers, ſeeking a pretence to ſlander him, repreſented his proceedure unfaithfully, and changed the circumſtances of it. He muſt needs have been innocent, ſince Plutarch has been ſo equitable as to ſhew there was nothing in it unworthy of a Philoſopher [Q]. The ſame Plutarch has written a Treatiſe on purpoſe to prove that a man cannot live pleaſantly according to the

(138) Seneca, *de Vita beata*, cap. 12. pag. m. 625. See the *Penſées ſur les Cometes*, pag. 535.

(139) He owned the Morals of *Epicurus* were very ſtrict. Iamb. 18. *See* Gaſſendi, lib. 7. cap. 4.

(140) *Origenes contra Celſum*, lib. 7. pag. 375.

(141) Remark [N] Citation (129).

(142) Plutarch. *in Demetrio*, pag. 905, A.

(143) *Semper vota fecit pro Reipublicæ proſperitate ac vetere regimine, acquievit vero tempori præſenti ac Dominis ſorte datis. Donec iracundos habuit magiſtratus, patiens fuit ac docilis, quum verò bonos ac mites, gratus fuit ac obſequioſus.* i. e. "He always "prayed for the "proſperity of "the Common-"wealth, and "the old form of "government, "but acquieſced "in the preſent "ſtate of affairs, "and ſubmitted "to thoſe whom "fortune ſet over "him. While the "Magiſtrates "were ſevere, he "was patient and "dutiful, but "when they "were mild and "indulgent, he "was grateful "and obſequi-"ous." Rondellus, *de Vita & Moribus Epicuri*, pag. 126.

(144) Balzac, Letter 24 of the 14th Book, pag. 613. of the folio Edition.

(145) *Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 8.

(146) Alexander Severus, *apud* Herodian. lib. 6. cap. 3. pag. 262.

(147) Seneca, Epiſt. 79. pag. m. 325.

ty of ſo great a name. *Non ab Epicuro impulſi luxuriantur, ſed vitiis dediti, luxuriam ſuam in Philoſophiæ ſinu abſcondunt: & eo concurrunt, ubi audiunt laudari voluptatem. Nec æſtimatur voluptas illa Epicuri (ita enim mehercules ſentio) quam ſobria & ſicca ſit: ſed ad nomen ipſum advolant, quærentes libidinibus ſuis patrocinium aliquod ac velamentum* (138). i. e. "They "are not inſtigated to riot by Epicurus, but being ad-"dicted to vice, they hide their debaucheries in the "boſom of Philoſophy; and run to thoſe lectures "where they hear pleaſure is recommended. Nor do "they conſider how temperate and abſtemious (for "ſuch indeed I take it to be) the pleaſure of Epicurus "is; but fly to the bare name, ſeeking ſome pro-"tection and cover for their luſts." Conſult Gaſſendi, who unfolds this in an admirable manner, and ſhews how ſeveral great men, hurried away with the torrent, have from age to age followed the eſtabliſhed prejudices, without examining things to the bottom. Several of the Fathers are in this predicament: but Gregory Nazianzen did not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed on (139); and I remember to have read in Origen (140), that the Followers of Epicurus abſtained from adultery as much as the Stoics, though they did ſo from a different motive.

[O] *He taught an excellent point of Morality with regard to the obedience due to Magiſtrates.*] We have ſeen above (141) how he is commended for having never abated his zeal for the good of his country. He did not abandon it in times of difficulty; but reſolved to bear his ſhare of the miſeries of his countrymen. He lived upon beans, and maintained his Scholars with them, while Demetrius beſieged Athens; and he divided the beans equally with them, counting them one by one: Κυάμους πρὸς ἀριθμὸν μετ' αὐτῶν διανεμόμενον. *Fabas cum ipſis ad numerum partitum* (142). He wiſhed for good Sovereigns, and ſubmitted to thoſe who governed ill (143). This is a maxim very neceſſary for the public good, and the foundation of the ſecurity of all States. I am a witneſs, ſaid a modern Wiſeman (144), and not a judge of the life of Princes; and tho' I ſhould not approve their conduct, I ſhould ſtick firmly to that old Oracle, *Bona tempora voto expetere, qualiacunque tolerare.* This is taken from Tacitus (145), and is alſo to be found in a Speech which an Emperor made to his ſoldiers. Χρὴ δ' ἄνδρας γενναίους τε καὶ σώφρονας εὐχεσθαι μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὰ βέλτιστα, φέρειν δὲ τὰ προσπίπτοντα. *Decet autem viros fortes atque moderatos optima quidem optare, ſed ferre quæcunque incidant* (146). i. e. "It becomes brave and prudent men to pray for "the beſt, but to bear with whatever happens."

[G] *He became much more famous after his death, than he had been during his life.*] Seneca, ſpeaking of ſeveral great men who had not juſtice done them in their own age, forgets not Epicurus. *Quam multorum profectus*, ſays he (147), *in notitiam evaſere poſt ipſos? quam multos fama non excepit ſed eruit? Vides Epicurum, quantopere non tantum eruditiores, ſed hæc quoque imperitorum turba miretur. Hic ignotus ipſis Athenis fuit, circa quas delituerat. Multis itaque jam annis Metrodoro ſuo ſuperſtes, in quadam epiſtola, cum amicitiam ſuam & Metrodori, grata commemoratione cecinisſet, hoc noviſſime adjecit, nihil ſibi & Metrodoro inter bona tanta nocuiſſe, quod ipſos illa nobilis Græcia non ignotos ſolum habuiſſet, ſed pene inauditos. Numquid ergo non poſtea, quam eſſe deſierat, inventus eſt? numquid non opinio ejus emicuit? Hoc Metrodorus quoque in quadam epiſtola confitetur, ſe & Epicurum non ſatis eminuiſſe: ſed poſt, ſe & Epicurum, magnum paratumque nomen habituros, apud eos qui voluiſſent per eadem ire veſtigia.* i. e. "How many have there been whoſe merits were "not publickly known till themſelves were no more? "How many have there been to whom Fame gave "not a favourable reception, but afterwards drew them "forth from obſcurity? You ſee how much Epicurus "is admired, not only by the more learned, but even "by the ignorant multitude. This man was un-"known at Athens, in whoſe neighbourhood he had "concealed himſelf. Having outlived his friend Me-"trodorus many years, he gratefully commemorated "the friendſhip which had been between them in an "Epiſtle, and concluded with ſaying, that it had been "no diſadvantage to himſelf and Metrodorus, amidſt "ſo much good fortune, that they had been not only "unknown, but almoſt unheard of in Greece. Was "he not therefore found out after he had ceaſed to be? "Did not his doctrine ſhine forth? Metrodorus like-"wiſe in a certain Epiſtle makes the ſame confeſſion, "that he and Epicurus had not appeared in due luſtre, "but that both of them ſhould one day be highly "and freely honoured by thoſe who ſhould tread in "the ſame footſteps." Obſerve that in the time of Seneca, not only the learned, but even the unlearned admired Epicurus. A Father of the Church will bear witneſs that Metrodorus did not feed himſelf with illuſory notions, or vain hopes, when he imagined that the Sect of his good friend Epicurus would make more noiſe in future ages, than it did during their lives. For Lactantius declares that that Sect was always more flouriſhing than the reſt (148).

(148) *Epicuri diſciplina celebrior ſemper fuit quam cæterorum.* Lactant. *Divin. Inſtit.* lib. 3. cap. 17.

[Q] *Plutarch has been ſo equitable as to ſhew there was nothing in . . . his Banquet unworthy of a Philoſopher.*] His prejudices againſt Epicurus are well known, and therefore we may be aſſured that he ſhews him no favour, and that if he clears him, it is becauſe he thinks he is unjuſtly cenſured. He begins with ſaying that they *inveighed againſt Epicurus for introducing, in his* Banquet, *an impertinent and unſeemly diſcourſe, about what time it was beſt to have to do with a woman. For an old man, at ſupper, in the company of youths, to talk of ſuch a ſubject, and diſpute whether before or after ſupper was the moſt convenient time, argued him to be a very looſe and debauched man* (149). *He ſays a little after that Zopyrus, the Phyſician, who was very converſant* with the writings of that Philoſopher, repreſented to thoſe Critics: "that they had not duly "weighed that piece; for he did not propoſe that "queſtion at firſt, and as the beginning of the diſ-"courſe on purpoſe: but after ſupper he deſired the "young men to take a walk, and then diſcourſe and "diſpute upon it, abate their deſires, and reſtrain "their appetites; ſhewing them it was very hurtful "at all times, but eſpecially after they had been eat-"ing and making merry. But ſuppoſe he had pro-"poſed this as the chief Topic for diſcourſe, does it "not become a Philoſopher to enquire which is the "proper and convenient time? Ought we not to time "it well, and direct our embraces by reaſon? Or "may ſuch diſcourſes be otherwiſe allowed, and muſt "they be thought unſeemly Problems to be propoſed "at table? Indeed I am of another mind. It is true, "I ſhould blame a Philoſopher, that in the middle of "the day, in the Schools, before all ſorts of men "ſhould diſcourſe of ſuch a ſubject; but over a glaſs "of wine, between friends and acquaintance, when it "is neceſſary to propoſe ſomething beſides dull ſerious "diſcourſe, why ſhould it be a fault to hear or ſpeak "any thing that may inform our judgments, or di-"rect our practice in ſuch matters? And I proteſt I "had rather that Zeno had inſerted his looſe Topics "of *Poſtures* in ſome merry diſcourſes, and agreeable "Table-talk, than in ſuch a grave and ſerious piece as "his Politics (150)." Here then is Epicurus juſtified by a Writer who was not greatly his friend; he is juſtified, I ſay, both with regard to the main point, and to the circumſtances, againſt a pack of ſlanderers,

(149) Plutarch, in the 3d Book of his *Table-talk*, chap. 6.

(150) It is in the Greek; Νὴ τὸν κύνα, καὶ τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἂν ἐβουλόμην διαμαρισμούς ἐν συμποσίοις τινὶ καὶ παιδιὰ μᾶλλον ἢ σπουδῆς τοσαύτης ἐχομένους συγγράμματι τῷ πολιτείᾳ κατατεταχθαι. *Per canem adjuro, optare me ſuos illos diamerismos obſcœnos Zenonem in convivio aliquo aut joco quam in tam ſerio de republica opere poſuiſſe.* Plut. *in Sympoſ.* lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 653.

the principles of Epicurus. He ſhews, among other things, that the doctrine which rejects God's providence and the immortality of the ſoul, deprives a man of an infinite number of conſolations in this life, and drives him to deſpair when he comes to die [*R*]. I am not at all ſorry that this Author has omitted to examine whether thoſe who denied a providence argued more conſiſtently than thoſe who acknowledged one; I mean, whether ſuppoſing, as all the Philoſophers did, that matter owed its exiſtence to itſelf alone, it was not a more ſolid way of reaſoning to maintain that the Gods did not act upon matter, than to maintain that they diſpoſed of it at their pleaſure. Once more, I am not ſorry that Plutarch has not entred into the examination of this queſtion; for he was too much prejudiced againſt Epicureiſm, and too far engaged in certain Hypotheſes, not to perplex and embroil this weighty ſubject; but I am ſorry I have read no Book wherein the point is in any manner diſcuſſed. Methinks, among ſo many Apologiſts for Epicurus, ſome of them, at the ſame time that they condemned his impiety, ſhould have endeavoured to ſhew that it flowed neceſſarily and philoſophically from the error common to all the Pagans concerning the eternal exiſtence of matter [*S*]. I ſhall make ſome obſervations thereon,

who were in the wrong as to the main point, and related the circumſtances unfaithfully. But here is another ſort of juſtification. Plutarch imitates him; he handles the ſame queſtion at table, he turns it every way, and reaſons like a great maſter: and yet he is one of the graveſt Authors among the Pagans, and the man who declared the moſt conſtantly in favour of good morals. This ought to teach our falſe zealots, and ſqueamiſh critics, that they are raſhly offended at the liberty taken in this Dictionary, of bringing in what they call ſmutty paſſages. Do not our Chriſtian Phyſicians, I ſpeak even of thoſe who carefully preſerve the character of gravity, and ſhew great zeal for the purity of manners, treat the ſame queſtion which Epicurus was blamed for having treated? Let their ſtyle be ever ſo chaſte, can they examine it without ſtirring of ordures, and preſenting to the mind a great many obſcene images? But would it not be ridiculous to pretend, under this pretext, that they ought not to diſcuſs it, how uſeful ſoever the regulations, cautions, and obſervations may be, which they lay before us? Note that Amiot, Biſhop of Auxerre, and Great Almoner of France, has made no ſcruple of publiſhing in French the chapter out of which I have quoted ſome paſſages: and yet it is full of ſmutty things, which he has expreſſed plainly enough. It muſt be confeſſed likewiſe that Plutarch's Moral therein is excellent: for out of a principle of Religion he would have us take the night: *For all men*, ſays he (151), *have not the command of that happy eaſe and tranquillity which Epicurus's Philoſophy procured him; for many great incumbrances ſeize almoſt upon every one every day, or at leaſt ſome diſquiets; and it is not ſafe to truſt the body with any of theſe, when it is in ſuch a condition and diſturbance preſently after the fury and heat of the embrace is over. Let, according to his opinion, the happy and immortal Deity ſit at eaſe, and never mind us; but if we regard the Laws of our Country, we muſt not dare to enter into the Temple and offer ſacrifice, if but a little before we have done any ſuch thing. It is fit, therefore, to let ſleep and night intervene, and after there is a ſufficient ſpace of time paſſed between, riſe as it were pure and new, and, as Democritus was wont to ſay, with new thoughts upon the new day.*

(151) Plutarch. ibid. pag. 655.

[*R*] *The doctrine which rejects the Providence of God, and the immortality of the ſoul, deprives man of a great many conſolations, &c.*] Plutarch proves this in ſo ſolid a manner, that after having read his argument, we cannot ſufficiently wonder at the powerful influence which the firſt impreſſions of certain objects have on our mind. The firſt idea which preſents itſelf to thoſe who ſet themſelves to examine the ſtate of irreligion, is the idea of a liberty moſt happy according to worldly notions, in which a man gratifies all his deſires without any fear, or any remorſe. This idea roots itſelf ſo deeply in the mind, and ſo entirely takes it up, that if any one comes and tells us that the condition of a pious man is not comparable, in point of temporal advantages, to that of an Epicurean, we reject this aſſertion as a moſt abſurd falſhood. And yet this ſuppoſed falſhood has on its ſide a multitude of very ſtrong reaſons, as Plutarch has ſhewn. The fair dealing of that Author, in this part of his diſpute, ſeems to me very conſiderable, in caſe he perceived how far his reaſons might ſerve to juſtify Epicureiſm: for if it be certain that by denying the Providence of God, and the immortality of the ſoul, a man deprives himſelf of a thouſand inward ſatisfactions and comforts, it was not from motives of intereſt, out of ſelf-love, or voluptuouſneſs, that Epicurus choſe the philoſophical Hypotheſis he taught. He would rather have pitched upon the other, if he had been determined by ſuch motives. There are a great many things to be ſaid on this ſubject: it will be better, however, to refer them to another Book (152), wherein I ſhall likewiſe examine an objection which Mr. le Fevre has propoſed againſt Plutarch. He accuſes him of having contradicted himſelf, and to prove it he alledges what Plutarch, diſputing againſt Epicurus, has obſerved concerning the advantages, and the temporal happineſs of Religion, and what the ſame Plutarch has maintained in another place, that ſuperſtition is worſe than Atheiſm (153).

(152) In the Continuation of the *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes.*

(153) Tanaquil le Fevre, *Preface to his Tranſlation of* Plutarch's *Treatiſe concerning* Superſtition. *Conſult him alſo at the end of his* Remarks *on that Treatiſe.*

[*S*] Some *Apologiſts of Epicurus* ſhould have *endeavoured to ſhew that* his impiety *flowed naturally . . . . from the eternal exiſtence of matter.*] There was among the Natural Philoſophers of Paganiſm a great variety of opinions as to the Origin of the World, and the nature of the element, or elements, of which they pretended particular bodies were formed. Some maintained that water was the principle of all things, others aſcribed that quality to the air, others to fire, others to *homogeneous* parts, &c. but they all agreed in this point, that the matter of the World was unproduced. There was no diſpute among them as to the queſtion whether any thing had been made out of nothing, they all agreed that to be impoſſible, and conſequently the independent eternity, which Epicurus attributed to atoms, was not an opinion which the other Sects could condemn with regard to that neceſſary and uncreated exiſtence; for every one of them attributed the ſame nature to the principles which they admitted. Now I ſay, that this impious propoſition being once laid down, *viz.* that God is not the Creator of matter, it is leſs abſurd to maintain, as the Epicureans did, that God was not the Author of the World, and that he did not concern himſelf with the direction of it, than to maintain, as ſeveral other Philoſophers did, that he had formed it, preſerved it, and was the Director of it. What they ſaid was true; but notwithſtanding they ſpoke inconſiſtently, and it was a truth intruded, which entred not thro' the door, but thro' the window; they found themſelves in the right way, becauſe they ſtrayed from the road which they had taken at firſt. If they had known how to guide themſelves therein, they would not have been orthodox; ſo that their orthodoxy was a ſpurious and monſtrous production, which reſulted accidentally from their ignorance, and for which they were beholden to their incapacity of reaſoning juſtly. This reproach was yet much ſtronger with regard to the Philoſophers who preceded Anaxagoras, ſince they explained the generation of the world without the intervention of the finger of God (154). If they admitted a Divine Providence after that, they reaſoned much worſe than thoſe who did not admit it, till they had ſuppoſed that the Divine Intelligence preſided over the reduction of the Chaos into order, and the firſt formation of the parts of this world.

If I ſhould ſay no more, the greater part of my Readers would imagine that I advance a paradox as impious as the very doctrine of Epicurus. Wherefore I muſt explain

thereon, which will ſhew, among other things, I, That when a man does not follow the ſyſtem

plain all this in the cleareſt manner I can. For that end, I muſt firſt lay down this foundation, that according to the Syſtem of all the Heathen Philoſophers who believed a God, there was an eternal and uncreated Being diſtinct from God; that is, matter. This Being owed its exiſtence to its own nature only; and had no dependance on any other cauſe, either as to its eſſence, or exiſtence, or as to its attributes and properties. Therefore it could not be ſaid without contradicting the laws and notions of Order, which are the rule of our judgments and reaſonings, that another Being has exerciſed ſo great an empire over matter, as to change it entirely; and conſequently, thoſe who have aſſerted that matter having eternally exiſted of itſelf without being a world, began to be a world when God ſet himſelf to move it a hundred different ways, to condenſe it in one place, and rarefy it in another, &c. have advanced a doctrine which ſhocks the moſt exact notions to which thoſe who philoſophize are bound to conform. If Epicurus had aſked a Platonic Philoſopher theſe queſtions, *tell me, pray, by what right God has deprived matter of the ſtate wherein it had ſubſiſted from eternity? what is his title? whence does he derive his commiſſion to make this reformation?* What anſwer could he have returned him? would he have founded the title on the ſuperior power with which God was indued? but in that caſe would he not have made God act according to the law of the ſtrongeſt, and after the manner of thoſe conquering uſurpers, whoſe conduct is manifeſtly oppoſite to right, and which reaſon and the notions of order oblige us to condemn? would he have ſaid that God being more perfect than matter, it was juſt that he ſhould ſubject it to his dominion? but even this is not conformable to the notions of reaſon. The moſt excellent perſon in a city has not a right to make himſelf maſter of it, and he cannot lawfully rule there, unleſs that authority be conferred upon him. In a word, we know no other lawful title of dominion than that which the quality of cauſe, or the quality of benefactor, or that of purchaſer, or a voluntary ſubmiſſion, &c. may confer. Now nothing of all this can have place between an uncreated matter, and the divine nature: wherefore we muſt conclude, that without violating the laws of Order, God could not make himſelf maſter of that matter, to diſpoſe of it at his pleaſure. If you alledge what paſſes between man and other animals, the dominion he exerciſes over beaſts, without having either produced or fed them (155), I anſwer (156), that his wants or his paſſions being the baſis of that dominion, this cannot ſerve to make us comprehend how God could aſſume the command over matter; he, who wants nothing, who finds in himſelf the whole ſtock of his infinite felicity, who is capable of no paſſion, and who cannot do any action which is not perfectly conformable to the moſt exact juſtice.

(155) I ſpeak thus, becauſe I conſider Men and Beaſts in general, and not a man in particular, who buys, feeds, &c. ſuch or ſuch a Beaſt.

Omnis enim per ſe divum natura neceſſe eſt
Immortali ævo ſumma cum pace fruatur....
Ipſa ſuis pollens opibus, nihil indiga noſtri (157).

" For whatſoe'er's Divine muſt live in peace,
" In undiſturb'd and everlaſting eaſe,
" From all dependance on our nature free,
" Sufficient to its own felicity." Creech.

(156) I ſuppoſe it is Epicurus who makes this anſwer, and not a man who has read in Geneſis what is the lawful Origin of the Authority which we exerciſe over Animals.

(157) Lucret. lib. 1. ver. 57.

A Platoniſt, who ſhould be thus preſſed, would be conſtrained to ſay that God exerciſed his power over matter only from a principle of goodneſs. God, would he ſay (158), perfectly knew theſe two things: the one, that he would do nothing againſt the inclination of matter, by ſubjecting it to his empire; for as it was inſenſible, it was not capable of being grieved at the loſs of its independance: the other, that it was in a ſtate of confuſion, and imperfection, a rude heap of materials, of which an excellent edifice might be made, and ſome of which might be converted into living bodies, and thinking ſubſtances; his deſign therefore was to communicate to matter a more beautiful and noble ſtate than that which it was at firſt in. Is there any thing in this unworthy of a Being who is ſupremely juſt, and ſupremely good? This, methinks, is the moſt rational anſwer a Platonic could make; but I am of opinion, at the ſame time, that Epicurus would deſire no better than to ſee the controverſy brought to that iſſue. He would have a great many difficulties to urge.

(158) Note, that this Platoniſt, preſſed by *Epicurus*'s Objections, muſt be forced to abandon the Opinion which *Plutarch* attributes to *Plato* concerning the ſoul of matter. See the Remark [*U*] towards the end.

I. He would aſk in the firſt place, whether there can be a ſtate more agreeable to a thing, than that wherein it has always been, and in which its own nature, and the neceſſity of its exiſtence has eternally placed it: is not ſuch a condition the moſt natural that can be imagined? can that need any reformation, which has been regulated and determined by the nature of things, and the neceſſity to which whatſoever exiſts of itſelf owes its exiſtence? muſt it not neceſſarily laſt an eternity? and is it not a proof that all reformation would come too late, and would conſequently be incompatible with the wiſdom of the Reformer?

II. But let us ſuppoſe the maxim, *Better late than never*, *Præſtat ſerò quàm nunquam:* how will this Reformer do to change the ſtate and condition of matter? will it not be neceſſary for him to produce motion in it? and to do this muſt he not touch and puſh it? if he can touch and puſh it, he is not diſtinct from matter; and if he be not diſtinct from matter, you are in the wrong to admit two uncreated Beings, one which you call matter; and the other which you call God; there is in effect nothing but matter in the univerſe, and our diſpute is at an end; that Author of the world, that Director, that Divine Providence in queſtion vaniſhes into ſmoke. If he be diſtinct from matter, he has no extenſion; tell me then how he will be able to apply himſelf to bodies to drive them out of their place? The Platonic would anſwer, that matter was always in motion, and therefore it was only neceſſary to direct that motion: but it would be replied, that to direct the motion of certain bodies, it is neceſſary to move others. This appears in the working of ſhips, and in all machines: wherefore the Divine Nature, if it was not corporeal, could with no more eaſe give a new determination to a motion already exiſting, than produce motion originally. Take notice that Ariſtotle has allowed the ſuppoſition of the eternal motion of matter to be abſurd. He effectually refutes Plato, who ſays that before the formation of the world there was an irregular agitation in the elements (159): he proves him guilty of a contradiction, and obſerves in general againſt all thoſe who taught that the motion anterior to the exiſtence of the world was irregular, that they advanced an abſurdity, ſince the motion which agrees to moſt things, and for the longeſt time, muſt be accounted natural; from whence it follows that the production of the world would rather be an overturning of the ſtate of nature, than an introduction of a true natural ſtate: Ἔτι, τὸ ἀτάκτως, ἀδύνατον ἐστιν ἕτερον, ἢ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, ἡ γὰρ τάξις ἡ οἰκεία, τῶν αἰσθητῶν φύσις ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἄτοπον καὶ ἀδύνατον, τὸ, τὸ ἄπειρον ἄτακτον ἔχειν κίνησιν· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐκείνη τῶν πραγμάτων, οἵαν ἔχει τὰ πλείω, καὶ τὸ πλείω χρόνον. συμβαίνειν δ' ἂν αὐτοῖς τἐναντίον, τὴν μὲν ἀταξίαν εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, τὴν δὲ τάξιν καὶ τὸ κόσμον παρὰ φύσιν. καὶ τοι δοξειεν ὡς ἔτυχε γίγνεται τῶν κατὰ φύσιν: *Præterea inordinate quippiam fieri nil aliud eſt, quàm fieri præter naturam: ordo enim proprius ſenſibilium naturarum eſt. At verò & hoc abſurdum eſt ac impoſſibile, infinitum inquam inordinatum motum habere. Eſt enim ea natura rerum quam plures & majori tempore habent. Contrarium igitur ipſis accidit, inordinationem quidem eſſe ſecundùm naturam, ordinem verò mundumve præter naturam: & tamen nihil eorum, quæ ſunt ſecundùm naturam, fit fortè fortuna* (160). Wherefore he obſerved that Anaxagoras, who ſuppoſed the parts of matter were at reſt when the world began to be produced, took the thing perfectly right (161). But to return to Epicurus.

(159) Πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἐκινεῖτο τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀτάκτως. *Elementa inordinate movebantur antea quam mundus eſſet.* Plato *in Timæo, apud* Ariſtotelem *de Cælo*, lib. 3. cap. 2. pag. m. 370. G.

(160) Ariſtotel. *de Cælo*, lib. 3. cap. 2. pag. 371, B.

III. Let us, if you pleaſe, reckon all my reaſons *à priori* for nothing, would he ſay in the third place to the Platonic. I give up even this Objection, that goodneſs in order to be commendable ought to be accompanied with judgment. Now we do not ſee that judicious perſons, tho' ever ſo good-natured, intermeddle of their own head with the domeſtic diſorders of their neighbour: they content themſelves with eſtabliſhing a right order at home (162). A wiſe Prince remedies the abuſes of his own State; but he does not concern himſelf with reforming the neighbouring Monarchies: he leaves the care of that to thoſe to whom they

(161) Ἔοικε δὲ τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ καλῶς Ἀναξαγόρας ὑπολαβεῖν· ἐξ ἀκινήτων γὰρ ἄρχεται κοσμοποιεῖν. *Videtur autem Anaxagoras hoc ipſum bene accepiſſe: ex immobilibus enim incipit conficere mundum.* Idem, ibid. C.

(162) *See* Eraſmus *on the Proverb* Ædibus in noſtris quæ prava aut recta gerunt*ur*, *which is the LXXXV of the 6th Century of the 1ſt Chiliad*, pag. m. 222.

ſyſtem of the Scripture with regard to the Creation, the more conſequently he argues, the more he miſleads himſelf: II, That this ſyſtem is the only one which has the advantage of

they belong. We might preſuppoſe, on this idea of wiſdom, that God could not undertake to remedy the imperfections of matter. He was not reſponſible for them, ſince he had no ſhare in the production of bodies. This was the work of nature, and it belonged to her to diſpoſe of them. I give up this inſtance, would Epicurus ſay, and I allow you to make uſe of the example of thoſe Heroes who have been placed among the Gods for the great ſervices they have rendred to mankind.

Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Caſtore Pollux,
Poſt ingentia facta, Deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aſpera bella
Componunt, agros aſſignant, oppida condunt (163).

(163) Horat. Ep. 1. lib. 2. ver. 5.

" Bacchus, Quirinus, and the Sons of Jove,
" Whoſe Virtues rais'd them to the Gods above
" Whilſt here they liv'd, check'd war's deſtructive
" rage,
" Built towns, made Laws, and civiliz'd the age."
Creech.

Let us conſider, in another light, whether thoſe motives of goodneſs which you ſpeak of ought not to have yielded to reaſons of wiſdom.

IV. A Wiſe Agent does not undertake to employ a great heap of materials without having well examined their qualities, and without being aſſured that they are ſuſceptible of the form which he has a mind to give them. And if the diſcuſſion of their qualities informs him that they have incorrigible defects, which would render their new condition worſe than the former, he is far from meddling with them; he abandons them to their ſtate, and judges he ſhall act more wiſely, and with more goodneſs, in leaving things as they are, without giving them another form which would become pernicious. Now you Platonics agree (164), that there was in matter a real defect, which was an obſtacle to God's deſign, an obſtacle, I ſay, which did not permit God to make a World exempt from the diſorders we ſee in it; and it is certain, on the other hand, that theſe diſorders render the condition of matter infinitely more unhappy than that eternal, neceſſary, and independent State in which it had been before the generation of the World. All was inſenſible in that State: grief, pain, crime, all phyſical and moral evil, were there unknown. It is true, there was no pleaſure felt; but that privation of good was not an evil; for it cannot be an evil any otherwiſe than as it is felt and cauſes affliction. You ſee, therefore, that it was not the part of a good and wiſe Being to change the condition of matter, to transform it into ſuch a World as this is. It contained in its boſom the ſeeds of all the crimes and all the miſeries which we behold; but they were barren ſeeds, and in that ſtate they did no more harm than if they had not exiſted: nor did they become pernicious and fatal, till after the animals were hatched out of them by the formation of the World. Thus matter was a *Camarina* which ſhould not have been ſtirred (165). It ſhould have been left in its eternal reſt; remembring that the more one ſtirs a fœtid matter, the more one ſpreads its infection around. There is no doubt but the Divine Nature acted conformably to this idea. Therefore it was not ſhe who made the World.

V. It could not be anſwered to Epicurus that God did not foreſee the malignity of the Souls which ſhould be hatched out of thoſe ſeeds of matter; for he would immediately reply, 1, that thereby an ignorance would be attributed to God, which would have fatal conſequences: 2, that at leaſt God would have reſtored things to their former ſtate, after he had ſeen the ill effects of his Work; and ſo the World would not have laſted till the time when he, Epicurus, diſputed about the doctrine of Providence with a Platonic.

VI. His laſt Objection would be the ſtrongeſt of all. He would repreſent to his Adverſary, that the moſt intimate, general, and infallible notion we have of God is, that God enjoys perfect felicity (166). Now this is incompatible with the ſuppoſition of Providence: for if he governs the World, he created it; if he created it, he either foreſaw all the diſorders which are in it, or he did not foreſee them. If he did foreſee them, it cannot be ſaid that he made the World out of a principle of goodneſs; which overthrows the beſt anſwer of the Platonic. If he did not foreſee them, it is impoſſible but on ſeeing the ill ſucceſs of his Work, he muſt have been exceedingly grieved. He would have been convinced that he was either ignorant of the qualities of the materials, or wanted the power to overcome their reſiſtance, as he doubtleſs hoped to have done. There is no Workman who can without grief ſee his hopes deſtroyed, that he could not attain his end, and that deſigning to work for the publick good he made a pernicious machine, &c. We have ideas ſufficient to know that this can never be God's caſe; but not to know that if by an impoſſibility it were his caſe, he would not be to be pitied and very unhappy.

VII. If you ſuppoſe afterwards, that inſtead of deſtroying ſuch a Work, he obſtinately reſolves to preſerve it, and to work perpetually and without ceaſing in repairing its faults, or preventing them from increaſing, you give us an idea of the moſt unhappy nature that can be conceived. He deſigned to build a magnificent palace, wherein he might conveniently lodge the animated creatures which were to proceed from the ſhapeleſs womb of matter, and load them with favours; and it happened that thoſe creatures did nothing but devour one another, being incapable of continuing alive, unleſs the fleſh of ſome ſerved the others for food. It happened that the moſt perfect of theſe animals did not ſpare even the fleſh of thoſe of his own ſpecies; there were Men-eaters among them, and they who were not guilty of that brutality, forbore not to perſecute one another, and to become the prey of envy, jealouſy, fraud, avarice, cruelty, diſeaſes, cold, heat, hunger, &c. Their Author continually ſtruggling with the malignity of the matter productive of theſe diſorders (167), and obliged to have always the thunderbolt in his hand (168), and to pour down on the earth peſtilence, war, and famine, which, with the wheels and gibbets the highways abound with, do not hinder evil from maintaining its ground, can he be looked on as a happy Being? Can one be happy, when at the end of four thouſand years labour, he is not a whit more forward in the work he has undertaken, and which he paſſionately deſires to finiſh, than he was the firſt day he began it? Is not this image of infelicity as expreſſive as the wheel of Ixion, the ſtone of Siſyphus, or the tub of the Danaides?

I ſay nothing but what is very probable when I ſuppoſe Epicurus perſuaded himſelf that the Gods would ſoon have repented of having made the world, and that the trouble of governing ſo intractable and refractory an animal as man, would diſturb their felicity. Do we not ſee in the Scripture that the true God, accommodating himſelf to our capacity, has revealed himſelf as a Being who having known the malice of man, repented, and was grieved that he had created him (169), and as a Being who is provoked, and complains of the ſmall ſucceſs of his labour (170)? *He ſays to Iſrael, All the day long I have ſtretched forth my hands unto a diſobedient and gainſaying people* (171). I know well enough that the ſame Book which teaches us theſe things, teaches us alſo to rectify the idea which they preſent at firſt ſight; but Epicurus, who was deſtitute of the light of Revelation, could not correct his Philoſophy; and was neceſſarily obliged to follow the path which ſuch a guide ſhewed him. Now

(166) See the Verſes of *Lucretius* quoted above, Citation (157), and the Remark [*N*] of the Article SPINOZA, Num. v.

(167) *Utrum ... Deus quod vult efficiat, an in multis rebus illum tractanda deſtituant, & à magno artifice prave formentur multa, non quia ceſſat ars, ſed quia id in quo exercetur ſæpe inobſequens arti eſt.* Seneca, *in Præf. lib.* 1. Quæſt. Natur.

(168) ... *neque Per noſtrum patimur ſcelus Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina.* i. e. " But ſtill " averſe to " Jove's command, " We won't permit his lifted " hand " To lay his " angry thunder " down." Horat. Od. 3. lib. 1. ver. 38.

(169) Geneſ. vi. 5, 6.

(170) Iſaiah, chap. 5. *& paſſim alibi in the* Prophets *and* Pſalms.

(171) Rom. x. 21.

(164) *Nota, Materiam* inobſequentem *& ab eâ* Prava *eſſe. Plato ſæpè hæc tangit, & huc tranſit: ut cum dicit Materiam, aut in ea Ψυχὴν, ἄτακτον, καὶ κακοποιὸν,* Animam, incompoſitam & mali auctorem, ſive maleficam; *iterumque, ἐναντίαν καὶ ἀντίπαλον τῷ ἀγαθουργῷ φύσει:* adverſariam & rebellem beneficæ Naturæ, *id eſt Deo. Animam ſive Vim in Materia dicit: neque enim ipſam per ſe vult malam, ſed latens in ea aliquid, quod in generatione ſe exſerit & promit. Imò duas* Mundi animas ab eo ſtatui, natu jam grandiore, in Libris de Legibus; & cum diu fluctuaſſet, Beneficam ac Maleficam; *Plutarchus eſt auctor.* i. e. " Note, Matter is *diſobedient*, which is the cauſe " of *evil.* Plato often touches on this, and has frequent recourſe to it: as when " he ſays that Matter, or the Soul which is in it, is *inordinate*, and *maleficent*, " and again, *ſtubborn* and *rebellious* to the Beneficent Nature, that is, God. He " ſays there is a ſoul or power in matter; for he does not make it to be bad in " itſelf, but ſome latent quality therein, which exerts itſelf in generation. Nay, " when he grew older, in his Books of Laws he aſſerted two Souls of the World; " and after he had wavered a long time, he concluded one of them to be *Benefi-* " *cent*, and the other *Maleficent*, as Plutarch tells us." Lipſius, *Phyſ. Stoicor.* lib. 1. Diſſert. 14. pag. m. 867. *He quotes* Plutarch. *de Iſide & Oſiride.* He ſhould likewiſe have quoted him *de Animæ Procreat. ex Timæo.* See alſo *Maximus Tyr.* Serm. 25.

(165) *See* Eraſmus *on the Proverb* Movere Camarinam. *It is the* 64*th of the* 1*ſt Century of the* 1*ſt Chiliad. He cites this Greek Verſe,* Μὴ κινεῖν κάμαρίναν· ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων. *Ne moveas camarinam, etenim non tangere præſtat.*

following

of fixing a ſolid foundation of the providence and perfections of God [T]. There is nothing

following this guide faithfully, and ſupported by theſe two principles; the one, that matter was ſelf-exiſtent, and did not ſuffer itſelf to be managed according to God's deſire; the other, that the felicity of God can never be diſturbed the leaſt in the world; he ought to find his haven in this concluſion, *viz.* that there is no Divine Providence. We ſhall draw from hence ſome conſequences to the advantage of the truths of the Chriſtian Religion. See the following Remark. Note, that if, inſtead of engaging Epicurus with a Platonic, I had made him diſpute with an Athenian Prieſt, he would have won the victory with more eaſe. See the following Remark.

[T] *The Syſtem* of the Scripture *is the only one which has the advantage of eſtabliſhing a ſolid foundation of the Providence and perfections of God.*] The objections of Epicurus, which have been produced in the preceding Remark, and which were ſufficient to gravel the Heathen Philoſophers, diſappear and vaniſh like ſmoke with reſpect to thoſe whom Revelation has taught that God is the Creator of the World, with regard as well to the matter, as to the form. This truth is of the utmoſt importance; for from thence, as from an abundant ſource, we draw the moſt ſublime and moſt fundamental doctrines, and we cannot lay down the contrary Hypotheſis without deſtroying ſeveral great principles of reaſon. From God's being the Creator of matter, it reſults, 1, That he diſpoſes of the Univerſe as he thinks fit, with the moſt lawful authority that can be. 2, That he needs only a ſingle act of his will to do whatever he pleaſes. 3, That nothing happens but what he has inſerted in the plan of his work. It follows from thence that the direction of the world is not an employment that can either fatigue or trouble God, and that no events, let them be what they will, can diſturb his felicity. If ſome things happen which he has forbidden, and which he puniſhes, they do not happen, however, contrary to his Decrees, and they ſerve the adorable ends which he has propoſed to himſelf from all eternity, and which conſtitute the greateſt myſteries of the Goſpel. But the better to know the importance of the doctrine of the Creation, we muſt alſo caſt our eyes on the inexplicable difficulties in which they engage themſelves who deny it. Conſider, therefore, what Epicurus might object to the Platonics, as we have ſeen above, and what may be ſaid at this day againſt the Socinians. They have rejected the evangelical myſteries, becauſe they could not reconcile them with the light of reaſon. They would not have been conſiſtent with themſelves, if they had agreed that God created matter; for this philoſophical principle, *Ex nihilo nihil fit, Nothing is made out of nothing*, is full as evident as the principles in conſequence of which they have denied the Trinity and the Hypoſtatic Union. They have therefore denied the creation: but what have they got by it? Why, in avoiding one abyſs, they have fallen into another (172): they have been obliged to allow the independent exiſtence of matter, and at the ſame time to ſubmit it to the authority of another Being. They have been forced to own that neceſſary exiſtence may belong to a ſubſtance which is likewiſe full of defects and imperfections; and this deſtroys a moſt evident notion, to wit, that what exiſts eternally without depending on any other being, ought to be infinite in perfection; for who could have ſet bounds to the power and attributes of ſuch a Being? In a word, they muſt anſwer moſt of the difficulties which I have ſuppoſed Epicurus might propoſe to the Philoſophers who admitted the eternity of matter (173). From whence it may be inferred, by the by, that it is of great uſe to the true Religion, to ſhew that the eternity of matter draws after it the deſtruction of divine Providence. By this means we ſhew the neceſſity, truth, and certainty of the Creation.

I am ſure one of the greateſt Philoſophers of this Age, and at the ſame time one of the moſt zealous Writers for the dogms of the Goſpel, will agree that by making an Apology for Epicurus, ſuch as you have it *ex hypotheſi* in the preceding Remark, conſiderable ſervice is done to the true faith. He teaches not only that there would be no Providence if God had not created matter; but even that God would not know there was matter, if it was uncreated. I ſhall ſet down his words a little at large: in which the Socinians will find their condemnation. "How ſtupid and "ridiculous Philoſophers are! They imagine the "Creation to be impoſſible, becauſe they do not con- "ceive the power of God to be ſo great as to "make ſomething out of nothing. But do they "clearly conceive that the power of God is able to "move a ſtraw? If they conſider it well, they do "not conceive the one more clearly than the other; "ſince they have no clear idea of efficacy or power. "So that if they follow their falſe principle, they ought "to affirm that God has not even the power to commu- "nicate motion to matter. But this falſe concluſion "would involve them in ſuch impertinent and impi- "ous opinions that they would ſoon become the ob- "jects of the contempt and indignation even of per- "ſons of the leaſt underſtanding. For they would "ſoon find themſelves reduced to maintain, that there "is no motion or change in the world, or that all "theſe changes have no cauſe which produces them, "or wiſdom which regulates them .... (174). If "matter were uncreated, God could neither move it, nor "form any thing out of it. For God cannot move mat- "ter, nor diſpoſe it wiſely, without knowing it. Now "God cannot know it, if he does not give it being. "For God cannot gain his knowledge any otherwiſe "than from himſelf. Nothing can act in him, or "inlighten him. If God therefore did not ſee in "himſelf, and by the knowledge he has of his will, "the exiſtence of matter, it would be eternally un- "known to him. He could not therefore put it in "order, or form any work out of it. Now Philo- "ſophers agree, as well as you, that God can move "bodies. So, tho' they have no clear idea of power "or efficacy, tho' they ſee no connection between the "will of God and the production of creatures, they "ought to acknowledge that God created matter, un- "leſs they will make him impotent and ignorant, "which is to corrupt the idea we have of him, and "to deny his exiſtence (175)."

Let us not conclude without making this Obſervation. I have made Epicurus diſpute againſt a Platonic Philoſopher. This was not making the moſt of his advantages; for he would have gotten the better of moſt of the other Sects more eaſily than of Plato's. But his greateſt advantage would have been to diſpute with a Prieſt. Let us give a ſpecimen of it: let us ſuppoſe that Epicurus ſaid to him, You call me impious, becauſe I teach that the Gods do not concern themſelves with the government of the world; and I charge you with not knowing how to reaſon, and, beſides, with doing the Gods a very great injury. Is it agreeable to the light of reaſon to believe that Jupiter has an almighty power over the machine of the world; he, who is the ſon of Saturn, and the grandſon of Heaven? It is very fit for ſuch an upſtart Deity as he to direct matter, which is an eternal and independent Being. Know that whatever had a beginning is but of yeſterday and to day in compariſon of eternity. Do not therefore overturn all order, by ſubjecting the matter of the Univerſe to ſo young a God. Let us come to the other point; anſwer me, if you pleaſe: are the Gods pleaſed with their adminiſtration, or are they diſpleaſed at it? Mind my Dilemma well: if they are pleaſed with what happens under their Providence, they take delight in evil; if they are diſpleaſed, they are unhappy: now it contradicts common notions that they ſhould delight in evil, or that they ſhould not be happy. They do not delight in evil, would the Prieſt anſwer; for they look upon it as an offence which they puniſh ſeverely: and thence proceed plagues, wars, famines, ſhipwrecks, inundations, &c. I conclude from your anſwer, would Epicurus reply, that they are unhappy: for there is no life more unhappy than to be continually expoſed to offences, and continually obliged to revenge them. Sin never ceaſes among men; therefore there is not one moment in the day, wherein the Gods do not receive affronts: plagues, wars, and the other evils you have mentioned, never ceaſe on earth; for if they

(174) Father Mallebranche, *Meditations Chretiens*, Meditation 9. num. 3. pag. m. 140.

(175) Idem, ibid. num. 5. pag. 141, 142.

A FEIGNED diſpute between Epicurus and a Pagan Prieſt.

(172) *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim. See* Eraſmus, *Chiliad. I, Cent. V. num.* 4.

(173) Note, It is aſſerted that ſome Socinians have become Spinoziſts, by reaſon of the difficulties they found in the Hypotheſis of a material principle *exiſting by it ſelf and diſtinct from God.*

nothing more wretched than the method Epicurus took to explain the liberty [*U*] of human actions.

EPIMENIDES,

end from time to time in one country, they never end with reſpect to all nations; and ſo the Gods have no ſooner done taking revenge on one nation, but they muſt begin to puniſh another. Their work is never finiſhed. What a life is this? What greater torment could a man wiſh to his mortal enemy (176)? I had much rather attribute to them a quiet condition and free from care. But, would the Prieſt ſay, do you ſuppoſe then that they ſee the diſorders of mankind unconcerned, and without applying any remedy to them? Is this indifference any credit to them? Have they not come ſince the Heaven was formed? would Epicurus reply; do you not ſay that the moſt ancient of the Gods who reign at preſent reckons the Heaven for his grandfather? They did not make the world therefore, and it is none of their buſineſs to concern themſelves with what paſſes on earth, or elſewhere. They know that matter exiſts from all eternity, and that the fatal neceſſity of ſelf-exiſtent Beings cannot be changed: therefore they let the torrent paſs, and do not undertake to reform an immutable order. Neither ought we to wonder that their perfections are limited, ſince you own that thoſe of matter, which exiſts eternally, are very ſmall. Your Jupiter, and his aſſiſtants in the celeſtial Council, go about to puniſh lewdneſs with a very ill grace, who are ſo unfaithful to their wives, and have raviſhed ſo many virgins. You cannot deny however, would the Prieſt anſwer, but the doctrine of Providence is of great uſe in keeping the people in their duty. This is not the thing in queſtion, would Epicurus reply: do not change the ſubject of the diſpute. We are ſeeking, not what may have been eſtabliſhed as an uſeful invention, but what truly flows from the light of reaſon.

(176) *Hoſtibus eveniant talia dona meis.*

[*U*] *Nothing is more wretched than his method . . . of explaining liberty.*] There is no Syſtem from which the fatal neceſſity of all things more inevitably follows, than from what Epicurus borrowed from Leucippus and Democritus; for what they ſaid, that the world was formed by chance, or by the fortuitous concourſe of atoms, only excluded the direction of an intelligent cauſe, and did not ſignify that the production of the world was not the conſequence of the eternal and neceſſary Laws of the motion of corporeal principles. And, in effect, it is certain that Democritus attributed all things to a neceſſitating deſtiny. *Quum duæ ſententiæ fuiſſent veterum Philoſophorum; una eorum qui cenſerent, omnia ita fato fieri, ut id fatum vim neceſſitatis afferret, in qua ſententia* DEMOCRITUS, *Heraclitus, Empedocles, Ariſtoteles fuit: altera eorum, quibus viderentur ſine ullo fato eſſe animorum motus voluntarii: Chryſippus tanquam honorarius arbiter &c.* (177). i. e. "There being two opinions among the "ancient Philoſophers; one of thoſe who thought all "things were ſo dependent on fate, as to imply an "abſolute neceſſity, which was the opinion of Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Ariſtotle; the "other of thoſe who thought the actions of the mind "were voluntary, and not ſubject to the influence of fate: "Chryſippus, as judge of the diſpute, &c." Epicurus, not willing to take up with an opinion which ſeemed to overthrow all morality, and to reduce the human ſoul to the condition of a machine, abandoned the Syſtem of Atoms in that particular, and ſided with thoſe who admitted freedom in the will of man. He declared againſt fatal neceſſity, and even took uſeleſs precautions; for leſt it ſhould be inferred that if every propoſition is either true or falſe, all things happen by fatality, he denied that every propoſition is either true or falſe (178). However, he might have granted that without any body's being able juſtly to conclude from thence the neceſſity of *Fatum*. Conſider well in what manner Cicero ſhews him the truth of what I have now ſaid: *Licet enim Epicuro concedenti, omne enunciatum aut verum aut falſum eſſe, non vereri ne omnia fato fieri ſit neceſſe. Non enim æternis cauſſis naturæ neceſſitate manantibus, verum eſt id quod ita enunciatur, Deſcendit in Academiam Carneades, nec tamen ſine cauſſis. Sed intereſt inter cauſſas fortuitò antegreſſas, & inter cauſſas cohibentes in ſe efficientiam naturalem. Ita & ſemper verum fuit, Morietur Epicurus, quum duo & ſeptuaginta annos vixerit, Archonte Pitharato: neque tamen erant cauſſæ fatales cur ita accideret: ſed quod ita cecidiſſet, certè caſurum ſicut cecidit fuit* (179). i. e. "Though Epicurus had granted that every "propoſition was either true or falſe, there would "have been no reaſon to fear leſt all things ſhould "be neceſſarily determined by fate. For the truth of this "propoſition, *Carneades entred the ſchool*, depends not "on eternal cauſes flowing from the neceſſity of nature, and yet it depends on ſome cauſe. But there "is a difference between accidental cauſes, and cauſes "which include in themſelves a natural efficacy. Thus "it was always true, *Epicurus will die at the age of ſeventy two, in the Archonſhip of Pitharatus:* and yet there "were no neceſſary cauſes why it ſhould ſo happen: "but ſince it did ſo happen, it certainly was to happen "as it did." This doctrine of Cicero has been fully explained in the courſes of the Philoſophy of the Jeſuits, than whom no Philoſophers are more ardent in maintaining that *duarum propoſitionum contradictoriarum de futuro contingenti, altera eſt determinate vera, altera falſa.* i. e. "Of two contradictory propoſitions con"cerning a future contingent, the one is determinately "true, the other falſe." And yet we ſee few people who are greater ſticklers than they for the doctrine of the liberty of indifference. Let us conclude from hence that there are means to reconcile the free-will of man with the Hypotheſis *that every propoſition is either true or falſe.* But as Epicurus was not well aſſured of the matter, he was afraid of intangling himſelf if he did not deny that doctrine: he did not know all the conſequences of it; and ſo to play the ſurer game, he choſe to intrench himſelf in the negative. Chryſippus had not much clearer notions of it; for he believed that unleſs he proved every propoſition to be either true or falſe, he could never prove that all things happen by deſtiny. *Contendit omnes nervos Chryſippus, ut perſuadeat omne ἀξίωμα aut verum eſſe aut falſum. Ut enim Epicurus veretur, ne, ſi hoc conceſſerit, concedendum ſit fato fieri quæcunque fiant (ſi enim alterutrum ex æternitate verum ſit, eſſe id etiam certum: & ſi certum, etiam neceſſarium: ita & neceſſitatem & fatum confirmari putat) ſic Chryſippus metuit, ne, ſi non obtinuerit, omne quod enuncietur, aut verum eſſe aut falſum, omnia fato fieri poſſint ex cauſſis æternis rerum futurarum* (180). Neither the one nor the other of theſe two great Philoſophers comprehended that the truth of this maxim, *every propoſition is either true or falſe*, is independent on that which they called *Fatum*; and therefore it could not ſerve for a proof of the exiſtence of *Fatum* as Chryſippus pretended, and Epicurus feared. Chryſippus could not have granted, without doing himſelf a prejudice, that there are propoſitions which are neither true nor falſe; but he got nothing by eſtabliſhing the contrary: for whether there be free cauſes or no, it is equally true that this propoſition, *the great Mogul will go a hunting to morrow, or he will not go*, is either true or falſe. This ſpeech of Tireſias (181) has been juſtly accounted ridiculous; *whatever I ſhall ſay will either happen or not; for the great Apollo beſtows on me the faculty of prophecying* (182). If it were poſſible there was no God, it would yet be certain that whatever the greateſt madman in the world ſhould foretel, would either happen or not happen. This neither Chryſippus nor Epicurus conſidered.

(177) Cicero, *de Fato*, cap. 17. See below Citation (183).

(178) *See* Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 19, *& ſeq. & Quæſt. Acad.* lib. 4. cap. 13.

(179) Idem, *de Fato*, cap. 9.

(180) Idem, ibid. chap. 10.

(181) Quid hoc refert vaticinio illo ridiculo Tireſiæ? *Quidquid dicam aut erit aut non.* Boetius, *de Conſol. Philoſoph.* lib. 5. Proſa 3. pag. m. 124.

(182) *O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non. Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.* Horat. Sat. 5. lib. 2. ver. 59.

But let us ſee what Epicurus invented to extricate himſelf from the perplexities of fate. He gave his Atoms a motion of Declination, and therein he eſtabliſhed the ſeat, ſource, and principle of free actions; he pretended that by this means there were certain Events which withdrew themſelves from the dominion of fatal neceſſity. Before him, no other motion was admitted in Atoms but that of weight, and that of reflection. The former was always performed in perpendicular lines, and never changed in the vacuum; nor did it receive any change but when one Atom ſtruck againſt another. Epicurus ſuppoſed that even in the midſt of the vacuum, the Atoms declined a little from the direct line; and from thence ſaid he, proceeded Liberty. *Sed Epicurus declinatione atomi vitari fati neceſſitatem putat: itaque tertius quidam motus oritur extra pondus & plagam, quum declinat atomus intervallo minimo, id appellat* ἐλάχιστον: *quam declinationem*

☞EPIMENIDES, an antient Poet and Philoſopher, is univerſally acknowledged to have been a Cretan, though contrary to the cuſtom of his country he always wore his hair

ſine cauſſa fieri, ſi minus verbis, re cogitur confiteri. . . . Hanc Epicurus rationem induxit ob eam rem, quòd veritus eſt, ne, ſi ſemper atomus gravitate ferretur naturali ac neceſſaria, nihil liberum nobis eſſet, quum ita moveretur animus, ut atomorum motu cogeretur. Hinc Democritus auctor atomorum accipere maluit neceſſitate omnia fieri, quàm à corporibus individuis naturales motus avellere (183). Let us obſerve, by the way, that this was not the only motive which induced him to invent this motion of declination: he made uſe of it alſo to explain the concourſe of the Atoms; for he plainly ſaw that ſuppoſing them all to move with equal ſwiftneſs in direct lines which tended all downwards, he ſhould never be able to explain how they could have met, and ſo the production of the World would have been impoſſible. He was obliged, therefore, to ſuppoſe that they declined from the direct line (184). Lucretius deſcribes this double uſe of the motion of Declination.

(183) Cicero, *de Fato*, cap. 10.

(184) *See* Cicero, lib. 1. *de Finibus*, cap. 6.

Illud in his quoque Te rebus cognoſcere avemus:
Corpora cum deorſum rectum per Inane feruntur,
Ponderibus propriis incerto tempore ferme,
Incertiſque locis ſpatio decedere paullùm:
Tantùm quod Momen mutatum dicere poſſis.
Quod niſi Declinare ſolerent, omnia deorſum,
Imbris uti guttæ, caderent per Inane profundum:
Nec foret Offenſus natus, nec Plaga creata
Principiis: ita nil unquam Natura creaſſet (185).
\- - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - -
Denique ſi ſemper motus connectitur omnis,
Et vetere exoritur ſemper novus ordine certo,
Nec Declinando faciunt Primordia motus
Principium quoddam, quod Fati fœdera rumpat,
Ex infinito ne cauſam cauſa ſequatur:
Libera per terras unde hæc animantibus extat,
Unde eſt hæc (inquam) fatis avolſa Voluntas,
Per quam progredimur, quo ducit quemque voluptas (186)?
\- - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - -
Quare in Seminibus quoque idem fateare neceſſe eſt,
Eſſe aliam præter Plagas, & Pondera cauſam
Motibus, unde hæc eſt nobis innata poteſtas:
De nihilo quoniam fieri Nil poſſe videmus.
Pondus enim prohibet, ne Plagis omnia fiant,
Externa quaſi vi, ſed ne Mens ipſa neceſſum
Inteſtinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis;
Et devicta quaſi cogatur ferre, patique:
Id facit exiguum CLINAMEN *Principiorum*
Nec regione loci certa, nec tempore certo (187).

(185) Lucret. lib. 2. ver. 216.

(186) Idem, ibid. ver. 251.

(187) Idem, ibid. ver. 284.

That is,

" Uncertain when, or where,
" But ſeeds in downward motion muſt decline
" A very little from th' exacteſt line:
" For did they ſtill move ſtrait, they needs muſt fall,
" Like Drops of Rain, diſſolv'd and ſcatter'd all;
" For ever tumbling thro' the mighty ſpace,
" And never join to make one ſingle maſs.
\- - - - - - - -
" Beſides, did all things move in a ſtrait line,
" Did ſtill one Motion to another join
" In certain Order, and no Seeds decline,
" And make a Motion fit to diſſipate
" The well-wrought chain of Cauſes and ſtrong Fate;
" Whence comes this perfect Freedom of the mind?
" Whence comes the Will ſo free and unconfin'd
" Above the power of Fate, by which we go
" Where'er we pleaſe, and what we will we do?
\- - - - - - - -
" Therefore we muſt confeſs, as theſe things prove,
" There is another Cauſe by which ſeeds move,
" Beſides dull Weight and Stroke, from whence is wrought
" This power: for nothing can ariſe from nought.
" For Weight forbids that things be only join'd
" By ſtroke and outward force; and leſt the Mind
" Should be by ſtrong neceſſity confin'd,
" And, overcome, endure Fate's rigid Laws,
" This little DECLINATION is the Cauſe.

Creech.

If it was my buſineſs to expoſe the Abſurdities of this Doctrine, I could ſhew ſeveral: for in the Iſt place, what can there be more unworthy of a Philoſopher than to ſuppoſe *an up* and *a down* in an infinite Space? Yet this is what Epicurus ſuppoſed; for he pretended that all Atoms moved downwards. If he had ſuppoſed them to move in all manner of right lines, he would have aſſigned a good reaſon of their concourſe, without being obliged to fly to the pretended motion of Declination. In the IId place, that motion engaged him in a contradiction. He taught that nothing was made of nothing, and yet the declination of the Atoms, according to him, did not depend on any cauſe, but proceeded from nothing. This conſequence is ſo much the ſtronger, as we have ſeen (188) Lucretius acknowledge that the free actions of our Soul would proceed from nothing, if the Atoms had not the motion of declination. He pretends that they do not depend either on the Motion of Weight, or on the Motion of the Repercuſſion of Atoms; for in that caſe he would be obliged to acknowledge that they are contained in the concatenation of eternal and neceſſary cauſes, and conſequently that they are ſubject to the fatal neceſſity from which he would exempt them. And the reaſon, in his opinion, why they are not produced of nothing, though they no ways depend either on the weight or the repercuſſion of Atoms, is becauſe the Atoms have a motion of declination. From hence I conclude, that this motion is produced by nothing, or, which is the ſame thing, that it has no cauſe (189), and ſo I precipitate Epicurus into the abyſs he has endeavoured to avoid. If he anſwers, that it is as much the nature of Atoms to decline, as to move downwards, and to ſtrike againſt one another whenever they meet, I reply that their declination is of no ſervice to human Liberty, and does not hinder fatality: and I maintain againſt him, *ad hominem*, that all the fatality of the Stoics is preſerved; for he confeſſes that the motion of gravitation, and that of repercuſſion, neceſſarily introduce fatal neceſſity. In the IIId place, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that a being, which has neither reaſon, nor ſenſation, nor will, ſhould deviate from the right line in a void ſpace, and that it ſhould not deviate always, but at certain times, and in certain points of ſpace which are undetermined (190). For a IVth Abſurdity I alledge the diſproportion which is manifeſtly found between the nature of liberty, and the motion, whatever it may be, of an Atom which knows neither what it does, nor where it is, nor that it exiſts. What conſequence is there between theſe two propoſitions: *the Soul of man is compoſed of Atoms, which moving neceſſarily in right lines decline a little from the ſtrait way; therefore the Soul of man is a free agent?* Cicero made a very right judgment of this Hypotheſis of Epicurus, when he ſaid that it would be much leſs ſhame to own one cannot anſwer one's Adverſary, than to have recourſe to ſuch Anſwers as theſe. *Hoc perſæpe facitis, ut cùm aliquid non veriſimile dicatis, & effugere reprehenſionem velitis, afferatis aliquid, quod omnino ne fieri quidem poſſit: ut ſatius fuerit illud ipſum de quo ambigebatur, concedere, quàm tam impudenter reſiſtere: velut Epicurus cùm videret, ſi atomi ferrentur in locum inferiorem ſuopte pondere, nihil fore in noſtra poteſtate, quod eſſet earum motus certus & neceſſarius, invenit quo modo neceſſitatem effugeret, quod videlicet Democritum fugerat: ait Atomum, cùm pondere, & gravitate directò deorſum feratur, declinare paululùm. Hoc dicere turpius eſt, quàm illud quod vult, non poſſe defendere* (191). i. e. " This is your frequent practice, that when you aſſert any " improbable thing, and would avoid reprehenſion, " you alledge ſomething which is abſolutely impoſſible; ſo that it would be better to give up the point " in diſpute, than to defend it ſo ſhameleſsly: as " Epicurus, when he ſaw that if the Atoms were carried downwards by their own gravity, nothing would " be in our power, becauſe their motion would be determined and neceſſary, found out an expedient to " avoid fatality, which had eſcaped Democritus. He " ſays that an Atom, tho' it be carried directly downward by its own weight, declines a little; which " evaſion is more ſhameful than his inability to de- " fend

(188) Above, Citation (187).

(189) The Ancients objected this to *Epicurus*. Ἐπικούρῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀκαρὲς ἐγκλίναι τὴν ἄτομον συγχωροῦσιν, ὡς ἀναιτίου ἐπεισάγοντι κίνησιν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. *Sanè Epicuro ne momentaneam quidem atomi inclinationem concedunt, quod eum dicant motum abſque cauſa ex non ente introducere.* Plutarch. *de Animæ procreat. ex* Timæo, pag. 1015.

(190) *Id facit exiguum clinamen principiorum Nec regione loci certa, nec tempore certo.* Lucret. lib. 2. ver. 292.

(191) Cicero, *de Natura Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 25.

(u) Diogenes Laertius, *de Vitâ, Dogmatibus, & Apotbegmatibus Philoſophorum*, lib. 1.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Lib. 8. cap. 13.

(d) Lib. 10.

(e) *See* Laert.

(f) Suidas *in Voce* Ἐπιμενίδης.

(g) Ibid.

(h) *In Vita Solonis.*

(i) Diog. Laert.

(k) *Hiſt. Commentitiæ*, cap. 1.

(l) Laert. *and* Plin. lib. 7. cap. 52.

hair long (*a*). Laertius (*b*) and Valerius Maximus (*c*) aſſert, that he was born at Gnoſſus; but Strabo is of opinion (*d*) that it was at Phœſtus. There is no leſs difference about the names of his parents; ſome call his father Phœſtius, or Phœſtus, others Doſiades (*e*), others Ageſiarcus (*f*); Suidas calls his mother *Blaſta* (*g*), and Plutarch (*h*) *Balta*, a ſuppoſed nymph. It is reported, that when he was a boy, being ſent by his father into the country to fetch a ſheep, he went out of the road at noon (*i*), or, as Apollonius ſays (*k*), at night, into a Cave, where he ſlept, fifty ſeven (*l*), fifty (*m*), forty (*n*), or ſix (*o*) years [*A*], according to the different accounts. At laſt waking, he fancied, that he had taken but a ſhort nap, and began to look about for his ſheep; but not finding it he proceeded to his father's country-eſtate, and finding the face of things ſtrangely altered, and the lands poſſeſſed by a new maſter, he ran back with amazement into the City. Here endeavouring to get into his father's houſe, his younger brother, now grown a grave old man, with much ſcruple admitted him, and informed him of all that had paſſed, and how long he had ſlept. Plutarch obſerves (*p*), that he waked an old man; but Pliny (*q*) and Laertius (*r*) tell us that he grew old in as many days as he had ſlept years. Some Authors have diſcountenanced this ſtory of his long dream; and inform us, that he wandered all that time, in order to improve himſelf in Natural Philoſophy by the knowledge of ſimples [*B*] (*s*). But perhaps this ſleep might be only a politic fiction of his to gain authority to his art; ſince we are aſſured, that he uſed commonly to put a much greater fallacy on the people, pretending, as often as the fit took him, to die and revive again at his pleaſure (*t*). However the report of this accident ſpreading about Greece, he was immediately eſteemed a peculiar favourite of the Gods;

(m) Varro, *de Lingua Lat.* lib. 8. *and* Plutarch, *Num ſeni gerenda ſit Reſpublica.*

(n) Pauſan. *in Attic.*

(o) Suidas.

(p) *Ubi ſupra.*

(q) *Ubi ſupra.*

(r) *Ubi ſupra.*

(s) Laert.

(t) Idem, *and* Suidas, *ubi ſupra.*

" ſend what he aſſerts." He has very happily deſcribed the perplexity wherein that Philoſopher found himſelf. *Nec quum hæc ita ſint, eſt cauſa cur Epicurus fatum extimeſcat, & ab atomis petat præſidium, eaſque de via deducat, & uno tempore ſuſcipiat res duas inenodabiles: unam, ut ſine cauſſa fiat aliquid, ex quo exiſtet, ut de nihilo quippiam fiat: quod nec ipſi, nec cuiquam Phyſico placet: alteram, ut quum duo individua per inanitatem ferantur, alterum è regione moveatur, alterum declinet* (192). i. e. " Neither, ſince theſe " things are ſo, is there any reaſon why Epicurus " ſhould dread fatality, and fly to Atoms for refuge, " leading them out of their way, and plunging himſelf at once into two inextricable difficulties; the " one, that an effect may be produced without a cauſe, " whence it would follow, that ſomething may proceed from nothing, which neither he nor any other " Philoſopher will admit; the other, that when two " Atoms are carried thro' the void ſpace, one ſhould " move directly, and the other obliquely." It was eaſy, in my mind, to perplex him: how can you imagine, might one have ſaid to him, that the Liberty of man is founded on a motion of Atoms which is performed without any liberty? Can the cauſe give that which it has not? can a hundred Atoms which decline without knowing what they do, form a judgment by which the Soul knowingly determines itſelf to the choice of one of the alternatives which preſent themſelves? Epicurus might thereby have known of what importance it was to him to attribute to every atom an animated and ſenſitive nature, as it ſeems Democritus had done (193), and as Plato had ſuppoſed that matter had a Soul even before God had framed the world: Ἀκοσμία μὲν ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως. ἀκοσμία δ', ἢν ἀσώματος, οὐδὲ ἀκίνητος, οὐδὲ ἄψυχος. . . . Ὁ μὲν Θεὸς οὔτε σῶμα τὸ ἀσώματον, οὔτε ψυχὴν τὸ ἄψυχον ἐποίησεν. *Fuit nimirum antequam mundus naſceretur, materies, non corporis eò, non motus, non animæ expers. . . . Etenim Deus neque corpus de incorporeo, neque animam de inanimo redigit* (194). i. e. " For there was unformed " matter before the production of the world, but not " incorporeal therefore, or void of motion, or of ſoul. . " For God did not make body from that which was " incorporeal, nor ſoul from that which was inanimate."

We muſt not forget what Cicero tells us, that Carneades invented a ſolution far more ſubtle than all the Epicureans had imagined; which was to aſſert that the Soul had a voluntary motion, of which ſhe was the cauſe. *Acutius Carneades, qui docebat poſſe Epicureos ſuam cauſſam ſine hac commentitia declinatione defendere. Nam quum doceret eſſe poſſe quendam animi motum voluntarium, id fuit defendi melius, quam introducere declinationem, cujus præſertim cauſſam reperire non poſſunt: quo defenſo, facile Chryſippo poſſent reſiſtere . . . .* (195). *De ipſa atomo dici poteſt, quum per inane moveatur gravitate & pondere, ſine cauſſa moveri, quia nulla cauſſa accedat extrinſecus. Rurſus autem, ne omnes à phyſicis irrideamur, ſi dicamus quicquam fieri ſine cauſſa, diſtinguendum eſt, & ita dicendum, ipſius individui hanc eſſe naturam, ut pondere & gravitate moveatur, eamque ipſam eſſe cauſſam cur ita feratur. Similiter ad animorum motus voluntarios non eſt requirenda externa cauſſa: motus enim voluntarius eam naturam in ſe ipſe continet, ut ſit in noſtra poteſtate, nobiſque pareat, nec id ſine cauſſa. Ejus enim rei cauſſa, ipſa natura eſt* (196). i. e. " Carneades argued more acutely, who taught that " the Epicureans might defend their cauſe without this " imaginary declination. For when he taught that " there might be a certain voluntary motion of the " Soul, it was better to defend that, than to introduce " a declination, eſpecially one of which no cauſe could " be aſſigned; and this ſuppoſition being made good, " they might eaſily withſtand Chryſippus. . . . . Of " the Atom itſelf it may be ſaid, that when it is " moved thro' the vacuum by gravity, it is moved " without a cauſe, becauſe there is no acceſſion of any " external cauſe. But again, leſt we ſhould all be " made a jeſt of by the Philoſophers, if we ſay any " thing is produced without a cauſe, we muſt make " a diſtinction, and ſay that the nature of the Atom " is ſuch, as to be moved by its own weight, and that " itſelf is the cauſe of its own motion. In like manner, no external cauſe is required for the voluntary " motion of the Soul; for ſuch voluntary motion con- " tains in itſelf this nature, that it is in our power, " and obedient to us, and that not without a cauſe: " for its cauſe is its own nature." It is certain Carneades here furniſhed them with an Anſwer not only much more ſolid than that which they made uſe of, but alſo the moſt ingenious and the ſtrongeſt that human wit can produce. I allow one might have aſked him, Do theſe voluntary motions of the Soul, which depend not on any external cauſe, depend on the nature of the Soul, as the motion of gravity depends on the nature of Atoms according to Epicurus? In that caſe you do not take away the fatality of the Stoics; for you admit no effect which is not produced by a neceſſary cauſe. Neither Carneades, nor any other Pagan Philoſopher, was able to return a ſolid anſwer to that queſtion.

(192) Idem, *de Fato*, cap. 9.

(193) See the Remark [*F*].

(194) Plutarch. *de Animæ procreat. ex* Timæo, pag. 1014, B.

(195) Cicero, *de Fato*, cap. 11.

(196) Ibid.

[*A*] *Or ſix years.*] This is the account of Suidas (1); but Menage (2) is of opinion, that the paſſage in that Author is corrupt, and that inſtead of ἓξ it ought to be read ἑξήκοντα, agreeably to Wolfius's Emendation. Mr. Stanley (3) likewiſe thinks, that the common reading in Suidas is corrupt.

(1) *In voce* Ἐπιμενίδης.

(2) *Obſervat. in Laert.* lib. 1. Segm. 109. edit. Amſtelod. 1692, in 4to.

[*B*] *That he wandered at that time, in order to improve himſelf in Natural Philoſophy by the knowledge of ſimples.*] In the ſame manner Endymion is reported to have always ſlept; becauſe, as Olympiodorus (4) obſerves, he conſtantly lived in a deſart, in order to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy; upon which account he was alſo ſaid to be beloved by the moon. Olympiodorus adds, that the ſame thing was ſaid of Claudius Ptolemy, who lived forty years in the *Ptera Canobi*, intent on the ſtudy of Aſtronomy; and wrote his Demonſtrations and Concluſions in that Science upon the pillars there.

(3) *Hiſtory of Philoſophy*, vol. 1. Part 1. pag. 114. edit. London 1655. in fol.

(4) *In Comment. in Phædonem Platonis.*

Gods [C]; upon which account the Athenians being afflicted with a plague, and commanded by the Oracle to make a ſolemn luſtration of the city, they ſent Nicias, the ſon of Niceratus with a ſhip to Crete, to deſire Epimenides to come to them. He accepted of their invitation, and accompanying the meſſengers to Athens in the 46th Olympiad [D] performed the luſtration of the City [E]. Here he contracted an acquaintance with Solon, whom he privately inſtructed in the proper methods for the regulation of the Athenian Commonwealth [F]. His ſaying with regard to the Haven Munychia eſtabliſhed his character of a Prophet [G], which he had among the Antients [H]. Having finiſhed his buſineſs at Athens, the Citizens offered him many valuable gifts and high honours, and appointed a ſhip to carry him back to Crete; but he returned their preſents, and would not accept of any thing but a little branch of the ſacred olive preſerved in the Cittadel, and deſired the Athenian people to enter into an alliance with the Gnoſſians (*u*). Having obtained this, he returned to Crete, where he died ſoon after, aged a hundred and fifty ſeven years (*w*), or according to others a hundred and fifty (*x*), though the Cretans ſay, that he was two hundred and ninety nine years old (*y*). Laertius gives us an Epiſtle of his to Solon [I]. He was a great Poet (*z*); and wrote many things in verſe.

(*u*) Plutarch. *in Vitâ Solonis.*

(*w*) Phaſgo *or* Phlegon, *apud* Laert. *and* Plin. *ubi ſupra.*

(*x*) Suidas, *and* Apollon. *Hiſt. Comment.* citing *Phlegon.*

(*y*) Laert.

(*z*) Suidas.

[C] *Eſteemed a peculiar favourite of the Gods.*] Laertius's words are, Θεοφιλέστατος εἶναι ὑπελήφθη. Plutarch (5) has made uſe of the ſame word in ſpeaking of our Author: ἐδόκει δέ τις εἶναι Θεοφιλὴς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα, &c.

(5) *In Vitâ Solonis.*

[D] *In the XLVIth Olympiad.*] This is the account of Laertius; and Aldobrandini (6) informs us, that it was in the firſt year of that Olympiad, the year before the Commonwealth of Athens was committed to the regulation of Solon. Plato (7) tells us, that Epimenides came to that city ten years πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν, that is, according to Aldobrandini, before the Perſians came into Lydia. This agrees with Laertius's account; for Cyrus King of Perſia entered Sardis as Conqueror ten years after Epimenides came to Athens. Euſebius places the Luſtration of Athens by Epimenides in the ſecond year of the 47th Olympiad; which is a miſtake, ſince Solon's Archonſhip, which was certainly poſterior to this, was in the third year of the 46th Olympiad. Suidas places it in the 44th. But Mr. Stanley (*) thinks, that Laertius's account agrees beſt with the circumſtances of the ſtory.

(6) In Laert.

(7) *De Legibus*, lib. 1.

(*) Vol. 1. Part 1. pag. 35.

[E] *Performed the Luſtration of the city.*] He did it in this manner. He brought a number of ſheep, ſome black and ſome white, all together to the Areopagus; and there let them all looſe to take which way they pleaſed. Perſons were ordered to follow them all, and wherever any one of them laid down, to ſacrifice it preſently to the Guardian Deity of that particular place (8). By this means the plague ceaſed. *And hence it is*, ſays Lucretius, *that at this day are to be ſeen in many Athenian villages altars without any name inſcribed, erected in memory of that expiation.* Ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίων βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐξιλάσεως. Brodæus (9) and Beza (10) are of opinion that St. Paul referred to theſe altars in his ſermon to the men of Athens (11). We have a more ample account of them in Pauſanias (12) and Lucian, or whoever elſe was the Author of the Dialogue intitled Φιλόπατρις. Laertius obſerves, that ſome imputed the plague at Athens to the Cylonian impiety; and that it was aſſwaged by putting to death two young men, Cratinus and Cteſibius. Cylon was an Athenian citizen, and by the impulſe of a certain Oracle, and confiding in the power of his father-in-law Theagenes, the Tyrant of Megara, ſeized the caſtle of Athens, and kept it for a long time in his hands; but being beſieged by the Athenians who abhorred a tyranny, he eſcaped with his brother; and the reſt who remained, flying to the altars τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν, were partly forced from thence and killed, and partly ſlain at the very altars (13).

(8) Τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ. Laertius, *ubi ſupra.*

(9) *Miſcellan.* lib. 2. cap. 2.

(10) *Not. in Act. Apoſt.* xvii. 23.

(11) Acts xvii. 23.

(12) *In Atticis.*

(13) Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 24. *See likewiſe* Plutarch. *in Vitâ Solonis*; Cicero *de Legibus*, cap. 175. *and* Pauſan. *in Attic.* cap. 20.

[F] *He privately inſtructed Solon in the proper methods for the regulation of the Athenian Commonwealth.*] He particularly directed Solon to make the people decent in their worſhip, and to retrench a great many things in their odd manner of mourning, by ordering ſome ſettled kind of ſacrifices after the funeral, and by taking off thoſe ſevere and barbarous ceremonies, which the women then uſed to practiſe on ſuch occaſions (14).

(14) Plutarch. *in Vitâ Solonis.*

[G] *His ſaying with regard to the Haven Munychia eſtabliſhed his character of a Prophet.*] Standing one day to look on that Haven, he ſaid to thoſe who were about him, *how blind is man in future things? for if the Athenians did but foreſee what a miſchief this will be to their city, they would demoliſh it with their very teeth, rather than let it ſtand* (15). There paſſed ſixty four Olympiads before Antipater made good his judgment by placing a garriſon of Macedonians in theſe invincible works. "And we muſt have owned, *ſays* "*Mr.* Kennet Baſil (16), the wiſe Obſerver to have "had a large foreſight, if it were not eaſy for a man "to gueſs, without the imputation of magic, that a "tyrant would ſome time or other make uſe of ſuch a "place to lodge a Guard for a bridle to the city."

(15) Laert. lib. 1.

(16) *Lives and Characters of the antient Greek Poets*, lib. 2. pag. 41.

[H] *The character of a Prophet, which he had among the Antients.*] Laertius tells us (17), that he was reported to be extremely well ſkilled in Divination: Φασὶ γὰρ καὶ γνωστικώτατον γεγονέναι. Plato (18) ſtiles him ἀνὴρ θεῖος; and in Cicero (19) he is repreſented as a very able Diviner. St. Paul likewiſe (20) calls him a *Prophet*. Ariſtotle indeed obſerves (21), that *he was eſteemed a Prophet, not becauſe he foretold things to come*, περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, *but becauſe he foretold things which were paſt, and which nobody knew beſides*, περὶ τῶν γεγονότων μὲν, ἀδήλων δέ. But Iſaac Caſaubon (22) is extremely ſurprized at this judgment of Ariſtotle, ſince we find in Plato and other Writers ſeveral of his predictions relating to things at ſome diſtance. Plutarch tells us (23), that the Athenians being afraid of the Perſian Navy, he aſſured them that it would not invade them for many years; and that when it did, the Perſians ſhould not effect the leaſt of their hopes, but depart home with greater loſs to themſelves than they had given their enemies; which was fulfilled at the battles at Marathon and Salamis. He foretold to the Lacedæmonians the overthrow which they ſhould receive from the Arcadians (24), which happened when Eurycrates and Archidamus reigned in Lacedæmon (25).

(17) Lib. 1.

(18) *De Legibus*, lib. 1.

(19) *De Divinat.* lib. 1.

(20) *Epiſt. to Titus*, cap. 1. ver. 12.

(21) *Rhetor.* lib. 3. cap. 17.

(22) In Laert.

(23) *In Vitâ Solon.*

(24) Laert.

(25) Aldobrand. *in Laert.*

[I] *Laertius gives us an Epiſtle of his to Solon.*] That Author obſerves that there was extant in his time an Epiſtle of Epimenides to Solon concerning the orders of government given by Minos to the Cretans; but that Demetrius the Magneſian (26) conceived it to have been of later date, not being written in the Cretan, but Athenian Language. But Laertius tells us, that he had met with another Epiſtle to this effect. "EPIMENIDES "to SOLON. Be of good comfort my friend; for if "Piſiſtratus were ruler of Athenians inured to ſervi"tude, and void of diſcipline, his government per"haps might be perpetual. But now he does not "ſubject to his command men of baſe minds, but "ſuch, who being mindful of Solon's inſtructions are "aſhamed of their bondage, and will not long bear his "tyranny. But though Piſiſtratus ſhould make him"ſelf maſter of the city, yet I hope it will not de"volve to his children; for it is hard for free perſons "brought up under excellent laws, to ſuffer bondage. "As for you, do not wander about, but haſten to "Crete to me, where no Tyrant will be troubleſome "to you. If in travelling up and down, you ſhould "light upon ſome of his friends, I fear you may ſuffer "ſome miſchief." This ſeems to be in anſwer to the following Epiſtle of Solon to Epimenides (27). "SO"LON to EPIMENIDES. Neither are my laws like"ly to be of any ſervice to the Athenians, nor have "you advantaged the city by Luſtration. For Divine "Right and Law-givers cannot alone benefit cities; it

(26) In his Book περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων.

(27) Laert. *in Vitâ Solonis.*

verſe [K]. St. Paul quotes a line out of his book of *Oracles and Reſponſes* [L]. His body was kept by the Lacedemonians upon advice of the Oracle. It was taken up many years after, marked all over with characters; whence aroſe the Proverb concerning abſtruſe things, *The ſkin of Epimenides* (aa) [M]. He called himſelf Æacus; and was named by the Cretans *Cures* (bb). Plutarch ſays (cc), that he was eſteemed the ſeventh wiſe man by thoſe, who would not admit Periander into the number. There were two other perſons of this name, one a Genealogiſt, the other wrote in the Doric Dialect concerning Rhodes (dd).

(aa) Ἐπιμενίδου δέρμα.

(bb) Laert.

(cc) *In Vitâ Solonis.*

(dd) Laert.

" is of great conſequence of what mind they are, who " lead the common people. Divine Rights and Laws, " if they direct them well, are profitable; if they di- " rect them ill, are of no ſervice. Neither are thoſe " Laws, which I gave, in any better condition; thoſe " perſons, who had the care of the Commonwealth " not preventing Piſiſtratus from uſurping of the tyran- " ny, and thereby doing the greateſt injury to it; " which when I foretold them, they would not believe " me. The Athenians would rather believe his flat- " teries, than my truth. Laying down my arms " therefore before the magazin, I declared that I was " wiſer than thoſe, who did not ſee that Piſiſtratus " aimed at the tyranny, and more reſolute than thoſe, " who dared not aſſert the liberty of the Common- " wealth. But they imagined Solon to be mad. At " laſt I left my country with this proteſtation, *O Coun- " try! behold Solon ready to aſſiſt you in word and action; " I ſeem mad to theſe. I am therefore obliged to aban- " don you, being the only enemy to Piſiſtratus. But let " them be his Guards, if they pleaſe.* For you know " my friend, by what artifice he obtained the govern- " ment. He began with flattering the common peo- " ple, and afterwards wounding himſelf, he came in- " to Elicæa, crying out, that he had received thoſe " wounds from his enemies, and deſired a Guard of " four hundred young men, which they, paying no " regard to my remonſtrances, granted. Theſe were " armed with halberds. After this he diſſolved the " popular government. I endeavoured in vain to reſ- " cue the poorer ſort from mercenary ſlavery, when " they all now ſerve Piſiſtratus alone."

[K] *Wrote many things in verſe.*] He wrote *The Generation of the Curetes and Corybantes, and of the Gods*, containing five thouſand verſes; *The building of the Ship Argos, and Jaſon's Expedition to Colchos*, in ſix thouſand five hundred verſes; and four thouſand verſes *concerning Minos and Rhadamanthus* (28), and *Initiations and Luſtrations*, and other obſcure matters in verſe (29). He wrote alſo in proſe concerning *Sacrifices*, and the *Commonwealth of Crete* (30). St. Jerom (31) likewiſe mentions his Book of *Oracles and Reſponſes*.

(28) Laert. *in Vitâ Epimen.*

(29) Suidas.

(30) Laert. *ubi ſupra.*

(31) *In Epiſt. ad Titum.* cap. 1. ver. 12.

[L] *St. Paul quotes a line out of his Book of* Oracles and Reſponſes.] The line quoted by St. Paul (32), is as follows:

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

The Cretans are always Lyars, evil Beaſts, ſlow Bellies.

(32) *Epiſt. to Titus*, cap. 1. ver. 12.

St. Chryſoſtom, Theodoret, and ſome others, have aſcribed this verſe to Callimachus, who has the following paſſage:

Κρῆτες, ἀεὶ ψεῦσται. καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο, σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ ἀεί.

i. e. " The Cretans are always Lyars; for they have " erected a monument to you, O King Jupiter, who " never died, but are immortal." The tomb of Jupiter was ſhewn in the Iſle of Crete, where he had reigned and died. Callimachus alluding to the firſt words of the verſe of Epimenides cited by St. Paul charges the Cretans with lying and impoſture for pretending that Jupiter was born, reigned, and died in their Iſland. Epimenides was of Crete, but Callimachus of Cyrene, and quotes only the firſt words of the verſe, whereas Epimenides wrote the whole verſe as it is cited by St. Paul; and therefore it is undoubtedly true that St. Paul intended to cite Epimenides only. The Antients agree in the character which St. Paul after our Poet gives the Cretans, whoſe name became a proverb to expreſs a Lyar and Impoſtor (33).

(33) *Vide Eraſmi Adag.* Chiliad. 1. Centur. 2. pag. 70. edit. Baſil. 1526. in fol.

[M] *His body was taken up many years after, marked all over with characters, whence aroſe the Proverb concerning abſtruſe things,* The Skin of Epimenides.] This we are informed of by Suidas: τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, πόρρω χρόνων τὸ δέρμα ἐυρεθῆναι γράμμασι κατάστικτον . . . ἡ παροιμία τὸ Ἐπιμενίδου δέρμα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποθετῶν. T.

☞ EPIPHANIUS (St.) an antient Chriſtian Writer, was born about the year 332 (a) at Beſanducan (b), a village in Paleſtine near Eleutheropolis (c). His parents are ſaid to have been Jews (d) [A]. While he was a youth, he went into Egypt (e), where he fell into the converſation of the Gnoſtics, who had almoſt engaged him in their party; but he ſoon withdrew himſelf from theſe Heretics (f); and having ſeen the manner of life among the Aſcetics in that Nation, in the twentieth year of his age returned to his own country, and put himſelf for ſome time under the diſcipline of Hilarion, the father of the Monks of Paleſtine. He afterwards founded the Monaſtery called *Vetus Ad*, near the village where he was born, and preſided over it (g). About the year 368, according to Dr. Cave (h), or 366, according to Du Pin (i), he was elected Biſhop of Salamis, afterwards called Conſtantia, the Metropolis of the Iſle of Cyprus, where he raiſed himſelf a great reputation by his writings [B], and piety. In 382 he was ſent for to Rome by the Imperial

(a) Du Pin, *Bibliotheq. des Auteur. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. pag. 295. edit. de Paris 1693, in 4to.

(b) Sozomen, lib. 6. cap. 32. *and* Cave, *Hiſt. Liter.* pag. 147. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(c) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(d) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(e) Idem, ibid.

(f) Idem, ibid. *and* Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(g) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(h) Ibid.

(i) *Ubi ſupra.*

[A] *His parents are ſaid to have been Jews.*] This is affirmed by Dr. Cave (1), who ſeems in this particular to have followed the ſuppoſititious accounts of the Life of Epiphanius, ſaid to be written by John and Polybius his diſciples, but rejected by the beſt Critics (2). And Oudin (3) is of opinion that there is no ground for this ſtory, ſince Sozomen ſays (4), that *from his earlieſt youth he was educated under the moſt excellent Monks, upon which account he continued a very conſiderable time in Egypt.* Ἐκ νέου ὑπὸ Μοναχοῖς ἀρίστοις παιδευθεὶς, καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλεῖστον διατρίψας χρόνον.

(1) *Hiſt. Liter.* pag. 147. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(2) Caſimiri, *Oudini Comment. de Scriptoribus & Scriptis Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1. col. 527, 528. edit. Francof. 1722.

(3) Ibid. col. 528.

(4) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 6. cap. 32.

(5) Cave, pag. 147.

[B] *Raiſed himſelf a great reputation by his writings.*] His genuine works are as follow. I. *Ancoratus*, or *a Diſcourſe on the Faith.* This was written about the year 373, at the deſire of the Preſbyters of Suedra, a city of Pamphylia, and Palladius the Preſident (5). In this work he explains the doctrine of the Church relating to the Trinity, and proves the Reſurrection, and confutes the Pagans, Manicheans, Sabellians, and Arians. II. Πανάριον, *ſive adverſus Hæreſes.* It is divided into three parts. The firſt contains the Heſies before the time of Chriſt, of which he reckons forty ſix; the ſecond contains twenty three; and the third contains eleven; ſo that this work contains the Hiſtory of eighty Sects or Hereſies. It was begun in the year 374, and in the 11th of Valens and Valentinian, at the requeſt of Acacius and Paulus Archimandrites, whoſe Epiſtle for that purpoſe is ſtill extant, being prefixed to the *Panarium*, together with Epiphanius's Anſwer. It was finiſhed in 376 (6). In this work he firſt proves the Unity of God againſt the Pagans, Valentinians, Marcionites, and Manicheans; and evinces his Immenſity, Omnipotence, Spirituality, and other Attributes,

(6) Cave, pag. 148. *and* Du Pin, pag. 296.

Imperial Letters in order to determine the cauſe of Paulinus concerning the See of Antioch (*k*). In 391 a conteſt aroſe between him and John Biſhop of Jeruſalem. Epiphanius accuſed the former of maintaining the errors of Origen; and going to Paleſtine ordained Paulinian, brother of St. Jerom, Deacon and Prieſt, in a monaſtery, which did not belong to his juriſdiction. John Biſhop of Jeruſalem immediately complained of this action of Epiphanius, which was contrary to the Canons and Diſcipline of the Church. Epiphanius defended what he had done in a letter to the Biſhop of Jeruſalem, mentioned by

(*k*) Cave, *ubi ſupra*.

tributes, by confuting the other Heretics, who maintain the contrary. He maintains the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of the Son, and that of the Holy Ghoſt, in various places, but eſpecially in *Hæreſ.* 62, 69, 71, and 74. In *Hæreſ.* 23 and 65. he ſhews that God created the World and the Angels. In *Hæreſ.* 70, he endeavours to explain in what ſenſe man was created in the image of God. In *Hæreſ.* 24 and 36 he aſſerts, that ſin is not a ſubſtance, and that God is not the Author of it. He explains the Myſtery of the Incarnation in *Hæreſ.* 77, 30, 69; and ſhews, that Chriſt is one Perſon conſiſting of a divine and human Nature. In *Hæreſ.* 77, he ſhews that the two Natures were not confounded after their union, but have ſtill preſerved their ſeveral properties. He proves the Reſurrection in *Hæreſ.* 42 and 64. He affirms in *Hæreſ.* 24 and 46, that Chriſt deſcended to Hell, to ſave thoſe, who had led a good life, and believed in God. In *Hæreſ.* 75 he maintains, that the ſoul is ſpiritual and immortal, and enjoys happineſs after death. He ſhews in *Hæreſ.* 8, that the Sacraments of the New Law are more excellent and efficacious than thoſe of the Old. In *Hæreſ.* 16 he acknowledges Free-Will; but he admits of the Grace of God. In *Hæreſ.* 30 he ſpeaks of the wonderful effects of the Sign of the Croſs. He ſhews the neceſſity of eccleſiaſtical Traditions in many places, but eſpecially in *Hæreſ.* 69, 51, and 57; and treats of the Neceſſity and Advantage of Faſting in *Hæreſ.* 33, 75, and 80. He obſerves there, that the Chriſtians faſted in Lent, and all Wedneſdays and Fridays throughout the year, except from Eaſter to Whitſuntide. He ſuppoſes that theſe faſts are of Apoſtolical Tradition, and obligatory in practice. In *Hæreſ.* 75 he maintains the Diſtinction between Biſhops and Prieſts. In *Hæreſ.* 74, and at the end of *Hæreſ.* 80 he remarks, that the people aſſembled at Church for the moſt part on Wedneſdays, Fridays, and Sundays, and in ſome places on Saturdays. In *Hæreſ.* 59 he aſſerts, that an huſband, who after being divorced from his wife on account of adultery, ſhall marry another, is free from all crime according to Scripture. III. *Anacephalæoſis, ſeu Panarii Epitome.* This is an Abridgment of his *Panarium.* IV. *De Menſuris & Ponderibus liber.* In this Treatiſe he gives us an account of the Weights, Meaſures, and Coins of the Jews and other Nations; and a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament, agreeable to the Canon of the Jews; which includes the Books of Ruth and Eſther. He gives us likewiſe an Hiſtory of the Greek Verſions of the Text of the Old Teſtament: and aſſerts that the Septuagint tranſlated all the Books of the Old Teſtament, being ſhut up in different cells, and all inſpired by God to tranſlate in the ſame manner. V. *Epiſtola ad Joannem Hieroſolymitanum.* This Epiſtle is tranſlated by St. Jerom, and contains two Parts. The firſt is upon the conteſt, which Epiphanius had with the Biſhop of Jeruſalem concerning the Ordination of Paulinian, and Origeniſm. The ſecond relates to a particular ſtory, which Epiphanius mentions in theſe words. *Entering into a Church in a village of Paleſtine, called Anabletha, and ſeeing a veil hanging at the door, which was painted, and had on it the picture, either of Chriſt, or ſome Saint, I cannot tell whether; but ſeeing that contrary to the Authority of the holy Scriptures there was in the Church of Chriſt the picture of a man, I tore it, and ordered thoſe who had the care of the Church to bury a dead body with the veil. But they murmuring and alledging, that if this veil was torn, another ought to be given them, I promiſed to give them one, and immediately performed my promiſe.* The firſt part of this Letter is univerſally acknowledged to be genuine; but Baronius, Bellarmin, and ſome others pretend that the ſecond part is ſuppoſititious. They urge ſeveral conjectures for that purpoſe; but Monſr. Du Pin (6) is of opinion, that there are but three, which have any force. The firſt is, that this Epiſtle ſeems to be finiſhed before the narration of this ſtory. The ſecond is, that Epiphanius condemns here the uſe of images, as a thing contrary to Scripture and the practice of his time. The third is, that St. Jerom giving an Extract of this Letter in his Epiſtle to Pammachius, takes no notice of this ſtory. *However, theſe reaſons,* ſays Du Pin, *do not appear ſtrong enough to make me abſolutely reject this Letter.* For in the firſt place, tho' what relates to the principal ſubject of it, was concluded before this ſecond part, yet it cannot be proved, that the Letter was entirely finiſhed. And Epiphanius having occaſion to write of this particular fact, could not do it till after he had done ſpeaking of the principal ſubject, of which he wrote. Beſides we cannot ſay, that this Letter is finiſhed before theſe words at the end; *I pray, that God would preſerve you under his protection.* In the ſecond place, it is poſſible, that the uſe of images, which was very rare during the three firſt Ages of the Church, was not then eſtabliſhed in Paleſtine and the Iſle of Cyprus; and that Epiphanius, who was a man of great ſimplicity and zeal, thought it dangerous to introduce it, and even ſpoke in a violent manner againſt it. Laſtly, tho' St. Jerom tranſlated this Letter entirely, he cites in his Epiſtle to Pammachius only thoſe paſſages, which were pertinent to his ſubject. He does not even cite the firſt part entire; and we are not to be ſurprized, that he ſays nothing of the ſecond, ſince it had no relation to the diſpute between Epiphanius and John Biſhop of Jeruſalem. To conclude, the ſecond part is written in the ſame ſtyle with the firſt: it agrees very well with what Epiphanius ſays in his *Panarium, Hæreſ.* 27; it is cited by the Author of the *Libri Carolini L. IV. C.* 25. and it is ſaid in the *Seventh Council, Art. IV. Tom. V.* that the Iconoclaſts alledged, that Epiphanius was for removing of images; which can only relate to the ſecond part of this Letter. So that tho' it be true, continues Mr. Du Pin, as appears from the teſtimony of St. Gregory Nyſſen in his Panegyric on Theodorus, and his Treatiſe of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, that there were at that time in ſome churches pictures repreſenting the Hiſtories of Scripture, the Actions of Saints and Martyrs; yet it cannot be ſaid that the uſe of them was general; and it muſt be owned, that Epiphanius diſapproves of it. VI. *Epiſtola brevis ad Hieronymum.* This Epiſtle is publiſhed in the ſecond volume of St. Jerom's Works (7). Theſe are all genuine works aſcribed to our Author by Dr. Cave, who repreſents the following as ſuppoſititious: viz. 1. *Phyſiologus.* 2. *De Vitâ & Interitu Prophetarum,* which, according to Du Pin (8), is a Collection of an infinite number of Fables and Stories, which cannot be aſcribed to Epiphanius, without ſuppoſing him a Viſionary. 3. *De duodecim Gemmis in Veſte Aaronis.* Geſner publiſhed an Abridgment of this Treatiſe at Zurich 1565 in 8vo. Dr. Cave obſerves, that there are ſome, who aſſert this to be a genuine work of our Author, and that there are grounds for this opinion, ſince it is cited by St. Jerom (9), and Facundus (10), who gives us an entire Letter of Epiphanius to Diodorus of Tarſus, which is as it were a Preface to the Treatiſe *De Duodecim Gemmis in Veſte Aaronis.* 4. *Orationes VIII,* viz. *in Feſtum Palmarum; In Chriſti Sepulturam; In Chriſti Reſurrectionem; In Chriſti Aſſumptionem; De Laudibus B. Mariæ Virginis; In Feſto Palmarum; De Numerorum Myſteriis; De Chriſti Reſurrectione.* Theſe according to Dr. Cave, were written by ſome later Epiphanius, there being ſeveral of that name, who were Biſhops in Cyprus. Lambecius tells us (11), that in the Emperor's Library at Vienna there are ſeveral Greek Manuſcripts under our

(6) Pag. 297.

(7) Cave, pag. 143.

(8) Pag. 297.

(9) *Epiſt.* 228 *ad Fabiolan.*

(10) Lib. 4. cap. 3.

(11) *Comment. Biblioth. Vindob.* lib. 3. pag. 163, *& ſeq.*

by St. Jerom. This diſpute irritated their minds ſtill more, which were already greatly incenſed upon the ſubject of Origen. Both of them endeavoured to engage Theophilus Biſhop of Alexandria in their party. That Biſhop, who ſeemed at firſt to favour the Biſhop of Jeruſalem, declared at laſt againſt Origen, condemned his books in a Council held in 399, and perſecuted all the Monks, who were ſuſpected of regarding his memory. Theſe Monks retiring to Conſtantinople were received there very kindly by St. John Chryſoſtom; which highly exaſperated Theophilus, who from that time conceived a violent hatred to St. Chryſoſtom. In the mean time Theophilus informed Epiphanius of what he had done againſt Origen, and exhorted him to do the ſame. Upon this Epiphanius called a Council in 401 in the Iſle of Cyprus, in which he procured a prohibition of the reading of Origen's writings, and wrote to St. Chryſoſtom to do the ſame. But the latter not approving of this propoſition, Epiphanius went to Conſtantinople at the perſuaſion of Theophilus, in order to get the decree of the Council of Cyprus executed (*l*). Socrates (*m*) informs us, that he ordained a Deacon in the Church belonging to the juriſdiction of Conſtantinople; but Cardinal Baronius (*n*) affirms, that this Hiſtorian is miſtaken, and that the Ordination of Paulinian by Epiphanius in Paleſtine in a place depending on the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Jeruſalem occaſioned him to think, that Epiphanius had ordained a Deacon within the Dioceſe of St. Chryſoſtom. However that be, Epiphanius, when he came to Conſtantinople, would not have any converſation with St. Chryſoſtom, but uſed his utmoſt efforts to engage the Biſhops, who were then in that City, to approve of the judgment of the Council of Cyprus againſt Origen. But not ſucceeding in this, he reſolved to go the next day to the Church of the Apoſtles, and condemn there publicly all the Books of Origen, and thoſe who defended them. But as he was in the Church, St. Chryſoſtom informed him by his Deacon Serapion, that he was going to do a thing contrary to the Laws of the Church, and which would expoſe him to danger, ſince it was to be feared, that the people would raiſe ſome ſedition, which he could not complain of, if he was the occaſion of it after he had been warned. This conſideration ſtopped Epiphanius, who was ſo inflamed againſt Origen, that the Empreſs Eudoxia having recommended to his prayer the young Theodoſius, who was dangerouſly ſick, he anſwered, that the Prince her ſon would not die, if ſhe would but avoid the converſation of Dioſcoridus, and other defenders of Origen. The Empreſs being ſurprized at this unexpected anſwer ſent him word, that if God ſhould think proper to take away her ſon, ſhe would ſubmit to his will; that he might take him away, as he had given him; but that it was not in the power of Epiphanius to raiſe him from the dead, ſince he had lately ſuffered his Archdeacon (*o*) to die. Epiphanius's heat was a little abated, when he had diſcourſed with Ammonius and his companions, whom Theophilus had baniſhed for adhering to Origen's opinions: for theſe Monks made him underſtand, that they did not maintain an heretical doctrine, and that he had condemned them in too precipitate a manner. At laſt he reſolved to return to Cyprus, and for a farewel to St. Chryſoſtom, he ſaid, *I hope you will not die a Biſhop*; to which the latter replied, *I hope, you will never return to your own country* (*p*). Both theſe things came to paſs; for St. Chryſoſtom was depoſed from his Biſhopric, and Epiphanius died at ſea (*q*), in the year 402 or 403 (*r*), being well advanced in years [*C*]. Photius tells us (*s*), that his ſtyle is very mean and negligent. Scaliger and Daillé do not give him any very advantageous character [*D*]; and Du Pin obſerves (*t*), that his ſtyle has neither beauty nor elevation, but

(*l*) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) Lib. 6. cap. 12.

(*n*) *Vide Valeſii Notas in Socratem*, lib. 6. cap. 12.

(*o*) *Criſpio.*

(*p*) Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 15.

(*q*) Cave, *ubi ſupra.*

(*r*) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*s*) *Biblioth.* Cod. 122.

(*t*) Pag. 301.

our Author's name, as *Explicatio in illud, Spiritus omnia ſcrutatur, etiam profunda Dei: In illud, De die illâ & horâ nemo ſcit; Recenſio XXII. Operum Hexaemeri, &c.* Several of his works are loſt; particularly his Treatiſe *De Lapidibus*; *Encomium S. Hilarionis*, mentioned by S. Jerom (12); *Epiſtles*; and *an Oration concerning the Holy Ghoſt*, mentioned by *Andreas Cæſarienſis* (3); but it may be doubted, whether this be not the ſame with that part of the *Ancoratus* inſerted in the *Panarium, Hæreſ.* 74 (14). The works of our Author were printed in Greek at Baſil 1544 in fol. A Latin Tranſlation of them by Cornarius was printed there in 1533, 1540, and 1545; at Paris in 1564; at Baſil 1560 and 1578, and at Paris 1612, with ſome Corrections by the Abbé de Billy. The *Phyſiologus* was publiſhed by Gonſoles Ponce de Leon at Rome in 1585, and at Antwerp in 1588. The Book *de Vitâ & Interitu Prophetarum* was publiſhed in Greek and Latin at Baſil 1529, and with the Notes of Zehenner, at Scheuling in 1612. The Oration *de Sepulturâ Chriſti* was printed in 1614. At laſt Petavius undertook a new Edition of our Author's Works, and finding Cornarius's Tranſlation defective, made a new one, which he publiſhed at Paris 1622 with the Greek Text reviſed and corrected by two manuſcripts. This Edition is in two volumes in folio; the firſt contains the *Panarium*; the ſecond the *Ancoratus*, the *Anacephalæoſis*, the Book *de Menſuris & Ponderibus*, the *Phyſiologus*, the Treatiſe *De duodecim Gemmis in Veſte Aaronis*; the *Homilies*, the *Letter to John Biſhop of Jeruſalem*, the *Life of Epiphanius by Metaphraſtes*, and the *Animadverſions of Petavius*, which are rather Diſſertations upon ſeveral points of Criticiſm and Chronology, than Notes to explain the text of our Author. This Edition was reprinted at Cologne 1682 in two Vol. in fol.

(12) *In Libro de Vitâ Hilarionis.*

(13) *Comment. in Apoc.* non longe ab initio.

(14) Cave, pag. 148.

[*C*] *Being well advanced in years.*] Dr. Cave tells us (15), that he died almoſt at an hundred years of age, and in the thirty ſixth year of his Biſhopric; and that if we believe Polybius, his diſciple and companion, Epiphanius aſſured Arcadius the Emperor, when he left Conſtantinople, that he was an hundred and fifteen years and three months old. *Diem ſupremum obiit anno CCCCII, ſaltem ineunte proximo, extremâ quidem ſenectute, utpote ætatis anno prope centeſimo, Epiſcopatus triceſimo ſexto. Quin ſi Polybio diſcipulo & itineris comiti credendum ſit, ipſe Epiphanius Conſtantinopoli cedens Arcadio Imperatori dixit ſe annos CXV. menſes III. natum eſſe.*

(15) Pag. 147.

[*D*] *Scaliger and Daillé do not give him any very advantageous character.*] The former tells us (16), that "he has a great many falſities; and that he was an "ignorant man; and was ſollicitous to collect every "thing in his Book, in which are great falſities. . . . "He has good things, but he was an ignorant man, "without any judgment. He has collected a great "deal; but knew nothing of Greek or Hebrew . . . "We have a treaſure of antiquities in him; for he "had good Books, which he ſometimes tranſcribes to very

(16) Scaligeriana, *ſive Excerpta ex Ore Joſephi Scaligeri. Per F. F. P. P.* pag. 101, 102. edit. Genevæ 1666.

but is low, rough, and unconnected; and that our Author himſelf had a great extent of reading and erudition, but no judgment and juſtneſs of thought: that he often uſes falſe reaſons to confute heretics; that he was very credulous and inaccurate, and frequently miſtaken in important points of Hiſtory, and pays regard too eaſily to ſpurious memoirs, or uncertain reports: in ſhort, that he had great zeal and piety, but little conduct or policy.

" very good purpoſe; but when he advances any " thing of his own, it is perform'd wretchedly." Monſ. Daillé (17) ſtiles our Author *a good and holy Man*, but obſerves, that *he was very little converſant in the Arts either of Rhetoric or Grammar, as appeareth ſufficiently out of his Writings, where you ſhall often find him failing not only in the clearneſs of his expreſſions, and the courſe and fit contrivance of his periods, but alſo even in the order and method, which is the true light of all diſcourſe; which defects muſt neceſſarily be the cauſe of much obſcurity in very many places, as indeed is much complained of by the interpreters of this Father.* And the ſame Writer afterwards obſerves (18), that " Epipha- " nius, as he was of a very good, honeſt, and plain " nature, and a little too credulous, and withal very " eager and fierce in maintaining whatſoever he " thought was right and true; ſo hath he the more " eaſily been induced both to deliver and to receive " things for ſolid, which yet are not ſo; and to ſtand " ſtiffly in the defending of them, after he had once " embraced the ſame." He then tells us, that it would *take up too much time and paper* to give a liſt of all his errors: but that the reader may have an account of a good number of them in the Notes of Petavius upon him; who particularly accuſes (19) him of obſcurity and falſhood likewiſe in the opinion which he held concerning the Year and Day of Chriſt's Nativity, affirming that ſome of his expreſſions touching this point are more obſcure and dark than the Riddles of Sphinx. *And truly*, ſays Monſr. Daillé (20), *he hath reaſon enough to ſay ſo of what he hath delivered touching the Year of our Saviour's Nativity. But as for the Day of that Year, whether it were the ſixth of January, as Epiphanius* (21) *held with the Church of Egypt; or elſe whether it were the twenty fifth of December, which is the general opinion at this day; I think it very great raſhneſs for any man to affirm either the one or the other; neither of theſe opinions having any better ground, the one than the other.* Petavius (22) likewiſe expreſly contradicts Epiphanius with regard to the aſſertion of the latter, that in the beginning of the Church the Apoſtles had ordained, that the Chriſtians ſhould celebrate the Paſſover, at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, that thoſe of the Circumciſion did; and that thoſe, who were then made Biſhops at Jeruſalem being of the Circumciſion, it was neceſſary, that all the world ſhould follow them, and ſhould likewiſe keep the Paſſover, as they did. Monſr. Daillé alſo obſerves (23), that he does not ſee what grounds there were for that fancy of our Author, which he propoſes as a certain truth (24), viz. " That the Devil, " before the coming of Chriſt, was in hopes of grace " and pardon; and that out of this perſuaſion of his " he never all that while ſhewed himſelf refractory " towards God; but that having underſtood by the " manifeſtation of our Saviour, that there was left " him no hopes of ſalvation, he from thenceforth had " grown exceedingly enraged, doing as much miſ- " chief as poſſibly he could againſt Chriſt and his " Church." Ἦκουε γὰρ ἀεὶ τῶν προφητῶν καταγγελλόντων τὴν Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν λύτρωσιν ἐσομένην τῶν ἁμαρτησάντων, καὶ διὰ Χριστοῦ μετανοοῦσιν ἐνόμιζέ τε τέυξεσθαι τινὰ ἐλέους. Ὅτι δὲ εἶδεν ὁ τάλας τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ δεξάμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ σωτηρίας ἐπιστροφήν &c. T.

(17) *Treatiſe concerning the right uſe of the Fathers in the Deciſion of the Controverſies, that are at this day in Religion.* Engliſh Tranſlation, B. 1. cap. 5. pag. 85. edit. London 1651.

(18) Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 4. pag. 85.

(19) Petav. *in Epiphan.* pag. 127, 132.

(20) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 86.

(21) *Hæreſ. LI. quæ eſt Alog.*

(22) *Ad Hareſ. LXX.* num. 10.

(23) *Ubi ſupra.*

(24) Epiphan. *Hæreſ.* 39.

EPISCOPIUS (SIMON) one of the moſt learned men of the ſeventeenth Century, and the chief ſupport of the Arminian Sect, was born at Amſterdam in the year 1583, and having gone through the Latin Schools there, he went to ſtudy at Leyden in the year 1600. He was admitted Maſter of Arts in the year 1606. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and made ſo great a progreſs in it, that in a little time he was found worthy of the holy Miniſtry: the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam wiſhed that he might be promoted to it; but he met with ſeveral difficulties in his way, becauſe during the controverſy between Gomarus and Arminius he declared for the latter; ſo that he grew weary of the Univerſity of Leyden, and went to Franeker in the year 1609; but he did not continue there long; for he found that by diſputing too vehemently he had exaſperated Profeſſor Sibrandus Lubertus a zealous Gomariſt. He left Franeker and returned into Holland, where he was ordained in the year 1610, and made Miniſter of a village (*a*) in the dependency of Rotterdam. He was one of the Deputies in the Conference which was held at the Hague in the year 1611 before the States of Holland between ſix Anti-Remonſtrants and ſix Remonſtrant Miniſters; his great wit and learning appeared to great advantage in that Conference. The next year he was choſen Divinity Profeſſor at Leyden in the room of Gomarus, who had voluntarily reſigned, and he lived in peace with Polyander his Collegue, though they held contrary opinions concerning Predeſtination. The functions of his poſt, and his private ſtudies were a light burthen to him if compared with the injuries and ſlanders to which he was expoſed during the troubles occaſioned by the Arminian controverſy [*A*]; for the animoſity and hatred which theſe

(*a*) It is called *Bleyſwyck.*

[*A*] *His ſtudies were a light burthen to him, if compared with the injuries and ſlanders to which he was expoſed during the troubles occaſioned by the Arminian controverſy.*] The controverſy concerning Predeſtination began in the Univerſities, and was ſoon after carried into the Pulpits, and ſpread into private families; this did even ſoon kindle the fire amongſt thoſe at the helm (1). All was in an uproar and confuſion, and during this conteſt none were more expoſed to the curſes of the populace than the moſt eminent men of the Arminian party, becauſe they were looked upon as the firſt cauſe of theſe diſturbances (2). Judge then, whether Epiſcopius was ſpared, whoſe learning was very well known. The ſecond year of his Profeſſorſhip at Leiden he was abuſed at Amſterdam at Church and in the ſtreet, becauſe being once preſent at the chriſtening of one of his nieces, he had anſwered ſomething to the Miniſter who officiated, and who had aſked him whether the doctrine of his Church was not the true and perfect doctrine of Salvation: Epiſcopius inſtead of anſwering this queſtion only by a bow as a ſign of approbation, began to ſay ſomething in order to ſhew that he admitted it only with ſome limitations. Whereupon the Miniſter flew into a paſſion, and called him a preſumptuous young man: the people * took fire, and Epiſcopius, who was loaded with injuries both in the Church and in the ſtreet, narrowly eſcaped being beaten and ſtoned to death. If it be aſked, why Epiſcopius required ſome explanation, I ſhall anſwer, it was becauſe Uytembogard having anſwered only *yes* in the ſame caſe, he found ſoon after that they publickly reproached him in the ſtreets, that he had forſaken

(1) *Ab Academiæ cathedris in Eccleſiarum primum ambones & poſtea in vulgus dimanaſſet, imo etiam Reipublicæ proceres quorum erat tanto malo remedium afferre in ſtudia contraria ſcidiſſet.* Steph. Curcellæus, *Præfat.* in Opera Epiſcopii.

(2) *Maximi tempeſtatum fluctus celeberrimos quoſque doctrina inter Remonſtrantes ferebant, quibus veri ignara plebs & affectu potius quam judicio duci ſolita omnem turbarum culpam imputabat.* Idem, ibid.

* Children are always baptized publickly at Church in Holland; and in the caſe before us Epiſcopius ſtood godfather. ADD. REM.

theſe diviſions created, ſoon ſeized the minds of the people. The States of Holland having invited Epiſcopius to come to the Synod of Dort, that he might take his place in that Aſſembly as well as the other Profeſſors of the ſeven United Provinces, he was one of the firſt that went thither, and was accompanied by ſome Remonſtrant Miniſters, but the Synod would not ſuffer that any of them ſhould ſit in that Aſſembly as a Judge, and would not admit them but as perſons ſummoned to appear. They were obliged to ſubmit, and appeared before the Synod. Epiſcopius made a ſpeech, in which he declared that they were all ready to enter into a conference with the Synod. But they were anſwered, that the Synod did not meet to confer, but to judge. They excepted againſt the Synod, and refuſed to ſubmit to the order which that Aſſembly made, and which was, that the Remonſtrants ſhould neither explain nor maintain their opinions, but as far as the Synod ſhould judge it neceſſary. Upon their refuſing to ſubmit to this order, they were expelled the Synod, and that Aſſembly took meaſures to judge them by their writings (*b*). They defended their cauſe with the pen, and it was Epiſcopius that compoſed moſt of the pieces which they preſented on this occaſion, and which were publiſhed ſome time after. The Synod depoſed them from their functions, and becauſe they refuſed to ſubſcribe a writing, which contained a promiſe, not to perform privately any of the functions of the holy Miniſtry, neither directly nor indirectly, they were baniſhed out of the territories of the Commonwealth. Epiſcopius continued in the Spaniſh Low-Countries as long as the truce laſted [*B*], and was not ſo much taken up with the affairs of his own party, but he found time to write againſt the Church of Rome in defence of thoſe truths which all the Proteſtants in general maintain [*C*]. When the war between the Spaniards and the Dutch began again, he went into France, and by his writings he laboured as much as lay in his power to ſtrengthen and comfort his brethren [*D*]. Laſtly the times being become more favourable, he returned into Holland in the year 1626 and was made a Miniſter of the Church of the Remonſtrants at Rotterdam, where he married the next year [*E*], and in 1634 he removed to Amſterdam, being choſen Rector of the College, which thoſe of his Sect had founded there. He enjoyed that poſt till his death, which happened April the 4th 1643 of a retention of urine; he had loſt his ſight ſome weeks before (*c*). He compoſed ſeveral books after his return into Holland, and did not always write with that moderation, which his principles of toleration, and his duty as a Chriſtian required of him

(*b*) *Cum Synodut libertatem illam limitibus iſtis circumſcribere vellet, quantum ipſa ſatis eſſe poſſe & debere judicaret; ipſi vero tam iniquis conditionibus quibus cauſam ſuam proderent, per conſcientiam acquieſcere non poſſent, tandem à Synodo ſunt ejecti, tanquam indigni cum quibus ipſa ulterius quicquam ageret. Synoduſque ſe ad eos ex ſcriptis ipſorum judicandos accinxit.* Stephanus Curcellæus, *Præf.* Oper. Epiſcopii.

(*c*) Taken from the Preface prefixed to his Works, and written by Stephanus Curcellæus. N. B. *I do not pretend to anſwer for the facts which I have borrowed from thence, either in the Text or in the Remarks of this Article.*

ſaken the doctrine of the Remonſtrants. This firſt danger which Epiſcopius eſcaped was ſoon followed by another, a Farrier ſeeing him go by once, went out of his forge with an iron bar in his hand, and ran after him crying, ſtop the Arminian, the diſturber of the Church: Epiſcopius would certainly have been knocked down by this brute, had he not made his eſcape, and had not other people come to his aſſiſtance. The Author, to whom I refer (3), relates, that on the 19th of February 1617 the houſe of Epiſcopius's eldeſt brother was plundered by the mob at Amſterdam, under this falſe pretence that a great many Arminians uſed to meet there to hear Sermons. Theſe are the unavoidable conſequences of theological controverſies, when a principle of moderation does not keep them within the walls of the Auditories in the Univerſities, and when the mob is frightened and provoked. Which ought to teach us a maxim which will never be obſerved, namely, that men muſt never come to this unleſs in a caſe of the utmoſt neceſſity it ought to be the *Ancora Sacra*, the ſacred anchor of the Ancients (4), which they never uſed but in the moſt imminent danger.

(3) Steph. Curcellæus, *Præfat. in Opera Epiſcopii.*

(4) See in Eraſmus the proverb *Sacram ancoram ſolvere.* It is the 24th of the firſt Century of the 1ſt Chiliad.

[*B*] *He continued in the Spaniſh Low-Countries as long as the truce laſted.*] Henry the IVth had mediated a truce for twelve years between Spain and the United Provinces in the year 1609. As ſoon as it was expired the war began again in 1621. Epiſcopius and his brethren were baniſhed in 1618, and from that time till the beginning of the new war they continued at Antwerp. The reaſon they gave for it, and which is very probable, is, that thus they were beſt ſituated to take care of their Churches, and of their families. But ſome of their enemies were wicked enough to ſay, that they choſe this city for their reſidence only with a deſign to join in a conſpiracy with Spain againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the liberty of their own country. It is a great pleaſure and a great conveniency for a man to be of that party, which is uppermoſt, but then it is, generally ſpeaking, an encouragement for ſlandering the oppoſite party. For as the victory which one has gained, is attended with a great many outrages committed againſt the party oppreſſed, the latter muſt be charged with the blackeſt crimes, in order to juſtify thoſe outrages, and to prevent pious and well diſpoſed perſons from pitying the perſecuted. I will not make any application of this to the Arminians, I DECLARE IT EXPRESSLY AND IN CAPITAL LETTERS TO THE READERS; but here follow the words of one of them. *Antverpiæ durantibus inter Hiſpaniarum Regem, & ordines induciis domicilium eligunt, non ut cum patriæ hoſtibus conſilia agitarent, aut adverſus Religionem reformatam quicquam molirentur, quemadmodum malevoli quidem miſeriæ illorum inſultantes dictitabant; ſed quia propinquus erat ille locus, ut ex quo Eccleſiis ſuis dilectis & familiis commodius quam ex remotiore proſpicere poterant* (5).

(5) Steph. Curcellæus, *Præf. in Op. Epiſcopii.*

[*C*] *He wrote againſt the Church of Rome, in defence of thoſe truths which all the Proteſtants in general maintain.*] He not only compoſed in common with his brethren a confeſſion of faith; he not only publiſhed ſoon after his *Antidotum adverſus Synodi Dordracenæ Canones* (Antidote againſt the Canons of the Synod of Dort), but he alſo diſputed with great ſtrength of argument againſt Peter Wadingus, a Jeſuit (6), who treated him very kindly, and taking an advantage of the diſcontent under which he ſaw him labour, endeavoured to perſuade him to enter into the Pale of his Church. He diſplayed the moſt captious arguments of the controverſial Writers of his party, nor was he diſcouraged by the anſwers that were made him, but left off diſputing by word of mouth to do it in writing. He compoſed two letters, the one upon the rule of faith, the other concerning the worſhip of images, and ſent them to the baniſhed Profeſſor, who did not fail to anſwer them immediately in the ſtrongeſt manner (7). It was not printed till after his death. It was publiſhed in 1644, and has been ſince inſerted into the *folio* Edition of all his Works.

(6) He was an Iriſhman. *See* Alegambe.

(7) See the Preface to this work of Epiſcopius.

[*D*] *By his Writings he laboured . . . . to ſtrengthen and comfort his brethren.*] I do not mean this only of ſome private letters which he conveyed to them in Holland, but alſo of the Works he wrote for the public during his ſtay in France; ſuch are his obſervations upon ſome Chapters of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans, his *Bodekerus ineptiens*, (Bodeker out of his wits) his *Examen Theſium Jacobi Capelli*, (Examination of Capellus's Theſes) and his Reply to Cameron, &c (8).

(8) *Ex Præfatione* Steph. Curcellæi.

[*E*] *Where he married the next year.*] He married the widow (9) of Henry de Nielles Miniſter of Rotterdam, and brother of that Charles de Nielles, whom the Remonſtrants looked upon as one of their chief Confeſſors,

(9) Her name was *Mary Peſſen*.

him in a moſt particular manner. His friends endeavour to excuſe him in this reſpect [F]. It is ſaid that his works have been very much liked in England by the Church-men, but that there are now ſome Authors, who cry them down as though they were very dangerous. It cannot be denied, but that the diſtinction he makes uſe of, when he ſays, that ſome articles which have always been thought to be fundamental, are true indeed, but that it is not abſolutely neceſſary to believe them in order to be ſaved, may be liable to very bad conſequences. The learned Father Mabillon has lately been cenſured on account of Epiſcopiùs's works [G]. In the year 1690 the Arminians took a bold ſtep, which ſhews how much they take this Miniſter's reputation to heart: for it is known, that they

Confeſſors. He had been long in priſon, and there are ſeveral of his letters, amongſt thoſe which the Remonſtrants have publiſhed. He was at leſt ſet at liberty, and was Miniſter at Amſterdam (10). Epiſcopius loſt his wife towards the end of the year 1641; he never had any children by her (11).

(10) *Ex* Curcellæo, *Præf. in Op. Epiſcopii.*

(11) Ibid.

[F] *His friends endeavour to excuſe* the bitterneſs of his ſtyle.] Curcellæus, who could not but own, that Epiſcopius might have written ſome things with more moderation (12), obſerves that ſeveral other cauſes concurred to make him write in that ſtyle. In the firſt place, ſays he, Epiſcopius never was the aggreſſor, he never provoked any man living, he only returned the reproaches of others. II. The Writings which he confuted were ſometimes very abuſive: as an inſtance of which Curcellæus quotes the Book, which the Profeſſors of Leyden publiſhed with this title, *Confeſſionis Remonſtrantium Cenſura* (Critical Remarks upon the Confeſſion of faith of the Remonſtrants) and it is pretended that the Profeſſors had very ſtrong reaſons to make uſe of that abuſive language. The publick was to be made ſenſible, that the Anti-Remonſtrant Doctors had juſtly condemned the Arminians in the Synod of Dort, and had juſtly perſuaded the Magiſtrates to uſe them very ſeverely. This Synodical condemnation, and that fiery zeal to exaſperate the Magiſtrates, were two things, which would entirely diſgrace thoſe Gentlemen, if it were found that after all, the party condemned was guilty only of inconſiderable errors; it was therefore neceſſary for the reputation of the judges to repreſent that party in the moſt odious light. And becauſe the public began to obſerve that the five famous articles were not a ſufficient reaſon for perſecuting, it muſt be aſſerted, that the confeſſion of the Remonſtrants abounded with abominable hereſies, that it was erroneous from the beginning to the end, that even the title itſelf was heretical; all this was to be attended with anger and paſſion. *Quam* (Confeſſionis Remonſtrantium Cenſuram) *acerbiſſimam eſſe, nemo qui vel obiter inſpexerit negare poteſt. Nempe exiſtimationis ſuæ intereſſe putabant, ne injuſte primum Remonſtrantes in Synodo Dordracena condemnaviſſe, & poſtea Magiſtratus ad eos perſequendos inſtigaſſe crederentur. Jam enim vulgo dictitabatur non ſatis eſſe cauſæ in quinque illis decantatis de Prædeſtinatione Articulis, cur ita in eos ſæviretur, cum in iis totum Chriſtianum orbem, exceptâ duntaxat Calvini ſchola, Remonſtrantes ſecum conſpirantes haberent. Ideo perſuaſum omnibus voluerunt Profeſſoris iſti Confeſſionem illorum horrendis hæreſibus ſcatere, nihil in ea a capite ad calcem, imo ne in titulo quidem, ſani eſſe* (13). This Author hints then, that the Profeſſors of Leyden wrote ſo abuſively only out of policy, and that their anger was only a feigned paſſion deſigned to remove the offence which the public might take, and the blemiſh of their own reputation. III. Laſtly he ſays, that Epiſcopius's patience was tired, when he found that theſe Gentlemen pretended to dive into men's hidden intentions, and into the ſecret receſſes of their hearts, when they met with nothing that they could blame, in that confeſſion of faith which they were cenſuring. This is an infallible method to find one's adverſary guilty of hereſy; for let him never ſo much ſpeak like an orthodox, he will be told that he hid the venom of his hereſy in the bottom of his heart (14). *Imo quod omnes modeſtiæ limites excedit, cum in confeſſionis verbis & phraſibus nihil occurrebat, quod cum ſpecie aliqua admordere poſſent, in Dei ἀυτοῦσιος jura temerario auſu involarunt, ſuſpicionem lectoribus ingerere ſtuduerunt, an ita ex animo ſentirent Remonſtrantes, prout oratione ſua profitebantur. Nihil ergo mirum ſi adeo barbara & Chriſtianis plane indigna agendi ratio D. Epiſcopium mo-*

(12) *Quia etſi fortè quædam lenius dici potuerint, quam ab eo factum fuerit, graviſſimas tamen ita ſcribendi cauſas habuerit.* Curcellæus, *Præf. in Op. Epiſcopii.*

(13) Ibid.

(14) Concerning the conduct of theſe perſons, ſee ſeveral paſſages in the *Phantome du Janſeniſme*, and the Preface of the *Janua Cælorum reſerata.*

verit ut duro nodo durum cuneum adhiberet, & ſordida illa cenſuræ ulcera acriori apologiæ ſale & aceto aliquando perfricaret: quod etiam adverſus unum aut alterum cenſoribus illis ſimilem uſurpavit (15). i. e. "Nay, "what goes beyond all the bounds of modeſty, is, "that when they could not find any thing in the "words and phraſes of the Confeſſion, which they "could condemn with the leaſt ſhew of reaſon, they "boldly invaded the right of God, who alone knows "the hearts of men, and endeavoured to raiſe ſuſpi"cions in the minds of the Readers, whether the Re"monſtrants did really believe from their hearts, as "they profeſſed to do. It is therefore no wonder that "ſuch a cruel behaviour, and ſo unworthy of Chriſ"tians, ſhould have engaged Epiſcopius to cleave ſuch "knotted wood with a hard wedge, and to rub the foul "ulcers of this cenſure, with the ſharp ſalt and ſour "vinegar of his vindication. He uſed the ſame me"thod againſt two or three adverſaries who were like "theſe cenſurers." Tho' theſe excuſes were ſtill better than they are, it is nevertheleſs very certain, that they who want them are much leſs commendable, than they who have no occaſion for them.

(14) Curcellæus, *Præf. in Opera Epiſcopii.*

[G] *Father Mabillon has been cenſured on account of Epiſcopius's works.*] A Letter was printed in the year 1691 with this title *Avis important à Mr. Arnaud ſur le Projet d'une nouvelle Bibliotheque d'Auteurs Janſeniſtes*, that is; "An important Advice to Monſieur Arnauld "concerning the deſign of a new Bibliotheque of Jan"ſeniſt Authors." This Letter contains the following paſſage (16). "Father Mabillon in his Treatiſe of "ſtudies proper for them that live in Monaſteries, has "commended in a very ſtrong manner Epiſcopius's "Theological Inſtitutions, in which Socinianiſm is "juſtified. As ſoon as Monſieur Nicole heard of "this fine encomium, he ſtrongly deſired that "the Author ſhould be adviſed to ſuppreſs it: "but this was impoſſible, for the book was pub"liſhed. Several young Abbots had already ear"neſtly deſired ſome Bookſellers to ſend them Epiſ"copius's Works, the reading of which was ſo much "recommended by Father Mabillon. It is a great "happineſs that the Bookſellers have not one copy "of them, for no Divine oppoſes the doctrine of St. "Auguſtin, and even that of the whole Church ſo "much as Epiſcopius does, who has even introduced "into his ſect the toleration of all Religions. Here "follows, Sir, a paſſage from that Father's Work. *I "cannot forbear obſerving in this place, that if ſome "paſſages had been left out of Epiſcopius's Theological In"ſtitutions, which Grotius eſteemed ſo much, that he "carried them with him wherever he went, they "might be very uſeful in the ſtudy of Divinity. This "work is divided into four Books, the method of which "is quite different from that which is generally followed. "His ſtyle is beautiful, and his manner of treating his "ſubject anſwers his ſtyle perfectly well; nor would the "time ſpent in reading of it be loſt, if it had been cor"rected with regard to ſome paſſages, in which the Au"thor ſpeaks againſt the Roman Catholicks, and in favour "of his Sect.* But pray, what correction can one make "in an Author, who calls the Myſteries of the Trinity "and of the Incarnation into queſtion, thinking that "the belief of them is not neceſſary to ſalvation, be"cauſe they are not according to him clearly proved "in the holy Scripture? He is of the ſame opinion "with regard to our other Myſteries, whence he con"cludes that there are no reaſons for excluding the "Socinians from Communion with the Chriſtians. "Father Mabillon would be more excuſable, had he "not read Epiſcopius's Book: but he owns himſelf "that he had borrowed it from the Archbiſhop of "Rheims's

(15) Curcellæus, *Præf. in Opera Epiſcopii.*

(16) Pag. 16.

they engaged one of their Professors, publickly to accuse Mr. Jurieu of calumny [*H*], because he spoke evil of Episcopius. I forgot to observe, that Francis Limburg son-in-law of Robert Episcopius, who was our Simon's brother (*d*), furnished Curcellæus with this learned Arminian's posthumous works; and that the Preface, from which I have borrowed this Article, does not mention a journey of Episcopius into France in the year 1615,

(*d*) Steph. Curcellæus, *Præf. in Op. Episcopii.*

" Rheims's Library-keeper (17), and kept it above two " months." The Author of the *Advice*, speaks two pages lower of a regular Canon, *who confessed to his friends that the reading of Grotius began to open his eyes.* " He is not the only person of his order who " speaks thus. Several of them begin to dogmatize, " and there are some, who read privately Curcellæus's " works, which contain an abridgment of Arminius's " Divinity, and a great part of that of the Socinians. " It is much to be feared that Father Mabillon's exor- " bitant praises of Episcopius's Theologcal Institutions " will raise an inclination in some Benedictines to pro- " cure them, or to have Curcellæus's Body of Divinity."

(17) Judge by this how scarce Episcopius's works are in France; since the Benedictins are obliged to borrow them from a Prelate, who collected with a great deal of care those books which it is most difficult to find. See the *Catalogue of his Library*, printed at Paris in the year 1693, in folio.

PART of a Letter of Mr. Le Clerc.

[*H*] *The Arminians.... engaged one of their Professors publickly to accuse Mr. Jurieu of Calumny.*] Monsieur Le Clerc, Professor in the College of the Arminians at Amsterdam, and one of the most learned men of this age, was ordered, they say, by his Superiors, to publish a Letter directed to Monsr. Jurieu in which he observes, that *they who have dipped into* Episcopius's Works, and *are acquainted with the Society of the Remonstrants, have no occasion to see them vindicated. And as for those, who have not read* that Author, *and never conversed with any of the Remonstrants, if they were so unjust as to judge only by* Monsieur Jurieu's *accusations, they would not deserve that one should take the least trouble to undeceive them, for it would shew, that they had not the least notion of common equity, and were too stupid to hearken to any vindication: but then we are persuaded,* adds he, *that there is not any one reasonable person either in the United Provinces, or any where else, that is disposed to believe this accuser upon his bare word. It is not therefore with a design to undeceive the publick that* Mr. Le Clerc *directs this Letter to* Mr. Jurieu, *but to endeavour to reclaim him, if that is possible, and to persuade him to beg pardon of God for the sin he has committed by slandering his neighbours in so odious a manner: one thing may give some hopes, that he will glorify God after reading this Letter, and that is, that there seems to be in what he has said much more inconsiderate zeal, and infatuation, than artifice and premeditated malice: for after all, to charge without the least argument a celebrated Author whose works are in the hands of all the world, with maintaining opinions, which he expressly explodes, and which have no necessary connection with his principles, is not a proper method to convince any of his Readers.*

After this Preamble Monsieur Le Clerc enters upon the matter in hand. *You charge Episcopius with two crimes,* says he, *the first is* his being a Socinian, *the second* his being an enemy to the Christian Religion. *The latter Article is but a consequence of the former, according to your way of reasoning; so that if the former be proved to be a notorious calumny, you must of course be convicted, according to your own principles, of having without the least argument charged a man who always openly professed that he believed in* JESUS CHRIST, *and who gave signal proofs of his faith, with the most abominable hypocrisy that can be conceived. The more odious the accusation is, the more clear the proofs of it ought to be; and yet you do not alledge one single argument that has the least shew of probability in it.* Monsieur Le Clerc makes it appear afterwards, that with regard to the Trinity, and the Sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST, *Episcopius was very far from admitting the opinions of the Socinians.* He refers to several of his Works, in which he has very plainly declared his opinion, and refuted the Socinians upon these two capital articles. He also shews, that Monsieur Jurieu has unfairly quoted two passages from Episcopius, the one concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, the other concerning the eternity of Hell-Torments. After he has thus confuted the first accusation, it is not a difficult task for him to answer the second, both because it is but a consequence of the first, and because Episcopius's life and writings evidently shew, that he was a virtuous and conscientious man, and very zealous for the Christian Religion. Monsieur Le Clerc refers us to a passage in Episcopius's *Institutions* (18), in which the truth of the Christian Religion *is proved in such a clear and strong manner, that we might hope there would not remain any Infidels in the world, if they would all duly weigh and consider his arguments. And yet you stile him, Sir, an enemy of Christianity:* (thus Monsr. Le Clerc speaks to Monsieur Jurieu,) *tho' it does not in the least appear that you have either read his works or examined his life. There is, indeed, nothing but the disorder of your mind, occasioned by your blind zeal, and which has been long ago observed in you, that can make me say,* O Lord forgive him, *for in reality* you do not know what you do. *You could not choose a better method to pass in the world for a man little acquainted with the duties of Christianity, and even of civil society, than by writing as you have done. None but a few silly women laden with sins, who go to hear sermons without understanding a word of them, no more than they do of the Gospel, will suffer themselves to be imposed upon by your artifices.*

(18) It is book the VIth, Sect. 1. chap. 2 & 3.

SOME Reflections upon this letter, and its consequences.

This remarkable step of the Remonstrants is a manifest sign that Episcopius had been calumniated: for it is not at all probable, that Monsieur de Clerc would have ventured to put his name to the Letter I have mentioned, if he had thought it possible for Monsieur Jurieu to prove his accusations: but what was only a sign, or if you will, a strong presumption of Episcopius's innocency, is become a demonstration by the accuser's silence. It is notorious to all the world, that he values his reputation infinitely; nothing therefore but the absolute impossibility of maintaining his charge would oblige him to be silent, and patiently to submit to the public infamy, with which Monsr. le Clerc's Letter loads him. Let people say after this, that Monsieur Jurieu is of such a revengeful temper, that he never in his life was an example of patience. The most good-natur'd man in the world would not have suffered, as he has done, without the least complaint, the outrageous injury of the Arminian Professor; an injury, which yet is but an act of justice, if Episcopius be supposed innocent. Men will wonder perhaps, that the accuser's Superiors were not concerned for his reputation as much as the whole Arminian party was for Episcopius's glory. No sooner was the latter accused, but his whole party laboured to clear him before the public: but no person in the world obliged the accuser to defend himself, and to blot out the note of infamy, with which Monsieur le Clerc had stigmatized him. But this different conduct ought not to surprize us. Episcopius's reputation is of greater consequence to his whole party, than Mr. Jurieu's fame is to the Walloon Churches: and farther, though right reason requires that he that calumniates another be loaded with all the infamy which the accused person would deserve, if he were justly accused, yet men do not think so in matters of Cannon Law (19). The finding of heresies in a Book, tho' there be none, often passes for an effect of zeal; the only punishment a man receives is an admonition not to be so rash for the future, and even sometimes he does not receive that admonition. It is therefore much more necessary to run to the assistance of a Doctor unjustly accused, than of a false informer of heresy.

(19) Understand this only with regard to what is often practised; for after all the Canon-Law submits a slanderer to the *Lex Talion* is as much as the Civil Law does.

Two strong reasons obliged me to make this Remark: the first is, that nothing belongs more properly to this Dictionary, than falsities in matters of fact: so that I could not omit mentioning the calumny published against Simon Episcopius, without a visible affectation, and a respect of persons, which would very justly have been condemned. The second reason is, that I met with a fair opportunity for representing Monsieur Jurieu to the best advantage; I ought not to have neglected this opportunity; it would not have been good husbandry. It is very glorious for him to have thus by his silence made amends for the injury he had done to that learned man's memory. He might have invented a thousand cavils, a thousand shifts, a thousand equivocations to support his charge, and he might be persuaded that an infinite number of persons would have believed upon his bare word, all that he should have

1615, on account of which, his adverſaries ſpread ſeveral falſe reports of him abroad [*I*]. But inſtead of ſpeaking of this real journey, they mention an imaginary one under the year 1610.

(20) *Utinam Deus hoc illis non imputet! imprimis chorago ipſorum Plancio, qui eo impudentiæ devenit, ut qua clam qua palam affirmare non dubitaverit, ſecreta me & arcana conſilia agitaſſe cum Patre Jeſuitarum Cotone, in perniciem Reip. & Eccleſiæ noſtræ; cum ego eum non niſi ſemel redeuntem à Rege & currum ſuum adſcendentem, idque obiter & in tranſcurſu, viderim.* Epiſcopius, *Epiſt. ad Jaſonem Bylandium.* It is the 241ſt in the folio edition of the *Epiſt. Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, pag. 414. It is dated Oct. 1, 1615.

have thought fit to ſay againſt the Arminian Miniſter. Monſr. le Clerc had engaged his word with the public, that he would not make any reply: Who then can deny, that Monſieur Jurieu deſerves very much to be commended, for chooſing rather to be ſilent, and to reſrain his reſentment, than to make an advantage of his inventive genius, and of the favourable diſpoſitions of the Public towards him, and of Monſr. le Clerc's promiſe? I own that he would have been much more praiſe-worthy, if inſtead of being only ſilent, he had publickly confeſſed, that he was in the wrong. But men do not arrive at once at an heroical virtue; they attain it only by degrees; and it is a very good beginning not to reply to the defence of the perſon one has calumniated.

[*I*] *He took a journey into France, on account of which his adverſaries ſpread ſeveral falſe reports of him abroad.*] They publiſhed that he had ſecret conferences with Father Coton, in order to contrive with him the ruin of the Proteſtant Church and of the United Provinces. They aſſerted that he affected not to converſe with Monſ. Du Moulin Miniſter at Paris, and never thought of paying a viſit to him. He ſolemnly declares that theſe are all impoſtures; and that he ſaw Father Cotton but once, and that by mere chance, when this Jeſuit returning from the King's palace was ſtepping into his coach (20). He calls the perſon to whom he writes to witneſs, that nothing is more falſe, than the affectation with which he is charged with regard to Du Moulin, and he obſerves that Plancius one of the Miniſters of Amſterdam was the perſon who loaded him with all theſe calumnies. Laſtly, he ſays, that the world began to acknowledge, that the ſecond imputation was entirely groundleſs. *Neque hoc ſolum, ſed & quod colloquium cum D. Molinæo ſtudio declinaverim, neque unquam de compellando eo cogitaverim: Quam rem falſam & vanam eſſe, tu, ſi ita videbitur, teſtimonio tuo confirmare potes, & quicquid ea in re à te & me factum eſt, verbulo ſignificare, etiamſi forte opus non ſit futurum. Manifeſtum hujuſmodi mendacium vanitate ſua propria diffluit tandem, & ſponte ſuâ extinguitur atque evaneſcit* (21). Without pretending to make any application of what follows to the ſubject before us, I obſerve, that generally ſpeaking the Heads of parties in literary or religious controverſies do not ſpend money enough in ſpies. It is not for want of a great curioſity to know all that their adverſaries do and ſay; but they believe all reports too raſhly, and are too forward to ſupport them by the weight of their own teſtimony. Zeal is ſometimes the cauſe why men think that an heretick will not ſcruple to contrive the moſt abominable plots; from this perſuaſion men eaſily paſs to another, which is, that they imagine he really contrives all the plots which he is thought to be capable of. When men have put this into their heads, they practiſe what the Scripture ſays, *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh* (22): they change their ſuſpicions and perſuaſions into public diſcourſes and direct accuſations.

(21) *Epiſt. Eccleſiaſt. & Theolog.* pag. 414.

(22) Matth. xii. 34.

EPPENDORF (HENRY of) a Gentleman of Germany [*A*] would be at this time very little known in the Republic of Letters, had he not been engaged in a great controverſy with Eraſmus. He maintained this quarrel out very vigorouſly, and the great Eraſmus did perhaps never meet with an adverſary who reduced him to ſuch diſagreeable terms of agreement. The articles of this pacification not having been well obſerved, Eppendorf raiſed a great clamour, and publiſhed a work which contains an account of this controverſy [*B*]. He tells us there, that he left his native country in order to improve himſelf

[*A*] *A Gentleman of Germany.*] Here follows what we read concerning this in a work, which he intitled, *Ad D. Eraſmi Roterodami libellum, cui titulus*, Adverſus mendacium & obtrectationem utilis Admonitio, *juſta Querela.* That is, "A juſt complaint againſt "the ſmall Book of Eraſmus of Rotterdam, intitled, "An uſeful admonition againſt lying and ſlandering," which is publiſhed at Haguenau (1) in Alſatia, in the year 1531. *Natus ſum in agro cui gens mea nomen dedit, non longè a Friburgo Urbe Miſniæ celebri, avos, atavos, parentes item (quibus & claris & optimis progreſſus ſum) tam ſoleo jactare, quam aliis ſuas ſordes exprobro. Quid enim mea refert, qua lena, quove aut Sacerdote, aut Monacho, quibuſque e ſterquiliniis quis prorepſerit, modo ingenii dotibus damna, quæ non ſua culpa accidunt, rependat, ſuperetque?* i. e. "I was born "in a village, which takes its name from our family "not far from Friburg a famous city in Miſnia. I do "not uſe to boaſt of my anceſtors (who yet were perſons of merit and diſtinction) no more than I do "reproach others with their obſcure and ſordid extraction. For what is it to me, of what proſtitute, of "what Prieſt or Monk a man be born, or from what "dunghil he ſprung up, if the good qualities of his "mind make amends for thoſe diſadvantages, which "happened not by his fault?" I think I obſerve in theſe words an imputation of baſtardy, indirectly laid upon Eraſmus. Take notice that Eppendorf was charged with boaſting of his noble extraction, though he was but the ſon of a Plebeian (2).

(1) *Apud Joannem Sercerium.*

(2) *Dux* (Saxoniæ) *non admiſit hominem, negans ſe velle eum agnoſcere, qui non agnoſceret patrem ſuum. Jactavit enim ſe nobilem quum ſit plebeius.* Eraſmus, *Epiſt.* 53, lib. 30. pag. 1940.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a work, which contains an account of his controverſy* with Eraſmus.] You have ſeen the title of it, and the date of its impreſſion in the foregoing remark. I have not ſeen the book, but I have received conſiderable extracts of it (3), which have acquainted me with the ſtate of this controverſy as well as if I had made uſe of my own eyes. Eppendorf was plaintif in this cauſe; he brought an action againſt Eraſmus before the Magiſtrates of Baſil, who promiſed to do him juſtice: it was concerning an abuſive Letter, which he pretended that Eraſmus had written. He required three things beſides the retractation of the Letter. 1. That Eraſmus ſhould dedicate a Book to him. 2. That he ſhould write in his favour to the Duke of Saxony. 3. That in order to make amends for the injury he had done him, he ſhould be obliged to give three hundred ducats to the poor (4). Eraſmus anſwered, that he diſowned the Letter (5), and that if he perceived that Eppendorf had any friendſhip for him, he would not ſcruple to dedicate a Book to him. He promiſed to write to the Duke of Saxony, but he would not make any promiſe with regard to the laſt article. Here follows his anſwer at length in Latin. *Ad quam poſtulationem ſic reſpondit* (Eraſmus). *Epiſtolam quam perlegit non agnoſco, nec arbitror me ſcripſiſſe talia, nec exemplar in meis ſchedis reperio, & Epiſtola Ducis ſi proferatur, teſtabitur me talia non ſcripſiſſe; tantum admonui Ducem, ut illum ad honeſtam functionem ab ocio revocaret, aut certè quietem mihi ab illo impetraret: de inſcriptione libelli, ſi videro animum illius factum amicum, non gravabor, majora facturus amicitiæ nomine: Quam ſit illi Princeps iratus neſcio; aut quas irarum cauſas habeat mihi non conſtat: habebat Eppendorphius Emſerum hoſtem capitalem apud Principem, ſi ex mea querela Princeps factus eſt alienior, non gravabor hoc meis literis civiliter ſcriptis mitigare quatenus licet cum tantis Principibus agere. De eleemoſynis ipſe curabo, cum mihi Deus in mentem miſerit, nec mea refert quomodo hic aut Friburgi vixerit, quo ſanctius vixit hoc magis gaudeo: de aureis quos poſtulat ſibi dari præſtat ſilere, ne videatur ob hanc cauſam intendiſſe litem; agat amicè, & deſinat populum in me concitare, uberius illi prodeſſe poſſum quam ſi dem* 200 *aureos.* i. e. "To which demand Eraſmus made the following "anſwer. I do not own the Letter which he read, "nor do I remember that I ever wrote ſuch things; "and I cannot find the copy of ſuch a Letter amongſt "my papers: if the Duke's Letter be produced, it "will teſtify that I did not write ſuch things; I only "adviſed the Duke to call him back from his idleneſs "to

(4) An hundred for thoſe of Baſil, and two hundred for thoſe of Straſburg.

(5) *Cum tamen*, ſays Eppendorf, *vix ovum ovo tam ſimile eſſet, ſic per omnia referebat Eraſmum.* i. e. "Yet it "was thro' the "whole ſo like "Eraſmus's "writing, that "one egg is not "more like an- "other.

(3) Monſ. Bachelier des Mareſts, a native of Rheims, who lives at Paris, and has a very fine Library, has been ſo good as to make thoſe extracts, and to ſend them to me in the moſt obliging manner by Monſieur Janniçon.

himſelf in the Sciences, that he ſtudied under the celebrated Raſius Profeſſor of Law, that he continued long at Straſburg, and that he ſtood neuter amongſt the violent factions, which

" to ſome honeſt employment, or at leaſt to prevail " with him to let me alone. As to dedicating a Book " to him, I will not ſcruple to do it, if I find that he " is become my friend, and I am ready to do more " ſtill for the ſake of friendſhip. How much the " Prince may be exaſperated againſt him, or what " may be the cauſe of his anger, I do not know: " There was with the Prince one Emſerus a capital " enemy of Eppendorf. If our controverſy has alie- " nated the Prince from him; I do not refuſe to miti- " gate his anger by civil Letters, as much as we are " permitted to treat with ſuch great Princes. With " regard to the alms, I ſhall take care of them myſelf, " when God ſhall give me a mind to it. Nor is it any " thing to me how he has lived here or at Friburg; " the more holy a life he led, the more pleaſure it is " to me. As to the Ducats he requires to be given " him, it is better not to mention them, leſt he ſhould " ſeem to have picked this quarrel with me only for " the ſake of money. Let him act with me in a friendly " manner, and not exaſperate people any more a- " gainſt me, and I can be more uſeful to him by my " kind ſervices, than if I were to give him two hun- " dred Ducats." Beatus Rhenanus, who acted as mediator in this quarrel gave Eraſmus's anſwer to Eppendorf, who thought himſelf wronged with regard to the ſecond article, ſince it required of him that he ſhould firſt of all promiſe his friendſhip to a man, who had abuſed him; Eraſmus was therefore obliged to promiſe without any condition that he would dedicate a Book to him according to the following form. *Eraſmus Roteradamus Henrico Eppendorphio S. D. Divites divitibus mittunt equos, aulæa, gemmas & aurum, muta nimirum munera nec duratura, poſtremo quæ nec meliorem nec ornatiorem reddunt eum cui mittuntur, & pauperiorem illum a quo proficiſcuntur: inter eos vero quos literarum communis amor fœderavit aliud donorum genus commeare decet, quæ nec exhauriunt largientem, & fructum ſimul & decus afferunt accipienti. Proinde libellum mitto, tuo dicatum nomini, literariæ ſocietatis olim inter nos initæ monumentum, quam ego perpetuam eſſe vehementer cupio, nec tantum permittemus malis linguis ut noſtram amicitiam Muſarum auſpiciis conciliatam dirimant, utcunque moliti ſunt nos inter nos committere: ſed te non remorabor amplius, quo tibi vacet audire quid loquatur libellus.* i. e. " Eraſmus of Rotterdam to Henry Ep- " pendorf Greeting. Rich perſons ſend one another " preſents of horſes, tapeſtries, jewels, and gold; " dumb preſents, which cannot laſt long, and which " laſtly do not render him to whom they are ſent " better nor more accompliſhed, and render him who " ſends them more poor: but they, who are united " together by their love for Literature ought to " ſend each other preſents of another kind, which do " not exhauſt him who beſtows them, and are uſeful " and honourable to him that receives them: I ſend " you therefore a Book dedicated to you, as a memo- " rial of that literary union, which was formerly be- " tween us, and which I earneſtly deſire would laſt " for ever: let us not ſuffer that malicious perſons " ſhould have power enough to deſtroy that friend- " ſhip, in which we engaged together under the Auſ- " pices of the Muſes, how much ſoever they have en- " deavoured to ſet us at variance. But I will not de- " tain you any longer, that you may have leiſure to " ſee what my little Book affords you." Eppendorf was ſatisfied with regard to the two firſt articles, but not with regard to the third. He found that there was a great deal of artifice in Eraſmus's manner of mentioning the money, which his adverſary would have him pay, as tho' he did not underſtand to what uſe it was deſigned (6). He complained of the imputation laid upon him as though he had exaſperated the mob againſt Eraſmus. Three days were ſpent in debating upon theſe complaints. Laſtly they both ſubmitted to the determination of two arbiters, who were Bonifacius Amerbach, and Rhenanus: they paſſed the following ſentence in the preſence of Lewis Berus and Henry Glarean. *Quoniam ex conſenſu utriuſque nobis jus feciſtis diſſidii inter vos amice componendi, viſum eſt nobis, ut D. Eraſmus ad evitandam moleſtiam & alendam Chriſtianam concordiam præſtet duos articulos ſicut ſcripſit: pro tertio eodem animo non gravabitur in ſubſidium pauperum dare florenos circiter viginti, noſtro arbitrio diſpenſandos, & hæc facienda cenſemus citra notam alterutrius, tantum ut utrinque offenſis, querelis & ſuſpicionibus abolitis, de integro certamen inter vos ſit benevolentiæ, cum oblivione præteritorum omnium perinde quaſi nihil eſſet aut dictum aut factum. D. Henricus Eppendorfius premat, ſi quid ſcripſit: & utrique liberum relinquimus, an viciſſim aliquo benevolentiæ ſymbolo, an potius mutuo animo contenti eſſe velint. Actum Baſileæ poſtridie purificationis, anno M. D. XXVIII.* i. e. " Since by " common conſent you have both given us full power " to make up the difference between you in an ami- " cable manner, we are of opinion, that in order to " avoid all difficulties, and to promote chriſtian con- " cord, Eraſmus ought to perform the two articles, " as they have been ſent to him in writing: and as " to the third conſidering his peaceable diſpoſition he " will not ſcruple to give about twenty florins for the " uſe of the poor, to be diſtributed according to our " direction. This we think ought to be done without " any diſgrace to either of you, only that all offences, " quarrels, and ſuſpicions being aboliſhed, you begin " again to ſtrive who ſhall ſhew the other more kind- " neſs, forgetting all that is paſſed, as though no- " thing had ever been ſaid or done. And if Henry " Eppendorf has writ any thing, let him ſuppreſs it. " We leave it to the choice of both, either to give " each other ſome token of good will, or to be ſatiſ- " fied with each other's kind diſpoſition. Done at Baſil " the day after the purification of the Virgin Mary *, in " the year 1528." The parties ſubmitted to this ſentence, and embraced each other for a token of their reconciliation. The next day they dined together; but the war was very near breaking out again: for after dinner Eppendorf having put Eraſmus in mind of the letter he was to write to the Duke of Saxony, deſired him to keep it ready; the latter anſwered that he would write only to the Chancellor; whereupon there aroſe a high conteſt between them, and they ſeparated very little pleaſed with each other. The next day Eraſmus wrote to the Prince, and ſent his letter open to Eppendorf, who was ſatisfied with it. Soon after a rumour was ſpread to Eraſmus's diſadvantage, as though he had conſented to an agreement which entirely diſgraced him. You will ſee how he complained of his adverſary's bragging. The paſſage is pretty long, but I was willing to tranſcribe all that relates to the agreement according to Eraſmus's account of it; the Reader may if he pleaſes compare together the accounts of each party. *Opinor* Dilfum *tibi narraſſe de reatu meo. Ego hac in re obſecundavi conſilio* Beati Rhenani *&* Ludovici Beri. *Alioqui ſciebam illum nihil acturum. Fumos hominis jam olim novi. Sed* Beati *ingenio ſemper abuſus eſt ad hujuſmodi drammata. Turbam amoliti ſumus qualibuſcunque conditionibus, pacem iniquam æquo bello præferentes. Nihil omiſſum eſt, compromiſſum eſt. Adhibiti duo teſtes. Arbitri datis dextris ſtipulati ſunt obſequium. Pronunciatum eſt de ſcripto arbitrium. Aſſenſimus utrique. Subſcripſimus manu utrique. Deinde bibimus ex eodem poculo, fracto inter nos pane, datæ dextræ. Ominatus ſum amicitiam fore perpetuam. Annuit ille & comprobavit. Exhibitum eſt omnibus convivium φιλον. In abitu petiit Epiſtolam ad ducem. Id præter pacta præſtiti, ne quam darem occaſionem. Petiit præfationem in librum ipſi dicendum. Id, quamquam abſurdum & ineptum, tamen autore* Bonifacio *feci. Quid conſecutum eſt? Mox dicitur miſiſſe famulum proprium, qui ſub nundinas vulgaret atrocem rumorem,* Eraſmum *eſſe damnatum* Baſileæ, *conditionibus graviſſimis, ut ſcriberet librum & Epiſtolam contra ſe ipſum, deinde daret pecuniam. Et hic ante abitum jactavit ſe adegiſſe* Eraſmum *ad conditiones, ad quas ipſe nollet deſcendere pro tribus millibus aureorum. Hic rumor mirum quantum exhilaravit Pſeudo-Evangelicos. Qui triumphi? Quæ exaltatio de nihilo? Hæc ego Juſticabar futura, ſed neque* Beato, *neque* Bero *potui perſuadere qualis eſſet artifex* (7). i. e. " I imagine that Dilfus has given you " an account of my caſe. I have followed in this " the advice of Beatus Rhenanus and Lewis Berus. " But yet I knew, that he would not perform any " thing; for he has always made an ill uſe of Be- " atus's

* i. e. March the 3d.

(6) *Cum Articuli mei habeant propter impetitam & innocentiam & ſimplicitatem meam pauperibus eſſe elargiendam pecuniam.* i. e. " Whereas it is " expreſsly ſaid " in my Arti- " cles, that the " money is to be " paid to the " poor, becauſe " he had attack- " ed my inno- " cence and my " ſincerity.

(7) Eraſm. *Epiſt.* 46. lib. 30. pag. 1933; it is dated from Baſil, April 1528.

which Luther's Reformation raiſed in Germany [C]. It muſt be confeſſed, that in order to have juſtice done him for an abuſive pamphlet, which had been publiſhed againſt him,

" atus's eaſy temper to play thoſe pranks. I have de-
" livered myſelf of thoſe troubles on any terms,
" chooſing rather an unfavourable peace, than a juſt
" war. Nothing has been omitted, the affair was com-
" promiſed. Two witneſſes have been called. The
" Arbiters having made us join hands, have required
" us to ſubmit to their determination; and they have
" delivered their opinion concerning the writing, to
" which we both ſubmitted, and we have both ſigned
" it with our own hands. We drank afterwards out
" of the ſame cup, and breaking a piece of bread be-
" tween us, we took each other by the hand. I ſaid
" that our friendſhip ſhould be perpetual, which he
" approved and conſented to it. Then we were all
" invited to a friendly dinner; after which when I
" was going away Eppendorf aſked me for a letter to
" the Duke. This was beyond our conditions, yet I
" granted it to avoid all occaſions of a new quarrel.
" He alſo aſked for the Preface of the Book I was to
" dedicate to him: tho' this was ſilly and abſurd, yet
† Amerbach. " I granted it alſo by Bonifacius's * advice. What
" has been the conſequence of all this? Why, it is
" ſaid, that he ſent immediately one of his own ſer-
" vants, to ſpread abroad during the fair a very odious
" report, namely, that Eraſmus had been condemned
" at Baſil, under a very heavy penalty, to write a
" book and a letter againſt himſelf, and afterwards
" to pay a ſum of money. And Eppendorf himſelf
" boaſted before he went away, that he had obliged
" Eraſmus to ſubmit to ſuch terms, as he would not
" have ſubmitted to for three thouſand Ducats. This
" report has wonderfully rejoiced the pretended Evan-
" gelicks. What triumphs! What exultations for no-
" thing! I ſuſpected that this would happen. Nor
" could I make Beatus nor Berus underſtand what a
" cunning fox this man was."

The conditions of this peace were very indifferently kept. Acts of hoſtility in words and manuſcripts were almoſt continual, and at laſt the war was carried on in printed Books. Eraſmus publiſhed one in which Eppendorf was very much abuſed. It is that which Eppendorf confuted in the work printed at Haguenau in 1531: I have given the title of it above. Let us obſerve that theſe literary wars are very much like thoſe which are carried on between Princes. Each party boaſts to have religiouſly obſerved the treaty of peace, and charges the other with a thouſand infringements. Eppendorf declares that ſince his reconciliation with Eraſmus, he had received notice that the latter continued to defame him (8), and that he would act prudently if he were to defend himſelf. He would not believe it till Eraſmus's letters were ſhewed him. *Reſpondi me nihil horum expectare ab Eraſmo, nec putare eum bonorum & præclarorum virorum arbitrium violaturum: quid dicam, litteras mittunt hujus animi teſtes, quæror apud amiculos, alterum item ex judicibus coram appello: quid mihi poſt pactum accidat, injurias tam atroces diu ſuſtinere non poſſe. Et tamen interim expectat Dominus Eraſmus a me multas ſalutes, honorificam mentionem, literas amicas: nec ſaltem has efflagitat, verum etiam urgere me vult ut in omnibus in conviviis eum per ora hominum veham. In Utopia forſitan offenduntur qui pro tam inſignibus maleficiis bonas gratias referunt. Officii ducat, quod par pari non retulerim: poſt initam concordiam non ſcripſi unam literam in Eraſmum, & quæ ante concordiam ad tuendum nomen meum adornaram, concordia ſic jubente ſuppreſſi.* i. e. " I anſwered, that " I did not expect any thing like it from Eraſmus, " and could not believe that he would break through " the deciſion of good and eminent men: What ſhall " I ſay, they ſend me his letters, which ſhew the man's " temper: I complain to my friends; I call one " of our judges to be a witneſs to what happened " to me after our reconciliation, how could I long " ſuffer ſuch grievous injuries? And yet Eraſmus " expects a great many compliments from me, and " that I ſhould ſpeak honourably of him, and " ſend him friendly letters. Nor does he only ear-" neſtly deſire them from me, but he even pretends to " force me to commend him publickly in all compa-" nies. We might perhaps meet in Utopia with ſome " men, who would return favours for ſuch great inju-" ries; but let him take it as a favour if I do not re-" turn him like for like. I have not written one " word againſt him ſince our reconciliation, and what " I had prepared before it in my own defence, I have " ſuppreſſed for peace ſake." If we conſult Eraſmus he will tell us, that his adverſary violated the treaty of peace even before he left the place where it had been ſigned, and that he was a notorious lyar, who went to the Dyet of Auſburg in the year 1530, only with a deſign to ſpread his falſe reports there (9). *Scripſit ad me Dux, ut* Julii *literis fidem haberem. Julius ſcripſit amantiſſimè doctiſſimèque multa, quorum hæc erat ſumma, ut præfationi adderem libellum* Epphendorpio *dicatum, veluti ex fœdere, quoniam ille multis modis violârit fœdus, priuſquam exiret* Baſileam, *nec poſt deſiterat de me hoſtiliter & ſcribere & loqui, ſubinde recitans furioſum librum, quem in me ſcripſit. Nec in aliud quærebat librum, niſi ut iterum gloriaretur, ad quas conditiones adegiſſet* Eraſmum. *Sperabat ex arbitrorum ſententia nonnihil prædæ, id quoniam ſefellit, factus eſt ex inimico inimicitior; & quum nemo neſciret, illum omnia feciſſe contra pacta, tamen perinde petit ſuum jus, quaſi omnia præſtiterit, nec pudet quicquam. Decreveram omnia perpeti potiùs, quam leviſſimi hominis nomine meas chartas contaminare, ſed poſteaquam ille nullum facit mentiendi finem, cauſæ ſummam perſtrinxi excuſo libello, nè toties fatigem amanuenſes meos* (10). i. e. " The " Duke wrote to me to give credit to Julius's Letter. " Julius wrote to me at length in a very loving and " learned manner, the ſubſtance of which was, that I " muſt add to the Preface a Dedication to Eppendorf, " as though it were a condition of our agreement, " ſince he had violated it a great many ways before he " left Baſil, and afterwards never ceaſed ſpeaking nor " writing of me as an enemy. Nor did he deſire that " a Book ſhould be dedicated to him for any other rea-" ſon but that he might boaſt again, to what terms he " forced Eraſmus to ſubmit. He expected ſome pro-" fit from the ſentence of the Arbiters, and being diſ-" appointed in his expectation, he is become from an " enemy a greater enemy: and though all the world " knew, that he broke through every condition of our " agreement, yet he inſiſted upon his right, as though " on his part he had performed all that he was obliged " to; but he is aſhamed of nothing. I was reſolved " to ſuffer any thing rather than ſtain my paper with " that vile man's name: but when I found that he " never ceaſed from ſpreading his lies, I thought it " fit to draw up a ſhort account of my caſe, and to " print it in a ſmall pamphlet, that I might not ſo " often fatigue my Tranſcribers." In order to underſtand the beginning of this paſſage, it muſt be obſerved that as Eppendorf could not be admitted to ſpeak with the Duke of Saxony, and refuſed to tell his reaſons to Simon Piſtorius, to whom the Duke had referred him, he was permitted to open his caſe to Julius Pflug. *Tandem improbitate ſua perfecit, ut Dux cauſam delegaret* Julio Pflug, *cujus aures* Epphendorpius *noſter explevit innumeris mendaciis, quod erat illi bonum atque commodum, quod* Julius *nec* Epphendorpium *noſcet nec cauſam* (11). i. e. " Finally by his wicked arts he pre-" vailed with the Duke to refer the cauſe to Julius " Pflug, to whom Eppendorf told a thouſand lies, " which he could eaſily do to an advantage, for Julius " knew nothing either of Eppendorf, or of our quar-" rel." He repreſented his caſe to him in the moſt favourable light by a thouſand lies; Eraſmus aſſerts it; after which the Duke of Saxony wrote to Eraſmus, to give credit to Julius Pflug's Letter.

(8) *Nomen meum ignominioſe in libellos ſuos transfundere.*

(9) *Qui videtur hac potiſſimum de cauſa veniſſe* Auguſtam, *ut in ea celebritate hominum ſeminaret ſua mendacia quæ non aliter ex ſe gignit quam aranea filum.* Eraſmus, *Epiſt.* 53. lib. 30. pag. 1940.

(10) Idem, ibid.

(11) Idem, ibid.

[C] *He ſtood neuter amongſt the Factions, which the ... Reformation raiſed in Germany.*] He was probably one of thoſe, who believed that the Religion of Rome wanted to be reformed, and that the Proteſtants did not reform it well, ſo that he was diſliked by both. He went ſo far as to charge him with being a Penſioner of the Papiſts and Lutherans at the ſame time. He repreſents himſelf as a man, who did not well know yet on which ſide the truth was, and who waited till time ſhould give him a fuller knowledge of the whole matter. Here follows his own words. *Oblatæ ſunt nuper*

him, he made uſe of a method very proper to refrain the moſt ſlanderous Authors [*D*].

nuper literæ ſcriptæ ad principem quendam virum, ubi nephandiſſimus ſcurra ſcripſerat me quingentos aureos habere à Lutheranis totidemque à Pontificiis ut vocant, utroſque à me emungi auro atque haberi ludibrio, me enim neque novum neque vetus Evangelium curare, quid facerem? Riſi impudentiam nebulonis: nec ita multo poſt in colloquium accerſitus rogatuſque ab eo qui Romanæ Sedi plurimum favet quidnam mihi de præſenti rerum ſtatu videretur? Prodidi libere quæ tum in animo haberem: Rurſum Evangelicis aperui quæ mihi pro meo pluſquam juvenili captu, temere aut exigi aut novari viderentur, non admodum bonam gratiam apud utroſque iniens. Volui in hunc uſque diem ab negotio illo quod Evangelicum vocant eſſe integer, precans ſaltem ut in fatali nunc illa & memorabili rerum immutatione nobis miſeris mortalibus eveniat quod fauſtum fœlix bonumque ſit. Nec nomen alicui ſectæ daturus niſi novus aliquis Solon huc me perpulerit, tum ſcias me ſaniori ſubſcripturum parti etiam ſi vita impendenda ſit. i. e. " I have ſeen lately ſome Letters, written " to a very conſiderable perſon, in which the moſt " wicked wretch who wrote them aſſerts, that I re- " ceived five hundred Ducats from the Lutherans, and " as many from the Papiſts, and that I cheat them " out of their money, and laugh at both; for that I " care neither for the new nor the old Religion. What " ſhould I do? I laugh at the wretch's impudence. Be- " ing lately invited to a converſation with a man who is " very zealous for the Church of Rome, he aſked me " what I thought of the preſent ſtate of affairs? I " told him my mind very freely. On the other hand, " I declared with the ſame freedom to the Evangeliſts " what (according to my opinion who am but a very " young man) was without ſufficient reaſons either ex- " ploded or innovated; and thus I have made myſelf " but little acceptable to both. I have continued deter- " mined to this very day, not to meddle with that " Evangelical buſineſs, as they call it, praying, that " in this fatal and memorable innovation nothing but " what is happy and good may befall us miſerable " men. Nor ſhall I follow any Sect, unleſs ſome " new Solon engage me to it: but in that caſe, I will " have you know, that I will adhere to the ſoundeſt " doctrine, though it ſhould coſt me my life." If we judge of things only by the principles of natural reaſon, Eppendorf's choice will appear very rational. He would expect the iſſue of that affair before he adhered either to thoſe who maintained the abuſes, or to thoſe who oppoſed them. He thought them both too violent, and ſaid like Tully, *quem fugiam habeo, quem ſequar non habeo* (12). i. e. " I know whom to avoid, " but not whom to follow." He was too great a lover of peace to engage in that religious war. But in vain did he hope to be on the ſhore a quiet Spectator of that boiſterous ſea. He was more expoſed to the ſtorm than if he had been in either fleet. This is the unavoidable fate of thoſe, who pretend to be neuter, during a civil war either in the State, or about Religion. They lye open to the injuries of both parties at once; they make themſelves enemies without getting any friends. Whereas if they engaged with zeal for one party, they would have both friends and enemies. Thus lamentable is the condition of man, and manifeſtly vain our Philoſophical reaſon: it teaches us, that the tranquillity of mind, and the calmneſs of our paſſions ought to be the end of all our labours, and the fruit of our moſt difficult moderations; and yet experience ſhews, that there is no condition more ungrateful, than that of friends; who will not give themſelves up to all the fury of a faction; nor a more agreeable ſituation than that thoſe, who howl with the wolves, and always follow the tide of the moſt impetuous paſſions. Amongſt the advantages they enjoy is this, that they do not know they are in the wrong. For no men in the world are leſs capable of perceiving the defects of their faction and the good qualities, which the oppoſite faction may enjoy, than they that are tranſported with an ardent zeal, and a violent anger, and that labour under a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion. *Beati pacifici*, ſays the Scripture (13), bleſſed are the peaceable. This is very true with regard to the other world; but with regard to this they are very unhappy. They will not be the Hammer, and for that reaſon they are continually the Anvil which is beaten from every ſide.

(12) Cicero, *ad Atticum*, Epiſt. 7. lib. 8.

(13) Matth. v. 9.

THE inconveniencies of a ſtate of neutrality and moderation.

[*D*] *He made uſe of a method very proper to refrain the moſt ſlanderous Authors.*] He brought his action before the Magiſtrates, and required amongſt other ſatisfactions for the injuries he received, that the aggreſſor ſhould be condemned to pay a fine to the poor. This is a very effectual remedy for the paſſionate temper of a great many Writers. They are more quarrelſome than the Gentlemen of the ſword, and it is more difficult to bring the former to a new reconciliation than the latter. The reaſon of it, ſay ſome, is becauſe ſoldiers end their quarrels ſword in hand, ſo that they expoſe their life by being too quarrelſome; whereas Authors who quarrel are not expoſed to ſpill their blood, it coſts them only paper and ink. They would be more peaceable if they were to expoſe themſelves to the point of a ſword as well as to the point of a pen. We may alſo aſſert that if their purſe was expoſed to ſome danger for every injurious expreſſion, their ſtile would be more moderate and civil: whence it follows, that our Eppendorf had his recourſe to a very good method. Authors muſt have liberty to criticize upon one another with regard to learning, or falſe reaſonings: the Civil Magiſtrates have nothing to do with this; but it were to be wiſhed that they would exert their authority, at leaſt by fines, againſt ſuch Authors who attack their neighbours upon other ſubjects, and load them with injuries. This would baniſh an infinite number of abuſive phraſes from all Books, and would introduce moderation into all the controverſies of Parnaſſus, where it is very little known.

ERASMUS (DESIDERIUS) was born at Rotterdam the 28th of October 1467 [*A*]. It

VARIOUS ſentiments concerning the date of the birth and death of Eraſmus.

(1) Joli, *Voiage de Munſter*, pag. 144.

(2) He is in an error, for the Epitaph ſays, *jam ſeptuagenarius* (already 70) which ſuits a man who is above 69 years of age. The objection is nevertheleſs well grounded, becauſe the inſcription of the epitaph cannot be made, to coincide with Eraſmus's birth, viz. the 28th of October 1467, expreſſed in the inſcription of the ſtatue.

[*A*] *He was born . . . . the 28th of October* 1467.] Tho' I fix upon this year, yet I am not ignorant, that ſeveral Authors place Eraſmus's birth in 1465; but 'tis in order that I may agree with the Inſcription engraved on his ſtatue at Rotterdam, where it is not probable that 1467 was put inſtead of 1465, without its being choſen after a ſtrict enquiry, as that which ſeemed the moſt juſt. Mr. Joly has made the ſame reflection: *It is not probable*, ſays he (1), *that Eraſmus was born in* 1465, *as ſome Authors are of opinion, grounded on the following reaſon viz. that in his Epitaph at Baſil, it is ſaid, that he died at upwards of ſeventy years of age* (2) *the* 12*th of July* 1536, *which could not be, if he was born* 1467; *for the Inſcription of Rotterdam may be depended on more than any other; it being probable, that the time of his birth was better known at the laſt mentioned city where he was born, than at Baſil where he was a ſtranger; and eſpecially ſince one can hardly form any certain judgment with regard to this affair from his writings, nor even from his Letters; becauſe it appears that he himſelf was not well informed in this particular; and that ſeveral miſtakes have been made in the dates of his Letters by thoſe who copied and printed them.* The latter part of this paſſage is of uſe to the former; for had Eraſmus known exactly the year of his birth, it might as eaſily have been expreſſed juſtly at Baſil on his tomb, as at Rotterdam on his ſtatue. I am of opinion, that he himſelf did not know exactly, and in the manner that he imagined he knew the day of his birth. Accordingly, he only ſets down, in the beginning of his life, that he was born the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, *in Vigilia Simonis & Judæ* (3). But on the other ſide, I do not doubt but that he fixed his birth before the year 1467. Hence it was, that Boniface Amerbach his heir, Jerom Frobenius and Nicholas Epiſcopius, his Executors, inſerted in his epitaph the two random words *jam ſeptuagenarius*, which ſuit better with a man who died the 12th of July 1536, when it is taken for granted, that he was born before the 28th of October 1467; than when it is ſuppoſed, that he came into the world on that day. Beatus Rhenanus hints plainly enough, that Eraſmus

(3) That is to ſay, the 27th of Oct. and nevertheleſs moſt Authors ſet down, agreeable to the inſcription of Rotterdam, the 28th of October, as the day of his birth.

It cannot be denied but that he was a Baſtard [*B*]: and 'twas an ill grounded ſcruple in

could not give his friends any certain information of this. He hints, I ſay, at this plainly enough, but not without aſcribing to David what Moſes ſays of the duration of man's life. *Vixit ad ſeptuageſimum annum quem communem humanæ vitæ terminum regius Propheta David ſtatuit, aut certè non multum eſt ſupergreſſus, nam de anno quo natus eſt apud Batavos nobis non conſtat: de die conſtat qui fuit ad quintum Kalend. Novembr. Apoſtolis Simoni & Judæ ſacer* (4). i. e. "He lived "to ſeventy years of age, which the royal Prophet "David fixes as the common boundary of human "life, or certainly did not much exceed that age. "The Dutch do not know the year in which he was "born; but, with regard to the day, that is exactly known, it being the fifth of the Kalends of "November (the twenty eighth of October) which is "the feaſt of St. Simon and Jude." The following paſſage is a ſecond proof of this; I extract it from a Letter which Eraſmus wrote to a Profeſſor (5) who ſlandered him in a very grievous manner. Eraſmus declares, that ſhould he attack him publickly, he'll ſhew him that he has not yet loſt his teeth and claws, tho' he be ſeventy years of age. *Quod ſi cognovero, quod equidem non ſpero, te vel tantillum contra me publicare, experieris (ni fallor) Eraſmum jam 70 annos natum neque edentulum eſſe omnino neque exunguem.* This Letter is dated the 9th of January 1535, is the LXVIII of Book XXX of the London Edition. It will be objected, that this January was (6) in 1536. Taking this for granted, it will nevertheleſs be certain, from this paſſage, that Eraſmus thought he was born before the year 1467. I confeſs that he did not always think ſo; for in the XIX Letter of Book II, dated in February 1516, he ſays, that he is but in his forty ninth year. *Annum ago, non plus quam undequinquageſimum.* The Letter (7) which he wrote to James de Horn, the 17th of April 1519, declares, that he was in his fifty third year; which ſhews that he was born in 1466.

But Eraſmus's birth is fixed, not only to 1465 and 1467, it is carried a little farther, by the errors of Printers, and perhaps ſometimes by thoſe of Authors. Chytræus (8) fixes it to 1466. Magirus (9) to 1417. See Bucholcerus's Ind. Chronology at the year 1465. Father Theophilus Raynaud has placed it in 1469 (10). The variations with regard to the death of Eraſmus are not leſs numerous. Konig (11) fixes it to 1526. The Author of the Remarks on Priolo, to 1546. Moreri to 1516, July XI. Du Verdier Vau Privas (12) and Hofman commit this laſt error. Melchior Adamus places it the VI of the Ides of July (the Xth). It is ſaid, under the copper plate of Eraſmus's head, prefixed to his Epiſtles printed at London, that he died the 30th of July. To the Edition of his Life printed in 12mo ſome pieces are prefixed; and among the reſt a pretended relation of moneys being returned him of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed at Dover (13), at the cloſe whereof it is ſaid, that he died on the Ides of July (the 15th). We muſt no longer truſt to inſcriptions engraved on marble and braſs, ſince that on Eraſmus's Tomb is ſo erroneous; the Inſcription in large characters being this, viz. *the IV of the Ides of July*, (the 12th of July). It alſo declares, that Boniface Amerbach was Eraſmus's Heir; and that Jerom Frobenius and Nicholas Epiſcopius were his Executors. So that Melchior Adamus (14), Swert (15), Magirus (16), Bullart (17) do not give us a juſt account of the Epitaph: calling them all three heirs. Freherus does the ſame in his *Theatrum*, page 844, and Catherinot in the art of printing, page 6. It is a ſhocking circumſtance, that the alterations of Copyiſts ſhould extend even to ſepulchral Inſcriptions; for in other matters, this might give riſe to diſputes which it would be very difficult to determine. Some Writers, ſuch as the perſon who wrote *Les Delices de la Hollande (the Delights of Holland)* (18) miſtake with regard to the place of Eraſmus's death. They declare that he died at Friburg in Alſatia.

[*B*] *It cannot be denied but that he was a baſtard.*] He himſelf owns, that his father and mother were never married. He ſays indeed, that his mother did not indulge the laſt favour to his father, but from the hopes of being married to him; and that ſome even pretend, that he had promiſed to marry her. *Clam habuit rem cum dicta Margareta, ſpe conjugii, & ſunt qui dicant interceſſiſſe verba* (19). Be this as it will, he was born a baſtard, and was never legitimated *per ſubſequens matrimonium*. Eraſmus will therefore be juſtly ranked, ſo long as the world ſtands, in the liſt of illuſtrious baſtards. Pontus Heuterus has not omitted him in the long catalogue he gives of this kind of baſtards (20); and thus far we cannot object to this Author, that he gave way to the paſſion which appears in his writings: but he ſhould have expreſſed himſelf a little more accurately than he has done with regard to the profeſſion of Eraſmus's father. He calls him a Prieſt; now this is true in a certain ſenſe, in like manner as a perſon who becomes a Monarch, communicates the title of King's ſons to the children he had before he was raiſed to the regal dignity; nevertheleſs, ſince according to the maxim of Civilians, we muſt extend ſuch particulars as are favourable, and contract what are not ſo; a perſon ought never to be called ſimply and abſolutely a Prieſt's ſon, unleſs he was begotten by one who was actually a Prieſt at that very time; for it is more diſhonourable to be born the baſtard of a man who is actually a Prieſt. Eraſmus is in this laſt caſe. He even pretends that his father was prompted to take Prieſt's Orders, on no other motive, than the vexation which the falſe information he received at Rome, viz. of his miſtreſs's being dead gave him; and that having diſcovered the impoſition at his return home, he behaved in a very modeſt manner towards that young woman; who, on her ſide, employed her utmoſt endeavours to give their common ſon a good education, without deſiring to enter into the nuptial ſtate.

Theſe are the particulars we find in a life of Eraſmus, written, as it is pretended by himſelf; and publiſhed by Merula in 1607, from the original which Eraſmus had left with Conrad Goclenius, Profeſſor of the Latin Tongue at Louvain. This life is writ in the moſt careleſs and inaccurate manner: The utmoſt ſimplicity is ſeen in every part of it; and very few particulars are mentioned in detail. All the account we therein have of Eraſmus's mother is, that her name was Elizabeth; that ſhe was born at Sevenberghen (21), and daughter of a Phyſician called Peter, *filia Medici cujuſdam Petri*. With regard to Eraſmus's father, we do not there perceive what countryman he was, nor where he lived. So that the Reader muſt have recourſe to a letter of Baudius (22), in which we find, I. That Eraſmus's father was a citizen and an inhabitant of Tergou; that he was well deſcended, and a tolerable ſcholar for that age; was of a merry diſpoſition, and a great joker, whence he got the ſirname of *Praet*, or facetious (23): IIdly, that the time of the mother's delivery drawing near, it was thought proper to ſend her to Rotterdam, in order to conceal the better her misfortune; and that the father gave his own name, which was Gerard, to the child. IIIdly, That if we except this crime, Eraſmus's mother was blameleſs, and could boaſt of her ſelf as Dido did,

Huic uni forſan potui ſuccumbere culpæ.
That is,
"My life is by this error, only, ſtain'd.

It is certain that her crime, which by the way was very different from that of a proſtitute, has given us ſo great a man, that had ſhe lived long enough to be an eye witneſs of the extraordinary merit of her ſon, ſhe would have had more reaſon than the mother of Peter Lombard, of Gratian, and of Comeſtor (24), to make the anſwer which is aſcribed to her, for twenty ſuch Authors as thoſe, are not worth half ſo much as Eraſmus. But ſhe died of the plague, when her ſon was in his thirteenth year.

In the manner that Baudius ſpeaks of this, Gerard took care of his ſon's chriſtening. Nevertheleſs it is related in Eraſmus's life, that Gerard not having been able to alter the reſolution of his father, his mother and brothers, who would compel him to enter into the Church; ſtole away and ſent them word, that they ſhould never ſee him more; and hereupon went to Rome, leaving the young woman with child whom he

(4) Beatus Rhenanus, *Epiſt. Dedicat. Origen.*

(5) Peter Curtius, Profeſſor of Rhetoric at Rome.

(6) The year did not always begin in January; but ſince the laſt will of Eraſmus is dated the 12th of February 1536, he muſt have dated after our manner, otherwiſe his will muſt be referred to 1537.

(7) It is the 32d of book 5.

(8) *Chron. Saxon.*

(9) *Eponymol.* pag. 317.

(10) *See* Remark [*D*].

(11) *Bibl. Vet. & Nova*, pag. 277.

(12) *Proſopographia*, tom. 3. pag. 2428.

(13) See Remark [*BB*].

(14) *In Vita Eraſmi.*

(15) *Athen. Belg.* pag. 207.

(16) *Eponymolog.* pag. 319.

(17) *Académie des Sciences*, tom. 2. pag. 162.

(18) Pag. 156. edit. of 1685. See alſo *il Ceremoniale Politico*, tom. 5. pag. 763.

CIRCUMSTANCES with regard to Eraſmus's father and mother.

(19) Eraſmus, *in Vita ſua, à* Merula *anno* 1607, & Scriverio *anno* 1615, *vulgata.*

(20) *In Tractatu de libera hominis Nativitate, ſeu de Liberis Naturalibus.*

(21) A city of Brabant three leagues from Breda.

(22) This Letter is dated the 18th of Oct. 1606, and by an error of the preſs, the 27th is ſet down, inſtead of the 28th of the 2d Century, in the 12mo edition of 1650.

(23) Baudius employs the word *Eutrapelus*, which implies the ſame thing, as appears from the following paſſage of Mr. Le Camus Biſhop of Bellai, in his Writings againſt Mr. Drelincourt. Verily this phraſe of *blancs-ſignez* (*Carte blanche*) *beſtowed on the Virgin Mary*, is ſo facetious, that one would imagine in gathering theſe precious gems you deſigned to exerciſe your ſelf in the virtue of Eutrapelia.

(24) A falſe ſtory is told viz. that theſe Authors were all baſtards, and born of one mother, who thought ſhe had no reaſon to repent of her crime, becauſe they had done ſo much ſervice to the Church.

in a Writer, to be afraid of publiſhing this in the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century [C], that particular being but too well known: but ſome odious circumſtances may be denied, which the enemies of Eraſmus publiſhed concerning his birth [D]. At nine years of age he had intended to marry. Valerius Andreas Deſſelius (25) has copied very exactly what Baudius ſays in commendation of Eraſmus's father; but Boxhornius (26) makes a remarkable alteration in it, ſince he declares, that the Prieſt in queſtion was ſirnamed *Praet* on account of the eloquence of his ſermons. To alter the paſſage of Baudius conſequentially, he ſhould have given to the ſermons of Eraſmus's father, the character of Menot, Maillard, Barlette, and *le petit Pere André* &c. for the word *facundia* employed by Boxhornius, does not anſwer to *Eutrapelia*. I ſhould be glad to know, where it was that he found that Gerard was of Sevenberghen. In Eraſmus's life this is ſpoken barely of the mother; and Baudius ſays only, that Eraſmus's father was a citizen and an inhabitant of Tergou. Valerius Andreas joins together what is aſſerted by them ſeparately, *Patrem habuit*, ſays he, *Gerardum Septimontanum, civem & incolam urbis Gaudanæ*. Seckendorf is in an error, when he relates (27) that a young man of Rotterdam was Eraſmus's father.

(25) Valer. And. *Bibliot. Belg.* pag. 175.

(26) *Theatr. Urbium Holl.* pag. 284.

(27) *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 1. pag. 140.

[C] . . . . *It was an ill-grounded ſcruple in a writer, in being afraid, to publiſh this in the beginning of the XVIIth Century.*] The above cited letter of Baudius ſhews, that Merula had great ſcruples to ſtruggle with before he could fully reſolve to publiſh the piece which had been left in truſt with Goclenius. He was a long time afraid, leſt this ſhould do injury to Eraſmus's memory, and he thereby drew upon himſelf the anger of the admirers of this great man. Baudius repreſented to him, by very ſolid arguments, that it was beſt to print Eraſmus's Piece. *Nec eſt quod in eo pertimeſcas offenſam cujuſquam probi, quaſi ſcilicet invidioſa proditione detexeris quædam arcana digna ſacro ſilentio . . . . nec ipſe alio animo ſeriem vitæ ſuæ penes principem amicorum depoſuit, quàm ut ſe rebus humanis exempto poſteritas hujus horribilis ſecreti particeps eſſet* (28). i. e. "You have no cauſe to fear that any good man will "be offended at this, as though by a malicious diſ-"covery, you had revealed things which ought to have "been veiled in eternal ſecrecy. Nor did he intruſt "the hiſtory of his life with his moſt eſteemed friend, "with any other view, but that after his death, poſte-"rity might be made acquainted with this abomina-"ble ſecret." But ſince he omits the reaſon which I ſhall now give, he conſequently did not know, that Eraſmus had already been reproached with being a Prieſt's ſon. This reaſon is, that it would be no advantage to ſuppreſs this life of Eraſmus; but on the contrary, that the publication of it might extenuate, in ſome meaſure, the vulgar report with regard to his father's and mother's crime, which had already been publiſhed with ſuch falſe additional circumſtances as made it ſtill more odious. Baudius would certainly have employed this reaſon, had he peruſed Looſeus's catalogue printed in 1581, and Pontus Heuterus's Book printed in 1600. I do not hint at what Deſſelius cites from Paul Jovius; and I am not in the leaſt ſurprized, that Baudius was ignorant of the contents of Julius Cæſar Scaliger's letters, for the following reaſon, viz. Baudius was not obliged to know a Book of Deſſelius which was not yet printed. I am even of opinion, that he is very excuſable, for not believing that Paulus Jovius mentions Eraſmus as being a baſtard; for a man of very great learning has aſſured me. 1. That this particular is not inſerted in the works of Paulus Jovius; ſo that Deſſelius cites him without reaſon. 2. *That the perſon who firſt divulged in print, the ſecret of Eraſmus's birth*, is the Author who conceals himſelf under the name of Philalethes (29). "John Herold, in his *Philopſeudes*, or Apologetical "Anſwer to a Dialogue publiſhed under the name of "*Philalethes* againſt Eraſmus's memory, about five "years after his death, is very much puzzled at the "objection made with regard to Eraſmus's birth; and "not being able to extricate himſelf, ſeems at firſt to "agree to it, by declaring; *Ut donemus te verum di-"cere, per Chriſtum dic, rogo, an parum videatur tibi "homo ille optimus à te toties laceſſitus, niſi hanc quo-"que notam addas.* i. e. "In caſe we ſhould take it "for granted that what you ſay is true, for God's "ſake, do you imagine that this excellent man would "not be enough abuſed by you, unleſs you ſhould alſo "brand him with this mark." "His adverſary, "without calling Eraſmus abſolutely a Prieſt's ſon, had "ſaid that he was *ex condemnato concubitu natus*. He-"rold exclaims againſt this enormous reproach; and "declares, that tho' ſo many had writ againſt Eraſmus, "ſtill no one had yet taken it into his head, to caſt "ſuch a reproach upon him. He was in the right (30).

(28) Baudius, *Epiſt.* 28. Cent. 2.

(29) Which, in his opinion, is *Hortenſio Lando*. See the Article LANDO, Remark [A].

(30) Theſe words are extracted from a writing of Mr. de la Monnoie. I ſhall cite him once more in the Remark [L].

[D] *Some odious circumſtances may be denied concerning his birth.*] The enemies of Eraſmus have publiſhed many more diſhonourable circumſtances, with regard to his birth, than are really true. Several Roman Catholics acknowledge this; and among others Valerius Andreas, who after ſaying that Gerard entred into the Church at his return from Rome, infers from thence, that Paulus Jovius was very much in the wrong to affirm, that Eraſmus's father was a Pariſh Prieſt near Tergou (31). Father Theophilus Raynaud aſſerts the ſame falſhood, on the authority of a catalogue of the celebrated Writers of Germany (32). *Eraſmum ſi jocari de joculari homine in ſcelere licet, non fuiſſe filium Regis, licet is, qui eum genuit, fuerit coronatus, ut de alio quodam dixit Petrus Bleſ.* Epiſt. 21, *fuiſſe inquam, Eraſmum patre Gondani* (read Goudani) *in Batavia oppidi prope Roterodamum, Parocho genitum, ex famula, catalogus illuſtrium Germaniæ Scriptorum prodit, &c* (33). i. e. "If it is allowed in a criminal matter, to joke "with a facetious man; we may ſay of Eraſmus, that "altho' he was not a King's ſon, his father was ne-"vertheleſs a crown'd head, viz. a Prieſt of Tergou, "a city of Holland near Rotterdam; who finding that "his maid was with child by him, and being deſirous "to conceal the crime, ſent her to Rotterdam, where "ſhe was delivered of Eraſmus in 1469. The Reader "will find below, that Scaliger ſpeaks ſtill worſe of "Eraſmus's father.

(31) *Reverſus* (Roma) *ſacris initiatus eſt: unde parente parocho, Gaudanæ civitatis vicino, natum fuiſſe, præpoſtere Jovius ſcripſit.* Valer. And. *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 175. Obſerve, that Eraſmus declares in his Life, that his father took Prieſt's Orders before his return home. Bullart, *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 2. pag. 160. relates the ſame particulars as Valerius Andreas.

(32) I am of opinion, it is that which was drawn up by a Prieſt born in Tergou, called Cornelius Looſeus, printed at Mentz in 1581.

(33) Th. Rayn. *Erotem de Libris*, pag. 25.

REFLECTIONS on the alterations made by Copyiſts. Errors of St. Romuald, a Friar of the Order of St. Bernard.

To give an inſtance of the alterations made in facts, by Copyiſts and Compilers, I will ſhew the Reader in what manner Peter de St. Romuald has tranſcribed the paſſage of this Jeſuit. *Eraſmus*, ſays he, *was not a King's ſon, though the perſon who begot him was a crowned head; for the pariſh Prieſt of the place of his birth, was his father, who had got him on his maid-ſervant, if Father Theophilus Raynaut* (34) *may be credited. His name was at firſt Gherardus Gherardi, but he afterwards would be called Deſiderius Eraſmus, he taking a pleaſure in changing his name, to which he was invited by ſeveral others, and particularly by Capnio, who before he changed his was called Reuchlin, (which ſignifies ſmoak;) by Peter Martyr who before was called Vermilius; by Martin Bucer, who diſguiſed himſelf under the name of Aretius Felinus &c.* (35). This Bernardine Friar does not even know the name of the Jeſuit whom he copies; beſides, it is an error in him to aſſert, that he declared Eraſmus was born in his father's pariſh. The examples which he gives, with regard to perſons who changed their names, contain ſeveral miſtakes; and in caſe, as it is very probable, that the word *invited* was ſubſtituted by the Printers, inſtead of *imitated*; the Author cites Reuchlin very improperly, he living before and not after Eraſmus. If this be an not error of the preſs, Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer are improperly cited as examples, ſince Eraſmus lived before them. Add to this, that Peter Martyr did not change the name Vermilius, for that of Martyr. He was all his life time called *Petrus Martyr Vermilius*, the two firſt names being thoſe which he received at baptiſm, and the laſt his ſirname. It is true, that either for brevity ſake, or ſome other reaſon, he has been more frequently cited by the name of Martyr, than that of Vermilius. With regard to Bucer he aſſumed the name of Aretius Felinus only in the title of ſome Books; there is therefore no compariſon or affinity between what he has done, and our Eraſmus's changing his name.

(34) He ſhould have ſaid *Raynaud*.

(35) *Abregé du Threſor Chronol.* tom. 3. at the year 1536. pag. 289, 290. edit. of 1660.

PATIN cited and cenſured.

Theophilus Raynaud's words diſpleaſed his great admirer Guy Patin. *I am ſurprized*, ſays he (36), *that ſo learned a man as Father Theophilus Raynaud, ſhould have vented ſuch ſlanders. Eraſmus indeed was a baſtard, and the ſon of a Prieſt; as appears from his life written by himſelf. Nevertheleſs the Monks were not*

(36) Letter 277. tom. 2.

age he was ſent to Deventer, where he made a very great progreſs in his ſtudies; for what many perſons aſſert, viz. that Eraſmus had a tardy genius is not true [*E*]. At fourteen years of age he had loſt both his father and mother, and was committed to the care of certain guardians, from whom he met with very unkind treatment. They would force him to be an eccleſiaſtic, which he refuſed for a long time; however, he at laſt was obliged to aſſume the religious habit among the Canons Regular in the Monaſtery of Stein near Tergou. Some time after he lived with the Archbiſhop of Cambray, by the permiſſion of his ſuperiors, he ſtill wearing the habit of his Order; but finding he could not depend on him as a Protector, he prevailed ſo far as to be ſent to Paris. Having ſtudied in Montague College in that famous city, he went into England. He there met with many people who did juſtice to his merit; and he was exceedingly pleaſed with and he deſpaired of ever attaining to the knowledge of it (43). Taking it therefore for granted, that what ſo many perſons aſſert of Eraſmus ſhould be true, we yet ſhould have no reaſon to be ſurprized at it; but the queſtion is, whether it is not a fiction. I take it to be one; and that from a paſſage I have read in an Oration of David Chytræus (44), and from the teſtimony of ſome other Authors.

(43) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 136.

(44) *De Laudibus Weſtphaliæ.*

Chytræus relates, that Rodolphus Agricola having read the Exerciſes of the Scholars of his friend Hegius, who had greatly raiſed the reputation of the School of Deventer, thought that of Eraſmus excelled them all; and deſired to ſee this young Scholar, who was then but fourteen years of age (45). Eraſmus was ordered to come out of his form to ſalute Agricola; who taking him by the back part of the head, and viewing him attentively, ſaid to him, *You will one day be a great man.* Had not Eraſmus given ſome indications of a forward genius and a ſtrong judgment, Agricola would not have been ſo deſirous to ſee him. There muſt therefore have been in this exerciſe of Eraſmus ſome turn, or ſome ſtroke that was very happy and expreſſive (46) to pleaſe ſo great a judge in thoſe matters as Agricola. Now can we ſay, that a Scholar has a dull and tardy genius, who, at twelve or fourteen years of age, gives ſuch proofs of his capacity? And it alſo muſt be remembred, that children in that Age were not brought on ſo faſt in their ſtudies as at this time; and that the method of teaching then uſed in ſchools was very barbarous.

(45) Other Authors, ſuch as Melchior Adamus, *in Vita Eraſmi*, declare that he was but 12 years of age.

What I am going to cite from Beatus Rhenanus, will perhaps refute ſtill better a Tradition I am now combatting. This Author relates, that John Sintheimus, one of the ableſt Maſters in the School of Deventer, was ſo well pleaſed with Eraſmus's progreſs, that he one day took him in his arms, and kiſſing him, ſaid; *Cheer up; you'll one day attain to the higheſt pitch in learning* (47). Eraſmus was not then fourteen. His mother put him to Deventer School at nine years of age, after having taken him from Utrecht, in the Cathedral of which he had been a ſinging Boy. He ſoon gave the moſt ſhining proofs of his underſtanding. He comprehended in an inſtant whatever was taught him; he retained it well, and ſurpaſſed all his School-fellows. He could repeat any part of Terence and Horace by heart; ſo happy was his memory, and ſo acute his genius. *Ingenium Eraſmi mox eluxit, quum ſtatim quæ dicebantur perciperet & fideliter retineret, æquales ſuos omnes ſuperans. . . . . Fuit memoriâ feliciſſimâ, nam puer totum Terentium & Horatium memoriter complexus eſt* (48). *Terentii comœdias puer non ſecus tenebat ac digitos ſuos, memoria namque fuit tenaciſſima, ingenio perſpicaciſſimo* (49). Rhenanus informs us of theſe particulars; and he doubtleſs is more worthy of being credited, than a vulgar report, which appears to me built on no other foundation than the following words in Eraſmus's Life; *His father ſent him to ſchool at four years of age, where he made no progreſs during the firſt years in thoſe unpleaſant ſtudies, for which he was not born. At nine years of age he was ſent to Deventer.* It is difficult to underſtand this paſſage, the meaning of it not being ſufficiently explained; for what unpleaſant ſtudies, and for which he was not born, could he be put upon at five or ſix years of age? Was he not born to learn to read and write, to decline and conjugate in Latin? He muſt mean ſomething elſe; Muſic, perhaps, or ſome other exerciſe of ſinging boys. But even ſuppoſing that he could make no progreſs in this, it would not hint what is aſſerted; and the tradition which I refute would ſtill be falſe.

(46) Bucholcer, *Ind. Chron.* pag. m. 420. ſays, that Agricola preferred this Piece before the others, *Propter inventionis acumen, orationis puritatem, & figuras apte ceu floſculos interſperſos.* Val. And. *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 175. employs the ſame words, *and* Melchior Adamus alſo, in *Vita Hegii.*

(47) *Complexus aliquando puerum, mactæ ingenio Eraſme, inquit, tu ad ſummum eruditionis faſtigium olim pervenies, ſimulque oſculum dedit & dimiſit.* Beat. Rhenan. *Epiſt. præfixa* Operibus Eraſmi, ed. 1540.

(48) Idem, ibid.

(49) Idem, *Epiſt. Dedicat. Operib. Origenis præfixa.*

not the firſt who reproached him with the ignominy of his birth: it was the elder Scaliger in his Ciceronianus; and afterwards the whole body of Friars. This Author had but juſt before declared, *that Eraſmus had never aſſumed a religious habit, but was only a novice in a College of Canons regular of St. Auſtin, where his guardian had placed him, at fourteen years of age, with the deſign of making him ſettle there, in order that he might poſſeſs his eſtate; but the ſly blade,* ſays he, *could by no means be prevailed upon to embrace this way of life, tho' ſome Authors declare that he had aſſumed a religious habit.*

I ſhall refute ſome particulars in this relation: Iſt. It did not become a perſon who undertook Eraſmus's defence ſo zealouſly as this Phyſician did, to own, without the explication abovementioned, that this great man was a Prieſt's ſon. II. It is true indeed, that Julius Cæſar Scaliger has reproached him with this, but not in his *Ciceronianus*, or rather in the two Orations (37), which he wrote againſt Eraſmus's *Ciceronianus*. III. Laſtly, it is an undoubted fact, that Eraſmus aſſumed a religious habit among the Canons regular of St. Auſtin. I own indeed, that he had a great mind to leave them before he had finiſhed his Noviciate: and that his entering into vows was rather the effect of his natural baſhfulneſs, than an act of his own will, which prevented his good ſenſe and natural diſpoſition from triumphing over all the different engines that were employed to perplex and confound his mind: but at laſt he bowed his neck to the yoke, as he himſelf owns in his life (38), and in a very long letter wrote by him to Lambert Grunnius (39). And when providence had raiſed him a deliverer who freed him from the Cloiſter, I mean a Biſhop of Cambray who wanted Eraſmus to accompany him to Rome, he not only aſked his Biſhop leave, but alſo that of his Prior (40), and wore the habit of his Order for ſeveral years. *Nec horum quicquam factum eſt*, ſays he (41), in ſpeaking of himſelf to *Grunnius*, *niſi permiſſu atque adeo juſſu epiſcopi ordinarii, permiſſu Præpoſiti, tum domeſtici tum generalis, denique cum pace totius ſodalitatis. Quamquam autem eſſet libera conſcientia, ſciretque ſe voto adacto non teneri, illud tamen interim dedit . . . . ne veſtem mutaret.*

(37) Which are intitled as follows, the firſt *pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Deſid. Eraſmum Roterodamum, Orat.* 1. the ſecond, *contra Deſider. Eraſmum Roterodamum, Orat.* 2.

(38) *Parantem abire ante profeſſionem partim pudor humanus, partim neceſſitas coërcuit.*

(39) *In ſumma, vicerunt improbitate. Adoleſcens & animo abhorrens & verbis reluctans coactus eſt capiſtrum accipere, non aliter quam bello capti vinciendos manus victori præbent, ut diutinis victi tormentis faciunt, non quod volunt, ſed quod collubuit potentiori.* Eraſm. *Epiſt.* 5. lib. 4. pag. 1291.

(40) *Adjunxit auctoritatem Prioris & Generalis*, Idem, *in Vita ſua.*

(41) Idem, Ep. 5. lib. 4. pag. 1291.

[*E*] *What many perſons aſſert, viz. that Eraſmus was a tardy genius is not true.*] A report (which to me appears ill-grounded) prevailed in Holland, that Eraſmus in his younger years had ſo tardy and heavy a genius, that it was ſeveral years before he could be taught any thing. He is even quoted as an example, to conſole parents, whoſe children do not make the leaſt progreſs in learning. This puts me in mind of Moliere's Comedy entitled, *le Malade Imaginaire* (the Imaginary ſick Man,) where Mr. Diafoirus ſays of his ſon Thomas, *That when a child, he had never been briſk and ſprightly, but was always meek, peaceable and ſilent: that he never uttered a word, and never played at any of the ſports uſed by children; that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was taught to read; and that he did not know his letters at nine years of age. Well well,* ſaid his father to himſelf, *backward trees yield the beſt fruit: it is much more difficult to engrave on marble than to write on ſand; but inſcriptions cut in the former laſt infinitely longer; and this dulneſs of apprehenſion, this ſlowneſs of imagination, denotes a future good judgment* (42). It is related of Thomas Aquinas, whoſe underſtanding was ſo ſagacious and extenſive, that he was looked upon as a dunce when at ſchool; and that his ſchool-fellows uſed to call him *mute Ox.* Suarez, one of the moſt ſubtle ſchoolmen of the XVIIth Century, ſtudied Philoſophy with ſo little ſucceſs, that

(42) See the Remark [*N*] of the Article XENOCRATES.

and profited by the Erudition and other advantages of that country [*F*]; but not finding he had reaſon to expect the things he had been flattered with the hopes of obtaining, he went into Italy. He lived above a year in Bologna, from thence he went to Venice, where he publiſhed his Adagia: afterwards to Padua, and at laſt to Rome, where he had a very flouriſhing reputation. He might have ſettled to very great advantage in that city, if the mighty promiſes made him by his friends in England, had not prevailed with him to return to that country at the beginning of Henry VIIIth's reign. He would have continued in it his whole life-time, had his friends made good their promiſes; but being diſappointed in this particular, he went into Flanders, and was there appointed Councellor to Charles (*b*) of Auſtria (*c*). I did not obſerve that he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Turin. He lived many years in Baſil, and publiſhed a great number of books in that city. He left it when the maſs was aboliſhed here, and retired to Friburg in Briſgau, which his ill ſtate of health obliged him to leave ſome years after; and he returned to Baſil [*G*], and died there the 12th of July 1536. He was buried very honourably in that City, where his memory is ſtill had in great veneration [*H*]. We ſhall ſee in another place (*d*) what honour is paid to it in his own

(*b*) After the Emperor Charles V.

(*c*) Extracted from his Life written by himſelf.

(*d*) In the Article ROTTERDAM.

[*F*] *He was exceedingly pleaſed with . . . the erudition and other advantages of England.*] He conſider'd England as his country by adoption, and reſolved to devote his ſervices to it, the ſame as if it had been his native country. *Neque tamen defeci, nec unquam defecturus ſum ab eximio Mecænate meo Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi. Verum in confinio conſtitutus confido futurum ut utrique ſatisfaciam patriæ, tum ei in qua natus ſum, tum ei in quam ſum cooptatus* (50). i. e. "Neither "have I been forgetful, or ever will, of my excellent "protector the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And as I "am ſituated on the confines, I truſt that I ſhall diſ"charge my duty to both countries, as well to that in "which I was born, as to the other in which I was "adopted." He declares in ſeveral places, that he was charmed with this country, where he had met with ſeveral illuſtrious Mecænas's; and ſeen the ſciences in triumph. *Apud Anglos triumphant bonæ literæ* (51), *recta ſtudia* (52). He confeſſes ingenuouſly (53), that the flouriſhing ſtate of polite Literature, for which he had congratulated England, began to make him a little jealous of it. He even pretends, that the learned men in all arts and ſciences, with which it abounded, might juſtly raiſe the envy of the Italians (54). He obſerves (55), that the Engliſh had been long in poſſeſſion of this glory; and that their Noblemen were eminently diſtinguiſhed by their aſſiduous application to learning; a circumſtance for which the Engliſh Nobility, to this day, excell all other Nations. It is pleaſant to read the difference which he tells us there was between the feaſts and entertainments of Clergymen and thoſe of the Nobles. In the former nothing was ſeen and heard but carouſing and roaring, intermixed with a multitude of low, coarſe jeſts and ſurious ſlanders; but at the latter, the gueſts uſed to diſcourſe on the Sciences and Religion. *O miras rerum humanarum viciſſitudines! Olim literarum ardor penes religionis profeſſores erat: nunc illis magna ex parte ventri, luxui, pecuniæque vacantibus, amor eruditionis ad principes profanos ac proceres aulicos demigrat. Nam quæ Schola, quod Monaſterium uſquam tam multos habet inſigni probitate doctrinaque præditos quam veſtra habet aula? An non optimo jure nos noſtri pudeat? Sacerdotum ac Theologorum convivia madent vinolentia, ſcurrilibus opplentur jocis, tumultu parum ſobrio perſtrepunt, virulentis obtrectationibus ſcatent: & ad principum menſas modeſte diſputatur de iis quæ ad eruditionem ac pietatem faciunt* (56). As he expatiated ſo much in favour of England, when he wrote in a ſerious ſtrain, he gave as advantageous a deſcription of it when he ſpeaks of it in a facetious ſtyle. Here follows what he wrote to Andrelin, to invite him into that country. *Si Britanniæ dotes ſatis pernoſſes*, Fauſte, *næ tu alatis pedibus huc occurreres; & ſi podagra tua non fineret*, Dædalum *te fieri optares. Nam ut è plurimis unum quiddam attingam; ſunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, & quas tu tuis camœnis facile anteponas. Et præterea mos nunquam ſatis laudatus. Sive quò venias, omnium oſculis excipieris; ſive diſcedas aliquò, oſculis dimitteris: redis, redduntur ſuavia; diſceditur abs te, dividuntur baſia; occurritur alicubi, baſiatur affatim; denique quocunque te moveas, ſuaviorum plena ſunt omnia. Quæ ſi tu*, Fauſte, *guſtâſſes ſemel quàm ſint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profectò cuperes non decennium ſolum, ut* Solon *fecit, ſed ad mortem uſque in* Anglia *peregrinari* (57). i. e. "My Fauſtus, were you but ſufficiently informed of "the delights which England boaſts, you would haſte "hither with wings at your feet; or, in caſe your "gout would not ſuffer you to do this, would wiſh it "were poſſible for you to be a Dedalus. To take "notice but of one pleaſure among a great number; "here are Nymphs lovely as Goddeſſes, good natured, "eaſy, and whom you would immediately prefer to "your Muſes. Beſides this there is a cuſtom which can "never be enough commended. Whitherſoever you "come, they all receive you with kiſſes; and when"ever you go away, you are diſmiſſed in the ſame "manner: If you return, you are received with the "ſame delicious welcome; and if they take their "leave, kiſſes are interchanged. Do you meet "with them any where, you feaſt upon kiſſes: to "conclude, go where you will, nothing but kiſſing "is ſeen; and (dear Fauſtus) did you but once taſte "how very ſoft, how fragrant they are, you certainly "would not deſire, as Solon, to ſpend only ten years, "but to paſs your whole life in England." By this paſſage it appears, that Eraſmus was as well pleaſed with the Engliſh women as with the men.

(50) Eraſm. Ep. 19, lib. 2.

(51) Idem, lib. 16. Epiſt. 19.

(52) Ibid. Epiſt. 20.

(53) Ibid. Epiſt. 27.

(54) Ibid. Epiſt. 12.

(55) Ibid. Epiſt. 27.

(56) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 26. lib. 6.

(57) Idem, Epiſt. 10. lib. 5. pag. 315.

[*G*] *His ill ſtate of health obliged him to leave Friburg . . . . and he returned to Baſil*] Mary Queen of Hungary, Governeſs of the Low Countries, invited him to Brabant, for which purpoſe he removed to Baſil, as well to get his *Eccleſiaſtes* printed, which then was not quite finiſh'd, as to ſhake off the remains of a long fit of ſickneſs. He lodg'd with his old friend Jerom Frobenius; his deſign being to go by water (on the Rhine) into the Low-Countries, as ſoon as he ſhould have quite recovered his health, and finiſhed the impreſſion of the Book he was then compoſing. During this interval, he was afflicted with a deadly diſtemper. Rhenanus informs us of theſe particulars in one of his Letters (58); but Eraſmus declares ſomewhere in his writings, that he deſigned, when he ſhould leave Baſil, to retire to Beſancon. And a remarkable circumſtance is, his declaring, that altho' he was with very ſincere friends at Baſil, he yet choſe rather to die in another place; and the reaſon he gives, is, that the inhabitants of it were of a different perſuaſion from him. *Si mea bene noviſſes, debebas illi reſpondere, me neceſſario valetudinis causâ reliquiſſe* Friburgum, *hoc animo, ut* Eccleſiaſta *abſoluto* Beſontium *peterem, nè non eſſem in ditione Cæſaris, ſed hic ingraveſcens valetudo cogit hybernare. Hic enim, quanquam ſum apud amicos ſinceriſſimos, quales* Friburgi *non habebam, tamen ob dogmatum diſſenſionem malim alibi finire vitam. Utinam* Brabantia *eſſet vicinior* (59). i. e. "Had you well known the ſtate of my affairs, you "then ought to have anſwered him, that I was ob"liged, for my health's ſake, to quit Friburg; and "in this view, to proceed to Beſancon when I "ſhould have compleated my *Eccleſiaſtes*, that I might "be in the Emperor's dominions; however, as my "indiſpoſition encreaſes, I am forced to winter here. "But I meet with very ſincere friends in this city, and "ſuch as I could not boaſt of in Friburg, yet, as I differ "in opinion with them in religious matters, I had ra"ther go and end my life elſewhere. I could wiſh "that Brabant were not ſo far off."

(58) This is the Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Eraſmus's Origin.* It is prefixed to *Eraſmus's Letters*, London edit. 1642.

(59) Eraſmus, Epiſt. lib. 30. pag. 1961.

[*H*] *His memory is ſtill had in great veneration at Baſil.*] Travellers ſpeak as advantageouſly of Eraſmus,

own country; and whether the glory of having given birth to Eraſmus can be conteſted with Rotterdam. 'Twould be needleſs to remark, that he was one of the greateſt men that ever appeared in the Republic of Letters. This is a truth that is very little conteſted. He had a great number of enemies, and among the reſt, Julius Cæſar Scaliger, who employed the moſt injurious expreſſions in writing againſt him, but yet did not call him a Baſtard [*I*]. The cauſe of this quarrel has not been juſtly related in the *Scaligerana*.

mus, when they mention Baſil, as when they give an account of Rotterdam; ſo that it may be affirmed, that he made the city were he died as famous as that of his birth. And indeed it is certain, that he had made a longer abode in the former of thoſe two cities than in any other place; an abode, I ſay, not ſo conſiderable, perhaps, for its continuance, as for the importance of his occupations. He was very much delighted with Baſil (60). He uſed to leave it at intervals; but then he always returned back to it; *hic illius arma, hic currus fuit* (61). The revolution which happened there in 1529, with regard to Religion, was the only reaſon of his not ſettling in it for good and all. *Obſcurum eſſe non poteſt mihi non omnia probari quæ iſti* (Evangelici) *faciunt, quæ ſi probaſſem non tanto meo tum periculo tum diſpendio reliquiſſem civitatem, cui tot annis aſſueram, ſed jam pridem ipſorum ſodalitio totus adhererem.* i. e. "It cannot but be "known, that I do not approve all that thoſe Evan"gelicks do; for had I done this, I ſhould not, with "ſo much danger and expence, have forſaken a city "in which I had reſided ſo many years; but ſhould "a long time ſince have devoted myſelf to their par"ty." Be this as it will, travellers who go to Baſil are ſhewn the houſe where he died (63), and the place in which the Profeſſors of Divinity read their Lectures in winter, and where the Academical Aſſemblies are ſometimes held, is call'd *Eraſmus's College*. Eraſmus's ſtudy is ſhewn as one of the moſt conſiderable rarities of this city: his ring, ſeal, ſword, knife, bodkin; his laſt Will written by himſelf; and his picture, drawn by Holben, which is a maſter-piece &c. are there ſeen. The Magiſtrates bought this ſtudy in 1661, and paid nine thouſand crowns for it to the deſcendants of Boniface Amerbach, Eraſmus's heir (64). They made a preſent of it to the Academy, if Patin may be credited (65). But another Hiſtorian ſays, that the Academy paid down a thouſand crowns on that occaſion. See *Le Voiage de Suiſſe des Sieurs Reboulet & Labrune*.

(60) See his 10th Epiſt. of Book 24.

(61) This is what Virgil. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 16. ſaid of Carthage, with regard to Juno.

(62) Eraſm. *Ep. ad Fratres German. inferioris.*

(63) *Relat. Hiſt. de Charles Patin*, pag. 130.

(64) Patin calls him only *Legator.*

(65) *Relations Hiſtoriques*, pag. 223.

[*I*] *Julius Cæſar Scaliger, employed the moſt injurious expreſſions in writing againſt him, but did not call him Baſtard.*] Some perſons will naturally imagine that this modern Julius Cæſar had not heard of Eraſmus's illegitimate birth; for will theſe ſay, had he known any thing about it, he doubtleſs would have called him ſon of a whore, in the two injurious pieces he wrote againſt him; where he employs the moſt injurious expreſſions that could poſſibly have been muſtered together by the moſt furious declaimer. 'Tis not that Eraſmus had done him the leaſt injury; he having only blamed the extreme prepoſſeſſion of thoſe who at that time were called Ciceronians, and who were of opinion, that no Latin was good, but that of Cicero (66); and at the ſame time he had taken notice of ſome ſpots in this Sun of the Roman Eloquence. Upon this Scaliger began to exclaim in a very violent and outrageous manner. He vented the moſt ſcandalous expreſſions againſt Eraſmus, and called him Drunkard an hundred times. He affirmed that Eraſmus, when Corrector of the preſs to Aldus Manutius, uſed to leave a great number of typographical errors, occaſioned by his being ſo much intoxicated with liquor. *Non tu in Aldi Officina quæſtum feciſti corrigendis exemplaribus? Nonne errores eos qui tum illis in libris legebantur haud tam erant librariorum atramento quam tuo confecti vino? Haud tam illorum ſomnum olebant, quàm tuam exhalabant crapulam* (67)? In ſhort, his exclamations and invectives were as ſtrong as thoſe employed by Cicero, at the diſcovery of a horrid conſpiracy againſt the State.

Sacrilegum ſtrucret cum Catilina nefas,
Cum gener atque ſocer diris concurreret armis,
Mæſtaque civili cæde maderet humus (68).

"When the dread ſtorm curſt Catiline prepar'd;
"When Kinſmen, on each other, drew their ſwords,
"And every ſtreet with human blood poured down.

(66) Vaugelas had for ſome time been prepoſſeſſed with the like opinion for the *Roman Hiſtory* of Coeffeteau: *he uſed to ſay*, that there was no ſalvation out of the Roman Hiſtory, any more than out of the Church of Rome.

(67) Julius Cæſar Scaliger, Orat. 2.

(68) Mart. lib. 9. Epig. 72.

A Reader would naturally conclude, in hearing the mighty buſtle which Scaliger makes, that Eraſmus was ſome villain that deſerved to be broke on the wheel;

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Utrum*
Minxerit in patrios cineres, an triſte bidental
Moverit inceſtus (69)?

"Whether he ming'd upon his Parent's aſhes,
"Or plunder'd ſacrilegiouſly a Shrine.

(69) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 470.

or ſome Viſigoth or Oſtrogoth Captain, who had formed a reſolution to deſtroy all arts and ſciences, and to burn all libraries. Judge therefore, if a perſon can forbear laughing, when he finds that the only cauſe of Scaliger's paſſion in theſe two Declamations (which deſerve more juſtly the title of *Steliteutics* than thoſe of St. Gregory Nazianzen againſt Julian the Apoſtate) is, that Eraſmus oppoſed a dangerous ſuperſtition which began to inſinuate it ſelf into the Republic of Letters, and was going to ſhackle the ſtudy of eloquence. But to wave this ſubject, which has been ſo nobly and agreeably treated in Balzac's twelfth Dialogue; ſhall we conclude that had Scaliger heard that his Adverſary was a Baſtard, he would have made a ſtrange uproar about it? I cannot admit this concluſion, and that for the following reaſon.

Among ſuch of Julius Cæſar Scaliger's Letters as his ſon ſuppreſſed, is a very long one (70), in which he attempts to juſtify his firſt fury, by riſing, perhaps, to a much greater. 'Tis where he calls Eraſmus ſon of a whore, and declares, that if he had not done it before, 'twas not that he had not heard of this circumſtance; but only becauſe he was not then ſure of it; and did not care to hazard the credit of his real accuſations, by intermixing them into uncertain facts. If it be ſaid that this is a little doubtful; and that Scaliger ſeems in too great a paſſion in his two invectives, for his Readers not to believe that a little uncertainty in a report of that nature, would not have prevented his employing it againſt Eraſmus; and that he had no more to do but to ſecure himſelf a retreat, by apologizing that common fame ſaid ſo, in imitation of the ſharpeſt Satyriſts; and that it does not appear, with regard to other reports altogether as improbable as this, that Scaliger affected to be ſo ſcrupulous; that therefore what he ſays on this occaſion may probably be an artifice, which is but too often employed by ſlanderous writers; for if theſe hear any diſadvantageous particular of an adverſary, after the publication of their firſt Satyrs, they make it an honour to themſelves for not having mentioned it; and turn into a deſigned ſilence, one that was altogether inluntary. I have nothing to anſwer to theſe conjectures, except that Scaliger writ the Letter above cited, not long after he had ſent his 2d Oration to the preſs (71). But to come to the Letter itſelf. The Author therein aggravates highly the crime which Eraſmus's father and mother committed. He declares the latter to be a Proſtitute; and the former a fornicating Prieſt, who at laſt was baniſhed, after the canonical puniſhments had been ſeveral times inflicted upon him to no purpoſe for his crimes. *Ego verò mentiri? quod te putidum atque nocturnum caput, ſpurium in illa Oratione appellare auſus non ſim? Neque enim incerti quidquam à me adferri debuit. Verum hoc erat tamen. At non conſtabat. Eras tunc atque etiam nunc ſpurius es, Eraſme: hoc multi mihi è commilitonibus retulerunt noſtris. Verum ei rumori fidem non habui neque objeci tibi, ne vera compertaque cætera dicenti mihi omnia fides non haberetur. Nunc populares tui, aliquot etiam vicini viri boni nobiles ex inceſto natum concubitu, ſordidis parentibus, altero ſacrificulo, alterâ proſtitutâ; qui pater tuus ſemel atque iterum à Pontifice caſtigatus, cùm ex illius præceptionibus ad vetera ſcelera nova propenſione fieret irritatior exilior mulctatus vertit ſolum* (72). i. e. "What do I lie, becauſe I "did not dare in that Oration to call thee Baſtard, "thou groveling wretch? It did not become me to "publiſh

(70) It is the 15th in the Touloufe edition. He wrote it to Arnoul Ferron, who did not approve of his publiſhing ſo many invectives againſt Eraſmus.

(71) See his Letters, pag. 35.

(72) Jul. Cæſ. Scalig. Epiſt. 15. pag. 45.

ligerana [*K*]. This is a little ſurprizing, for what perſon ought to know better the truth of this affair than the ſon of the aggreſſor? Eraſmus ſeemed greatly diſguſted at theſe invectives,

" publiſh any falſhood; and although this was true, I " yet was not ſure of its being ſo. Eraſmus, thou " waſt at that time, and art ſtill a Baſtard. This ma- " ny of my fellow-ſoldiers told me; but I did not be- " lieve them, nor reproached thee with it, leſt the reſt " of the particulars (all which were true) ſhould not " be credited. But now thy Countrymen, and ſome " of thy neighbours who are men of integrity and " diſtinction, have declared to me, that thou art of in- " ceſtuous birth, and of groveling parents; thy father " being a beggarly Prieſt, and thy mother a Proſti- " tute. And thy father, after having been puniſhed " ſeveral times by the Pope for his crimes, and found " incorrigible, was at laſt baniſhed his country."

[*K*] *The cauſe of this quarrel has not been juſtly related in the Scaligerana.*] The Reader has been told in how furious a manner Eraſmus was inveighed againſt; let us now ſee what Joſeph Scaliger ſays of this quarrel. *My father*, ſays he, *drew up an oration againſt Eraſmus, who ſince wrote that my father was not Author of that Piece*, quia miles erat, i. e. " becauſe " he was a ſoldier." *My father wrote another, in which he fell into a very violent paſſion. Eraſmus knowing that he intended to print it, got his friends to buy up all the copies they could meet with, in order to ſuppreſs them; by which means thoſe Pieces are entirely ſuppreſt. My father afterwards perceived the over-ſight he had committed in writing againſt Eraſmus. . . . . He had written many Epiſtles againſt Eraſmus which were printed; but I got them ſuppreſſed; and have the copies by me, for which I paid ſeventy two gold crowns, thirty ſix double piſtoles. I have ordered Jonas to burn them after my death. My father attacked Eraſmus in a ſoldier-like way; but after having applied himſelf to ſtudy, he perceived that Eraſmus was a very conſiderable man. Perhaps my father had not read, or did not underſtand Eraſmus. . . .* Pœnituit patrem adverſus illum ſcripſiſſe, *(he ſaw his error)* ſed fuerat irritatus cùm vocaretur ab Eraſmo miles quaſi per contemptum, ut Amphitheatrum (73) *vocat Dominos Pleſſæum & Launoium, milites per contemptum . . . Duas Epiſtolas ſcripſerat* (Eraſmus) *ad amicos quas ipſius amici ad patrem miſerunt: unam illarum curavit pater excudi in qua mirabatur ſuo libro militem reſpondiſſe, ut Vataſenſis Pleſſæum tractavit tanquam miratus militem poſſe ſacra tractare.* i. e. " My " father was ſorry he had taken up the pen againſt " him. He perceived his error; but he was exaſpe- " rated at being called ſoldier, out of contempt by " Eraſmus; as Du Pleſſis and Launoi are ſo called, in " the Amphitheatre, by way of ſneer. Eraſmus wrote " two letters to ſome friends, which they ſent to my " father. He got one of them to be publiſhed, in " which it was ſaid, that he was aſtoniſhed that a " ſoldier had anſwered his Book, as Vataſenſis treated " du Pleſſis, as though he had been ſurprized that a " ſoldier ſhould be able to write upon religious mat- " ters." The Reader will eaſily prove, by the frequent repetition of the ſame thing, that this is extracted from the *Scaligerana*, which gives an account of Scaliger's domeſtic converſations. The article of Eraſmus there, includes ſeveral other honourable particulars, and much truer than ſome of thoſe which have been related above.

(73) He hints at a book of Scribonius the Jeſuit, intitled, *Amphitheatrum Honoris.*

For Iſt, is it not true that the anger of Julius Cæſar Scaliger aroſe from any contemptuous expreſſion which Eraſmus had employed againſt him; ſince his firſt oration againſt the *Ciceronianus*, filled with injurious and fiery expreſſions, was writ before Eraſmus had ſpoke or done any thing againſt him; and even perhaps before he had heard his name mentioned (74). Scaliger therefore could not have been angry on account of ſome injurious expreſſions which Eraſmus might have employed againſt him, except with reſpect to the ſecond Piece at moſt. II. We do not find by this Piece, either that Eraſmus called Julius Cæſar Scaliger a ſoldier, or that the latter looked upon this as an affront. This would not have vexed our Prince of Verona, he valuing himſelf upon his having ſerved in the army; and nothing could be more honourable to him, than to paſs at one and the ſame time for a Soldier and an Author. He himſelf had boaſted, and this in an inſulting manner, that tho' he was ſo young, and at the ſame time a ſoldier (75), he yet had given his adverſary inſtructions with reſpect to an Aphoriſm of Hippocrates. But whatever might be his opinion on this head, it is at leaſt very certain, that no proof can be given, of Eraſmus's having exaſperated him by calling him ſoldier.

(74) It appears from Scaliger's 2d ſpeech, pag. m. 32. that Eraſmus deſired a Fleming to enquire, and to ſend him word who Scaliger was.

I have two good reaſons for this: firſt we do not find in Scaliger's ſecond Oration, any complaint or anſwer, that is any way relative to this reproach: but on the contrary, we find it in ſome paſſages (76), wherein the Author obviates the objections, which he imagines this confeſſion, of having heard among military men, certain incidents which he had publiſhed to blacken the memory of Eraſmus, would furniſh his opponent with. The Reader will underſtand this better, if he calls to mind, that Eraſmus had publickly aſſerted that Scaliger was not the Author of the Oration publiſhed under his name. Scaliger who was highly offended at it, refuted this pretence of Eraſmus; and fearing he had ſtrengthened it, by his owning, that he had carried arms, (as tho' a man who had not ſpent his whole life time in ſtudy, was not capable of being an Orator) he therefore obviated this objection; which is a manifeſt proof that Eraſmus had not employed it. My ſecond proof is founded on Eraſmus's own letter, which Scaliger prefixed to his ſecond Oration. His ſon ſpeaks of this, as was ſeen above. Eraſmus's two friends to whom he had writ the letter in queſtion, communicated it to Scaliger, without adding any compliment, or advice on that occaſion. Eraſmus declares in this letter, that he was informed by very good hands, that Scaliger was not the Author of the Oration which he publiſhed againſt him (77); but he does not ſay any thing of what Joſeph Scaliger aſcribes to him, viz. *that he was ſurprized that a ſoldier had anſwered his Book.*

(75) *Hem, Eraſme, quanto pudore tuo, quanto gloriæ tuæ periculo ab juvene homine, à rudi Oratore, à non Oratore, à* MILITE . . . *doceaberis!* Orat. 1. i. e. " O Eraſmus! What a " ſhame, what a " blot was it to " thy reputation " for thee to be " taught by a " youth, by an " undiſciplined " Orator, by a " Soldier!"

(76) Pag. 16, 17, 42. edit. Tholoſ. 1620, in 4to.

(77) *Julius Scaliger Lutetiæ edidit in me Orationem impudentiſſimis mendaciis ac furioſis convitiis diſſertam, cujus tamen ipſum non eſſe autorem multis ac certis argumentis compertum habeo. Sed hoc calciamentum ab alio mihi non ignoto conſutum ille inquit.* Obſerve that *induit* muſt be read inſtead of *inquit.*

After this will any one depend on what learned men publiſh calmly from their cloſets; ſince one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them not only affirms, but repeats on all occaſions, two or three falſities relating to his own father, which are evidently refuted by public and original Pieces? He declares, that Eraſmus would not allow Scaliger to be the Author of the Oration; that he would not allow it, I ſay, becauſe Scaliger was a ſoldier; and that Eraſmus, for this reaſon, highly exaſperated Scaliger: he alſo affirms, that Eraſmus was ſurprized how it could be poſſible for a ſoldier to anſwer him: Laſtly, he declares that this ſurprize is ſeen in a letter which his father publiſhed; and nevertheleſs all this is falſe: and on his bare aſſertion, all Authors relate the ſame untruths, as Sir Thomas Pope Blount in his laborious and moſt uſeful Work entitled, *Cenſura celebriorum Authorum* (78), and *Magirus* in his *Eponymologium* (79), &c. The Apologies made by Joſeph Scaliger, for his father's having attacked Eraſmus in a ſoldier-like way, and before he had ſtudied, and that perhaps he did not underſtand, or had not read Eraſmus, ſeem too frivolous; for the Oration againſt the *Ciceronianus* was printed in 1531. The Author was at that time full forty ſeven years of age; had ſtudied a great many years, and was perfectly well acquainted with the writings of his adverſary, and poſſeſſed a great deal of erudition. He had ſtudied with prodigious application all the time he was in the army; and it was then a conſiderable time ſince he had devoted himſelf entirely to the Muſes; as we are informed by the Author of the *Scaligerana* (80). What he relates concerning the ſuppreſſion of his father's Epiſtles againſt Eraſmus; and which ſome very accurate Writers (81) have underſtood to be ſpoken of the two Orations, (becauſe he would not have been ſparing of his money in order to get the two Orations alſo ſuppreſſed, had he not been perſuaded that they were no longer extant) is generous, and ought to be believed as fact; altho' his endeavours were render'd fruitleſs, by the care which Mr. de Mauſſac took, to cauſe the Orations and Epiſtles in queſtion, to be reprinted at Toulouſe in 1620. Farther, it was not in converſation only that Scaliger committed theſe miſtakes. The reader will find a great part of them, in his anſwer to Scioppius (82), that is, in a work to which he devoted his utmoſt application, knowing that he had

(78) Printed at London 1690, in folio.

(79) Printed at Francfort and at Leipſic 1687 in 4to. The *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, has taken notice of it in Dec. 1688.

(80) *Epiſtola de vetuſt. Gentis Scaligeræ, & Jul. Cæſaris Scalig. Vita.*

(81) Baillet, *Jugem. des Sav.* tom. 2. pag. 13. and tom. 3. pag. 134. Beauval, *Hiſt. des Ouvr. des Savans*, Dec. 1688, pag. 359.

(82) I ſhall cite the paſſages in the Remarks [*L*] and [*M*].

invectives, and endeavoured to deſtroy all the copies of them [*L*]. He was for ſome time had to deal with the moſt formidable Critick in the world.

I wiſh he had informed us, where, when, and by whoſe direction the Edition which Scaliger ſuppreſſed, was publiſhed. The repentance he ſpeaks of, agrees very well with a Letter which his father wrote to Omphalius (83), and with the Verſes he compoſed on Eraſmus's death, and which begin thus; *Tune etiam moreris*; though not with ſome paſſages of his Books (84), where he treats him very rudely, and that too ſometimes on a falſe ſuppoſition.

(83) It is the 17th in the Toulouſe edition: the Author expreſſes therein an inclination to be reconciled to Eraſmus.

But after all, might not Scaliger's great uneaſineſs, at his being called Soldier, be a mere fiction that has no foundation in Hiſtory? I cannot find any thing that gave riſe to it except a Letter (85), wherein Julius Cæſar Scaliger relates, that during the diſputes which aroſe at Paris, concerning the licence granted him to have his firſt Oration printed there, Eraſmus's friends found means to get a copy of it, and to ſend it him privately; and that after reading it, he conjured them, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolemn terms, to oppoſe the printing of it; for that otherwiſe, the glory he had acquired with ſo much toil, and which was common to them as well as to him, would be eclipſed by a young, unknown Writer, and a foreign Soldier, *unius juvenis ignoti militis peregrini operâ*. It is therefore true, at leaſt, that Scaliger had heard, that Eraſmus writing to his friends, called him Soldier; but it is falſe to aſſert, that Scaliger was the more exaſperated by it. The only circumſtance which increaſed his indignation, was, to find himſelf deſpiſed by Eraſmus, who did not condeſcend to anſwer him, and who treated him only as a voluntary cuckold with regard to his own Oration. This contempt was the moſt cruel method of revenge that Eraſmus could poſſibly have employed. Scaliger flattered himſelf that he ſhould have the honour of being the challenger, and by this means would acquire a great name in the Republic of Letters. However he was miſtaken in his aim, and forced to ſeek out ſome other way to fame. Would not ſuch a diſappointment have highly exaſperated any perſon? Julius Scaliger compoſed an Oration on this occaſion. *Eſt mihi perfecta oratio qua ruſticitati quorundam reſpondebam qui ita dictitarent, Eraſmum à ſcribendo manum abſtinuiſſe, qui me indignum putaret quicum loqueretur* (86). i. e. "I have writ an Oration, "by way of anſwer to ſome uncivil people, who "have ſpread a report, that Eraſmus had refrained "from writing againſt me, as thinking me unworthy of contending with him."

(84) *Poëtic.* lib. 3. cap. 83. and lib. 4. cap. 1. *Not. in Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal.* lib. 4. cap. 8. *See* Voſſium *de Idolol.* lib. 4. cap. 13. *Exercit. in Cardan.* 239. *& alibi, ut patet ex indice, Voce* Eraſmus.

(85) It is the 12th in the Toulouſe edit.

(86) Epiſt. 13. pag. m. 30, 31.

[*L*] *Eraſmus ſeemed extremely ſhock'd at theſe invectives, and endeavoured to deſtroy all the copies of them.*] The Dutch Editors of Eraſmus's Life, and of ſeveral of his Letters which till then had never appeared in print, own (87), that he cauſed his Emiſſaries to get together and burn all the copies they could poſſibly procure of the ſecond Oration, which Scaliger had publiſhed againſt him at Paris; inſomuch (ſay theſe Editors) that it cannot now be found. This laſt circumſtance was falſe, at the time that the Edition I now make uſe of was printed: for it is dated 1642, and the two Orations of Scaliger had been reprinted at Toulouſe ever ſince the year 1620 or 1621. Be this as it will, they confirm what is found in the *Scaligerana*, concerning this plot of Eraſmus againſt Scaliger's ſecond Oration; this plot, I ſay, which was ſo ſucceſsful, that ſome years after, it was ſought for, to no purpoſe, in all the Schools of Paris. *Curavi conquiri Pariſiis apud omnes Pedantes, nemo habet: per emiſſarios ſeptem aut octo curavit omnia exemplaria conquiri & comburi* (88). i. e. "I procured an enquiry "to be made among all the Schoolmaſters of Paris, "but in vain; he having cauſed ſeven or eight of his "Emiſſaries to buy up and burn all the copies." This ought to perſuade us of the truth of what is aſſerted by the elder Scaliger, in a Letter to Arnoul Ferron (89), viz. that a Fleming, by the inſtigation of Eraſmus, burnt wherever he came as many copies of Scaliger's firſt Oration as he could buy or borrow. Thus it appears, that the two Orations had met with very near the ſame fate; wherefore then does Joſeph Scaliger, and thoſe who publiſhed Eraſmus's Life, ſpeak of this diligent ſearch, this burning of copies, with regard to the ſecond Oration only? In my opinion, Eraſmus's Emiſſaries employed more diligence in ſuppreſſing the latter than the former; and that this was the reaſon, why the firſt was printed ſeparately at Colen in 1600; for had the Editors of it met with the ſecond, they would certainly have printed them together. Joſeph Scaliger tells us, that *the firſt Oration was printed by the Jeſuits, with his Epiſtle concerning his father's Life, but curtailed as they thought proper.* I don't know whether he hints at the Colen Edition of 1600, which, according to Draudius (90), and the Catalogue of Thuanus's Library (19), contains no other Additions but a few divine Poems, written by Julius Cæſar Scaliger; or whether he ſpeaks of ſome other. In the laſt caſe, it would be ſtill more evident, that the ſecond Oration had been ſuppreſſed more effectually than the firſt.

(87) In a little Memoir inſerted pag. 332. edit. de Leyden, 1642.

(88) *Scaligerana*, pag. 74.

(89) It is the 15th of the Toulouſe edition.

(90) *Biblioth. Claſſica*, pag. 1327, 1444, edit. 1625.

(91) Part 2. pag. 367.

This is all I could obſerve on this ſubject, in my plan or ſpecimen of this Dictionary; but I now can add ſome particulars to thoſe I have already given, by the favour of the illuſtrious Abbot (92), who ſent me ſome Remarks of Mr. de la Monnoie. I thereby find, that it was not poſſible for Eraſmus to deſtroy all the copies of Scaliger's ſecond Oration; he being dead at the time, that it came from the preſs. This is manifeſt by the following words (93): "Julius Scaliger's "firſt Oration againſt Eraſmus, ſent to Paris as early "as 1529, was printed there in 8vo by Peter Vidoue, "with a Licence of Morin the Lieutenant, dated the "firſt of September 1531. The ſecond, tho' finiſhed "ever ſince the 25th of September 1535, was nevertheleſs not printed by Vidoue abovementioned till "1537. There is a Letter prefixed to this Oration, "written by Hubert Suſſanneau (94) to Hubert de "Pradine, where he takes notice of this ſecond piece "of Scaliger againſt Eraſmus, on which occaſion he "diſcourſed with Scaliger himſelf at Agen." *Inter colloquendum*, ſays he, *de Orationc ſua adverſus Eraſmum ſecunda percunctatus eſt. Legiſſe dixi, ſed manu ſcriptam. Ibi ille ſubiratus: O amici, inquit, ſi uſquam ulli amici ſunt, jam pridem exiſſe oportuit, ante complures menſes opuſculum in hoc Lutetiam miſſum, & huc ad me propter viam perlongam, & non ſatis tutam raro admodum nuncii adferuntur. Proinde te per Muſas, Suſſanæe, rogo, atque etiam multis precibus obſecro, ſi qui ſunt Lutetiæ tua mandata curaturi, commendatione editionis maturitatem adjuva.* i. e. "During the diſcourſe, *ſays he*, he enquired about his ſecond Oration againſt Eraſmus. I ſaid that I had peruſed it "only in manuſcript; upon which he with ſome heat "cried; O friends, if there be any ſuch in the world, "that piece ſhould have been publiſhed ſome time "ſince; it having been ſent to Paris ſome months ago "for that purpoſe: but I ſeldom procure any infor"mation from thence, becauſe of the length and dan"ger of the way. I therefore, O Suſſanneau, by the "love you bear to the Muſes, moſt earneſtly conjure "you, if you have any perſon at Paris on whom you "can rely, to recommend to him the forwarding of "the impreſſion." "After which, Suſſanneau de"ſires his friend to forward the impreſſion as much as "poſſible, and to get it printed by P. Vidoue. The "Letter is dated from Bourdeaux, June the 5th; but "the date of the year is not expreſſed. It certainly "was not wrote in 1535, ſince Eraſmus's Epiſtle *ad "Merbelium & Laurentium*, to which this ſecond ſatyrical piece is an anſwer, was not delivered to "Scaliger till the 12th of September of the ſame "year, as he himſelf informs us in his Dedication. "And therefore it muſt neceſſarily be the year 1536. "The endeavours of Suſſanneau and his friend were "ſucceſsful; the piece was probably publiſhed to"wards the cloſe of the ſame year; tho' the Book"ſeller, in order to give it the greater air of novelty, "dated it as the ſucceeding year, in theſe words: "*Vænit Lutetiæ è regione Gymnaſii Remenſis, apud P. "Vidovæum*, MDXXXVII. This Oration is annex"ed to the firſt. The copies of it are not ſo ſcarce "but that ſeveral of them are ſtill met with. I have "one of them in my poſſeſſion, and have ſeen above "four more." This being the caſe, we muſt ſay hereafter,

(92) The Abbot Nicaiſe. See the Remark [*B*] of the Article BALBUS BALBI at the 3d *a linea*.

(93) They are extracted from Mr. de la Monnoie's *Memoir*.

(94) La Croix du Maine calls him *Hubert Suſan*, but his right name is *Suſſanneau*. His letter to Hubert de Pradine has not been reprinted.

time a ſtranger to the true Author [*M*]; and aſcribed them with the utmoſt confidence to another perſon; a circumſtance that deſerves our notice. Thoſe who deny, that a deſign hereafter, in caſe we are deſirous of being ever ſo little accurate, that Eraſmus contributed no otherwiſe to the burning of the copies of the ſecond Oration; than that, out of regard to him, and perhaps at his requeſt, his admirers deſtroyed all the copies of it that they could poſſibly get into their hands (95); for it is to be obſerved, that Eraſmus knew very well that Scaliger had revived the diſpute. *Scaliger rurſus evomuit neſcio quid libelli in me, quemadmodum & Petrus Curſius. Neutrum vidi.* i. e. "Scaliger has again publiſhed a "ſatyrical piece againſt me, as has likewiſe Peter "Curſius; but I have not had a ſight of either of "thoſe productions." He thus expreſſes himſelf in a Letter written the 11th of March 1536 (96). His Emiſſaries doubtleſs informed him, that the ſecond Oration was in the preſs; they informed him, I ſay, of this, as ſoon as the manuſcript came to Paris; he therefore ſpoke of this piece, the 11th of March 1536, as of a work that had been publiſhed. He did not know how negligent Scaliger's friends, or the Bookſellers, had been in printing it (97). The reader will now find, that his ſon knew very few circumſtances relating to this famous diſpute.

We'll begin by ſuppoſing what follows to be fact; I*ſt*, That a Letter of Eraſmus written the 18th of March 1535, and communicated to Scaliger the 12th of September of the ſame year, made the latter reſolve to write a ſecond Oration againſt the former, which was finiſhed before the 25th of the ſaid month (98). II, That in June 1536, this ſecond Oration was not yet printed (99), tho' the Author imagined, that it had been publiſhed ſome months before (100). We may infer from all this, that Cæſar Scaliger's ſon is in an error, when he aſſerts, I, That Eraſmus cauſed ſome perſons to burn the copies of the ſecond Oration. II, That after this, he wrote a Letter in which he, by way of ſneer, called his adverſary a Soldier; and from that circumſtance declared he was incapable of compoſing ſuch Orations. III, That Scaliger being informed of this, wrote a third Oration, the publication of which was interrupted by Eraſmus's death. IV, That Eraſmus being informed of this third harangue, wrote a Letter in 1535 (101) wherein he declared, that Scaliger threatened to write ſome piece againſt him. Every Reader will eaſily diſcover the anachroniſms and other miſtakes of Joſeph Scaliger, without my being obliged to ſpecify them: I therefore ſhall only cite his words, *Eraſmus, qui ubique gentium bracatas habuit, in quibus etiam mercenarios non paucos, tantum abeſt, ut aliter, quam Scaligerum vocaverit, ut, quia monitus erat eum fere ſemper militaſſe, hoc ſolo argumento negare auſus ſit eum auctorem fuiſſe Orationis, quam pro Cicerone adverſus illum ſcripſit; idque teſtatus eſt Epiſtola, quam ad amicos duos ſcripſit. Quod cœgit Julium aliam Orationem ſcribere, qua ſe prioris auctorem aſſerit; quæ una cum Epiſtola illa Lutetiæ apud Vidovæum edita eſt. Sed Eraſmus homo vaferrimus per emiſſarios ſuos omnia exemplaria magnis ſumptibus conquiſita flammis aboleri curavit. Unum exemplar Joſephus reliquit Aginni. Neque ullum præter illud poſtea nanciſci, aut videre potuit. Tanta fuit emiſſariorum Eraſmi diligentia. Quum autem poſtea in alia Epiſtola eum per contumeliam militem vocaret, & hoc ſolo aliis vellet perſuadere tantum eruditionis illi non fuiſſe, ut ejuſmodi Orationes meditari potuiſſet, ob eam cauſam Julius ad tertiam Orationem commentandam animum appulit, cujus editionem mors Eraſmi interpellavit: & cum reliquis operibus ejus in direptione ſuppellectilis primo bello civili periit.... De hac tertia Oratione monitus ab emiſſariis ita ſcribit ad Damianum a Goes, anno* MDXXXV. *Aiunt Doletum quendam in me ſcribere. Minitatur neſcio quid* & Julius Scaliger (102). i. e. "Eraſmus, "who had emiſſaries every where, many of whom "were hirelings, is ſo far from treating Scaliger otherwiſe than he had called him, that having been informed he had ſpent the greateſt part of his life "in the army, he, from this ſingle argument, had "the preſumption to deny his being the Author of "the Oration which he had writ againſt him in favour of Cicero; as is manifeſt from the letter he "wrote to his two friends. This forced my father "to compoſe a ſecond Oration, in which he declares "the former to have been written by him; and this "together with the letter in queſtion, was, publiſhed "by Vidoue in Paris. But Eraſmus who was a very "ſubtle man, procured his emiſſaries to buy up all "the Copies at a high price, and throw them into "the fire. Joſeph Scaliger left one Copy at Agen: "and ſo induſtrious were Eraſmus's emiſſaries, that "not a ſingle one beſides this could afterwards be found. "Having ſince in another letter, called him ſoldier "by way of ſneer, and from this ſingle circumſtance "endeavoured to perſuade the world, that he was not "maſter of ſo much learning as was neceſſary for the "compoſing of ſuch Orations; Julius Cæſar was thence "prompted to write a third, the publication of which "was prevented by Eraſmus's death, and was deſtroyed "with the reſt of his Works when his houſe was "plundered in the firſt civil war.... Eraſmus's emiſſaries informing him of this third Oration, he writes "thus to Damian a Goes, anno MDXXXV. *They ſay, "that one Doletus is writing againſt me; and Ju-"lius Scaliger likewiſe threatens I know not what.*" I know not what to think of the menace which Eraſmus mentions in his letter to Damian de Goes; for Julius Cæſar Scaliger proteſts, that he had quite laid aſide all thoughts of the diſpute (103), when on the 12th of September 1535, he received the letter which Eraſmus had writ to Merbelius and John Laurentia. Now the letter which Eraſmus wrote to Damian de Goes, is dated May the 21ſt, 1534.

[*M*] *He was for ſome time a ſtranger to the true Author.*] Let us take ſome little notice of the confidence with which Eraſmus aſſerted, that Scaliger did but lend his name to the firſt of thoſe two Orations. This, did he uſe to ſay, I know by ſeveral certain proofs, *multis ac certis argumentis compertum habeo.* He had affirmed in other Letters (104), that Aleander was the true Author of this Oration, and that he was as certain of it as of his own exiſtence; but that he was obliged to conceal this circumſtance, leſt he ſhould make Scaliger ſtill more furious, by thus diſcovering the cheat. *Julii Scaligeri libellum tam ſcio illius* (Aleandri) *eſſe quam ſcio me vivere. Id tamen diſſimulandum eſt ne magis inſaniat prodito fuco.* He repeats this aſſertion, and corroborates it with reaſons, in Epiſtle the 58th, Book 30. It nevertheleſs was very certain, that no one but Scaliger had writ this Oration (105); which circumſtance ſhows, that the moſt learned men miſtake in their aſcribing Books to ſuch and ſuch Authors; and if Eraſmus who was extremely mild and modeſt, confidently aſſerted an abſolute falſhood on this occaſion, we are not to depend in any manner on what ſome haughty obſtinate and fanatical perſons, who are paſſionate from both nature and habit, affirm in a magiſterial tone on the like occaſion. He committed the ſame error with regard to another work; for he aſcribed to Aleander a Book publiſhed under the name of Stephen Doletus; *Aleander denuo emiſit librum furioſum ſub nomine Doleti* (106). Nevertheleſs Aleander was not the Author of it; it being writ by the perſon whoſe name it bears in the title page (107). This error of Eraſmus is more excuſable than that committed by Joſeph Scaliger in the following words, *Nihil Eraſmus tam ſerio affectavit quam ex militia ejus* (Julii Scaligeri) *eum literarum imperitum probare, quum tamen aliter ſe ſentire apud amicos diſſimulare non potuerit: quod quadam ad Conradum Goclenium epiſtola teſtatur:* Julii, *inquit*, Scaligeri libellum tam ſcio illius eſſe, quam ſcio me vivere. Id tamen diſſimulandum eſt, ne magis inſaniat prodito fuco. *Vides credidiſſe, & diſſimulaſſe, ex quo conſcientiam hominis æſtimare licet* (108). i. e. "There was nothing "Eraſmus affected ſo much, as, from Julius Scaliger's "having led a military life, to prove that he was no "ſcholar; though he could not forbear telling his "friends that he thought otherwiſe, as is manifeſt "from his Letter to Conrad Glocenius. *I am as cer-"tain*, ſays he, *that this is Julius Scaliger's Piece, as "that I live. But I muſt not let him know it, leſt I "ſhould exaſperate him the more.* By this you perceive "that he believed it, and at the ſame time pretended "he did not; whence you may judge of his honeſty." It is very certain that by his *illius* is meant Aleander; and therefore Scaliger is very much to blame, after having committed ſuch an error to charge Eraſmus with fraud.

(95) It is certain that the two Orations were thus treated, *noſtrarum Orationum exuſta exemplaria.* Jul. Cæſar. Scalig. *Epiſt.* 16. pag. 55.

(96) It is the 51ſt of the 27th Book, pag. 1566.

(97) See here above citation (94) of the paſſage of Suſſanneau's Letter.

(98) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the 2d Oration.

(99) See the above cited Letter of Suſſanneau.

(100) *Eam... muneri miſi P. Rubrio.... Speroque eſſe Lutetiæ jam in vulgus editam.* Scaliger, Epiſt. 14. pag. 35. There is no date ſet down to this Oration, but the 1ſt of Jan. 1536, is mentioned therein, according to the method of computation made uſe of.

(101) It is the 69th of the 30th Book.

(102) *Confutat. Fabulæ Burdonum*, pag. 278, *& ſeq.*

(103) *Conatus feci ut de integro deſcenderem in certamen, quod à me jam decertatum eſſet.* Epiſt. Dedicat. 2d Orat. *Veterum inimicitiarum memoriam quæ à me ſane depoſitæ eſſent renovarent.* Epiſt. 14. pag. 34.

(104) *Epiſt. ad Goclenium* edita cum *Vita Eraſmi*, pag. m. 326. it is the 56th of Book 30. of the London edition.

(105) He offers in his 2d harangue to ſhew the original written in his own hand with razures, &c.

(106) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 70. lib. 30. pag. 1959, dated Sept. 2. 1535.

(107) *See* Julius Cæſar Scaliger, Epiſt. 14. pag. 35.

(108) *Confutat. Fabulæ Burdon.* pag. 280.

design was formed at Rome to make him a Cardinal are miſtaken [*N*]. The report which prevailed at Paris, viz. that a new edition of his works was preparing at Rotterdam, was without foundation [*O*]. We were promiſed an account of his Life [*P*], but

[*N*] *Thoſe who deny that a deſign was formed at Rome to make him a Cardinal are miſtaken.*] Boiſſard (109) declares it was reported, that Eraſmus had refuſed the Cardinalate, and that the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtics had looked upon his refuſal of a dignity, which was ſo induſtriouſly ſought after by others, as a miracle. Lorenzo Craſſo (110) declares, that this was a tale more to be laughed at than credited: but he at the ſame time expoſed himſelf to the laughter of his Readers, ſince 'tis an undoubted fact that Eraſmus might have been a Cardinal. He would certainly have attained to the Cardinalate, under Pope Adrian VI, had he made his court to him, which he was ſo earneſtly ſollicited to do by this Pope himſelf, who was his countryman, his friend, and ſchool-fellow (111). *He excuſed his not undertaking this journey, as well becauſe of his great infirmities, as principally to ſilence his enemies, who would have reported every where, that he was gone a hunting after Church Dignities* (112). But under Pope Paul III, this matter was carried ſtill farther: the Cardinalate was by that time become a ripe fruit with regard to Eraſmus, who might have gathered it, had he only put forth his hand. He himſelf informs us of theſe particulars. *Quum ſtatuiſſet* (Paulus III) *in futuram Synodum aliquot eruditos in Cardinalium ordinem allegere, propoſitum eſt & de Eraſmo. Sed obſiciebantur impedimenta, valetudo ad obeunda munia inutilis, ac cenſus tenuis. Aiunt enim eſſe Senatuſconſultum, quo ſubmoventur ab ea dignitate quibus annui reditus ſunt infra tria ducatorum millia. Nunc hoc agunt ut me onerent præpoſituris, ut hinc juſto cenſu parato doner purpureo galero* (113) i. e. "When Pope Paul III intended in the "next Synod, to raiſe ſome learned men to the purple, "Eraſmus was propoſed. But to this the ill ſtate of "his health, and the narrowneſs of his circumſtances "were objected; for 'tis ſaid that all are excluded this "dignity by a Decree, whoſe annual income does not "amount to three thouſand Ducats. Now they intend to beſtow ſo many employments upon me, "that my income may thereby be conſiderable enough "to qualify me to accept of the Hat." He declares in the ſame letter that he had a friend at Rome, who ſet every engine at work on this occaſion, although he had ſeveral times told him by letter, that he did not deſire either Benefices or Penſions, being ſenſible that his diſſolution was approaching. The ſame circumſtance has been related in another letter (114); where he expreſſes his reluctance in ſtill ſtronger terms. *Paulo III viſum eſt .... itaque nunc magno ambitu agitur ut me præpoſituris onerent, reclamantem, ac manibus pedibuſque recuſantem, ac perpetuo etiam recuſaturum.* i. e. "This was Paul the IIId's reſolution ... hence I now "am earneſtly ſollicited to accept of employments, tho' "I ſtrenuouſly refuſe them, and for ever am determined "to do ſo." Rhenanus not only mentions this deſign of Paul III, but ſays alſo that the Pope in queſtion beſtowed the Proveſtſhip of Deventer on Eraſmus; and entreated the Queen of Hungary, who was Governeſs of the Low-Countries, to ſecure him the poſſeſſion of it: but as Eraſmus did not care for this employment, he did not ſend the letter in queſtion to the Queen abovementioned (115). Mr. Joly (116) cites the teſtimony of Peter Bembo, and of Mr. de la Rochepozé Biſhop of Poitiers, and ſeveral of Eraſmus's letters (117) to confirm what I have ſaid, Lorenzo Craſſo looked upon as ridiculous. Another Writer (118) quotes, on the ſame occaſion two or three letters which do not ſay as he pretends that Eraſmus *was appointed the firſt, and nominated to the exalted dignity of Cardinal*, and that *Lewis As a Doctor of Louvain, who was his friend and afterwards made a Biſhop, was ſent to him by Pope Paul III, with Letters of Credence to aſſure him of this.* Nevertheleſs the fact is certain, as has been proved here by Eraſmus's own words. I do not find this *Lewis As*, in the letters to which we are referred (119), but only (120) one Lewis Berus a Canon of Baſil, who had preſented a letter from Eraſmus to the Pope; whom his Holineſs ſent back to Eraſmus, in order and that he might be more particularly informed of his good intentions with regard to him. A man muſt have a great penetration to find there an Expreſs ſent to Eraſmus by Paul III to inform him, that he was the firſt who was appointed to be Cardinal. Had he received any ſuch meſſage, he would have mentioned it in the two letters cited by me; for this would have been ſomething more poſitive than the bare aſſerting, that endeavours were uſed to remove one of the obſtacles to his promotion, by ſeeking out benefices and ſupplies as for a poor Cardinal. I am prodigiouſly miſtaken, if Mr. Richard did not copy the following words *he was appointed the firſt, and nominated*, &c. from a letter which is not quoted by him. 'Tis the LXVIII of Book XXX, wherein Eraſmus relates that Pope Paul III having charged two Cardinals to exhort the Learned Men of Germany to exert themſelves in the defence of Religion, one of theſe Cardinals had reſolved to nominate Eraſmus, before any other. But how widely does this differ from the being nominated Cardinal, and notified by an Expreſs ſent from the Pope? Nothing is more common, than for Writers to ſtretch the ſenſe of the paſſages cited by them; and indeed 'tis ſcarce poſſible for this to be otherwiſe, unleſs ſome Authors would apply themſelves very cloſe, and write but few pages in a day.

From all that has been ſaid the Reader may now judge, whether the younger Mr. Patin has hit upon the true cauſe, when he aſſerted that, *had it not been for the too early death of the Pope, Eraſmus would have been raiſed to the higheſt dignities of the Church* (121). He doubtleſs means Adrian VI. Now it has been proved that Eraſmus's want of ambition, and not the ſhort life of this Pope, loſt him the Purple.

[*O*] *The report .... that a new Edition of his Works was preparing at Rotterdam, was without foundation.*] 'Tis Guy Patin who informs us, that this report prevailed at Paris. *I hear*, ſays he, *that the Inhabitants of Rotterdam, in honour to the memory of him who was the glory of their city, are printing, at their own expence, a new Edition of all the Works of Eraſmus. This news pleaſes me mightily. There is ſtill virtue left in the world, and ſome brave and worthy perſons. I pray God that this report be true.*

[*P*] *We were promiſed an account of his life.*] Let us again hear Mr. Patin. "There is here a worthy "Gentleman, who is writing the life of Eraſmus that "great and excellent man, who died at Baſil the 12th "of July 1536. He had the misfortune to diſpleaſe "the Monks; but this circumſtance he had in com"mon with ſo many good men, that I would not "have any perſon be grieved upon that account (123)." The year after he took notice of the ſame Work. "We "have here a very learned and honeſt Gentleman of "diſtinction, who has almoſt finiſhed Eraſmus's Life; "and by this we find that there are ſtill honeſt peo"ple in the world, who love virtue. 'Tis 200 years "ſince Eraſmus was at Nurſe, he being born in 1467; "and in my opinion, next to St. Auſtin and St. Thomas "Aquinas, he was the moſt ſhining Wit among the "Chriſtian Writers, in ſpite of what is advanced by "ſome Monks, who do not love him becauſe he has "exclaimed ſo vehemently againſt them, and made "them ſo well known to the world (124).

I am perſuaded for ſeveral very good reaſons, that the life hinted at here by Mr. Patin, is not that which Mr. Mercier, Sub Principal of the College of Navarre, publiſhed at Paris with the Colloquies of Eraſmus, commented upon and caſtrated. I could be eaſily perſuaded that this is the life which *Mr. Battier, a learned man of Baſil in Switzerland*, mentioned to Colomeſius, in 1668 (125). He told him that Mr. Joly, a Canon of Notre Dame at Paris, *was writing Eraſmus's life; and for this purpoſe had read over ſeven times all the works of this great man.* Here is then a life of Eraſmus, to be inſerted in the *Bibliotheca promiſſa & latens* of Almeloveen (126). Eraſmus's life promiſed (127), by Malinkrot Dean of Munſter, is another Piece proper for the ſame Bibliotheque. This Dean had drawn up Eraſmus's life in a chronological order, which is an excellent method, and clears up an hundred difficulties, as appears from Cicero's life written by Francis Fabricius.

(109) *In Iconibus.*

(110) *Iſtoria de Poet. Græc.* pag. 150.

(111) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 3, 4. lib. 23.

(112) *Sentimens d'Eraſme*, pag. 22, 23.

(113) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 28. lib. 27.

(114) The 25th of Book 27.

(115) *Epiſt. præfixa. Operib. Eraſmi.*

(116) *Avis pour l'Inſtitution des Enfans*, pag. 99.

(117) Some of the Letters which he cites do not mention the incident in queſtion.

(118) J. Richard, *Prieur de Beaulieu. Site. Avoye*, pag. 37. of the *Sentiments of Eraſmus.*

(119) The Index to the *Epiſtles of Eraſmus*, London edition, which is very accurate and uſeful, does not mention *Lewis As.*

(120) Epiſt. 26. lib. 27.

(121) Charles Patin, *Relat. Hiſt.* pag. 129.

(122) Vol. 1. Letter 115. dated Auguſt the 15th 1657.

(123) Tome 3. Letter 458. dated Sept. 2, 1667.

(124) Patin, tom. 3. Letter 476. dated Sept. 13, 1668.

(125) Colomies, *Bibliot. Choiſie*, pag. 139.

(126) It is a Catalogue of Books that had been promiſed the public, but never printed. It was printed in 1692. A German, called Rodolphus Martinus Meelfuhrerus, publiſhed, in 1699, *Acceſſiones* to this *Bibliotheca promiſſa & latens.* See the *Acta Erudit.* of Leipſic 1699, pag. 359.

(127) *In Præfat. Tractatus de Arte Typographica.*

but it has not yet appeared in print. Of all his works, those which have borne the most impressions are his Colloquies [Q], and his praise of Folly [R]. He scrupled for a long

cius. It were to be wished, that the life of Erasmus might be composed after the same manner; and that the date of the first edition of his several Pieces might be exactly set down in it; for the most learned men mistake in this particular (128). Verheiden gave the public a very high idea of a manuscript, kept as a relick by Otho Werckman of Nimeguen, containing Erasmus's life, and written with his own hand. It is that which Merula published five years after (129). A very laborious and very accurate Author (130), has ranked among the Writers of Erasmus's life, Merula and Scriverius, who only published some Pieces that were wrote by others; and yet has not inserted among them Beatus Rhenanus, who actually composed a beautiful discourse on the life of this illustrious man. This inconsiderable error is only in the tenth Index; the body of the Work being right in that particular. There is a report (131), that Mr. Joly has delivered his life of Erasmus to the Censors of Books, in order to have their approbation; and by that means a licence to print it. I wish this news may prove true; and that these Gentlemen may not oblige the Author to complain, as so many others do, viz. that their manuscripts are detained too long, and that several particulars are struck out in them, See the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Article III for February 1685.

(128) See the Remark [R].

(129) This *Life of Erasmus* contains an Advertisement to the Reader, in the edition I now make use of, which is of Leyden 1642, where we find, that the original is in Jerome de Backere's Library.

(130) Teissier, *Catal. Auct.* pag. 373.

(131) I write this in 1699.

[Q] *Of all his Works, those which have borne the most impressions are his Colloquies.*] Hofman and Moreri tell us, that a little after Erasmus had printed his Colloquies in Basil, at sixty years of age, Colineus, who reprinted them at Paris in 1527, took off 24000 copies, which according to Mr. Hofman were all sold. So singular a circumstance as this would require to be expatiated upon a little more; so that it would not be a very easy matter for those Gentlemen to clear themselves fully of being guilty of omission. They ought to have informed us, that the Bookseller in question employed artifice, in order to increase the sale of it, tho' at the same time he might fully hope to sell a large number of copies, because the impression was beautiful, and in a very small size. His stratagem was to spread a report, that this Book would be prohibited, *Colineus quidam excuderat, ut aiunt, ad 24 millia Colloquiorum in modum Enchiridii, sed eleganter. Id fecerat non studio mei, sed amore quæstus. Quid multis? nihil erat in manibus præter Colloquia. Præcesserat nescio quis rumor, fortè à typographo studiosè sparsus, fore ut hoc opus interdiceretur, ea res acuit emptorum aviditatem. Itaque Bedda &c* (132). The fear of this made every one desirous of purchasing the Book in question as soon as possible. The great vent it had, made Bedda, (Erasmus's professed enemy) sollicit to have the Colloquies suppressed; and they accordingly were so, which circumstance was probably of advantage to Colineus. It is plain by this, that the artifices, like to those which the Author of the *Religion of the Dutch* ascribes to a Bookseller of Amsterdam, with respect to a Socinian Work, did not first begin in Holland. He even asserts, that this Book was sentenced to the flames, at the request of the Bookseller himself, in order to raise the price of it. But Erasmus did not inveigh chiefly against such kind of artifices; several tricks being played him of much greater consequence. Books not written by him were published under his name (132 *): some manuscripts, which were designed only for private use, were sold to the Booksellers; and all this was done for the sake of profit; it being imagined that his name, in the title of a bad Work, would make it sell. It was thus that his Colloquies first appeared in print (133). He never had either the original or the copy in his possession; but one Helonius, having procured a manuscript copy from other hands, sold it at a very high price to Frobenius, who printed it long before 1522 (134). This disgusted the Author highly, who not being able to do himself justice, endeavoured to improve the Work, by several hasty additions. *Colloquia me invito atque etiam irato prodierunt. Quibus adjeci quædam in gratiam typographi, levi sane brachio, ut qui uno die interdum tria absolverim colloquia* (135). i. e. "The Colloquies were published very much "against my inclination. I made some additions "upon the Printer's account, but with too great dis-

(132) Erasm. Epist. 29. lib. 19. Note that in the Book intitled, *Sentimens d'Erasme*, pag. 73. this Letter is addressed to Alphonso Valdesco in 1528; but it is Alphonso Valdesio in 1529.

(132*) Idem, Epist. 42. lib. 27.

(133) Idem, ibid.

(134) Epist. Erasm. 57. lib. 30.

(135) Eras. *Purgat. Adverss. Epist. Luther.* pag. 54, 55.

"patch; I sometimes finishing three colloquies in a "day." We find in the XXXIII and XLII letter of *Lib.* XXI, the justification, written by himself, of his Colloquies, concerning the use of which he wrote a letter that is worthy of being perused: It is generally printed at the end of this Work. But above all it will be of advantage to peruse the memorial sent by him to the Divines of Louvain, where among other particulars, he represents that his Readers ought particularly to consider, who the persons are that are introduced in his Colloquies (136); for as the laws of Dialogue require every interlocutor to speak, not according to the Author's sentiments, but suitable to his character; nothing could be more improper than to ascribe to Authors those particulars which they put into the mouths of their Interlocutors. Otherwise that Writer must be supposed a Mahometan, who introduces a person speaking according to the principles of Mahometanism. *Nisi forte, si Turcam loquentem facerem, mihi imputandum putent quidquid ille dixerit* (137). It is agreeable to read what he alledges in excuse for the discourses which he has put into the mouth of *Folly* in his *Moriæ Encomio*; what he says is very judicious. *Non perpendunt id quod in dialogis est potissimum, personæ decorum .... quasi verò si quis Ethnicum cum Christiano loquentem faciat, nefas sit Ethnicum quicquam dicere quod abhorreat à doctrina Christiana* (138). i. e. "They do not con- "sider that which is most essential in Dialogue, viz. "the propriety of the Interlocutors .... as though "in the introducing a Heathen discoursing with a "Christian; it would be criminal to make the for- "mer speak any thing to the disadvantage of the "Christian Religion." Add to this Lystrius's Commentary on the Preface to the *Moriæ Encomium*. The only objection which can be made to this is, that a writer of Dialogues, or any such Pieces, who under the fiction of an imaginary person, will publish reflections, ought to make choice of subjects, which by the laws of verisimilitude, will not oblige him to speak of things disadvantageous to Society. This is the only objection that can be made. If this other should be added, viz. that whoever puts into the mouth of heresticks all such particulars as are strongest in favour of their heresy, either pleads the cause which he himself adheres to in his heart, or gives a rash and ridiculous judgment. Be this as it will, very few Books ever made so much noise as Erasmus's Colloquies. They have been read publickly in Colleges; the reading (139), and even selling them (140), has been prohibited in many places. The Cardinals and Prelates who were delegated by Pope Paul III, for the reformation of abuses, found that to desire a prohibition to teach those Colloquies in schools (141), was an article relating to their commission. They have been translated into several Languages (142); they have been illustrated with notes, and castrated (143) &c. I call to mind a passage in Erasmus's Epistles, where he complains that his Colloquies, disguised by a Dominican Friar, had been published at Paris, with the Preface which the corrupter had written under Erasmus's name. *Lutetiæ rursus Dominicanus quidam corrupit mea Colloquia, & addidit Præfationem meo nomine, in quâ damno me ipsum* (144).

(136) Idem, Epist. 57. lib. 30.

(137) Idem, ibid.

(138) Idem, Chil. 2. Cent. 8. num. 40.

(139) At Paris in 1528. Eras. Epist. 70. lib. 20. Epist. 29. lib. 19.

(140) In England in 1526. Idem, Epist. 33. lib. 21. at Dole in 1536. Idem, Epist. 55. lib. 27.

(141) Sleidan, lib. 12.

(142) *See* Colomes. *Bibliosh. Choisi.* pag. 140, 142.

(143) Baillet, *Jug. sur les Critiq.* tom. 3. pag. 152.

(144) Eras. Ep. 32. lib. 21. pag. 1101. It is dated Easter Sunday 1526.

[R] .... *and his praise of folly.*] Bucholcer, who has sometimes given the dates of Erasmus's writings (145), is mistaken (146), with regard to the first Edition of the *Encomium Moriæ*, fixing it to the 9th of June, 1508. Had he looked into the catalogue of Erasmus's Works, contained in a letter written by the Author to John Botzhemus, he would have found that he ought not to have followed the date of the Epistle Dedicatory; *V. Idus Junias* 1508, since Erasmus declares, that having writ this Work in England, he looked upon it as so trifling, that he did not think it worthy of being printed (147); and that he was in Paris, when Richard Crocus caused a bad edition of it to be published. Had the younger Patin recollected this passage, he would not have reckoned (148) as the first, of near an hundred Editions which have been made of the praise of folly, that of Frobenius at Basil, in 1514. It appears from a letter of Erasmus (149), that Badius printed this Work in 1512. *Accepi*, says he, *postremas Badii literas .... in quibus scribit* Moriam *à se formulis*

(145) *In Indice Chronol.*

(146) Pag. m. 457.

(147) He informs us, Chil. 2. Proverb 40. of the 2d Century, that he wrote it in a week, without the assistance of one book.

(148) Epist. Dedicat. of the edit. made by him at Basil of this Book in 1676, in 8vo, with figures by Holbein.

(149) The 15th of Book 10. dated at Louvain in 1512. This passage and the following were communicated to me in Mr. de la Monnoie's *Memoir.*

long time to let any Painter draw him [S], but at last consented. The famous Holbens, his intimate friend, drew his picture, which Beza adorned with an epigram that has been greatly applauded (e). As Erasmus did not embrace the reformation of Luther, and yet censured a great many things in Popery, he has been treated very injuriously both by Roman Catholics and Protestants [T]. No man was ever more averse to the imperious temper of certain Divines, who approve of forcible methods, and delight in sounding the trumpet

(e) See the critique of it in the remark [S].

mulis excusam, quam tamen hic non vidimus. Herold in his *Philopseudes*, seems to speak of Badius as the first who printed the Praise of Folly. *Vix igitur tum Badius*, says he, speaking in the person of Erasmus, *Moriam absolverat Leone X, inaugurato Basileam huc me contuli.* This Work was very favourably received by the public. It was most pleasing to persons of Quality. Dissolute Monks, and morose Divines were offended at it; and many people disapproved of Lystrius's Commentary, because it drew off the veil from things, from the obscurity of which they drew great profit. *Vix aliud majore plausu exceptum est, præsertim apud Magnates. Paucos tantum Monachos, eosque deterrimos, ac Theologos nonnullos morosiores offendit libertas: sed plures offensi sunt, ubi Lystrius adjecit Commentarios, quod antea profuerat non intelligi* (150). See what is said by the modern Author, who censured Maimbourg's Calvinism (151).

(150) Erasm. *Epist. ad Botzhemum.*

(151) *New Letters of the Author of the general Criticism of Maimbourg's Calvinism*, pag. 757.

[S] *He scrupled for a long time to let any Painter draw him.*] The reason of this was, he did not think his face agreeable. *Ac ne facie quidem propria delectabatur, vixque extortum est amicorum precibus ut se pingi pateretur.* This he himself says in his own life: but the first time only of his being painted, must have given him pain, since it is certain that Holbens drew him several times (152). He painted him but in a half-length, which gave occasion to an Epigram of Theodore Beza, that has been very much applauded. Du Verdier Vau-Privas, page 2392, Tom. III. of his *Prosographia*, ascribes it falsly to Buchanan, and gives it as an epitaph. Beza claims it as his, where he treats of Erasmus in his *Icones*. Here follows the Epigram.

(152) See the *Life of Holbens*, at the head of the *Encomium Moriæ* of Patin's edition.

Ingens ingentem quem personat orbis Erasmum,
Hic tibi dimidium picta tabella refert.
At cur non totum? mirari define lector,
Integra nam totum terra nec ipsa capit.

That is,

This picture represents but half the man,
Whose fame so loudly ecchoes thro' the world.
Why not the whole? O Reader cease thy wonder;
This globe of earth's too narrow to comprize him.

I confess that it required wit to compose these four lines; and that they seem to contradict the maxim, viz. that no thought can be beautiful without being true; but all things considered, I had rather assert that there is only a false beauty in this Epigram, since it is grounded on a false thought, than contradict the maxim. I prove Beza's thought to be a false one, since it is as easy for a Painter to draw a portrait as big as the life, when it is the portrait of a learned man, or of a hero whose fame is spread to the remotest regions, as to draw that of a contemptible creature, who is not known out of the village where he lives. Therefore the reason given by the Poet, why Erasmus was represented only in a half length, is altogether chimerical (153). Some have sought for other refinements, and even malicious ones in this Epigram; as though it had alluded to the sort of neutrality, which Erasmus seemed willing to observe between the Pope and the Lutherans (154): but even this supposition would be false, since such a reason as this could never make it difficult for a Painter to draw a man's lower parts. I must not omit, that there is in the Latin Translation of Gucciardine (155), an addition which declares, that there is preserved at Rotterdam, in some place of public resort, a portrait of Erasmus, representing him very exactly as he was four years before he died; that this picture was sent by the Senate and people of Basil, and that it was on this portrait Beza wrote the very witty Epigram. *Ingens ingentem*, &c. All the persons I have consulted on this occasion, told me that they had never heard of the Magistrates of Basil's having made such a present to the Magistrates of Rotterdam; nor that Erasmus's portrait had ever been preserved in any place of public resort in the last mentioned city. I have only heard that it is in the possession of Mr. Brakel, Rear-Admiral of the Meuse (156), and is an excellent original of the famous Holbens. I have read in Vasari, page 307 of Part III of the lives of the Painters, that Albert Durer had made a print of Erasmus's head.

(153) Æmilius, Professor at Utrecht, has imitated this thought of Beza, in his distich put under the print representing Mrs. Schurman. *Non nisi dimidiâ spectatur imagine virgo Maxima, quod totam nulla tabella capit.* i. e. "You, in this "picture, see "but half the "maid: "The largest "canvas never "cou'd comprize her."

(154) *Apud* Verheiden, *Elog. præst. Theolog.* pag. 19.

(155) Pag. 308. edit. Arnhem. 1616. This Latin Translation was by Regnerus Vitellius Zirizæus.

(156) He was killed in the sea engagement fought on the channel, July 10, 1690.

[T] *He has been treated very injuriously, both by Roman Catholicks and Protestants.*] This is not the place for examining, whether Erasmus's conduct, with regard to Religion, was laudable. I shall only observe that he, in my opinion, was one of those witnesses to the truth who ardently wished for a Reformation, but who did not think that it ought to be brought about, by erecting another society, which should support itself at first by confederacies, and after proceed immediately from words to blows, *a verbis ad verbera.* He entertained too narrow an idea of God's Providence; and did not sufficiently consider that it conducts us to the same place, but by different paths. Thus Erasmus with his *non amo veritatem seditiosam*, i. e. "I do "not love seditious truths," continued in the slough; and falsly imagined, that all his business was, to cling to the body of the tree; since the manner in which Luther wrote, and the wars which accompanied his Reformation, was a presumption that the time for deliverance was not yet come. *Si Lutherus omnia bene scripsisset, mihi tamen magnopere displiceret seditiosa libertas. Ego vel falli malim in nonnullis, quam tanto orbis tumultu pro veritate digladiari* (157). i. e. "Tho' Luther had wrote nothing but what was good, "I yet should have been greatly displeased at his sedi- "tious freedom. I would choose to err in some parti- "culars, rather than to raise such a tumult in the "world for the sake of truth." But it was to no purpose that he lived and died in the Romish communion, and was treated very injuriously by zealous Protestants; for he was not therefore treated with less severity, both in his life-time and after his death, by several Romish Writers, as is evident singly from the work of Gaspar Chicocius (158. It is pity that the Author of Erasmus's Sentiments, published in 1688, stopt at the first part of it. See the Abstract of Erasmus's Thoughts, with regard to the pacification of the Church, by Mr. Seckendorff (159). He extracted them from the exposition of Psalm LXXXIV, published in 1533. It cannot be denied but that Erasmus, in general, was what is called a Catholic; nevertheless he was pleased with the first steps of Luther; and was not a little uneasy, when he thought that Lutheranism was going to be extirpated. He imagined, in 1528, that Luther had retracted the greatest part of his doctrines, and thereby exposed himself to the contempt of his brethren as a dotard. This made Erasmus uneasy; he being afraid that the Monks, as soon as this storm was blown over, would give rise to new Tragedies. He disclosed his sentiments on this head, to Gattinara, Chancellor to the Emperor Charles V. *Indies mitescit febris Lutherana, adeò ut ipse Lutherus, de singulis propemodum scribat palinodias, ac cæteris habeatur ob hoc ipsum hæreticus ac delirus. Sed vereor ne quorundam monachorum stolida improbitas excitet nobis aliam tragœdiam* (160). i. e. "The Lutheran fever abates every day, insomuch "that Luther himself recants most of the things he "had advanced; and on this account is considered "by the rest as a heretic and madman. But I am "afraid lest the absurd ill conduct of certain Friars "should occasion another Tragedy." What he wrote the same year to a Council of the Empire, relates to the same thing. *Si inclinat factio Lutherana, quod ut fiat ipsi sedulo dant operam, exoritur intolerabilis Pseudomonachorum tyrannis* (161). i. e. "If the Lutheran "faction, as endeavours are strenuously used to effect "it,

(157) Erasm. Epist. 26. lib. 17. pag. 769. *See also* Epist. 2. of book 1. pag. 8, 9.

(158) See the Article SAWICKI, remark [B]. See also what Aleander has said on this subject, in the remark [I] of his Article.

(159) *Hist. Lutheran.* lib. 3. pag. 19.

(160) Erasm. Epist. 63. lib. 20. pag. 1024.

(161) Erasm. Epist. 72. lib. 20. pag. 1030.

trumpet for war; Eraſmus loving peace, and having a due ſenſe of its importance [*V*]. He was a little too ſtrongly affected with the Libels which were written againſt him, as is manifeſt from the complaints he made againſt the Printers of thoſe Libels [*X*]. Eraſmus was thought to be the Author of ſeveral books which were not written by him [*Y*]. We are told that his peruſal of the Epiſtles *obſcurorum Virorum* had a ſurprizing

" it, ſhould decline, a moſt inſupportable tyranny of " mock-monks would ariſe." He had already been treated very injuriouſly by Luther, and ſome other pens of that party. Nevertheleſs he was not willing that this Sect ſhould be extirpated; he being deſirous that it ſhould cut out work for the Monks, and keep them in awe. He wrote the year after two Letters, in which the Lutherans were ſet in the moſt odious light (162). Luther accuſed Eraſmus publickly of Atheiſm in 1534 (163).

(162) The one *in Pſeudevangelicos*, the other *ad Fratres Germaniæ inferioris.*

(163) *See* Seckendorf, lib. 3. pag. 77.

[*V*] *He loved peace, and had a due ſenſe of its importance.*] One of the moſt beautiful Diſſertations which can be read, is that of Eraſmus on the proverb, *Dulce bellum inexpertis.* i. e. " War is delightful to " thoſe who have not tried it." He there ſhews, that he had weighed and examined, with the utmoſt ſeriouſneſs and attention, the moſt important principles of reaſon and revelation, and the moſt uſual cauſes of war. He ſhews, that the wickedneſs of particular perſons, and the folly of Nations, generally occaſion all wars; and that a thing, the cauſes of which are ſo blameworthy, is almoſt ever attended by a very pernicious effect. He declares that they, who, by their profeſſion, are particularly obliged to diſſuade from wars, are thoſe who excite to them. *Si quis exactius rem excutiat, reperiat omnia ferè Chriſtianorum bella, vel è ſtultitia, vel è malitia naſci. Nonnulli juvenes, & rerum imperiti, majorum malis exemplis, hiſtoriarum, quas de ſtultis prodidere ſtulti monumentis, ad hoc inflammati, dehinc inſtigantibus adulatorum hortatibus, extimulantibus Jureconſultis ac Theologis, aſſentantibus, aut conniventibus Epiſcopis, fortaſſis & exigentibus, temere magis quàm malitioſe bellum ſuſcipiunt, & tanto totius orbis malo diſcunt bellum rem eſſe modis omnibus fugiendam. Alios occultum odium, alios ambitio, alios animi feritas in bellum impellit. Quandoquidem ne noſtra quidem Ilias quicquam præterquam ſtultorum Regum & populorum continet iras* (164). The laws, continues he, ſtatutes, privileges, and every thing of that kind are ſuſpended during the horrid confuſion and tumult of war. Princes then find a thouſand opportunities of uſurping deſpotic power; and thence it is that peace is intolerable to ſome. *Sunt qui non aliam ob cauſam bellum movent, niſi ut hac via facilius in ſuos tyrannidem exerceant. Nam pacis temporibus, ſenatus authoritas, magiſtratuum dignitas, legum vigor, nonnihil obſtant, quo minus liceat principi quidquid libet. At bello ſuſcepto, jam omnis rerum ſumma ad paucorum libidinem devoluta eſt. Evehuntur quibus bene vult princeps, dejiciuntur quibus infenſus eſt; exigitur pecuniæ quantum libet. Quid multis? Tum demum ſentiunt ſe vere monarchas eſſe. Colludunt interim duces, donec infelicem populum uſque ad radicem arroſerint. Hoc animo qui ſint, an eos putas gravatim arrepturos oblatam quamcunque belli occaſionem?* i. e. " Some make war with " no other view, but to have a more eaſy opportunity " of exerciſing their tyranny over their ſubjects. For " in times of peace, the authority of the Senate, " the dignity of Magiſtrates, and the force of the " laws, reſtrain a Prince very much from acting arbitrarily. But when a war is broke out, the adminiſtration of all affairs falls into the hands of a " few. Thoſe whom the Prince ſmiles upon are raiſed; ſuch as are obnoxious to him, are caſt down: " he demands, in an arbitrary manner, what ſubſidies he pleaſes. In a word, 'tis then they find " themſelves true Monarchs. In the mean time their " Miniſters juggle together, till they have quite impoveriſhed the unhappy people. Can you believe " that men of this caſt of mind, would not ſeize upon every opportunity that preſented itſelf for engaging in war?" This Diſſertation is in Eraſmus's *Adagia*, and has been printed ſeparately under the title of *Bellum*. The Author there promiſes a Book, which he had wrote to Rome under Pope Julius II. I cannot ſay whether it was ever printed. It was to have been entitled *Antipolemus*.

(164) Eraſm. *Adag.* Chil. 4. Cent. 1. num. 1. pag. m. 859.

[*X*] *He was a little too ſtrongly affected with the libels which were written againſt him, as is manifeſt from the complaints he made againſt the Printers of thoſe libels.*] See the IIId Epiſtle of Book XXI, wherein he cenſures the good offices which a friend of his had done a Bookſeller, whom the Magiſtrates would puniſh for his having printed ſome ſatyrical pieces. Eraſmus remonſtrates to his friend, that this indulgence was of pernicious conſequence; becauſe this man, ſo far from leaving off printing libels, applied himſelf more than ever to that kind of work. It was anſwered in his juſtification, that he had no other way of ſupporting his wife and children (165). Let him beg, anſwered Eraſmus, or proſtitute his wife; for this would be a leſs crime than the ruining the reputation of his neighbour. A Writer muſt have been nettled to the quick by a Satyr, to employ ſuch expreſſions. The learned will be greatly pleaſed with the Author's Latin, and therefore I will quote it. We find, in the very beginning of it, that Eraſmus repreſented to his friend, who was a Proteſtant, that the libels and ſatyrical figures, which the Lutherans ſpread all over Europe, would be of prejudice to their party. *An vos creditis talibus præſidiis proceſſurum Evangelii Negotium? magis metuo ne talium ſtulta malitia & malitioſa ſtultitia, ſubvertat cum bonas literas, tum Evangelium, ſi fieri poſſit, & vos veſtramque civitatem aliquandò pertrahat in grave diſcrimen. Scottus, inquis, habet uxorem & teneros liberos. Num iſta excuſatio videatur juſta, ſi ſcriniis meis effractis ſuſtuliſſet aurum? Non opinor. Et tamen hoc quod facit longè ſceleratius eſt. Niſi fortè putas mihi famam eſſe viliorem pecuniâ. Si deeſt unde alat liberos, mendicet. Pudet, inquies. Et hujuſmodi facinorum non pudet? Proſtituat uxorem, & ad Calices vigilanti naſo ſtertat adultero? Nefarium, in quis? Magis Nefarium eſt quod facit. Nulla lex punit capite qui uxorem proſtituat, at capitalem pœnam denunciant omnes iis qui libellos edunt famoſos* (166).

(165) I was told a few days ſince in 1695, that a certain man, who is for ever publiſhing ſatyrs, gave the following reaſon for his conduct; that he would not be able to maintain his family, if he did not employ his pen in this manner.

(166) Eraſm. Epiſt. 3. lib. 21. pag. 1061, written to Gaſpar Hedion, in 1524.

[*Y*] *He was thought to be an Author of ſeveral Books, which were not written by him.*] The freedom he uſed in his writings, had created him many enemies. He had cenſured with great boldneſs the irregularities of the Clergy; whence they took every opportunity that came in their way, to make him paſs for a heretic and an unjuſt wretch. They declared him, in expreſs terms, to be Luther's aſſiſtant in the Reformation; and aſcribed ſome Books to him which Luther claimed. *Quorundam tanta eſt perverſitas ut ea quoque mihi tribuant, quæ Lutherus in conventu Cæſaris agnovit pro ſuis* (167). They aſcribed to him the Book entitled *Captivitas Babylonica*, becauſe the two firſt words of this work are almoſt the ſame as thoſe which Eraſmus had wrote at the head of a Panegyric. *Faſſus eſt quoſdam fuiſſe ſuſpicatos eſſe hoc opus eſſe meum quod initium eſſet*, Velim, nolim, *non admodum abhorrens ab exordio Panegyrici mei, quo Philippo ex Hiſpaniis reverſo gratulor qui ſic incipit*, velis, nolis: *bella conjectura* (168). i. e. " He owned that ſome people " ſuſpected this work to be mine, becauſe it began " with theſe words *Velim, nolim*, which does not differ much from the exordium of my Panegyric, " wherein I congratulate Philip on his return from " Spain, it beginning thus, *velis, nolis*. A moſt admirable conjecture!" Was not this a fine proof? Such are the people who cannot bear to hear their dangerous chimæras laugh'd at (169); to hear them laugh'd at, I ſay, in order to preſerve one's brethren from them. Immediately they ſet up for reformers; bring the moſt impertinent proofs that can be alledged; and meet with fools enough, who either are contented, or ſeem to be ſo, with them. They aſcribed to Eraſmus two other Books, the very titles whereof were unknown to him, and in one of which he was treated injuriouſly. *Aleander indicavit mihi tribui duas libellos, quorum alteri titulus eſt* Eubulus, *alteri* Lamentationes Petri. *Emoriar ſi unquam mihi futurat auditus titulus antequam ille protuliſſet. Priorem necdum quivi nanciſci. In altero ſic tractor, ut ſi ſciam autorem ſim illi gratiam non optimam habiturus* (170). i. e. " Aleander told " me

(167) Eraſm. Epiſt. 14. lib. 17. pag. 758. col. 2. It was writ in 1521.

(168) Ibid.

(169) It is by the maxim, *Plura ſunt riſu digna revinci ne gravitate adorentur.* This is Tertullian's.

(170) Eraſm. Epiſt. 14. lib. 17. pag. 758.

prizing effect on him [Z]. I ſhall take notice of ſeveral errors of Moreri in the remark below [*AA*]; and in the following ſhall juſt glance at ſome others [*BB*]. In my opinion it ought not to have been aſſerted, that Cœlius Rhodiginus accuſed Eraſmus of plagiariſm [*CC*]. There would have been more reaſon to aſſert, that he was accuſed of having but

" me that two treatiſes were aſcribed to me, the one " entitled *Eubulus*, and the other *Peter's Lamentations*. " May I die if I ever ſo much as heard the titles till " he told me of them. The former I could never " get; and I am treated in ſuch a manner in the lat- " ter, that, did I know the Author, I ſhould make " him ſuch a return as would be no ways grateful."

(171) The 1ſt of Book 11. written June 1, 1518.

In another Epiſtle (171), he relates, I, that the Divines of Louvain had fathered upon him a Satyr of Huttenus, entitled *Nemo*. II, That they had alſo imputed to him that whoſe title is *Febris*: and yet, ſays he, there is not any thing in this work that bears the leaſt reſemblance either to my ſtyle or genius; *cùm tamen totus genius totaque phraſis à mea diſſentiat*. III, That they imputed to him the Speech of Moſellanus againſt the adverſaries of the three learned languages, and the Book of Fiſher (172) againſt le Fevre, not conſidering how much the ſtyle of this Prelate differed from that of Eraſmus, *cum tanta ſit orationis diſſimilitudo*. IV, That they father'd upon him the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, and a certain writing in favour of France. V, That they alledged, as a proof, the ſimilitude of the ſtyles. VI, That he had never writ, nor would write, any piece without prefixing his name to it. *Nullum adhuc opus conſcripſi neque conſcripturus ſum, cui non præfigam meum nomen*. Thoſe who ſhall weigh the words which I ſhall ſoon cite, will juſtly wonder, that there ſhould ſtill be people who do not ſee the illuſion of the proofs, drawn from the ſimilitude of ſtyles. *Impingunt* (ſuſpicionem mihi) *non alio freti argumento quàm ſtyli, qui tamen mei non admodum ſimilis eſt, niſi meus mihi parum eſt cognitus; quanquam quid mirum adeò ſoret, ſi quid illic aut alibi cum phraſi mea congrueret? cùm nemo ferme ſcribat hiſce temporibus, qui non aliquid mei ſtyli referat, propterea quòd meæ lucubrationes multorum manibus terantur, adeò ut in horum etiam libris qui ſcribunt adverſum me, non rarò ſtylum meum agnoſcam, meque meis pennis transfigi ſentiam* (173). i. e. " They ground this ſuſpicion merely on the ſimilitude " of the ſtyles, which is not very great, if I am ac- " quainted with my own. But would it be a wonder " ſhould ſome phraſes now and then reſemble mine? " ſince there are very few Authors in this Age, as " my compoſitions are in the hands of moſt people, " but what employ ſome of my expreſſions; inſomuch " that in the Books of my adverſaries I frequently " diſcover my own diction, and find my ſelf attacked " with my own weapons."

(172) Biſhop of Rocheſter.

(173) Eraſm. Epiſt. 1. lib. 11. pag. 545. *See alſo* Epiſt. 1. of book 12.

[Z] *The peruſal of the Epiſtles* obſcurorum virorum (174) *had a ſurprizing effect upon him.*] It threw him into ſuch a fit of laughter, that it burſt an impoſthume which he had in his face, ſo that there was no occaſion to cut it, as the Phyſicians had ordered. Here follow our Author's words. *Adeo ejus lectione in riſum profuſus fuit, ut abſceſſum in facie enatum, quem Medici ſecare juſſerant, præ nimio riſu ruperit.* Simler, who informs us of this in Bullinger's Life, obſerves that John James Ammian, a native of Zurich, lent Eraſmus the book, which threw him into a laugh, that proved of ſo much advantage to him. Will not this be put among the examples of the great benefit of ſtudy?

(174) *Quibus non tantum genus dicendi, ſed mores quoque Theologorum falſe perſtringuntur.* Simler, *in Vitâ Bullingeri*, fol. 6. *verſo.* i. e. " In which not " only the Dic- " tion, but like- " wiſe the Mo- " rals of Divines " are ſmartly " cenſured."

[*AA*] *I ſhall take notice of ſeveral errors of Moreri, in the Remark below.*] The firſt is this, *Eraſmus's father run away with one Margaret a Phyſician's daughter, whom he had got with child.* We have ſhowed above (175) that Margaret did not run away with her Gallant; but only went to a neighbouring village to lie in, whilſt he fled away as faſt as poſſible. The ſecond, is to ſay, that Eraſmus *aſſumed the habit of a Canon Regular of St. Auſtin's, in the Monaſtery of Sion.* His preceptors indeed would fain have perſuaded him to enter into that Monaſtery which was near Delft, and the chief houſe of the Order; but he then eluded their ſearch; and when he was forced to comply, 'twas in the Convent of Stein near Tergou, that he aſſumed the Monkiſh Habit. I do not find either by the relation he himſelf has given of his own life, or by his Letter to Lambert Grunnius, nor by the Prefaces of Rhenanus that he ever ſtudied in the Convents of Sion, as Boxhornius and Valerius Andreas aſſert. The third, is to ſay, *that he went to Baſil at ſixty years of age*; for every part of the article ſhews, that according to Moreri, 'twas then that Eraſmus went for the firſt time to Baſil. Now 'tis eaſy to ſhew that this is falſe, and in the following manner. The 60th year of Eraſmus falls either in 1525, or in 1527, ſince his birth is fixed by Moreri, indefinitely either to the year 1465 or 1467. Now if it be found that Eraſmus was at Baſil in 1516 or 1518, which is manifeſt by his Epiſtles (176) 'tis plain that Moreri muſt be miſtaken. We have cited above (177), a man who aſſerts, that Eraſmus went to Baſil a little after the acceſſion of Leo X to the Pontifical Throne. Now this Pope was elected in March 1513. The fourth error is of the ſame kind with the third; He ſays that Eraſmus going to Baſil *cauſed his Colloquies to be printed in that city, which were immediately ſold.* This is evidently ſpoke of the firſt Edition of that Book; but we have ſeen above, that ſeveral Editions had been made of it, before the year 1522. The fifth error is his aſſerting, *that Eraſmus knowing that the Hereticks returned to Baſil, where they had commited incredible diſorders, withdrew to Friburg in* 1529: for this is ſuppoſing that the Proteſtants had been drove from thence ſome time before; but nothing can be more falſe than this ſuppoſition. Their party was for ever increaſing, from the year 1522, till that in 1529; the other was quite ruined: all the images which would have filled twelve carts, having been piled up before the Town-Houſe in nine heaps, and burnt, in order to put an end to the diſputes of the populace, who would employ them in domeſtick uſes (178). The ſixth is, *that all the learned men of the country carried Eraſmus's corps upon their ſhoulders, to the Cathedral of Baſil, where he was buried.* For this to be done, the coffin muſt have been as large as the King of Baſhan's bed, mentioned in the third chapter of Deuteronomy; otherwiſe all the learned men in the Canton of Baſil would not have found places for their ſhoulders. He ſhould have ſaid, that the body was carried by the Students in the Univerſity of Baſil; and that the reſt of the Students with all the Profeſſors, and a great number of the Magiſtrates attended at the funeral. *Elatus eſt humeris ſtudioſorum ad ædem Cathedralem, atque ibi ..... honorificè ſepultus; nam in pompa funebri non Conſul modo, ſed etiam è Senatoribus plerique viſebantur, Academiæ Profeſſorum ac ſtudioſorum aberat nemo* (179). I ſay nothing of his death's being fixed to the 11th of July 1516, it being manifeſt that they are both typographical errors. At leaſt 'tis plain that if Moreri writ the 11th of July inſtead of the 12th, it was certainly the Printers who compoſed 1516 inſtead of 1536. Hofman has likewiſe put the 11th of July; and has alſo fallen into the third and fourth error of Moreri.

(175) In the remark [*B*].

(176) The 19th of Book 2; the 53d and 55th of 3; and the 17th of the 15th. Add to this that Melchior Adamus, *in Vita Eraſmi*, ſpeaking of the latter's leaving Baſil in 1529, ſays, *that it was fifteen years ſince he uſed to viſit that City; he coming to it, every now and then, from Brabant.* This is extracted from Eraſmus's 10th Epiſt. Book 24.

(177) In the remark [*R*].

(178) *Lexicon Hofmani*, tom. 1. p. 258. ed. 1677.

(179) Rhenanus, *Epiſt. Dedicat.* Origenis.

[*BB*] ... *and in the following Note ſhall juſt glance at ſome other errors.*] I ſhall not examine in this place, whether it be true, as Boiſſard was told, that Eraſmus had been Rector of the Univerſity of Baſil; and that upon his being injuriouſly treated by the Students, he threw part of the privileges of that Univerſity into the fire. I alſo ſhall not take upon me to refute a ſtory told in the beginning of Eraſmus's life, and in Melchior Adamus (180), viz. that Henry VIII of England, gave orders for him to be ſearched; and to take away all the money that ſhould be found about him, over and above what every perſon is allowed to carry out of the kingdom; and that upon Eraſmus's waiting upon the King to complain about it, he made him burſt out a laughing; and received a preſent from him, with an order to have all the money reſtored which had been taken from him. Had ſuch an accident happened to Eraſmus, he would not have ſuppreſſed it in a book (181) where he ſpeaks of the money he had loſt at Dover.

(180) The younger Patin mentions this incident, but without refuting it in the *Life of Eraſmus*, prefixed to the *Encomium Moriæ*, publiſhed by him at Baſil in 1676.

(181) In *Catal. Lucubrat. ad Joan. Botzbemium Abſtemium.* *See alſo* Rhenanus *in Epiſt. præfixa Operib. Eraſmi.*

[*CC*] *In my opinion, it ought not to have been aſſerted, that Cœlius Rhodiginus charged Eraſmus with plagiariſm.*] Eraſmus complains a little of Cœlius Rhodiginus, but at the ſame time beſtows the higheſt applauſes on him; he complains of him (182) I ſay, becauſe that he had obſerved in the *Lectiones Antiquæ*,

(182) Eraſm. *Chiliad. I.* Cent. 1. pag. 16. edit. Baſil. 1546.

but a very imperfect knowledge of the Greek tongue [*DD*], and of writing many of his Compositions in too great haſte (*f*). We have taken notice (*g*) of his being reproached with drinking to exceſs: but I am perſuaded that this was mere calumny; for in the ſame place where he confeſſes that his life had not been ſufficiently chaſte, he proteſts that he had always been very ſober [*EE*]; and was ſorry that it was not poſſible for him to

(*f*) See the Citation (61) of the Article BUDÆUS.

(*g*) In the Remark [*I*] of Citation (67).

ſome traces of the ingratitude of certain Authors, who in their borrowing from other Writers, not only forbear mentioning them, but even make a ſiniſter uſe of their theſts. And as in other reſpects, he does not complain of Rhodiginus, as accuſing him of plagiariſm, I am apt to think that the learned Morhof has miſtaken the one for the other, when he ſays, *that Rhodiginus accuſed Eraſmus, as though the latter had ſtolen ſome thoughts from him concerning the Adagia* (183). Rhodiginus, adds he, ought not to glory in his having contributed a drop or two to that fountain, ſince he had mentioned but a few particulars concerning ſome proverbs in his *Lectiones Antiquæ*. 'Tis certain that the firſt Edition of Rhodiginus's Book appeared ſeveral years after that of Eraſmus on the Adagia. I would add, that as the Author was dead when Eraſmus made the complaint abovementioned, it does not appear in what time he could have made the accuſation ſpoken of by Morhof, nor boaſt of his ſupplies. I would add, I ſay, this, did I not diſcover that Eraſmus's words are deceitful? He tells us, that whilſt he was writing this complaint, news was brought him that Cœlius Rhodiginus was dead. *Cum hæc ſcriberem, ex eruditorum literis cognovi Rhodiginum obiiſſe ſupremum diem* (184). But theſe words were added by him in a new Edition of the Work in queſtion. The complaint had appeared in a former Edition, and in Rhodiginus's life-time.

(183) Morhof. *Polyhiſtor.* pag. 252.

(184) Eraſm. *Adag. Chil.* 1. Cent. 1. pag. 16.

This is evidently proved by a Letter which Rhodiginus wrote to Eraſmus the 22d of April 1519 (185). He tells him, that he was very much ſurprized to hear that Eraſmus was angry with him. The cauſe we are told of this indignation, was, that Eraſmus's opinions had been combated in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* with an air of authority, and in a magiſterial tone. *Te, ait, in antiquarum lectionum Commentariis ab ejus ſententia diverſum abiiſſe, atque id tanquam docere cuperes* (186). Rhodiginus having juſtified himſelf with regard to this matter, adds, that he had read, not many days before, the complaint which Eraſmus had aſſerted in the laſt Edition of his Adagia. He aſſures, I, that this was the only work of Eraſmus he had read, when he publiſhed his Book. II, that his reading of this, was like the tearing out of his bowels, ſince that after having been long employed on the ſame ſubject, he ſhould now be obliged to lay it aſide. The reſolution he took, was to give his materials a different dreſs. *Facto tuo, qui occupaſti, ad reſtim mihi rediit res. Evigilatæ mihi tot noctes periere, hauſtæ lucernarum fuligines, ſudoribus toties rigatæ veſtes in nihilum recidere... nova fuit redordienda tela* (187). This was part of the materials of the *Lectiones Antiquæ*. He promiſes to dedicate one Book of them to Eraſmus. Theſe things perſuade me ſtill more that Morhof is miſtaken.

(185) It is the 30th of Gudius's Epiſtles, printed at Utrecht in 1697.

(186) *Epiſt. Gudii*, pag. 117.

(187) Ibid. pag. 118.

(188) Baillet, *Jugem. des Savans*, tom. 3. pag. 146.

(*) *Not. ad Chryſoſt. in Paul. ad Hebræos.*

(†) Mar. Vic. *Reat. Præfat. ad Hier. Op. item poſter. Scaligeran.* pag. 74.

(189) Girac. *Replique à Coſtar*, Sect. 15. pag. m. 133.

(*) *Quod quidem eo magis miror quod in Chryſoſtomo quoque, quo nemo unquam luculentius faciliuſque ſcripſit, hoc illi nimis quam accidiſſe deprehendi: ac præſertim in octo prioribus in poſt. ad Corint. Epiſt. homiliis, in quibus hoc ſerio affirmare quam eum pluſquam 150 errores admiſiſſe.* Bili. *Obſ. Sacr.* lit. 1. cap. 9.

[*DD*] *He was accuſed of having but a very imperfect knowledge of the Greek Tongue.*] See what is related by me in the Remark (*E*) of the Article CASTELLANUS, and add to it the following paſſage from Baillet (188). "There is another point that interferes with the univerſality in learning which ſome perſons have aſcribed to Eraſmus, and which ſeems to be better grounded, viz. its being pretended, that he had but a ſuperficial and imperfect knowledge of the Greek Tongue. Hales ſays (*), that it muſt be granted, that Eraſmus had a great penetration, juſtneſs, and eaſe with regard to the criticiſm of Latin Authors; but that it was far otherwiſe with reſpect to thoſe of the Greek. The famous Marianus Victorius (†), who gave us an Edition of St. Jerom, went ſtill farther; he declares that Eraſmus had not the leaſt knowledge of that tongue." To theſe two teſtimonies, that of the Abbot de Billi might have been added. Read the following words of Girac. *He is even* (189) ſays he, ſpeaking of Coſtar, *ſo blind both in body and mind, that though Eraſmus is the moſt faulty Writer in the world, he yet has not been able to diſcover one of his errors. He nevertheleſs has miſtaken in a numberleſs multitude of places, inſomuch that the Abbot de Billy* (*) *affirms ſeriouſly, that in this Writer's tranſlation of eight of St. Chryſoſtom's Homilies he has committed upwards of an hundred and fifty very groſs errors; and in another place* (†) *he is forced to count by thouſands the miſtakes which occur in the whole tranſlation of the Homilies on St. Paul, tho' no Author ever writ with leſs obſcurity than St. Chryſoſtom; and thoſe who have compared the richneſs and beauty of his diction to gold, might with as much juſtice compare the clearneſs of it to the pureſt and moſt poliſhed chryſtal, and to the brighteſt and moſt limpid fountains. Eraſmus was nevertheleſs a man of great abilities; and it is my opinion that the errors he has committed, in his tranſlation of that great Saint, were wholly owing to the contempt in which he held him; ſince his inſolence was ſo great, that he boaſted in a letter written by him to Biſhop Tonſtal, that were he drunk he would write better than St. Chryſoſtom has done on the Acts of the Apoſtles. Such are the liberties which the wits of this age take.* I have conſulted the letter which was writ to Biſhop Tonſtal, and I thereby find, that Girac did not make uſe of an hyperbole. But there is, in the paſſage of Eraſmus, an expreſſion which ſeems to inſinuate, that he did not believe that the Pieces which he deſpiſed ſo much, were really writ by St. Chryſoſtom. Here follows the whole paſſage, which I ſhall ſubmit to the judgment of my Readers. *Ex* Chryſoſtomo *in Acta verteram Homilias tres, cujus operæ me pœnituit, quum nihil illic viderem* Chryſoſtomi. *Tuo tamen hortatu recepi codicem in manum, ſed nihil unquam legi indoctius. Ebrius ac ſtertens ſcriberem meliora. Habet frigidos & ineptos ſenſiculos, nec eos ipſos commodè poteſt explicare. Ex Commentariis in Epiſtolam ad* Corinthios *poſteriorem verti Homilias ſex, eundem artificem illic loqui ſentio. Itaque non eſt animus bonas horas collocare malè. Aliud ſpirat* Chryſoſtomus (190). i. e. "I gave a verſion of three of St. Chryſoſtom's Homilies on the Acts, but repent the pains it coſt me, becauſe I did not perceive any thing of St. Chryſoſtom in them. However, at your perſuaſion I again took up the Book, but never in my life did I read any thing more illiterate. I could write better when drunk or aſleep. His thoughts are flat and trifling, and even theſe he cannot explain to advantage. I tranſlated ſix Homilies from his Annotations on the ſecond Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, and find them to come from the ſame hand; whence I am no ways inclined to trifle away my moſt valuable moments. Chryſoſtom breathes different things."

(†) *L. cod. c.* 19.

(190) Eraſm. Epiſt. 59. lib. 26. pag. 1478.

[*EE*] *He confeſſes that his life had not been ſufficiently chaſte . . . . he proteſts that he had always been very ſober.*] He obſerves this in a letter written by him in 1524, and which gives a beautiful deſcription of the diſpoſition of his heart. I ſhall take notice but of the two following particulars. He declares, that he never was a ſlave to Venus, and that his very cloſe application to ſtudy, did not allow him leiſure to follow ſuch purſuits; but, in fine, that the errors he might have been guilty of in that particular, have long ceaſed; years having delivered him from that tyrant, for which reaſon he thinks old age very agreeable. A great deal of virtue is contained in theſe laſt words; and many people could not employ them without telling a notorious untruth; ſo cloſely do they follow the genius of Malherbe and not that of Sophocles (191). With regard to ſobriety, Eraſmus could not have written any thing that ſuited better with a Chriſtian Philoſopher, or that can be ſaid of fewer people than what is obſerved by him. *Et juvenis cibum ac potum ſemper ita ſumſi, ut pharmacum. Ac ſæpenumerò doluit, non licere ſine cibo potuque perpetuò degere.* Veneri *nunquam ſervitum eſt, nè vacavit quidem in tantis ſtudiorum laboribus. Et ſi quid fuit hujus mali, jam olim ab eo tyranno me vindicavit ætas, quæ mihi hoc nomine gratiſſima eſt* (192). i. e. "When I was a young man I alſo took victuals and drink as tho' they had been a medicament; and frequently lamented that it was not poſſible for me to ſupport nature without them. I never was a ſlave to Venus; nor indeed would the great variety of buſineſs in which I was engaged, allow me time for it. And if I ever

(191) See the Remark [*C*] of the Article MALHERBE.

(192) Eraſm. Epiſt. 5. lib. 23. pag. 1211. F.

to live without eating and drinking. The violent exclamations of Matthew Sladus, Rector of the College of Amſterdam, and a ſtrong oppoſer of the Arminians againſt him [*FF*], were refuted in the moſt ſolid manner by Gaſpar Barlæus, in a work intitled *Bogermannus* ἐλεγχόμενος. It is reported (*b*) that a new edition of all Eraſmus's works, under the direction of Mr. Le Clerc, is going to be undertaken at Leyden *. This is a very laudable deſign, and the execution of it muſt give great pleaſure to all lovers of polite Literature. We are told that ſeveral manuſcript pieces will be inſerted in this new edition. It doubtleſs will be more beautiful than that printed at Baſil in 1540, in nine volumes in folio, and dedicated to the Emperor Charles V. The Dedication was written by Beatus Rhenanus.

(*b*) I write this in 1699.

* N. B. This new edition has been publiſhed.

" ever was ſtruck with the paſſion of love, age has " long ſince delivered me from its tyranny, and for " this reaſon old age is very grateful to me." Of the two things declared by him, 1ſt, that he had fed his body merely from a kind of neceſſity, and had taken food as phyſic: 2dly, that his ſtudies did not allow him much leiſure: the former aſſertion may be credited; and the latter is proved beyond all diſpute by the great number of books he wrote. Now theſe two things being once laid down, we cannot eaſily doubt the truth of what he advances with reſpect to his chaſtity. He does not relate it to have been perfect: He confeſſes that he had not always triumphed over the ſuggeſtions of impure love; but then he declares, that he was never trampled upon by that paſſion; he aſſerts, that tho' he might not have been always the maſter on theſe occaſions, he yet was never the ſlave. A man who had much leiſure time upon his hands, and was an epicure, would (ſhould he make the like declaration) be ſuſpected of telling an untruth; for idleneſs and high-feeding are the parents of luxury.

Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis.
Hæc ut amet faciunt: hæc ut fecere tuentur.
Hæc ſunt jucundi cauſa cibuſque mali.
Otia ſi tollas periere Cupidinis arcus &c (193).
That is,
" If therefore you expect to find redreſs,
" In the firſt place take leave of idleneſs.
" 'Tis this that kindled firſt your fond deſire,
" 'Tis this brings fuel to the am'rous fire.
" Bar idleneſs, you ruin Cupid's game,
" You blunt his arrows, and you quench his flame.
Tate.

(193) Ovid. *de Remed. Amor.* ver. 136, & *ſeq.*

In amore hæc omnia inſunt vitia: injuriæ,
Suſpiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
Bellum, pax rurſum: incerta hæc ſi tu poſtules
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,
Quàm ſi des operam, ut cum ratione inſanias (196).
That is,
" In love theſe diſadvantages are found;
" Affronts, ſuſpicions, enmities and peace;
" Next war, then peace again; and for a man
" To think of following reaſon, when in love,
" Is, as to hope to follow reaſon in madneſs.

(196) Terent. *Eunuch.* Act. 1. Scen. 1. ver. 14.

Moſt perſons form more than once this kind of engagement. Lovers do not extricate themſelves from it but with the piece of a chain, which ſoon captivates them anew.

Nec tu, cùm obſtiteris ſemel, inſtantique negaris
Parere imperio, rupi jam vincula dicas.
Nam & luctata canis nodum abripit: attamen illi,
Cùm fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catenæ (197).
That is,
" Nor think, when once thou haſt reſiſted one,
" That all thy marks of ſervitude are gone:
" The ſtruggling greyhound gnaws his leaſh in vain,
" If when 'tis broken, ſtill he drags the chain.

(197) Perſius, Sat. 5. ver. 157.

It will be allowed that a man, who like Eraſmus, ſeldom lets his pen and books be out of his hand, cannot find leiſure enough for all theſe things; and therefore Eraſmus ſpoke very juſtly, in ſaying that his ſtudies did not allow him leiſure to devote himſelf to the pleaſures of love.

[*FF*] *Matthew Sladus . . . . made violent exclamations againſt* Eraſmus.] He put the moſt malicious conſtruction poſſible on a paſſage which he met with in Eraſmus's Epiſtles, where the Author ſeemed to queſtion the authority of St. Paul. *Ego ſane nec Hieronymo, nec Auguſtino ſic addictus eſſe vellem, vix etiam Paulo, ut omnia illius ſcripta tuerer ac probarem* (198). i. e. " I would not be ſo bigotted to St. Jerom, to St. " Auſtin, nor ſcarce to St. Paul, as to defend and " approve every part of his Writings." It is to be obſerved that Eraſmus, in the other Editions, added the ſoftening expreſſion following, *ut aliquid dicam* ὑπερβολικῶς. i. e. " To ſpeak hyperbolically." Barlæus (199) did not fail to inveigh ſtrongly againſt Matthew Sladus, who was not ſo juſt as to take notice of that ſoftning expreſſion abovementioned. He expatiated on the great injuſtice there is, in reproaching Authors for faults which they themſelves have corrected; and he made a juſt apology for Eraſmus on that occaſion; and endeavoured alſo to clear him with regard to a charge of Arianiſm, of which Sladus juſt now mentioned accuſed him. This was nothing but reviving the old complaints which the Monks had publiſhed. The apologiſt cites ſome of their impertinences; and does not omit (200) that of John Standiſh, an Engliſh Franciſcan, and Biſhop of St. Aſaph, who complained to the King his Sovereign, becauſe Eraſmus, in the beginning of St. John's Goſpel, had written *ſermo* inſtead of *verbum*. He obſerves (201) that the ſons of Martin Lydius, Profeſſor of Divinity in Franeker, preſerved as a treaſure the manuſcript of the apology *pro Eraſmi Theologia*, written by their father.

(198) Eraſm. *Epiſt. ad Petrum Barbirium.* It is the 3d of Book I, and is dated from Bruges Aug. 13, 1521.

(199) Barlæus, *in Bogermanno* ἐλεγχομένῳ, pag. 47, & *ſeq.*

(200) Ibid. pag. 58, 59.

(201) Ibid. pag. 60.

(194) Terent. *Eunuch.* Act. 4. Scene 5. ver. 6. See the Remark [*I*] of the Article EREMITA. Num. 4.

Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus, ſays Terence (194): *Diſtento ventre diſtenduntur ea quæ ventri adhærent*, ſaid St. Jerom. Let it not be objected, that ſome very ſober and laborious perſons are very much addicted to venery; a ſmall exception to the general rule, grounded on the occult qualities of natural inclination, ought not to ſerve us as a guide, when we are to form a judgment of our neighbour; and therefore whilſt we do not know whether Eraſmus was of ſuch a complection as would make him an exception to the general rule; we ought to believe, that by forbearing from luxurious eating, and applying himſelf cloſely to ſtudy, he deadned the fire of love, and preſerved himſelf from ſlavery. Add to this, that his character; the reputation he had acquired; and his poſſeſſion of wiſdom and honeſty, neceſſarily engaged him to keep a good decorum outwardly; and to not violate the laws of chaſtity without the utmoſt circumſpection. Now for a man to do this, he muſt have a great deal of leiſure time upon his hands: He muſt turn his views, not towards the Venus *volgivaga*, towards thoſe Thais's who indulge their favours to the firſt comer; but towards perſons who, on their ſide, are obliged to preſerve a decent exterior. Theſe inſiſt upon preliminaries, and will be beſieged in due form. If they ſurrender, they become a benefice which require a perpetual reſidence (195). A thouſand great and petty cares ſucceed. It is a ſky which does not preſerve any more than before, the ſame ſerenity. Coldneſſes, jealouſies, complaints, debates, ruptures, and reconciliations continue to produce a multitude of changes in it, and this without the leaſt rule or order.

(195) See the citation above (22) of the Article ÆGIALEA.

ERESUS, in the Iſland of Leſbos, was the native place of Theophraſtus (*a*). The barley which grew in the territory of it yielded ſo very white a meal, that it was judged fit to be made into celeſtial bread. Hence it is that the Poets have feigned, that Mercury

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 452.

cury went to Ereſus, to buy this flower for the uſe of the Gods [*A*]. Henry Stephens ſpeaking of the good cheer in which the Clergy indulge themſelves, mentions this bread [*B*]: but he has not cited Athenæus as he ought to have done. See Hadrian Junius (*b*).

(*b*) *Animadverſ.* lib. 3. cap. 4.

(1) It was intitled, Γαστρονομία. It has alſo been cited under other titles. *See* Athenæus, lib. 1. p. 4.
(2) Lib. 3. cap. 29. pag. m. 111.
(3) *Apologie pour Herodote*, pag. m. 264, 265.

[*A*] *The Poets have feigned, that Mercury went to Ereſus . . . . for the uſe of the Gods.*] A Sicilian Poet, Archeſtratus by name, relates this ſtory in a Poem (1) where he treated of good cheer. This Poem is now loſt; but Athenæus has quoted ſeveral paſſages from it, and among others that which is here hinted at (2).

[*B*] *Henry Stephens ſpeaking of the good cheer in which the Clergy indulge themſelves, mentions this bread.*] He ſays as follows (3): *When we would expreſs, in a word or two, a moſt excellent wine, and fit for the palate of a King, we ſay Prieſt-wine. In like manner, if we are to ſpeak of bread that has all the qualities of fine, delicious bread, ſuch for inſtance, as that of Ereſus, for which Mercury took the pains to deſcend from the ſkies, and the purchaſe for the Gods, if Archeſtratus the Poet is to be credited) do we not immediately have recourſe to chapter-bread?*

ERFURT, the capital of Thuringia, and one of the greateſt cities of Germany [*A*], was given to the Archbiſhops of Mentz by the Emperor Otho [*B*] after the death of Burcardus Lord of Thuringia. This Emperor permitted his ſon William, who obtained this Archbiſhopric, to poſſeſs not only that city, but likewiſe all Thuringia. The ſucceſſors of William maintained the poſſeſſion of it, till ſuch time as Lewis the Bearded ſeized upon Thuringia, and left it to his deſcendants, who have enjoyed it during near two Centuries, under the title of Landgraves. It afterwards paſſed, by marriage, to the Houſe of the Marquiſſes of Miſnia, which is the ſame with that of the preſent Dukes of Saxony. The Archbiſhops of Mentz, by their having ſo long loſt all poſſeſſion of Thuringia, have renounced their right to it; but they have never laid aſide their claim to Erfurt, of which they have always been recognized Lords. They indeed, for a long time, had little more than the title. The citizens pretended that they had purchaſed, at different times, all the rights of the Archbiſhops; and even aſſerted, that as theſe Prelates were not Lords of the Territory, they could not poſſeſs, in their own right, ſo much as an inch of land in the city. The Archbiſhops aſſumed more or leſs authority, according to the diverſity of the factions which divided the citizens; but when Erfurt, upon its embracing the principles of Luther, had put itſelf under the protection of the Dukes of Saxony, the Archbiſhops had no longer any authority there. Guſtavus King of Sweden poſſeſſed himſelf of that city; and becauſe it revolted from the Swedes, it was again ſubjected by General Banner. The Swedes computed, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, that it ſhould again be ſubject to the Archbiſhops. The citizens pretended that this was to be underſtood only as a chimerical obedience, and like to that they had paid in latter times; but the Archbiſhop of Mentz, on the contrary aſſerted, that by this article of the peace, he ought to be reinveſted with all the rights of a true Lordſhip. The Emperor declared in his favour, and put the city of Erfurt under the ban of the Empire. After which this Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by the troops of France, forced the inhabitants to a ſubmiſſion [*C*]; ſo that he now is poſſeſſed of the city and of the (*a*) citadel (*b*). The Univerſity of Erfurt, which had once been in a very flouriſhing condition, was ruined by the inſolent behaviour of the Students [*D*].

(*a*) It is called St. *Ciriace*, becauſe it was built in a place where there formerly had been a convent of nuns of that name. *Journal des Savans* of Jan. 19, 1665. The Germans call it *Cyriacſburg*.

(*b*) Extracted from a *Memoir concerning the city of Erfurt*, an extract of which is given in the *Journal des Savans of Jan.* 19, 1665.

ERMITA

[*A*] . . . . *One of the greateſt cities of Germany.*] "Some even go ſo far as to ſay, that it ſtands upon "more ground than any city in Germany. Several "places are alſo dependent on it, which conſiſt of "three Lordſhips, and ſeventy two villages. It took "its name from the caſtle of Effort ſeven leagues from "it, the Lord of which had toll paid him from the "city. Several Hiſtorians imagine that the Monaſtery of St. Peter on the mountain, was built there "by Dagobert King of France; others by King Pepin Lord of Thuringia, and ſix Flower-de-Luces "are ſtill ſeen on the gate of that Monaſtery (1).

(1) Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Empire*, lib. 6. cap. 1. pag. 198. of tom. 2. 1ſt Dutch edit.

[*B*] . . . . *Erfurt was given . . . . by the Emperor Otho.*] As the whole text of this article is taken from an Extract written from Germany, by Mr. Sallo, I only ſay, with him, *the Emperor Otho*; but for fear leſt ſo vague a way of expreſſion ſhould make the criticks accuſe me of being very negligent, I ſhall add, that the Emperor here ſpoken of, is Otho I; and will cite an Author who deſerves to be credited on this occaſion. *The city of* Erfurt, ſays he (2), *was not ſurrounded with walls till the year* 1163, *a long time after that the Emperor Otho I had given it, together with Thuringia, to his brother* (3) *William, Archbiſhop of Mentz.*

(2) Heiſs, ibid. pag. 199.

(3) He is made ſon to Otho, in the extract of the *Journal des Savans.*

[*C*] *The Archbiſhop of Mentz, aſſiſted by the troops of France, forced the inhabitants to a ſubmiſſion.*] Here follows another paſſage from Mr. Heiſs (4). "Now "we are talking of Erfurt, it will not be juſt to omit "the generoſity of the moſt Chriſtian King in 1664, "in ſending at his own expence, to the Elector of "Mentz, John Philip de Schonborn his ally, a powerful ſuccour of troops commanded by Count Pradel, "to aſſiſt him in reducing that city to his obedience, "in conſequence of the Ban, publiſhed againſt it by "the Emperor." There is ſufficient to content thoſe who would have an incident verified by the circumſtance of time, and that of perſons &c. Such a taſte is very juſt; for without theſe requiſites an incident or relation is a body without a ſoul, or a machine out of order, *arena ſine calce:* and nevertheleſs numberleſs Authors give relations entirely in this imperfect caſt.

(4) *Hiſt. de l'Empire*, liv. 6. chap. 1. pag. 199.

[*D*] *The Univerſity of Erfort . . . was ruined by the inſolent behaviour of the Students.*] Eobanus Heſſus had had 1500 Auditors in that famous Univerſity, Luther took his firſt Degrees in it, and uſed to call it the Paradiſe of Germany. But things were greatly changed afterwards. The Citizens being no longer able to bear the riotous conduct and inſolence of the Students, took up arms, beſieged the Colleges, took them, beat or killed as many Students as fell in their way; and were not eaſy till they had drove them all out of the city. I will preſent my readers with a long paſſage from a Speech of Alſtedius (5), in which he complains grievouſly of the irregularity of the Scholars. *Quam vellem nobis ſemper ob oculos verſaretur cataſtrophe florentiſſimæ Academiæ Erfordienſis! Cum ſtudioſi illic loci ſe petulantiùs gererent adverſus cives, cum tumultibus nocturnis urbem laceſſerent, cum lapidibus tecta domoſque obruerent, cum feneſtras & fores hoſpitum frangerent, populus magno agmine excitus collegiorum domos admotis bellicis tormentis obſedit, expugnavit, ac ut quemque ſtudioſorum juvenum obvium habuit, velut hoſtem arripuit, vulneravit, trucidavit, neque priùs quievit, quam vitulantium adoleſcentum multitudo mœnibus urbis eſſet profligata. Jacet ex illo die etiamnum, olim florentiſſima Academia, quam Lutherus, qui primam ibi lauream conſecutus*

(5) It is intitled, *De Providentia Dei circa ſcholarum decrementum.* It is in his *Encyclopædia*, col. 2764, & ſeq.

ERMITA (DANIEL), a native of Antwerp, and Secretary to the Duke of Florence (*a*), about the beginning of the seventeenth Century, was a pretty good writer [*A*]; but neither his conduct nor morals were consistent with the profession of the Belles Lettres, to which he had devoted himself. Scaliger had a great esteem for him, and recommended him in the strongest terms to Casaubon, for which he was sorry soon after [*B*], upon his hearing that this young man had turned Roman Catholic. Casaubon has expatiated pretty largely on that incident [*C*]. However, though Eremita had changed

(*a*) Valer. And. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 169.

secutus est, paradisum Germaniæ id ætatis fuisse testatur: in qua Eobanus Hessus mille & quingentos auditores habuit: quæ denique id fuit in Germaniâ, quod Bononia in Italia, mater scilicet studiorum. i. e. "I wish we "could have for ever before our eyes the sad catastro-"phe of the most flourishing University of Erford! "The Students of it behaving with insolence towards "the inhabitants, irritating them by their nocturnal "tumults, throwing showers of stones at their houses, "breaking their windows, and forcing open their "doors; the populace assembling together in great "crouds, besieged the Colleges in a military man-"ner, took them, seized upon, wounded, and killed all "the Students they met with, as if they had been so "many enemies; nor ceased their fury, till they had "repulsed the whole multitude of these hot-headed "youths out of the walls of the city. From that fa-"tal day, to this time, lies in ruins the once most "flourishing University, which Luther, who there "gained his first laurel, declares to have been the Pa-"radise of Germany in that Age: wherein Eobanus "Hessus had 1500 Students; and which, in a word, "was the same in Germany as Bologna in Italy, viz. "the Mother of Studies."

[*A*] *Was a pretty good Writer.*] The Panegyric of the Duke of Florence, published by him in 1608, was esteemed. *Epistolica Relatio* (1) *de Itinere Germanico quod legatione magni Etruriæ Ducis ad Rodolphum II. Imp. Principesque & respublicas aliquot Germaniæ anno* 1609 *peractum fuit*; and his Epistle *de Helveticorum, Rhetorum, Sedonensium situ Republica & moribus*, deserve to be read. Here follows Scaliger's judgment of him (2): *Quas* (Literas) *ad te ab* *** *scriptas mihi misisti, aliquam bonæ frugis spem faciunt. Interest illud ingenium quibusdam finibus coërceri, in quibus si contineatur & illam luxuriem depascatur, nihil ab eo nisi bonum expectandum est.* i. e. "The Letters wrote "to you by ***, and which you communicated to me, "give me some hopes of a good harvest in time to "come. That genius ought to be restrained to cer-"tain limits; and then, if its luxuriancy be also "prun'd away, every thing good and worthy may "be expected from it." His Latin Poems were inserted in Tom. II of *Deliciæ Poëtarum Belgicorum*.

(1) Christopher Arnoldus cites it with honour, in his *Life of Marcus Velserus*.

(2) Epist. 97. pag. 243. edit. Francof. 1628. He writes this to Casaubon. The letter is dated the 15th of August, but the year is wanting. It is 1603.

[*B*] *Scaliger . . had recommended him, in the strongest terms, to Casaubon, for which he was sorry soon after, upon his hearing that this young man was turned Roman Catholick.*] We have seen what he wrote to Casaubon, the 15th of August 1603; and here follows what he observed to him the 8th of December of the same year. *Prob facinus indignum! quid de* *** *audio? adeo immutatum ingenium ejus, ut alius ab eo quem tibi commendavi discederet? Me verò stipitem qui in aliis ὀξυδολίπτης sum, in isto ἰμωπισα, ἐτύφλωσσον. . . Nescio an unquam quicquam mihi acciderit, quod aut justius aut gravius doluerim, tum quia in illa ætatula vulpem non deprehenderim, tum quia à me expresserit ut se tibi commendarem. Sed væ illi qui in te ingratus fuit, & me hominem stultum qui vulpem non hominem tibi commendavi. Obstrinxerat me aliquo privato beneficio, non tamen quod æquaret comitatem qua illum complexus sum, sed tamen (quæ est πρυθυμία mea) quantulumcunque esset quod mihi præstitisset pro magno beneficio habui, neque potui illum splendidius remunerari quam si illi portam aperirem ad amicitiam tuam.* i. e. "Good heavens! "what am I told of ***? Is his mind so much chang-"ed, as to be quite different from what it was "when I recommended him to you? Tho' I am so clear "sighted in other matters, I yet must have been a mere "stock and quite blind on this occasion? I know not whe-"ther any accident ever befel me, for which I am more "justly or more deeply afflicted; not only because I "could not discover the concealed fox, but because "he should inveigle me so far as to procure a recom-"mendation of him from me to you. But woe be to the "wretch who was ungrateful to you: and silly sure "was I to recommend a fox, not a man. I had received "private favours from him, but none of them could "equal the kindness which I indulged him. I never-"theless, though the civility he had done me was so "small, consider'd it as a very considerable one; and "could not repay it to greater advantage, than by "giving him an opportunity of being indulged your "friendship." I think with Colomesius (3), that the affair here hinted at, is Eremita's changing his Religion; but I cannot guess the reason why the Editors of Scaliger's Letters should pay so much regard to this man's memory, as to put stars instead of his name. They did not range, in their proper order, the two Epistles where he is mentioned: for they computed as the XCVIIth, that in which Scaliger forms the judgment, in the last remark, of this man; and they reckon as the LXXXVIII, that in which he says of him what I have just now related. Colomesius, who fancied that Eremita was hinted at in both, should have taken notice that they were misplaced; for, according to his suppositions, it is plain, that the XCVIIth Epistle is prior to the LXXXVIIIth. This is manifest from another passage. Scaliger, in the XCVIIth Epistle, says, that he has received Casaubon's Commentary on the Roman History; and in the LXXXVth, he observes, that he had already sent him twice word of his having received the Book in question: it is consequently evident, that the XCVIIth Epistle was writ before the LXXXVth. Now the latter is dated September the 19th 1603; we must then, to supply the date of the year which is wanting in the XCVIIth Epistle, add 1603 to the XVIIIth *Kalend. Septembris*, expressed by the Author. This circumstance was not observed by the Editors of those Epistles. They have inserted the letter among those of 1604, at a good distance from the LXXXVIIIth Epistle, dated the 8th of December 1603.

(3) In *Clavi Epistolarum Scaligeri*, pag. 152. *Opuscul.* edit. Ultraj. 1669.

[*C*] *Casaubon has expatiated pretty largely on that incident.*] He had a great friendship and esteem for him, upon his being so well recommended by Scaliger (4). He procured him an employment, and endeavoured to get him into Mr. de Montaterre's family in quality of Preceptor. The affair was upon the point of being concluded, when Eremita found means to ingratiate himself with Mr. de Vic, who was going Ambassador into Switzerland. Mr. de Vic was a very worthy man, but vastly bigotted to the petty forms of devotion of his party, and fired with a zeal for making converts. *Est autem Vicquius optimus vir quidem & ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλόκαλος, sed superstitionibus & ἐξ ἐναντίας supra fidem obnoxius* (5). He soon won over Eremita, which was wholly owing to a single conference with one of the bawling Enthusiasts of that age: a circumstance which vexed Casaubon to the heart. He knew the abilities of the converter and that of the convert: he knew Eremita was a better scholar than the Portuguese Monk, and yet he was informed that the Monk gave Eremita a fall at the first onset. *Adolescentem πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα εὐφυῆ & bene doctum ab imperitissimo plano, cui nullus inest melioris eruditionis sensus, prima congressione devictum esse, indignissime fero* (6). i. e. "I am exasperated to "think, that a youth of learning and capacity, should, "at the first attack, be totally defeated by a creature "who has neither." But he soon found the reason why so slight a resistance had been made; Eremita desired nothing better, than to persuade himself, that the richest Religion is at the same time the best. *Ergo, mi Daniel, Lusitanus iste mirabile aliquod pietatis arcanum te docuit, antea tibi incognitum? Ego qui hominem intus & in cute novi, satis acceptum habeo non te ab illo, sed ipsum à te potuisse doceri: non acumen in eo tantum, non eruditio, non lectio patrum, ut ad primum ejus congressum herbam porrigere cogereris. Victus igitur es, non quia resistere non poteras, sed quia volebas optabasque vinci* (7). i. e. "My friend, did that Portuguese instruct you in any "mystery of Religion which before was unknown to "you?

(4) *Urgebat optimus & tui observantissimus Eremita noster.* Casaub. *Epist. ad Scalig.* It is the CCLXXXIII, pag. 324. edit. Græviana, 1656. It was writ in February 1603. *Ego illum semper tua maxime gratia habui charissimum, & quibuscunque potui officiis sum prosecutus.* Idem, Ep. CCLXXXV ad eund. Scaligerum.

(5) Idem, Epist. CCLXXXIV.

(6) Idem, Epist. CCLXXXV.

(7) Idem, Epist. CCLXXXVI. dated the 11th of April 1603.

changed his Religion, he nevertheleſs retained a veneration for Scaliger. Of this he gave a public teſtimony even after the death of Scaliger, he defending him againſt the dreadful Scioppius [D]. But Eremita did not find his account in this; for Scioppius refuted him after his manner, that is, by publiſhing a thouſand ſlanderous particulars concerning his conduct [E]. Eremita died of the venereal diſeaſe at Leghorn in 1613. Some think that he was poiſoned (b). He was naturally inclined to ſlander, a proof of which

(b) *Obiit Liburnæ ex morbo gallico, anno à Chriſto nato* 1613. *Sunt qui veneno extinctum ſcribunt. Quid juvat humanos ſcire atque evolvere caſus, Si fugienda facis & facienda fugis.* Swert. *Ath. Belgic.* pag. 203.

" you? I who know that man thoroughly, am perſuaded, that there was nothing he could teach you; " but that you could have taught him many things. " He has not ſo mighty a genius, ſo much learning, or " knowledge of the Fathers, as to force you to ſubmit " to him at the firſt attack. You therefore was overcome, not becauſe you were not able to reſiſt, but becauſe you were deſirous of being vanquiſhed." A thirſt of riches, which had been perceived in him, ſeemed to promiſe no good (8). The employment which his friend procured for him, was worth beſides his board fifty crowns per annum (9). This ſum at firſt ſeemed very conſiderable, then very inconſiderable, and at laſt nothing at all. He watched for all opportunities of enriching himſelf; and kept his eye eſpecially on Epiſcopal Palaces. Caſaubon prevented him twice from entring into them, but he did not oppoſe his living in Mr. de Vic's family. The young man turned Papiſt there, and went into Switzerland with that Ambaſſador. His father, a worthy old man, and a good Proteſtant, was exceedingly afflicted at his ſon's forſaking his religion. He endeavoured to bring back this prodigal ſon, and he even made him recant; but this was mere ſhame. Caſaubon publiſhed in Leyden that Eremita was mad after images, and unaccountably greedy of maſſes. *Scito neminem hodie vivere Miſſarum inexplebiliorem, aut ſitientiorem, quare illa παλινῳδία ſimulata fuit, mendax & ὑποκριτική. In dies ejus herus expectatur, quo præſente veram vocem audiet à me iſte Proteus* (10). " No man in the world is more greedy " after maſſes than he; his recantation therefore was " all a Farce. His maſter is expected daily, and before him this Proteus ſhall hear the truth from me." But this was another miſtake, the only motive of Erimita's frequenting maſſes was, their leading the way to penſions. He had been heard to ſay, that all controverſies between Roman Catholics and Proteſtants were indifferent to him; that with regard to himſelf, he was ready to do any thing that might promote his intereſt; and he one day laughed at the folly of thoſe who don't chooſe the right path to fortune. *Vir fide dignus & ſibi notiſſimus his diebus narrabat mihi audiſſe ſe cum diceret*, omnia ſibi quæ hodie diſputantur æque & probari & improbari, paratumque ſe ad omnia pro tempore & rerum ſuarum emolumento. *Cum vir pius hanc vocem abominaretur, chachinno Eremitæ eſt exceptus, ſtultitiam eorum πικρᾶς ridentis, qui neſcirent τὰ ἴδια ᾧ τίθεσθαι* (11). i. e. " A perſon worthy of credit, who is very well " known to him, told me ſome days ago, that he " heard him ſay, *that all matters which were the ſubject of controverſy at that time, were equally indifferent to him; and that he was ready to adhere to, or leave any of them, in compliance with the Times, and to promote his own intereſt.* The good man diſcovering a deteſtation of ſuch a principle, Eremita " burſt out a laughing, and ridiculed the folly " of thoſe who did not know what was beſt for " themſelves."

(8) *Erat mihi dudum hoc ingenium ſuſpectum propter incredibilem in ea ætate opum ſitim, quam non levibus notis in eo deprehenderam.* Caſaubonus, Ep. CCLXXXV.

(9) *Collocaveram ipſum in honeſta conditione ubi præter victum quinquaginta annuos aureos habebat.* Idem, ibid.

(10) Idem, Epiſt. CCCXXXII, *ad Scaligerum ſcripta VI Kal. April.* 1604.

(11) Idem, Ep. CCLXXXV.

[D] *He defending ..... Scaliger againſt the dreadful Scioppius.*] Scioppius aſſerts (12), that Daniel Eremita is Author of *Epiſtola nobiliſſimi & literatiſſimi viri Patavio ad Gaſp. Scioppium Romam ſcripta.. Excuſa anno* 1610. I fancy Scioppius is not miſtaken in his aſſertion. [This Epiſtle is extremely ſcarce, inſomuch that Grævius could not procure it, in order to inſert in it his collection. Niceron, Mem. des hommes illuſt. p. 38. vol. 29.] Additional note by the Tranſlator.

(12) Scioppius, *in Oporini Grubinii Amphotid. Scioppian.* pag. 335. This book was printed in 1611.

[E] *Scioppius refuted him .... by publiſhing a thouſand ſlanderous particulars.*] Scioppius had ſeen him at Rome five years before. Eremita, as that Author tells us, came to him with the two Rubeins (brothers) and two other Flemings, in order to go to Tivoli; and theſe Gentlemen were greatly ſhocked at his converſation during their little journey. He was for ever talking about Petronius, and Aretine's poſtures; and he inſulted in the moſt unhandſome manner thoſe who ſeemed ſcandalized at the licentiouſneſs of his diſcourſe. But this was not all, for he drew the moſt obſcene figures on the walls of ſeveral of the public houſes where they lodged. *In toto illa itinere illud unum agere viſus eſt ut* Petronium *velut unicum, & quemadmodum ipſe loquebatur*, diviniſſimum pæderaſtiæ deſcriptorem, magiſtrum, artificem .... *omnibus quotquot ſunt, Græcis ac Latinis Scriptoribus multum ad laudem anteferret. In quo ne parum profeciſſe crederetur, non modò obſceniſſimis picturis diverſorii parietes implevit, ſed perpetuo varia τῆς συνουσίας ſchemata in ore habuit, & tanquam* Elephantidos *libellorum commentatorem atque interpretem ageret*, hiſtorias peccare docentes, *quibus vel Hippolyto fibula laxari ac nequitia perſuaderi poſſet, recitare non ceſſavit. Ac ſi quis ex comitibus ejus nequitiam reprehenderet, ſuaſque aures tam impuris & nefandis ſermonibus violare nollet, huic ille hypocriſin & pudicitiæ ſimulationem invidioſè objiciebat. Nec enim quemquam mortalium caſtum ac pudicum eſſe perſuaſum habet, conjectura ſcilicet de animo ſuo ducta, ſed pleroſque, ſive propter Dyſcopian, ſive quod animi ſatis non habeant pœnaſque metuant, ſuam cujuſcunque generis libidinem diſſimulare & occultare credit. Itaque veriſimile non eſt quàm ſe comites ejus gaviſos eſſe dixerint, ſimul ac Romam reverſi à tam propudioſo monſtro liberatos ſe ſenſerunt. Nam piaculares ſibi facti videbantur, cum ejuſmodi exſecrabiles turpiſſimi & impudentiſſimi ſcurræ ſermones, quos neque* ſuburranæ puellæ *æquo animo audirent, in aures ſuas admiſerunt* (13). i. e. " Throughout the whole journey, he did " nothing but applaud Petronius as the only, or, to " borrow his own expreſſions, as the moſt divine deſcriber and Profeſſor in Pederaſty .... ſetting him " far above all the Greek and Roman Authors. And " to ſhew that he had made no little improvement under ſo fine a maſter, he not only filled the walls " of the Inn with the moſt obſcene draughts, but was " for ever expatiating on the different poſtures; and " as if he had been a Commentator and Tranſlator of " the Elephantis, he was eternally telling the looſeſt " ſtories, capable of corrupting the chaſteſt minds. " And if any of his fellow-travellers cenſured him for " his lewdneſs, and begged him not to grate his ears " with ſuch looſe and abominable diſcourſe, he ſpitefully accuſed him of hypocriſy and a pretended modeſty. Nor could he perſuade himſelf that any mortal breathing was chaſte or modeſt; the depravity of " his own heart making him form ſuch a judgment; " he believing that moſt people, either out of baſhfulneſs, want of courage, or through fear of puniſhment, concealed their ſeveral laſcivious inclinations. It is therefore incredible what joy " his fellow-travellers expreſſed at their return to " Rome, to find themſelves freed from ſo ſcandalous a monſter. For it was infinitely ſhocking to them to hear ſuch deteſtable diſcourſes " from a moſt audacious and wicked wretch; diſcourſes " that would offend even the moſt profligate creatures " in ſtews." Having diſappeared for ſome time after, it was concluded that poverty had forced him to ſhelter himſelf in ſome Carthuſian Monaſtery; but it was found that he was retired to Sienna, where he made his court to Archbiſhop Aſcanio Piccolomini, who recommended him to Silvio Piccolomini, Great Chamberlain to the Duke of Florence; and by this means he obtained a penſion from that Prince, as a reward for a panegyric written by him on the nuptials of the great Duke with Magdalen of Auſtria. He ſollicited ſo earneſtly to be ſent into Germany with the Deputy who went to acquaint the ſeveral Princes of the Empire, as well as imperial cities, of the death of the great Duke's father, that his requeſt was granted. The perſuaſions of Silvio Piccolomini were of great ſervice on this occaſion; he repreſenting that as Eremita was a Fleming, he might upon ſeveral occaſions ſerve as a good interpreter and a ſpy at the ſame time. Eremita boaſted in one of his Letters, written from Auſburg, that he was one of the great Duke's envoys; which appeared very vain and ridiculous to Leonard le Coq,

(13) Scioppius, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 336, 337.

Confeſſor to Chriſtina of Lorrain, great Ducheſs of Tuſcany. At his return to Florence, he told a hundred idle ſtories concerning the drunkenneſs of the Germans, in order to make his court to the Italians. He made the latter laugh heartily, when he gave them an account of the ſtudies of Maurice, Landgrave of Heſſe; and the verſes compoſed by that Prince in honour of thoſe young ſtudents who took their Bachelor's Degree. He told them that this Landgrave, with the Marquiſs of Anſpach, and the Prince of Anhalt, had drank to the health of the Kings of France and England; and deſtruction to the King of Spain; that he had cauſed this health to be drank round, and toaſted it to the Envoy of the great Duke. *Florentiam reverſus, nihil prius habuit, quam Germaniam veluti porcorum patriam Italis, quorum in eo gratiam aucupabatur, deſcribere, quantumque Principes Germani quotidie potare ac vomere ſoleant, ſatis feſtive commemorare: ſed in nulla hiſtoria tam faventes expertus eſt auditores, quam cum de* Grammatica Mauritii Heſſiæ Landgravii, *deque carminibus, quibus ille novis Baccalaureis & Magiſtris honorem gratulari ſoleat, narravit. Hoc enim Italicis, præſertimque Florentinis, uſque adeò inſolens ac novum videtur, ut id ad Ovidii Metamorphoſes rectiſſimè adjici poſſe exiſtiment. Cum porrò ex eodem Aretalogo ſuo audiunt, quod idem Landgravius ſimul cum* Marchione Brandenburgico Onſpacenſi, & Chriſtiano Anhaltino, *pro ſalute Regum Galliæ & Angliæ, proque peſte ac mala morte Regis Catholici votivum poculum circumtulerit, idque legato Florentino propinare nihil veritus fuerit, non videntur Itali tam barbaram immanitatem ſatis pro merito exſecrari poſſe* (14). He was very officious about ſuch Lutheran Nobility as uſed to go from Germany to Florence. Thoſe young Gentlemen were overjoyed to meet with a Fleming there who underſtood Italian, and informed them of the cuſtoms of the place; and they were well pleaſed to go and lodge in the ſame houſe with him. By this means he fared well at a very little coſt; and after this he would give himſelf the trouble to introduce them to looſe women, where they were ſo polite as to treat him, for otherwiſe it would not have been eaſy for him to gratify his paſſions. *Cum illud neſcio quid ſatietatem ejus tentare cœpit,* venaſque inflavit tetra libido, *quia* non habet infelix Quintillæ quod dare poſſit, *lenonis opera ei navanda, & adventoribus ad ipſam perducendis, amicam ſibi propitiam morigeramque facit* (15). He carried one day, to a proſtitute's lodgings, a Roman Catholic who had received the Communion the day before; and who, not being willing to plunge again ſo very ſoon into vice, and ſuſpecting that he was going into a bawdy houſe, was in doubt with himſelf whether he ſhould go in. Eremita ſwearing that it was the place in which he kept his Library and uſed to ſtudy, he was believed, and his companion went in. The proſtitute happened to be abroad; but nevertheleſs he perceived by ſeveral ſigns, that it was an ill houſe. The Roman Catholic complaining to Eremita, he only made a joke of it; whether it were that he laughed at the ſcruples of the complainant, or ſuſpected him to be a hypocrite. He purchaſed all the political Pieces and Paſquinades that fell in his way, and ſold them to Lutheran Gentlemen, who fancied the Books had transformed them into ſo many Stateſmen; and accordingly uſed to trumpet the name of Daniel Eremita wherever they came. *Quicquid conſultationum ac relationum de rebus politicis undeunde corrogare potuit (ſicut ejuſmodi frivolorum, quos vocant* dicurſuum *plena eſt Italia) tum præcipuè* paſquinos *ſive* ſatyras, *quibus ſummi Pontifices, Cardinales, omnis Clerus, præcipuè Jeſuïtæ, contumelioſiſſimè ac plerumque mendaciſſimè infamantur, cum eis communicat. Et illi poſtea mercibus ejuſmodi onuſti plurimumque ſibi de tantarum rerum ſcientia . . . gratulantes, conſummatiſſimos politicos ſe factos putant* (16). Eremita likewiſe ſet up in Florence, for a man who was profoundly ſkilled in affairs of government; and promiſed a Commentary which ſhould exceed whatever had been writ upon Tacitus. *Parum adhuc profeciſſe ſe putat niſi etiam Florentinis imponat, ſeque ingentem Statiſtam, quem vulgo dicunt, ſive politicum & civilis ſcientiæ imprimis gnarum videri faciat. Eo conſilio paſſim jactat, ſe* commentarios politicos in Tacitum *moliri, quibus cornici oculum configat* (17). i. e. "He fancies he has made but little progreſs, unleſs "he alſo can impoſe on the Florentines; and make "them believe that he is a mighty Stateſman, and a "deep Politician. In this view he boaſts wherever he "comes, that he is writing a political Commentary "upon Tacitus, which will ſurpaſs every thing that "has hitherto been publiſhed on that ſubject." He mortally hated the Inquiſition, and had writ a Letter to the great Duke's Secretary, in which he exclaimed in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the Inquiſitors, for having obliged him to ſuppreſs certain particulars, which they thought impious and unchriſtian, in his Panegyric. Atheïas *quidem ſpecimen vel hodiè panegyricus ejus nobis exhiberet, niſi non pauca, impietatem & omnis Chriſtianæ religionis vacuitatem redolentia Inquiſitores inde ſuſtuliſſent: quod quidem uſque eò Eremitæ doluit, ut Epiſtola Laurentio Uſimbardo magni Ducis Secretario inſcripta dolentiſſimè & rabioſiſſimè in Inquiſitorum ruditatem, barbariem, inſcitiam ac tyrannidem invectus fuerit* (18). i. e. "The Panegyric he compoſed would, at this day, "have given us a ſpecimen of his Atheiſm, had not "the Inquiſitors ſuppreſſed a great many particulars in "it that ſavoured ſtrongly of impiety, and a diſregard "for the Chriſtian Religion; which offended Eremita "to ſuch a degree, that in the Letter to Laurence U-"ſimbardo, the great Duke's Secretary, he inveighed "moſt furiouſly againſt their ignorance, their barba-"rity and tyranny." The fear of what was to come, inſpired him with no leſs hatred for this dreadful Tribunal, than the reſentment for what was paſt. He had contracted an ugly diſtemper by his commerce with women; and ſince that he had turned his laſcivious paſſion into another channel. *Criminis nomine quàm habeat Eremita, cur ab Inquiſitione metuat, nequaquam ignorant ii, qui eum ſciunt, ex quo* ſcabiem *ei* Gallicam *affricuit*

Famæ non nimium bonæ puella,
Quales in media ſedent Suburra,

toti propemodum femineo, & quemadmodum ipſe ſerò cenſet, ſequiori ſexui inimicum eſſe factum, & illud Umbri Callimachi ſuum feciſſe:

Hoſtis ſi quis erit nobis, amet ipſe puellas;
Gaudeat in puero ſi quis amicus erit (19).

He alſo contracted an averſion to women upon the following account. Hearing that a company of female Muſicians were come to Florence, in the time of the great Duke's nuptials, in order to get ſomething by playing on inſtruments, and perhaps alſo by other leſs lawful methods; he went with a rich Sileſian to the houſe where they lodged; and endeavoured, by all the tumultuous and forcible methods poſſible, to get into their bed-chamber; but not ſucceeding, he revenged himſelf by calling them for a long time together, at the door, the worſt names he could think of. The Muſicians complained of this to the great Ducheſs; and ſo much regard was paid to their petition, that Eremita was thrown into priſon; and he would certainly have been ſent to the gallies, had not Scipio de la Scala interceded for him; but at his earneſt entreaty, Eremita was puniſhed only with the ſtrapado (20). *Auxit ejus erga mulieres odium, quod propter ipſas non ut prius* penalem, *ſed pœnè* capitalem *in fraudem incidiſſe ſe perſenſit. Cum enim Cithariſtrias ſive Fidicinas quaſdam mulieres ſatis ſpecioſas, quæ occaſione nuptiarum magni Ducis ex arte, atque haud ſcio an etiam ex corpore ſuo, quæſtum facturæ Florentiam venerant, in hoſpitio* Coronæ *divertere accepiſſet, comite Sileſio quodam Equite, eodemque Lutherano, quod is bene nummatus non minùs in ſe lenonem ac perductorem ſuum, quàm in ipſas amicas liberalis forè videretur, ad diverſorium illarum venit, omnique vi diruptis pœnè clauſtris atque valvis, in cubiculum earum ut admitteretur contendit, ac poſtquam nihil profecit, irritus & excluſus oſtium occentare, ac benè diu turpiſſimum ante ædes convicium eis facere non deſtitit* (21). But when he had reflected ſeriouſly on the folly and unhappineſs there is for a man to be the cauſe of his being burnt alive, he gave over his purſuit after diſſolute women; and by that means was under no farther apprehenſions of getting the venereal diſeaſe a ſecond time. *Mox tamen ut ſatietatem hominis, poſtquam ſe alicubi in magni alicujus amici flore liberi ſauciaſſet, libido diſtenta rurſum tentare cœpit, quod à mala illa Beſtia, quam* Vivicomburium *dicunt, male metueret,*

(14) Scioppius, *in Opor. Grub. Amphot. Sciopp.* pag. 341, 342.

(15) Sciop. ibid. pag. 343.

(16) Ibid. pag. 345.

(17) Idem, ibid.

(18) Ibid. pag. 351, 352.

(19) Ibid. pag. 352.

(20) *Cum plus ſemel* SURSUM CHORDA *ſubductus ac viciſſim dimiſſus fuiſſet nec paulo moleſtiore quam Petronii ſui Eumolpus oſcillationis genere luſiſſet.* Sciop. *in Opor. Grub. Amphot. Sciopp.* pag. 360.

(21) Ibid. pag. 359.

which is ſeen in his account of Germany [*F*]. The manner of compoſing a Panegyric, which is aſcribed to him, is common to a great number of Orators [*G*]. The learned Conringius is miſtaken, in ſaying that he lived to old age [*H*].

There is now printing at Utrecht, ſome pieces of Daniel Eremita, and, among others, the Treatiſe *De Aulica & civili vita.* They were in manuſcript in the Duke of Florence's Library; and the manuſcript muſt be returned to it, as ſoon as the edition is compleated. Grævius will refute, in the Preface, the ſlanders of Scioppius; a circumſtance he aſſures me of, in a letter with which he honoured me in June 1699, [The title is, *Aulicæ vitæ ac Civilis libri IV. Ejuſdem Opuſcula varia. Cura Joannis Georgii Grævii. Ultrajecti* 1701, in 8vo. This work of Eremita, was communicated by Magliabecchi to Grævius.... It was very worthy of appearing in print; and the peruſal of it muſt neceſſarily pleaſe, both on account of the purity and elegance of the ſtyle, and the multitude of the examples which are always well choſen and properly introduced; as on account of the ſatyrical Strokes with which it is interſperſed. Father Niceron. pag. 38 vol. 29. Addit. by the Tranſl.] By the way, the words I employed in one of my remarks, viz. *I am not to examine in this place, whether Bacchus encroaches more upon Venus, or the latter upon Bacchus* (*c*), prompted a man of genius, and a great traveller to tell me in a letter, that he is ſorry I did not expatiate on this ſubject. He therefore inſiſts upon my treating on it in the ſecond edition of this work; though it ſhould be done in no other view than to refute

(*c*) In the remark [*F*] of this Article, citation (28).

ret, utcumque in gratiam cum Suburranis puellis rediit, & recidivi Gallicani illius morbi periculum infra fiduciam poſuit, fraudavitque animum diſſidentem (22). As he look'd upon the Hiſtory of our Saviour as fabulous, he took a delight in exclaiming againſt the Inquiſitors and the Clergy; and had a hundred tales ready on that occaſion, to all which he gave a burleſque turn (23). One day Scipio de l'Eſcala exaſperated at the vileneſs of his diſcourſe, gave him a ſtout box on the ear (24). *Cum more ſuo Eremita ſcurraretur, & de Inquiſitorum fama atque honore ita, uti dixi, improbiſſime maledicentiſſimeque detrahere nec monitus deſineret, Scaliger, qui tum aderat, ſcurram pugnis & colaphis ita accepit, & os ejus ferreum adeo molle reddidit, ut &c* (24). Such is the idea that Scioppius gives us of Eremita. I will not ſay whether it be true or falſe; all I know is, that Scioppius was of a very ſatyrical caſt of mind. But Caſaubon has related ſome particulars (25), which give an air of probability to what is told by Scioppius.

(22) Ibid. pag. 360.

(23) Ibid. pag. 363, 364.

(24) Ibid. pag. 369.

(25) In the remark [*C*].

[*F*] *He was naturally inclined to ſlander, a proof of which is ſeen in his account of Germany.*] The Epiſtle he publiſhed, has pretty much of the ſatyrical caſt. Conringius does not ſay, whether the ſlander that is found in it againſt ſome Courts of the Empire be falſe; but he owns that they make one bluſh. *Nonnihil illa Epiſtola ſimile quid habet famoſis literis, ſiquidem quædam de Germanicis Principibus eorumque aulis ſcripſit, quæ pudorem incutiunt. An falſo an vero ſcripſerit animo, neſcio* (26). I have already mentioned the reproaches which Scioppius made to Eremita, viz. his having diverted the Italians with ſtories relating to the carouzing of the Germans. It is a conſolation to the Italians, againſt whom a thouſand Satyrs are written with regard to laſciviouſneſs, to contraſt their ſobriety with the drunkenneſs of the Northern people, whence their inclination to Satyr ariſes: and methinks that even religious controverſies have ſometimes employed theſe mutual reproaches. It cannot be denied, but that the Chriſtians of Europe are addicted to two great vices, drunkenneſs and uncleanneſs. The former of theſe is predominant in cold countries, and the latter in hot climates. Bacchus and Venus have divided theſe Nations under their reſpective Empires. The Reformation having divided this part of Chriſtendom into two parts, that which is under the dominion of Venus continues in its former condition; but the greateſt part of the portion ſubject to Bacchus has thrown off the Papal yoke. Hence it is that the Spaniards and Italians are more apt to exclaim againſt drunkenneſs, and impute it to the Northern Nations as a great crime (27); as tho' this could ſerve as a compenſation with regard to the crimes relating to uncleanneſs; and prevent one Religion from filencing the other, by reproaching it with a diſſoluteneſs of conduct. I am not to examine in this place, whether Bacchus encroaches upon Venus, or the latter upon Bacchus (28). It is enough for me that I have explained, by a ſhort Commentary, the flattery of Daniel Eremita. Caſaubon and Scioppius, ſo oppoſite in all other reſpects, would have eaſily agreed on the features proper to be employed in Eremita's picture. *Homo procax & dicax*, according to Caſaubon (29), *quales eſſe ſolent qui per gradus Syncretiſmi in apoſtaſiam labuntur.* i. e. "He is a domineering, abuſive fellow, as thoſe commonly are, who are gradually brought to apoſtacy "by bad company."

(26) Conringius, *Diſſert. MSS. Rerum PP.* apud Magirum, *Eponymol.* pag. 320.

(27) I am informed that a Flemiſh Monk told his auditors in a Sermon, that God would judge drunkenneſs, according to the idea which the Spaniards and Italians form of that vice; and uncleanneſs, according to the notion which the northern Nations entertain of it

(28) See the remark [*I*].

(29) Epiſt. 458. pag. 551. *apud* Magirum, *Eponymolog.* pag. 321. I cite in this manner, becauſe this does not agree with the edition employed by me.

[*G*] *The manner of compoſing a Panegyrick, which is aſcribed to him, is common to a great number of Orators.*] The method was this, to peruſe attentively the ancient Panegyriſts; to collect their phraſes and thoughts, and afterwards apply them to the ſubject which the Orator deſigned to applaud. This method is uſed by multitudes of people. There are very few ſubjects of applauſe but are found in the ancient Panegyriſts. Pliny has exhauſted moſt of the ideas with regard to the perfections of a Monarch. An Orator ſeldom enquires in theſe times, whether the Prince he is deſirous of applauding, is endued with qualities which are ſo finely expreſſed by the ancients? He is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs them; the thoughts and terms give the writer very little pains after ſuch a ſuppoſition; they being ready made to his hand in other Panegyricks: the only trouble is, to make a few alterations according to time and place. Eremita, if his adverſary may be credited, would have been greatly puzzled had he been obliged to write a ſecond Panegyric a little after the firſt; for he had therein exhauſted all his collections, and it would have required a conſiderable time, in order for him to gather new flowers. Scioppius's Latin is worthy of being quoted on this occaſion. *Quoniam à multis jam annis legendis* Panegyricarum Orationum *ſcriptoribus vetuſtis, itemque Martialis, Auſonii & ſimilium præfatiunculis pedeſtri ſermone contextis, quaſdam ſententiarum verborumque argutiolas floreſque laborioſè comportârat,* Magni Ducis & Magdalenæ Auſtriacæ *nuptias occaſionem ſuam ratus eſt, qua ſuam facundiam iis, qui* patricias artes *iſtas ac ſolemnem Criticaſtris hodiernis ſucum ignorant, venditaret. Edidit ergo* panegyricum, *in quo omnem ſuam ſcientiam ita conſumpſit, ut ſi repentè nec opinanti novæ alicujus Orationis ſcribendæ neceſſitas impoſita fuiſſet, omnino jejunus, ſiccus, nuduſque, & ab omni cum verborum . . . tum ſententiarum quoque inſtrumento flagitioſiſſime imparatus futurus fuerit &c* (30). i. e. "By ſtudying for ſeveral "years the ancient Writers on Panegyricks, and the "Prefaces of Martial, Auſonius and ſuch like, in "proſe, he had collected with great labour ſome pret"ty good turns both with regard to words and pe"riods. The marriage of the great Duke with "Magdalen of Auſtria, was in his opinion the beſt "opportunity he could meet with, to put off his elo"quence to ſuch as are not acquainted with thoſe "patrician artifices, and the uſual falſe colouring of "little criticks. He therefore publiſhed his Panegy"ric, in which he ſo far exhauſted his knowledge, "that had he been obliged unexpectedly and ſuddenly "to compoſe a new Oration, he would have been flat, "jejune, and moſt ſadly at a loſs both for words as "as the turn of his periods."

(30) Scioppius, *in Opor. Grub. Amphot. Scioppi*, pag. 338.

[*H*] *Conringius is miſtaken, in ſaying he lived to old age.*] Scaliger and Caſaubon ſpeak of him as a young man in 1603 (31). As therefore he died in 1613, Conringius could not ſay that he lived to be an old man (32).

(31) See the Remarks [*B*] and [*C*].

(32) *Diu in Italia vixit, ibique in aula Florentina tandem conſenuit.* i. e. "He lived "many years in "Italy, and at "laſt grew old "in the court of "France." Conring. *Diſſert. MSS. Rerum PP. apud* Magir. *Eponymol.* pag. 320.

fute certain aſſertions which were often advanced to him in Spain and Italy. It will not be poſſible abſolutely to treat ſo largely as I could have done on this ſubject, nor can I abſolutely refuſe his requeſt. The Reader will find below ſome collections and notes relating to the hints which he was pleaſed to communicate to me [*I*]. Moſt impartial and

[*I*] *Some Collections and Notes which relate to the hints he was pleaſed to communicate to me.*] He writes to me, that being in thoſe parts of Europe where the Romiſh Religion is moſt triumphant, it was an agreeable amuſement to him, to point out the horrid laſciviouſneſs which prevails in thoſe countries. People perceived that he deſigned to draw ſome conſequences from it, to the advantage of the Proteſtants; and accordingly they made the following obſervations to him, viz. that he was miſtaken; that Religion had nothing to do in this matter; that the vices in queſtion are owing to the climate, not to the Religion; that ſhould the Proteſtant Religion be profeſſed in Italy, the people of that country would be ſtill addicted to the ſame vices in which they now immerſe themſelves; and that the ſame reflection muſt be made with regard to the Northern Countries, ſhould they turn Proteſtant. It was added, that the Roman Catholicks in Germany were as great drinkers as the Proteſtants of that Country; and that tho' there is ſo wide a difference between the Religion of the Poles and that of the Muſcovites, yet both are notoriouſly fond of drinking to exceſs (33). That be this matter how it would, an allowance ought to be made. Forgive us, ſaid they, our fault, for the ſake of our ſobriety, and we'll overlook your vice of drunkenneſs; you'll be gainers by this exchange; for it is not in favour of the chaſtity of the Northern countries that we ſhall wink at bacchanalian exceſſes. This chaſtity is a mere chimæra. People are as laſcivious in the Northern Countries as in thoſe of the South; and the only advantage which the former might gain, would relate only to a certain unnatural vice; for the other is as predominant in the colder countries as in Italy. To prove this paradox, the effect of high feeding and drinking of good wine was inſiſted on. It was confeſſed that fleſh is more juicy in hot climates, and that it diffuſes over the whole body, more expeditiouſly and more copiouſly, its ſpirituous particles; theſe particles detach themſelves eaſily from the groſs and terreſtrial parts by digeſtion and circulation; the ſun has already done half the work before the ſtomach begins to act. But then, what is wanting in the quality of aliments in cold countries, is made up by the quantity. There people eat heartily, and drink ſtill more in proportion: The inhabitants of hot countries take but little ſuſtenance; and inſtead of wine drink cooling liquors; and by this means they leſſen as much the ſtrength and fire of Venus, as the others increaſe it by hard drinking. The Gentleman who writes me theſe particulars was very much ſurprized to hear ſuch arguments; and as by his travels, which are infinitely more conſiderable than thoſe of Ulyſſes, he inherited the elogium that was beſtowed on this Grecian Prince (34), i. e. his having contraſted the manners of various Nations; he could not bear to hear any perſon refer him to experience. Enquire about this matter, ſaid they to him, of thoſe who have travelled into cold countries; they will tell you, that they there found the fair ſex much more frail and not ſo obdurate, as in hot countries. They themſelves were ſurprized at the rapidity of the conqueſts they made; a fair-one indulged their ſofteſt wiſhes the very firſt time the queſtion was put to her: and this obliged them to give the good advice following, with the inſtructions they give to thoſe who travel into thoſe countries; *When ſome inconveniency or other important cauſe ſhall prohibit your improving the opportunity, be ſure you don't preſs your ſuit with the ardour of a man who is earneſt to be gratified in what he deſires; for you would be taken at the firſt word, and the ſhame and reproach would fall to you.* Some pretend, added he, that this eaſe in granting the laſt favour was not owing to lewdneſs, but to a ſimple, indolent and good-natur'd turn of mind. But this is all a miſtake; for ſhould you go to rob them of their money, you would find them amazingly vigorous and reſolute. . . . You muſt not pretend to impoſe upon me, replied my traveller: I know how the affair ſtands; and all the inſtances you have given are entirely falſe. This is the ſubſtance of his Letter; and here follow my compilations and remarks.

I. I will firſt cite a paſſage from Sorbiere, in which the toleration allowed in Rome to brothels, is compared to that which is allowed to drunkenneſs in Holland. This was one of the particulars which Sobiere anſwered, to invalidate the hope that was entertained, viz. that his viſiting Rome would be the occaſion of his returning to the proteſtant communion. "The errors and vices "of ſome particular men, *ſays he*, ought not to reflect "an odium on the public in general; nor the licentiouſneſs of certain governments on the ſeverity which "is obſerved in the Courts of Conſcience, where "thoſe things are condemned which the maxims of a "wiſe government do not allow to puniſh corporally, "with ſo much rigour. You are not to doubt, Sir, "but that what I here obſerve to you, and which you "ſeem to have reproached Italy with, has been ex"amined over and over, and that by worthy old men "who had no intereſt to connive at theſe things; and "that had human things been ſuſceptible of that per"fection to which you juſtly wiſh they were carried, "endeavours would have been uſed to raiſe them to it. "But men in all Countries are fired with vicious in"clinations and particular irregularities which it is "very hard to reform without running the hazard of "depraving ſome other things which are whole and "uncorrupt. And this is in my opinion the reaſon, "why ſobriety, in all the northern countries, is look"ed upon as an inconſiderable virtue; or at leaſt drun"kenneſs is tolerated in them, and perhaps paſſes for "gallantry, and the effect of indiſpenſible civility: "which, however, muſt not make you imagine, that "true Religion has taken its refuge in thoſe countries. "I am ſenſible that the Proteſtant Miniſters exclaim "againſt that vice: but nevertheleſs the Magiſtrate "tolerate it, and fancy, with ſome ſhew of reaſon, "that were not this vice winked at in thoſe parts of "the world, men would grow unſociable; as in other "places, ſome vices are tolerated for fear of opening "a door to greater." Courcelles, an Arminian Profeſſor at Amſterdam, refuted this, from the following reaſons among others; "That there is a wide "difference between conniving at a vice which it is "impoſſible to eradicate; and authorizing it by laws or "leave from the Magiſtrate (35)." And that among Proteſtants, the offices of Magiſtrate and Prieſt are not joyned in the ſame perſon, as in the Pope.

II. I obſerve in the ſecond place, that they who accuſe the inhabitants of the cold countries of being as luſtful as thoſe of hot climates, leave them a great advantage, ſince they except a certain unnatural ſin. But this advantage did not ſatisfy in a diſpute that broke out between a German and an Italian. The former pretended, that even with regard to fornication in general, Italy was more diſſolute. *Lepidâ eſt inter Italum & Germanum altercatio . . . . ille nimiam hanc bibendi conſuetudinem, tanquam probroſam objiciebat, iſte inconceſſam Venerem exprobrarat, tanto perniciofiorem ebrietate, quanto leges ſeveriores in eam latæ. Sed elegans Epigramma apponam:*

Ut nos vina juvant, ſic vos Venus improba vexat,
Propoſita eſt Veneri Julia, nulla mero (36).

That is,

"There is a pleaſant conteſt between an Italian and "a German: . . . . the former declared that the cuſ"tom of drinking to exceſs was infamous; and the "latter exclaimed againſt unlawful love, by ſo much "the more pernicious than drunkenneſs, as the laws "made againſt it were more ſevere; but I ſhall add "an elegant Epigram.

"As wine delights us, women is your curſe;
"No Julian Law's enacted 'gainſt the grape.

III. It is certain that ſome travellers have carried their ſlander ſo far, as to publiſh, that women are not over virtuous in cold countries, and are ſoon prevailed upon to indulge their favours. I ſhall cite but one

(33) *See* Matthias à Michow, lib. 2. cap. 3. *de Sarmatia Europæa.*

(34) Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. Homer. *Odyſſ.* lib. 1. ver. 3. *See alſo* Horat. *de Arte Poetic.* ver. 142. where he has thus tranſlated this Greek verſe of the Odyſſey; *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.* i. e. "Muſe "ſpeak the man, "who ſince the "ſiege of Troy, "So many towns "ſuch change of "manners ſaw." Roſcommon's Tranſlation.

(35) Courcelles, *Réponſe à Sorbiere*, pag. 16.

(36) Dempſterus, *Paralipom. ad Roſinum de Antiq. Romanis*, lib. 5. cap. 30. pag. m. 866.

and diſintereſted perſons will readily ſubſcribe to this aſſertion, viz. that lewdneſs is

French Gentleman, whoſe Memoirs were lately printed at Amſterdam. *It is no unuſual thing*, ſays he (37), *to meet with handſome women in Denmark; The country women are generally very beautiful; and moſt of the young laſſes have an eaſy air, a ſprightly behaviour, and a lovely countenance. . . . They ſet off their hair in large rolls. . . . Their fair treſſes are well adapted to inſpire an amorous Poet with new Epithets. The virtue of the Daniſh women ſeems made for their beauty; I mean, that they indulge the uſe of it, and do not ſuffer it to lie as a uſeleſs treaſure. However, this is not the effect of a vicious inclination in them; it is an indolent eaſineſs of temper; and I am perſuaded that the only reaſon of their frailty is, their not having ſtrength of mind ſufficient to keep the men at a proper diſtance.* To this we may oppoſe the teſtimony of another Frenchman, who aſſerts that the Daniſh women are ſo grave and modeſt, that they do not give their ſuitors the leaſt hopes. They do not (ſays he) lay any ſnare for the eyes; they do not ſhew either their neck or hair, they have nothing of the coquet in their gait or mien. Here follows his Latin, which expreſſes the whole with greater ſtrength. *Cæterùm illæ ſua nimia gravitate atque modeſtia omnem amorem, & familiaritatis ſpem, & occaſionem excludunt. Nullæ ibi prætereuntium oculis inſidiæ tenduntur; nullum eſt incedendi, aut vibrandi ſeſe lenocinium; non pectus detegunt, non capillos criſpant, ac ne oſtendunt quidem* (38). This Writer is the more worthy of credit in this, as he on other occaſions has ſpoke ſo freely of the incontinence of the Northern nations. He levels his ſatyrs principally againſt Eccleſiaſticks. He tells us (39), that an old Swediſh Miniſter, after having emptied his large bowl ſeveral times, grew ſo very jocund, that he at laſt ſung ſeveral very lewd ſongs. This Miniſter was a man of learning, and had a daughter who ſpoke Latin. He uſed to dally with other men's wives, tho' his own was living. The Author accompanies this with a reflection, which is, that Luther is miſtaken in his aſſertion viz. that marriage is a means to bridle the luſt of Prieſts. *Deprehendimus hujuſmodi homines, tametſi litteratos, & ſenes, & in oculis omnium poſitos, cùm ſive vino, ſive cerviſiâ incaluerunt, non in ineptas tantum voces, ſed in turpes etiam atque inceſtas efferri. Circumferatur (inquiebat ille) cantharus: adducatur virgo nuda. Atque hoc carmen canens repetebat, addebatque, en inquit, cantilena quam juvenes perſonabamus. Didicimus poſtea, illum hâc etiam ætate petulco more in oves ſuas inſilire. At enim uxorem habebat, in quam libidinem iſtam deſpumare poterat. I nunc, & Luthero crede, nefandorum ſacerdotum laſciviam matrimonio compoſci poſſe* (40). But the Author does not ſtop in ſo noble a career, he adding many particulars to his firſt remark. It is inexpreſſible, ſays he, how ſtrongly moſt of thoſe men are fired with a paſſion for wine and women. *Mirum eſt quantum hæc tam potus, quam concubitus libido in pleriſque his hominibus ardeat* (41). The fact is notorious with regard to the firſt aſſertion; *de potu manifeſtum eſt*; and I have obſerved, with reſpect to the ſecond, that there is nothing they inculcate more ſtrongly to the moſt chaſte Divines, than the neceſſity they are under of taking wives, in caſe they are deſirous of leading a chaſte and pious life. *De altero verò obſervavi, nihil magis caſtiſſimis Theologis inculcari, quàm hanc matrimonii neceſſitatem omnibus, qui caſtè, ac piè vivere cupiant, eſſe ſubeundam. Hanc doctrinam adoleſcentulis ipſis, qui nondum puberes ſunt, & nondum de Venere cogitant, in infimis ſcholis inſinuant* (42). They inſtill this doctrine in the loweſt claſſes to children, who being very young, have no thoughts of love. They ſpread among the people viz. that Pope Urban VIII intends to marry, and that all the Cardinals will follow his example in that particular. *Eò denique amentiæ ac impudentiæ devenerunt perverſiſſimi Doctores, ut apud populum rumores ſpargant, Urbanum hunc VIII. Pontificem Romanum de uxore ducenda cogitare, idemque conſilium omnium Cardinalium animos ſubiiſſe; quam ſtolidiſſimam fabulam non in hac modo Suecia, quæ longius ab hominibus abeſt, ſed jam in ipſa Dania audieramus* (43). Is not this inſinuating that according to theſe Doctors, the reformation of the Church would be made under unhappy Auſpices, ſhould it not begin with aboliſhing of Celibacy, and by celebrating the marriage of the Pope and the Members of the Sacred College? And is not this pretending, that theſe very Doctors find themſelves ſo very incapable of abſtaining from women, that they think it is impoſſible to live chaſtly without marrying? But we will again hear Mr. Ogier. Another Miniſter, ſays he, excuſing himſelf, becauſe he was not able to lodge us as commodiouſly as he would have done, gave as his reaſons, that fortune was very cruel, and life was grown a burden to him. Being aſked what was the motive of his affliction, he replied, it is becauſe my wife is dead. *Suas quippe fortunas pene eſſe ſubverſas vitamque ſibi inviſam: cum rogarem, quid rei eſſet: uxorem, inquit, non habeo amplius* (44). I ſuppoſe, ſays Mr. Ogier, that you are not allowed to marry a ſecond wife. The Miniſter anſwered, yes; I may marry again, but alas! (here he fetched a deep ſigh) I muſt ſtay till my mourning's out, that is, a long, long twelvemonth. The Author adds, that when he conſiders what he has ſeen and enquired into, it is his opinion, that the law which obliges Prieſts to celibacy, is the only obſtacle that prevents their uniting with the Church of Rome: *Hanc ſolum matrimonii & concubii obicem eos à noſtra communione dividere.* When ſuch diſadvantageous things, with regard to continence, are told by him of the Swedes, ought not he to be credited in what he advances with reſpect to the chaſtity of the Daniſh women? It was therefore juſt in me to contraſt Mr. Ogier to the Chevalier Beaujeu. I confeſs that a ſpecious objection may be made to me. Mr. Ogier ſpeaks of matters as he found them in 1634, and the other of what he ſaw in 1679. Such an interval is more than ſufficient to change the whole face of things in the article of faſhions and decorums. Such modes as tend to the ſuppreſſion of the laws of auſterity and modeſty, make ſo rapid a progreſs, that a traveller who viſits a country twice, thinks himſelf conveyed into a new world; for when he compares the conduct of young maidens and wives to that of their mothers, the one ſeems as different from the other as light is from darkneſs.

IV. Generally ſpeaking, no ſolid anſwer can be made with reſpect to the objection raiſed by the Italians, viz. that wine and high feeding excite to uncleanneſs. This is the conſtant doctrine of the old Heathens and antient fathers of the Church, and it is confirmed by the experience of all ages and nations. There is nothing that monaſtic Writers recommend more ſtrongly, to thoſe who are devoted to a life of celibacy, than faſting and abſtinence. Tertullian exaggerated moſt things, and he at laſt proceeded ſo far as to condemn ſeveral kind of aliments, and to inſiſt more than he ought to have done on the eating of dry meats. He nevertheleſs cannot be accuſed of having had recourſe to hyperbole, when he has obſerved the affinity there is between gluttony and uncleanneſs, by making us attend to the ſituation of the organs. But it will be better to give this in the language written by him. *Monſtrum haberetur libido ſine gula, cum duo hæc tam unita atque concreta ſint, ut ſi disjungi omnino potuiſſent, ipſi prius ventri pudenda non adhærerent. Specta corpus & una regio eſt. Denique pro diſpoſitione membrorum ordo vitiorum: prior venter, & ſtatim cetera ſaginæ ſubſtructa laſcivia eſt: per edacitatem ſalacitas tranſit* (45). Clemens Alexandrinus obſerves, that ſuch as are deſirous of not raiſing the paſſion for venery, ought not to eat fleſh; and he quotes an Author who ſays, that wine and fleſh invigorate the body, but weaken the mind. Τάχ' ἄν τις τῶν γνωσικῶν, ϗ ἀσκήσεως χάριν σαρκοφαγίας ἀπόχοιτο, ϗ τῦ μὴ σφριγᾶν περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὴν σάρκα. Οἶνος γάρ, φησιν Ἀνδροκύδης, ϗ σαρκῶν ἐμφορήσεις, σῶμα μὲν ῥωμαλέον ἀπεργάζονται, ψυχὴν ϑ νοχαλεστέραν (46). We meet with ſeveral ſentences in the Greek Poets of the like import. Peruſe what Eraſmus ſays on the Proverb *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus* (47). It was thought eſpecially that wine excited to luſt, and for this reaſon Ariſtophanes called it the milk of Venus (48). The antient Romans forbid, with the utmoſt ſeverity, their women the uſe of wine, they looking upon it as an incentive to adultery: *Vini uſus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne ſcilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur: quia proximus à Libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconceſſam Venerem eſſe conſuevit* (49). Martial deſcribing the ſordid life of a certain perſon, ſays, among other

EFFECTS of drinking with regard to uncleanneſs.

(37) *Mémoires du Chevalier de Beaujeu.* lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. 58. edit. Amſterdam 1700.

(38) Carolus Ogerius, *in Itinere Danico*, pag. 34, 35.

(39) Idem, *in Itinere Suecico*, pag. 209.

(40) Idem, ibid.

(41) Idem, ibid.

(42) Idem, ibid.

(43) Idem, ibid. pag. 210.

(44) Idem, ibid.

(45) Tertull. *de Jejun.* cap. 1. pag. 544.

(46) Clem. Alexand. *Strom.* lib. 7. pag. 718. C.

(47) It is the 97th of the 3d Cent. of Chil. 2.

(48) Athen. lib. 10. pag. 444.

(49) Val. Max. lib. 2. cap. 1. num. 5. pag. m. 134.

is not ſo flagrant in the northern countries, as in thoſe of the ſouth.

ERPENIUS

other particulars, that when wine heated him, the only object of his choice was a country woman.

Villica vel duri compreſſa eſt nupta coloni,
Incaluit quoties ſaucia vena mero (50).
That is,

" As often as his veins were fir'd by wine,
" He, with the Farmer's wife, wou'd quench his
" flame."

(50) Mart. *Epig.* 66. lib. 4.

The Thracians were antiently ſtigmatized, as a people equally abandoned to drunkenneſs and impurity; *Fuiſſe apud Thracas* (Alcibiadem) *homines vinolentos rebuſque venereis deditos* (51). Theſe are Cornelius Nepos's words. One of his Commentators (52) has collected a pretty great number of authorities, to prove the connection between theſe two vices. He cites a ſcholiaſt (53) who ſays, that the tradition of the *Phallus*, aſſociated to Bacchus, was grounded on this reaſon, viz. that acts of venery are a conſequence of wine. He did not omit Agrippina, that abominable woman, who, to preſerve her authority, endeavoured to engage the Emperor her ſon in an inceſtuous commerce. She uſed to take her time when he had intoxicated himſelf with liquor; and it was then ſhe uſed to appear before him in the moſt alluring dreſs, and make the firſt advances (54).

(51) Cornel. Nep. *in Vita Alcibiad. ſub fin.*

(52) Janus Gebhardus.

(53) That of *Ariſtophanes in Acharn.*

(54) *See* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 14. cap. 2.

All theſe particulars favour thoſe who pretend, that uncleanneſs is as predominant in cold countries as in thoſe of the South; for 'tis certain that the Northern Nations eat much more meat, and drink much more wine than in any other parts of the world. Even the ſtrongeſt wines are not thought ſufficient; they conſume a prodigious quantity of brandy, and are very careful to eat heartily of ſuch aliments as heat the body. Theſe are great obſtacles to chaſtity. What idea can we entertain of thoſe young women in Flanders, who, with bumpers in their hands, drink down the Officers in garriſon among them (55)?) Should I grant that their heads are ſo ſtrong, that they can drink a great deal without being intoxicated; is this a proof that it is ſtrong enough to keep them from a temptation of another kind? There is juſt reaſon to fear, that the ſtrength of the upper part is the weakneſs of the lower. And what is more likely, than the anſwer which we are told one of theſe tippling Heroines made to an Officer? *Were we as powerful in the Art of Love, as in that of drinking, you would not gain ſo many conqueſts as you do in this country.* Had they read Ovid, they would have known that the bottle has been long conſidered as a promoter of Cupid's ſoft delights.

(55) See the *Fureterieana*, pag. 177, & *ſeq.* Dutch edit.

Dant etiam poſitis aditum convivia menſis:
Eſt aliquid, præter vina, quod inde petas.
Sæpe illic poſiti, teneris adducta lacertis
Purpureus Bacchi cornua preſſit amor.
Vinaque cum bibulas ſparſere Cupidinis alas,
Permanet, & capto ſtat gravis ille loco.
Ille quidem pennas velociter excutit udas:
Sed tamen & ſpargi pectus amore nocet.
Vina parant animos, faciuntque caloribus aptos;
Cura fugit, multo diluiturque mero.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Illic ſæpe animos juvenum rapuere puellæ:
Et Venus in vinis, ignis in igne fuit (56).

(56) Ovid. *de Arte Amat.* lib. 1. ver. 229, & *ſeq.*

" In Feaſts, as at our Shows, new means abound,
" More pleaſure there than that of Wine is found.
" The Paphian Goddeſs there her ambuſh lays,
" And Love betwixt the horns of Bacchus plays.
" There Cupid's purpled wings no flight afford,
" But wet with Wine he flutters on the board,
" He ſhakes his pinions, but he cannot move,
" Fix'd he remains, and turns a maudlin Love.
" Wine warms the blood, and makes the ſpirits flow;
" Care flies, and wrinkles from the forehead go.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
" Love ſparkles in the cup, and fills it higher,
" Wine feeds the flames, and fuel adds to fire.
Dryden.

A German Author whom I have cited, gives a teſtimony in favour of the pretenſions of the Italians. He obſerves two things: the one, that wine is the forerunner and ſtrong promoter of luxury; the other, that the coldneſs of the air increaſes the ſtrength of that paſſion, by turning inwards the heat of the whole body; and that wine is like an oil, which being poured on the internal fire, raiſes a much ſtronger flame. His words are theſe (57): *Ebrietatis pediſſequa eſt Libido, Bacchuſque certus Veneris hortator & armiger Apuleio appellatur, neque fortius homines in Venerem ſtimulantur, quàm cum mero alioque generoſiore potu incaluerunt* . . . . . *Alterum* (frigido cœlo eſſe natum) *intendendam ad libidinem non minimum conferre norunt omnes, præſertim cum interiore parte per frigus cohibitus calor vini, quaſi ſuffuſo oleo, gravius ſuccendatur* (58). Another German (59) bewails the corruption which prevails in certain Colleges among Students, and ſays that 'tis chiefly found in *Suevia vinoſa*.

(57) Janus Gebhardus, *Not. ad Cornel. Nepot. in Alcib.* num. 67. pag. m. 154.

(58) Idem, ibid. pag. 155.

(59) Lyſerus, *in Polygamia triumphat.* pag. 352.

V. But here follows a circumſtance which does not favour the pretenſions of the Italians. People drink to too great exceſs in the Northern countries, and thereby overthrow what a chearful glaſs had raiſed. The evil itſelf affords a remedy; for it is certain that a man who is a little intoxicated has the ſtronger inclination to violate the law of chaſtity; 'tis no leſs true, that a perſon who is quite drunk, has no great diſpoſition that way. Ovid, who could lay down Aphoriſms on this ſubject as juſt as thoſe of Hippocrates, ſhall be my Voucher here.

Quid tibi præcipiam de Bacchi munere, quæris?
Spe brevius monitis expediere meis.
Vina parant animum Veneri, ni plurima ſumas;
Ut ſtupeant multo corda ſepulta mero.
Nutritur vento, vento reſtinguitur ignis.
Lenis alit flammam, grandior aura necat.
Aut nulla ebrietas, aut tanta ſit, ut tibi curas
Eripiat: ſi qua eſt inter utramque, nocet (60)

(60) Ovid. *de Rem. Amoris, ſub fin.* ver. 805.

" If my opinion you would have of wine,
" It quenches love, and does to love incline.
" A little breath of wind but fans the fire,
" Whoſe flame will in a greater blaſt expire.
" In wine you muſt no moderation keep;
" You muſt not drink at all; or drink ſo deep,
" So large a doſe, as puts your cares to ſleep.
Tate.

I ſhall add to this teſtimony that of a Modern, whoſe genius will be admired as long as there are judges in the world, The perſon I mean is Montagne. He obſerved, that the French began to leave off drinking to exceſs. *Are we*, aſks he (61), *reformed in any particular? In none. But perhaps we are much more addicted to fornication than our forefathers. Theſe are two things which reciprocally damp each other's vigour. On one ſide, our ſtomachs have been weakned; and on the other, ſobriety makes us more gallant and alert in the exerciſe of love.* It would be an overſight in me not to mention the great Ariſtotle, who declares, that exceſs in drinking debilitates the amorous faculties, and gives the reaſons why they do it. Athenæus takes notice of this, where he ſpeaks of Alexander the Great's drunkenneſs; a vice, ſays he, which perhaps was the cauſe of the little inclination he had to venery (62). Μὴ ποτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια εἶχεν ὁρμήν· ἐξυθρεῦσθαι γάρ φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς προβλήμασι φυσικοῖς τῶν τοιούτων τὴν γονήν. *Ob immoditam forte illam vini appetentiam, ad Venerem ideo proclivis non fuit* (Alexander) *quoniam, ut explicat Ariſtoteles in quæſtionibus phyſicis, hominum ejuſmodi genitura in aquam eliqueſcat.*

(61) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 2. chap. 2. pag. m. 20.

(62) Athen. lib. 10. cap. 10. pag. 434.

VI. Be this as it will, I fancy it cannot be denied but that the vices of the South make a greater progreſs in the North, than the vices of the North make in the South; and conſequently we muſt ſay, that Bacchus does not encroach ſo much upon Venus, as the latter over Bacchus. Drunkenneſs is deteſted, and looked upon as infamous in hot countries. To call a Spaniard a Drunkard, is the moſt ſhocking affront that can be put upon him. I am aſſured that a Lacquey who ſhould

ERPENIUS [*A*] (THOMAS) a very learned Writer, and excellently ſkilled in the Oriental Languages, was ſon of Gerard John of Erpe and Beatrix de Bye, both deſcended of noble families at Bois-le-Duc, in Brabant, which place they had quitted on account of the Proteſtant Religion, which they had embraced (*a*). He was born at Gorcum in Holland Sept. the 11th, 1584 [*B*]; and from his earlieſt years ſhewed a peculiar diſpoſition for learning, which induced his father, who, though no ſcholar himſelf, had a great love for men of learning, to ſend him at ten years of age to Leyden, where he began his ſtudies. He did not continue long at Leyden; for his father removing the year following from Leyden to Middelburg in Zealand, he went with him, but the next year returned to Leyden, that he might have a better opportunity to proſecute his ſtudies, which he did in a ſhort time with ſuch ſucceſs, as extremely ſurprized his Maſters (*b*). At the age of eighteen he was admitted into the Univerſity of that city, where he took the degree of Doctor of Philoſophy under Rodolphus Snellius on July 8, 1608 (*c*). He had already paſſed thro' a courſe of Divinity, and gained a conſiderable ſkill in the Oriental Languages, to which he had applied himſelf at the perſuaſion of Joſeph Scaliger, who foreſaw how great a man he would prove in that branch of learning. He afterwards travelled into England [*D*]. France, Italy, and Germany, in which countries he contracted an acquaintance with the moſt learned men there. He continued a year at Paris, where he gained the friendſhip of Iſaac Caſaubon [*E*], and learned Arabic of an Egyptian Jacobine, whoſe name was Joſeph Barbatus.

(*a*) Ger. Johan. Voſſii *Oratio in Obitum Tho. Erpenii, habita ſtatim ab Exequiis in Auditorio Theologico, XIII Nov. ann.* 1624. & Meurſii, *Athenæ Batavæ*, lib. 2. pag. 301. edit. Lugduni Batav. 1625, in 4to.

(*b*) Voſſius, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

ſhould have been called Drunkard by his Maſter, might carry him before a Magiſtrate for it, and that ſatisfaction would be made him for the injury, altho' ſuch a one patiently ſuffers himſelf (and indeed no redreſs would be given him) to be called Raſcal, Dropgallows, Son of a —— &c. We don't find that fornication is thus treated in any country in the world. Men in the moſt frozen regions indulge as much as they pleaſe in the pleaſures of venery, without drawing the leaſt ſcandal upon themſelves; and ſo far generally ſpeaking are they from bluſhing at their feats, that they glory in them, and ridicule thoſe who abſtain from ſuch delights. The empire of Venus ought not like the earth, to be divided into five zones; one torrid, two temperate, and two frozen: all the zones in this caſe are torrid, with this only difference, that ſome are hotter than others (63). No monarchy was ever more univerſal than this; not a nook in the earth has been exempt from its yoke. There are indeed ſome particular perſons who aſpire to a ſtate of independence, and who even engage themſelves by a vow, not to recognize this ſovereign; and yet theſe are ſometimes the moſt faithful ſubjects of that empire. The Heathens have profeſſedly believ'd, that the monarchy of Venus is more extenſive than that of any other Deity. Heaven was allotted to Jupiter, the ſea to Neptune, and Hell to Pluto; but Venus reigned in all theſe worlds, and all animated nature was her province.

(63) Compare this with the remark [*E*] of the Article BOREAS.

Illa, quibus ſuperas omnes, cape tela, Cupido,
Inque Dei pectus celeres molire ſagittas,
Cui triplicis ceſſit fortuna noviſſima regni.
Tu ſuperos, ipſumque Jovem, tu numina ponti;
Tartara quid ceſſant? cur non matriſque, tuumque
Victa domas, ipſumque regit qui numina ponti.
Imperium profers? agitur pars tertia mundi.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Dixit Venus. Ille pharetram
Solvit, & arbitrio matris de mille ſagittis
Unam ſepoſuit: ſed quâ nec acutior ulla,
Nec minus incerta eſt, nec quæ magis audiat arcum:
Oppoſitoque genu curvavit flexile cornu,
Inque cor hamata percuſſit arundine Ditem (64).

That is,

" Venus beheld him.....
" And in theſe words the flutt'ring God addreſt.
" O thou, my arms, my glory and my power,
" My ſon, whom men, and deathleſs Gods adore;
" Bend thy ſure bow, whoſe arrows never miſs'd,
" No longer let hell's King thy ſway reſiſt:
" Take him, while ſtraggling from his dark abodes
" He coaſts the Kingdoms of ſuperior Gods.
" If ſovereign Jove, if Gods who rule the waves,
" And Neptune, who rules them, have been thy
" ſlaves,
" Shall hell be free? The tyrant ſtrike, my ſon,
" Enlarge thy mother's Empire, and thy own.
- - - - - - - - - -
" She ſaid; and from his quiver ſtrait he drew
" A dart that ſurely wou'd the buſineſs do.
" She guides his hand, ſhe makes him touch the
" teſt,
" And of a thouſand arrows choſe the beſt:
" No feather better pois'd, a ſharper head
" None had; and ſooner none, and ſurer ſped.
" He bends his bow, he draws it to his ear,
" Thro' Pluto's heart it drives, and fixes there.
Maynwaring.

(64) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 5. ver. 366.

[*A*] *Erpenius.*] In Dutch he is called Thomas of Erpe.

[*B*] *Born . . . . Sept. 11th 1584.*] Mr. Wood erroneouſly aſſerts (1), that he was born in 1589.

(1) *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 175. 2d edit. London 1721.

[*C*] *At the age of eighteen he was admitted into the Univerſity of that City.*] Voſſius informs us (2), that not long after he was admitted a Student here, he grew ſo diffident of ſucceſs in his ſtudies, that he began to relax his former vigour and application to them, and was extremely deſirous of engaging in ſome other employment. But being fearful of diſcovering this to his father, who, as he knew, had deſigned him from his earlieſt years for learning, he was in a very uneaſy ſituation of mind, when he met with *Joachim Fortius Ringelbergius Andoverpianus's* Book *de Ratione ſtudendi* (3); which he read over with the utmoſt attention, and was inſpired by it with new zeal for the proſecution of his ſtudies. He made himſelf maſter of the ſeveral branches of Literature, and particularly Metaphyſics; for which purpoſe he read over, not only Ariſtotle, but likewiſe his Interpreters, Aphrodiſienſis, Philoponus, Syrianus, Averroes, Aquinas, Fonſeca, and others, with all the Commentaries of Suarez, in which he was ſo converſant, that ſeveral years after he had gone through his courſe of Philoſophy, and was engaged in other ſtudies, he could give a diſtinct account of the contents of almoſt every page of that vaſt work.

(2) *Oratio in Obitum Tho. Erpenii habita ſtatim ab Exequiis in Auditorio Theologico XIII Nov. ann.* 1624.

(3) There is an edition of this Treatiſe in a Collection, intitled, *H. Grotii & aliorum Diſſertationes de ſtudiis inſtituendis*, Amſterdam 1645, in 24°.

[*D*] *He afterwards travelled into England.*] As he was but four years in his travels thro' the ſeveral parts of Europe, and returned to Leyden in 1612, Mr. Wood muſt certainly be miſtaken in ſuppoſing (4), that he was a *Sojourner* in the Univerſity of Oxford about the month of July 1606. Gerard John Voſſius (5) tells us, that at London he became acquainted with Mr. *William Bedwell*, who was excellently ſkilled in the Oriental Languages, and adviſed our Author to the ſtudy of them.

(4) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(5) *Orat. in Obitum Tho. Erpenii.*

[*E*] *He gained the friendſhip of* Iſaac Caſaubon.] That learned man has ſeveral Letters to Erpenius printed among his Epiſtles. In his Letter dated at Paris the 29th of November 1609, he tells our Author, that his own ſtudies in the Arabic Language were grown cold ſince his departure. *Mea ſtudia Arabica poſt tuum diſceſſum frigent.* In his Letter dated at Paris 7th of April 1610 he exhorts him to proſecute his ſtudies in the Arabic Tongue, and tells us, that it would be of the greateſt importance to learning. That if he look'd round in all parts of the Chriſtian world, he would find no perſon, who had taken the proper method to gain their point in that kind of Literature. That Joſeph Scaliger had diſappointed their hopes; that Bed-

Barbatus. During his ſtay at Venice, by the aſſiſtance of ſome learned Jews and Turks, he learned the Turkiſh, Perſian, and Ethiopic Languages; and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Italy to ſuch advantage, that he was offered a ſtipend of five hundred Ducats a year to tranſlate ſome Arabic Books into Latin. After four years ſpent in his travels, he returned to Leyden on July the 4th 1612 (*d*); about which time there was a deſign to have ſent for him into England, and to have allowed him an honourable ſtipend (*e*); but on the 9th of February the year following, he was choſen by the Curators of the Univerſity of Leyden Profeſſor of the Arabic, and other Oriental Languages, except the Hebrew,

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

(*e*) Meurſius, pag. 301.

well, tho' a man of great learning, proceeded ſo ſlowly, and followed ſuch a courſe of ſtudies, that they knew not what to hope from him; that the German, who made ſo great a noiſe, was not to be depended on; that the Italians, after raiſing a great expectation, had of a ſudden deſerted them. In ſhort, that Erpenius was the only perſon, who had laid a ſolid and firm foundation for a future ſuperſtructure. He encourages him therefore to proceed with vigour, and not to doubt, but that he ſhould have an opportunity, either in his own or ſome other country, of proſecuting thoſe ſtudies to his own and the public advantage. *Nemo dubitat ſanus rem eſſe omnium φιλομαθῶν votis expetendam, ut ad linguæ Arabicæ illuſtrationem aliquis ſe accingat, cujus operâ τοῖς φιλάραψι poſſit eſſe uſui & emolumento. Conjice oculos in quamcunque volueris orbis Chriſtiani partem; neminem invenies, qui in iis literis eam viam ſit ingreſſus, quæ ſola ad finem propoſitum perducere eſt idonea. De Chriſtianis hominibus loquor, quorum nomina & conatus nobis innotuerunt. Ὁ τρισμέγιστος Scaliger nos ſimul & ſpem noſtram deſtituit. Beduelus vir doctiſſimus ita lente procedit, & curſum ſtudiorum eum tenuit, ut quid de eo ſperare queamus neſciam. Ille Germanus, qui tanto cum ſtrepitu ſe commovet, συχνὴν eſt ἀπιχουρίαν, quod tu omnium optimè noſti. Itali, poſtquam in ſpem magnam nos erexiſſent, repentè nos deſeruerunt. Tu unus es omnium, qui futuri, volente Deo, ædificii fundamenta jeciſti firma & ſolida. Noli ſpem noſtram fallere; neque dubita vel in patriâ vel alibi terrarum oblatum iri aliquam occaſionem, cum publica utilitate & tua, hæc nobiliſſima ſtudia excolendi. Denique Spartam ἔλαχες, ταύτην κόσμει: aderit Deus inceptis.* In another Letter dated at London 5th of April 1611 new ſtyle, he tells our Author, that he wrote now ſo ſoon in anſwer to his Letter, becauſe he imagined, that he was ready to leave Paris; and adviſes him to put an end to his travels, ſince they could not be of any great advantage to his ſtudies. From another Letter of Caſaubon to Erpenius, dated at London July 9, 1612, it appears, that the latter was not long before returned to Leyden. From another letter dated at London June 13, 1613, we find, that Caſaubon had then ſeen Erpenius's *Notes* on Franciſcus Raphelingius's *Lexicon Arabicum*. In another Letter dated at London 29th of January 1614 he entreats our Author to publiſh the *Arabic Hiſtory of the Patriarch of Alexandria*; and expreſſes his joy for the edition, which he was preparing of the Arabian Proverbs.

[*F*] *Publiſh'd a great many excellent works, which ſpread his reputation over all the world.*] We ſhall give a Catalogue of them: I, *Annotationes ad Lexicon Arabicum Franciſci Raphelengii.* Leyden 1613 in 4to. Theſe *Annotations* are printed with Raphelengius's Arabic Lexicon. II, *Grammatica Arabica.* Leyden 1613 in 4to. *Cum Lokmanni Fabulis & aliquot Adagiis, Arabicè & Latinè.* Leyden 1636 in 4to. *Cum Lokmanni fabulis ex editione Golii, qui addidit Carmen Abul Olai, aliquot Suratas Alcorani, & alia quædam ad Praxim. Arabicè & Lat.* Leyden, 1656 in 4to. III, *Proverbiorum Arabicorum Centuriæ II, Arabicè & Latinè, cum Scholiis Joſephi Scaligeri & Thomæ Erpenii.* Leyden 1614 in 4to, and 1623 in 8vo. Joſeph Scaliger having tranſlated and illuſtrated with Notes part of the Arabian Proverbs, after his death, Caſaubon engaged Erpenius to compleat that work. Erpenius refuſed for a long time, alledging, that he could not pretend to put himſelf upon a level with that great man. But Caſaubon urged him ſo importunately, that he at laſt complied; and not only finiſhed what had been begun, but likewiſe corrected a great number of errors, which had eſcaped Scaliger. He compleated this work during his firſt reſidence in France; but he did not commit it to the preſs till he had concluded his travels, and was returned to his own country. Dr. Thomas Hyde (6) has expreſſed himſelf very erroneouſly, when among the works of Joſeph Scaliger he places *Scholia ad Erpenii Proverbia Arabica. Lugd. Bat.* 1623, 8vo; which ſeems to inſinuate, as if Scaliger had written Notes on a work of Erpenius, whereas the contrary is the caſe. But Dr. Hyde in another place (5) has given the title of this Book right. IV, *Lokmanni Fabulæ & ſelecta quædam Arabum Adagia, cum Interpretatione Latina & Notis.* Leyden 1615 in 8vo. Amſterdam 1636 and 1656 in 4to, with the Arabic Grammar abovementioned. V, *Giarumia Grammatica de centum Regentibus, ſive Linguæ Arabicæ particulis, Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis.* Leyden 1617 in 4to, 1636 in 4to. *Giarumia* is an Arabic Grammar, which takes its name from its Author, and is highly eſteemed in Aſia and Africa. It had already been printed at Rome at the Printing-Houſe of the Medicis in very beautiful characters, but ſo incorrectly, that Erpenius was obliged to collate it with four manuſcripts, in order to correct the errors of it. VI, *Novum Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Teſtamentum Arabicè.* Leyden 1615 in 4to. The Author of this Arabic Verſion, which is very ancient, is not known. Erpenius was the firſt who publiſhed it from a manuſcript of above three hundred years old. Francis Raphelengius had accurately collated a great part of it, namely, the Acts of the Apoſtles and the Epiſtles, with another manuſcript; and that manuſcript thus collated was in the Library of the Univerſity of Leyden, to which it had been left by Joſeph Scaliger together with a great many other Books in the Oriental Languages. From thence our Author publiſhed it. VII, *Hiſtoria Joſephi Patriarchæ ex Alcorano Arabico, Arabicè, cum Verſione Latina & Notis.* Leyden 1617 in 4to. This Hiſtory contains ſomething of truth, which Mahomet took from the Scriptures, and a great number of falſities, which he has blended with it. VIII, *Canones de Litterarum* Evi *apud Arabes natura & permutatione.* Leyden 1618 in 4to. IX, *Rudimenta Linguæ Arabicæ: item Praxis Grammatica, & Conſilium de Studio Arabico feliciter inſtituendo.* Leyden 1620 in 8vo. *Secunda Editio,* Leyden 1628 in 8vo. and Paris 1638 in 8vo. X, *Verſio & Notæ ad Arabicam Paraphraſin in Evangelium Joannis.* Roſtoch 1629. XI, *Grammatica Hebræa generalis,* Amſterdam 1621. Geneva 1627. Leyden 1659 in 8vo. XII, *Orationes tres de Linguarum Hebreæ atque Arabicæ Dignitate.* Leyden 1621 in 8vo. XIII, *Pentateuchus Moſis Arabicè.* Leyden 1622 in 4to. This Arabic Verſion is ancient, and was made by a Chriſtian. XIV, *Georgii Elmacini Hiſtoria Saracenica a Muhamede ad Atabacæum XLIX. Imperatorem, Arabicè & Latinè, cum Notis & Tabulis Geographicis & Genealogicis.* Leyden 1625 in fol. *Eadem Hiſtoria Latinè tantum cum Notis.* It. *Arabicè tantum.* Leyden 1625 in 4to. This Book was tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed at London 1626. XV, *Pſalmi Davidis Syriacè, cum Verſione Latina.* Leyden 1625 in 4to. XVI, *Grammaticæ Chaldæa & Syra.* Amſterdam 1628 in 8vo. Leyden 1659 in 8vo. XVII, *De Peregrinatione Gallica utiliter inſtituenda Tractatus.* Leyden 1631 in 12mo. XVIII, *Præcepta de Lingua Græcorum communi.* Leyden 1662 in 8vo. XIX, *Arcanum Punctationis revelatum, & Oratio de Nomine Tetragrammato.* Leyden 1624 in 4to. He had a deſign to have publiſhed an Edition of the *Koran* with an accurate Latin Verſion and Notes, and a Confutation of it, where it was neceſſary; and a *Theſaurus Grammaticus* for the Arabic Tongue, and a *Lexicon* of the ſame Language; but he was prevented by death from executing theſe deſigns, as we are informed by Mr. Leonard Chappelow in the *Preface* to his *Elementa Linguæ Arabicæ ex* Erpenii *Rudimentis, ut plurimum, deſumpta. Cujus Praxi Grammaticæ novam legendi Praxin addidit* Leonardus Chappelow, *Linguæ Arabicæ apud Cantabrigienſes Profeſſor.* London 1730 in 8vo. T.

(5) Under *Erpenius's* Works, pag. 232.

(6) *Catalog. impreſſorum Librorum in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ,* pag. 142. of the ſecond part, edit. Oxon. 1674, in fol.

Hebrew, of which there was already a Profeſſor. He filled this chair with great applauſe, and ſoon after ſet up, at extraordinary expence, a Preſs for the Eaſtern Languages, and publiſhed a great many excellent Works, which ſpread his reputation over all the world [*F*]. Many of his ſcholars afterwards proved great men, particularly Conſtantine L'Empereur, Sixtinus Amama, Adolphus Vorſtius, James Golius, William Merula, Samuel Bochart, and Hadrian Junius. October the 6th 1616 he married Jaquelina Buyes, daughter of a Counſellor in the Court of Holland, by whom he had ſeven children, three of whom ſurvived him (*f*). In 1619 the Curators of the Univerſity erected a ſecond chair for the Hebrew Language, of which they appointed him Profeſſor (*g*). In the beginning of the year 1620 he was ſent by the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland into France, to ſollicite Peter du Moulin or Andrew Rivet to undertake the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity at Leyden. And though he prevailed not in that journey, yet he was ſent again the year following; and after ſix months ſtay in France, procured Andrew Rivet, with the conſent of the French Churches, to remove to Leyden. Some time after his return, the States of Holland appointed him their Interpreter, and employed him in tranſlating the letters which they received from the ſeveral Princes of Aſia and Africa (*h*). In the midſt of theſe employments he was ſeized with a contagious diſeaſe, which was then epidemical; and being carried to Leyden, died there on the 13th of November 1624, being forty years of age. He was a man of great application, of a lively genius, ſolid judgment, and a very tenacious and comprehenſive memory. The Emperor of Morocco was ſo highly charmed with the purity of his Arabic ſtyle in his Letters, that he ſhewed them to his Nobles, as a prodigious curioſity for their elegance and propriety. He rejected ſeveral advantageous offers which were made to him by ſeveral countries. The King of Spain and the Archbiſhop of Seville invited him into that Kingdom to explain certain Arabic Inſcriptions. His behaviour was ſo engaging, that he inſpired every one with the utmoſt regard for him (*i*). A great many learned Writers ſpeak of him in the ſtrongeſt terms of commendation (*k*). Gerard John Voſſius made his Funeral Oration in Latin, printed at Leyden 1625 in 4to; and the ſame year were publiſhed at the ſame place in 4to, Peter Scriverius's *Manes Erpeniani, cum Epicediis Variorum*. Salmaſius in a Letter to Monſieur Daillé (*l*), dated at Grigny the 22d of October 1631, obſerves, that he had been ſeveral times aſſured by Grotius, that our Author had a deſign to ſhew, that the Copts held the ſame Faith with the Proteſtants with regard to the Sacrament.

(*f*) Voſſius *and* Meurſius, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Voſſius, ibid.

(*h*) Idem, ibid.

(*i*) Idem, ibid.

(*k*) *See* Caſaubon, *Epiſt. ad Thuan.* 3 *Kal. Quintil.* 1610. Georg. Hornii, *in Præfat. ad Sulpic. Severum*; Meric Caſaubon. *de quatuor Linguis*, pag. 45. Seldeni, *Præfat. ad Eutychii Patriarch. Alex. Eccleſ. ſuæ Origin.* pag. 7.

(*l*) See *Claudii Salmaſii Epiſtolarum* lib. 1. pag. 69. Epiſt. 32. edit. Lugduni Batavor. 1656, in 4to.

ESMENDREVILLE (JOHN du BOSC Lord of), Preſident of the Court of Aids at Roan, was executed with Marlorat a Proteſtant Miniſter, and ſome others, as being one of thoſe who principally occaſioned the reſiſtance which that city made to the arms of the King, in the firſt civil war under Charles IX. (*a*) He was worthy of a better fate, he having united in his perſon all the exalted qualities that can be deſired in an accompliſhed Magiſtrate. He had been educated like the illuſtrious men of his age, who thirſted to poſſeſs the arts and ſciences, and particularly the Civil Law, which Eſmendreville went and learnt at its fountain-head, in Italy, whither he went for that purpoſe..... "He was admitted Counſellor and Commiſſioner in the Requeſts of the "Pleading Hall at Roan, the laſt day of June 1544; and afterwards appointed ſecond Pre- "ſident of the Court of Aids in the ſame city, the 26th of January 1562, which was the "year of his death; he having been beheaded, and his body hanged upon a gibbet the 1ſt "of November following. (*b*) He left by N. Guyot his firſt wife, three ſons and two "daughters, who did not inherit any part of his eſtate. Catherine Guerin his ſecond wife, "married afterwards Robert du Tour. Martin du Boſc Lord of Bourneville his younger "brother, who ſerved in the troop of the *Vidame* of Chartres, obtained by a decree, the "Lordſhip of Eſmendreville; and from him and Iſabella le Moine his wife, Lady of "Surdeval, are deſcended the reſt of the Lords of Eſmendreville. He was a Roman "Catholic; and 'tis he who is mentioned as a great Leaguer, in the Catholicon d'Eſpagne." This is an antient family [*A*], and from it ſeveral branches have ſprung. The Preſident Eſmendreville

(*a*) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 878, 879.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 881.

[*A*] *This is an antient family.*] He was ſon of LEWIS DU BOSC, Lord of Radepont, d'Eſmendreville &c. and his elder brothers were, I. LEWIS DU BOSC Lord of Radepont, from whom are deſcended the Lords of Radepont and Fleuri: 2. ROBERT DU BOSC Lord of Beaumoncel, who left but two daughters. He was grandſon of LEWIS DU BOSC Lord of Radepont, and great grandſon of ROBIN DU BOSC Lord of Eſmendreville, of Branville, &c. whoſe father, WILLIAM DU BOSC Lord of Tendos, of la Chapelle and Eſmendreville, was a hoſtage for King Charles the VIIth in England, and died the firſt of November 1430. He was ſon to WILLIAM DU BOSC Lord of Coquereaumont of Feſcamp, of Eſmendreville &c. who died in 1409, and grandſon of JOHN DU BOSC who died in 1381 and was ſon to MARTIN DU BOSC Lord of Tendos, Lieutenant to the Chief Juſtice in Eyre of Normandy. This Martin died in 1360, and had two other ſons viz. 1ſt. MATTHEW DU BOSC Lord of Breteville, who was father of SIMON DU BOSC, Doctor of the Canon Law, Monk of St. Oüen, Abbot of Jumieges, Chamberlain to the Pope; 2dly, NICOLE (1) DU BOSC Biſhop of Baieux. *This Prelate contributed equally to the honour and aggrandizing of his family; for it was he who purchaſed the eſtates of Eſmendreville, Eſpinai, Bois d'Annebout, and other eſtates..... He was firſt Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris*, afterwards Biſhop of Baieux in 1374, afterwards *firſt Preſident Clerk of the Chamber of Accounts, having a penſion for life of a thouſand livres of Paris.* The letters of Creation dated the 13th of February 1398, declare that this employment was given him, to reward his faithful ſervices during forty years. *By other letters dated the laſt day of December* 1380, *he was appointed Counſellor of the King for his Demeſnes and Subſidies, with a ſalary of* 1000 *gold franks; continuing ſtill* (2) *firſt Preſident of the Chamber of Accounts.* He died the 19th of September 1408. He had been employed on two important

(1) See the Errata of Le Laboureur.

(2) I copy Le Laboureur *verbatim*, but it is plain there is an error in the figures; for if this Biſhop was created firſt Preſident in 1398, he could not join this employment in 1380, with that of Counſellor with reſpect to the demeſnes.

(c) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, pag. 85. of vol. 3. in folio.

Eſmendreville wrote ſome books [*B*]. Mezerai calls him *Jaques du Boſc Mandreville* [*C*]; a zealous Huguenot, added he, *who ruined himſelf by his bad oeconomy* (*c*). This laſt circumſtance is related by le Laboureur (*d*).

(d) *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 879.

tant embaſſies, *the firſt into Britany anno* 1394 *with the Duke of Burgundy; and the other to Ardres in* 1381, *to negotiate a peace with the Engliſh, he being allowed twelve livres a day for his expences. He was interred in the Chapel of St. Lewis, in the Church of the Franciſcans at Paris* (3). See divers branches of this family in le Laboureur.

(3) Extracted from le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 897, *& ſeq.*

[*B*] *He wrote ſome Books.*] During his journey into Italy, "he wrote a Latin Book printed anno 1532, "entitled *Joannis Boſchæi Neuſtrii περὶ δικαιογαμίας* (4). "Beſides this, he compoſed a treatiſe concerning the "vertues and properties of the number 7, and of the "reaſon why Juſtinian divided his Pandects into ſeven "parts. He therein refutes certain opinions which "he had heard the famous Alciat his contemporary "maintain publickly; and there are ſtill extant ſome "other manuſcript Works of his (5)." Theodore Beza (6) aſcribes to him a Work entitled *de Numæ Pompilii ſacris*, which generally offended the Roman Catholics.

(4) We read in le Laboureur *δικαιογονίας*. This work is generally cited under the following title, *de Legitimis Nuptiis*.

(5) Le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 878.

(6) Beza, *Reſp. ad Balduin.* pag. 229 tom. 2. *Operum.*

[*C*] *Mezerai calls him* Jaques du Boſc Mandreville.] Mezerai is often miſtaken in Chriſtian names. With regard to the error of *Mandreville* inſtead of *Eſmandreville*, it muſt be aſcribed to this. The Pronunciation is the ſame in moſt Provinces, and is uſed by ſeveral perſons all over the Kingdom, whether we ſay the *Preſident de Mandreville*, or the *Preſident d'Eſmandreville*. Thoſe who love accuracy in the moſt minute particulars, do not truſt to the pronunciation, but ſearch for the true orthography of proper names. Thuanus had not made any enquiries on this occaſion, ſince he latinized the name of this Preſident by that of *Mantrevilla* (7). But this is nothing in compariſon of what is found in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Proteſtant Churches, written by Beza. This Author gives us an account of the proſecution and ſentences pronounced againſt Eſmandreville, Marlorat &c. and calls him for ever Mantreville. Did not the regiſters of theſe proſecutions and ſentences know the true names of theſe criminals, or did Theodore Beza make uſe of an incorrect copy (α)?

(7) Thuan. lib. 33. pag. 668. *ad annum* 1562.

§ (α) We read *Mandreville*, Tom. II, pag. 620 of Beza's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and the Index of this volume ſuppoſes that it is thus read in every part of the volume where mention is made of this ill fated Magiſtrate. He is called *Mantreville* in the Index to Thuanus, and *Mandreville* by d'Aubigné, Tom. I. pag. 222, in the laſt Edition of his Hiſtory. But it is probable that people uſed to ſay, indifferently, *Mantreville*, or *Mandreville* and *Eſmandreville*; in like manner as Pâquier, Lib. III, Cap. XXIX, of his Recherches, calls *Toute-ville* the famous Cardinal who reformed the Univerſity of Paris, called *Eſtoteville* by Naudé, Cap. VI. of his addition to the Hiſtory of Lewis XI. pag. 192. of the Edition of 1630. CRIT. REM.

ESPAGNE (JOHN D') born in Dauphine, and Miniſter of the French Church in London in the ſeventeenth Century, publiſhed ſeveral little Tracts [*A*], and one among the reſt intitled, *Popular Errors with regard to the general points which relate to the underſtanding of Religion.*

He is thought to have explained very happily the doctrine of the Euchariſt. He has cenſured with pretty great freedom a work of Calvin, notwithſtanding the public and very ſingular favour with which it was honoured [*B*].

[*A*] *He has publiſhed ſeveral little Tracts*] They were collected into one body, in the Geneva Edition of 167 . . . . which is in three volumes (1) in 12mo. This Author is worthy enough of being read, there being ſeveral good things in his book concerning popular errors. He dedicated it to Charles I King of England. He informs us, in the Dedication, that the firſt of his Books was publiſhed by the command of King James. This ſhews, that Mr. Allard (2) does not juſtly ſpecify the time, in ſaying that *John d'Eſpagne* was a Miniſter in London, anno 1662.

(1) The Hague edit of 1674, conſiſts but of two vol. 12mo.

(2) *Biblioth. de Dauphiné*, pag. 87.

[*B*] *He has cenſured with pretty great freedom a work of Calvin, notwithſtanding the public and very ſingular favour with which it was honoured.*] This work of Calvin, is a Catechiſm divided into LV Sections. It ſerves as a text for one of the Sunday's Sermons, in the Churches of the Geneva confeſſion, and is one of their liturgical Books. It was received with applauſe as ſoon as it appeared in print, and has been tranſlated into ſeveral languages. *Eodem anno*, that is in 1450 (3), *ſcripſit* (Calvinus) *Catechiſmum Gallice & Latine . . . . quem tanti fecerunt Calviniſtæ, ut non modo vernaculis plurimis linguis, utpote Germanica, Anglica, Scotica, Belgica, Hiſpanica, ſed etiam Hebraïca donatus ſit ab* Emanuële Træmelio, & *Græca ab* Henrico Stephano (4). This is the Book that was criticized by John d'Eſpagne.

(3) I ſhall examine this date in the remark [*B*] of the Article SCHULTINGIUS.

(4) Natalis Alexander, *Hiſtoria Eccleſ.* tom. 8. pag. 135, folio.

ESPAGNET (JOHN of) Preſident of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, was a learned man in the ſeventeenth Century. He approved of the new Philoſophy, and gave public marks of the progreſs he had made in it [*A*]. He publiſhed in 1616 an old manuſcript intitled,

[*A*] *He gave public marks of the progreſs he had made . . . .* in the New Philoſophy.] A Book is aſcribed to him, entitled, *The Natural Philoſophy of the Antients reſtored to its purity* (1).

(1) *See* de la Montagne's Preface to the book intitled, *The World in the Moon*, printed at Roan 1656, in 8vo. This book is a tranſlation from the Engliſh.

I ſhall now enlarge a little this remark which was too ſhort in the firſt edition (2). *In the year* 1623, *a Work was printed at Paris entitled* Enchyridion Phyſicæ reſtitutæ, *which was known to be written by Meſſire John d'Eſpagnet, Preſident of Bourdeaux, becauſe ſome perſons of his acquaintance aſſerted it to be ſo; not to mention that this was conjectured from their ſeeing the following motto at the beginning of the Book*; Spes mea eſt in agno, i. e. "my hope is in the lamb;" and *before the Treatiſe on Chemiſtry*, Penes nos unda Tagi, i. e. "From the banks of the Tagus," *which are two anagrams of his name. It may be affirmed, that this is the firſt Book that appeared in France, containing a complete ſyſtem of Phyſicks contrary to that of Ariſtotle. Nevertheleſs, the Author pretends that he has only reſtored the antient Philoſophy to its rights and privileges. But notwithſtanding this aſſertion, he has added a great many particulars of his own invention. He refutes the opinion concerning the firſt matter*, (materia prima) *which was held to be extended univerſally without being perceived in any place; and to deſire inceſſantly an alliance with forms, without having any; being the baſis and ſupport of contraries, viz. of the Elements which are ſaid to be produced from it. He ſhews that this ſyſtem of nature is imaginary; that there is no contrariety in the Elements; and that that which is perceived in them, proceeds only from the exceſs of their qualities; and that when they are tempered, no contrariety is found in them. He nevertheleſs thinks that there is a* materia prima *whence the elements proceed, and become the ſecond matter of things which are in the water and earth; he not conſidering the air nor fire as elements. The elements, according to him, do not change from one into the other: the water only aſcends in vapour, and vapour becomes water by circulation. As to the true fire of the world, he places it in the ſun* (3), *which he calls not only the eye of the univerſe,*

(2) Sorel, *de la Perfection de l'Homme*, pag. 249. Paris edit. 1655.

(3) It is to be obſerved, that he believes the light of the Sun, and all other light to be ſpiritual; and that our material fire is in ſome meaſure ſpiritual. Ibid. pag. 250.

intitled, *Le Rozier des Guerres* [B], and annexed to it a Treatiſe of his own concerning the inſtitution of the young Prince. It is he who is ſpoken of by Father Abram, in his Commentary on Tully's Orations [C].

I forgot to mention that in publiſhing the *Rozier des Guerres*, he did not imitate thoſe who change the antiquated diction of ſuch manuſcripts as they get printed. He copied his original with the utmoſt exactneſs, and even followed, to a tittle, the whole orthography of it. The reaſon he gave for this may ſerve to corroborate a remark I made on the new edition of Cardinal d'Oſſat's Letters (*a*) [D].

(*a*) See the Article OSSAT, at the latter end of the text.

univerſe, but the eye of the Creator of the univerſe, by which he beholds, in a ſenſible manner, his creatures, and which is the firſt agent of the world. In every other part of his Book there are a great number of very curious particulars with regard to the origin of things, their ſubſiſtence and various changes, which bear a near relation to the deſign this new Philoſopher had, to ſpeak of Chymical Things. Accordingly he annexed a treatiſe entitled by him, Arcanum Hermeticæ Philoſophiæ opus, *in which he ſpeaks of the matter of the Philoſophical Stone and its digeſtions, of the degrees of fire, of the figure of the veſſels, and that of the furnace; of the compoſition of the Elixir and its multiplication. . . . This Book was tranſlated into French a few years ſince, and entitled,* La Philoſophie des Anciens retablie en ſa pureté.

[B] *He publiſhed . . . . an old Manuſcript, entitled,* le Rozier des Guerres.] It was found at Nerac in the King's Cabinet. D'Eſpagnet thought that his edition was the firſt, but he was miſtaken. This Book had been printed in folio anno 1523, which Edition is more ample than that of 1616. In the manuſcript of Nerac, the whole IId part, and the three laſt chapters of the Iſt were wanting (4). The Prologue alone is capable of proving, that Lewis XI is not the Author of that Work (5), as is aſſured in the title: and yet it is he who ſpeaks in it, to give inſtructions to the Dauphin his ſon. See Colomiés's *Bibliotheque Choiſie* (6), and the remark [Z] of the article Lewis XI.

(4) *See* Naudé, *Addit. à l'Hiſt. de Louis XI*, pag. 72. *and in* Syntag. *de Studio militari*, pag. m. 73.

(5) Naudé, ibid.

(6) Pag. 15.

[C] *It is he who is ſpoken of by Father Abram, in his Commentary* on Tully's Orations.] I make this Remark only for thoſe who would be at a loſs at reading of the following words. *Atque etiam nunc pueros à ſagis rapi ſolere, & dæmonibus devoveri teſtatur Spagnetus in ſua præfatione ad Petrum Anchoranum* (7). That is to ſay, that the Preſident d'Eſpagnet, in a Preface of his to a Work of Peter de Lancre, Counſellor in the Parliament of Bourdeaux, declares that witches ſteal children, and devote them to the devil.

(7) Abram. *in Cicer. Orat.* tom. 1. pag. 294. col. 2.

[D] . . . . *He followed, to a tittle, the whole Orthography of it. The reaſon he gave for this may ſerve to corroborate a remark I made on the new Edition of Cardinal d'Oſſat's Letters.*] " This little Tract *Du* " *Rozier*, ſays he (8), appeared ſo beautiful to me, " that I would not paint or diſguiſe it, but have left " it in its native ſimplicity. And tho' his diction is " different from that of this age, it nevertheleſs will " be eaſily underſtood, it being ſo nervous and full of " good ſenſe, that his jargon will ſilence the affected " language of the Court and the Bar. I alſo was de- " ſirous of preſerving carefully the orthography; be- " cauſe that by retrenching or adding a letter, one " oftener changes a word, and transforms an old to a " new one. By this method, in my opinion, the dic- " tion of Philip de Comines's Hiſtory has been cor- " rupted: By this, Editors thinking to correct the " orthography, and poliſh the ſtyle, have diveſt- " ed it of its antique dreſs, whereby the ſtyle of " his Work is no longer that of the age in which " he lived; as may be judged both from this little ma- " nuſcript, and from ſeveral others of the ſame age " which are met with in famous Libraries, particularly " by the Hiſtory of King Charles VI, written by John " Juvenal des Urſins, and ſince publiſhed by the Sieur " de Godefroy. I imagine this error is owing to the " inability of the Correctors, who have corrupted the " orthography in their attempting to correct it, and " thereby became Plagiaries."

(8) Eſpagnet, in his Advertiſement to the reader.

(*a*) See the remark [B] of the Article GUISE (Lewis de Lorraine Cardinal de).

ESPINE (JOHN DE L') a Proteſtant Miniſter. See SPINA.

ESSARS (CHARLOTTE DES) miſtreſs to Henry IV of France, and afterwards to the Cardinal of Guiſe (*a*), married Marſhal de l'Hoſpital, as I obſerved in another place (*b*); but I muſt here rectify an error that eſcaped me [A], and add, that this Lady intermeddled too much in intrigues of ſtate [B].

(*b*) In the remark [B] of that Marſhal's Article.

ESSE

[A] *I muſt here rectify an error which eſcaped me.*] Truſting to Father Anſelme, I imagined that Marſhal de l'Hoſpital had married to his ſecond wife, Frances Mignot, anno 1633; whence I conclude that he had divorced Charlotte des Eſſars his firſt wife, and I made ſome reflexions on that occaſion. I drew this conſequence from Father Anſelme's having fixed the death of Charlotte des Eſſars, to the year 1651. I have been informed ſince the ſecond edition of this Dictionary, that this Marſhal's ſecond marriage was contracted in 1653 (1). It therefore muſt not be aſſerted, that the firſt marriage was declared void. I intended to ſuppreſs my reflexions; but ſome perſons whom I greatly revere, adviſed me to keep them in. They repreſented to me, that they are falſe only with regard to the particular application of them to Charlotte des Eſſars; and that if I do but tell my Readers, that they ought to be rectified in this particular, they will not be diſpleaſed at my preſerving a paſſage which may be juſtly applied on a great many occaſions.

(1) See the Errata of Father Anſelme.

[B] *She intermeddled too much in intrigues of ſtate.*] I ſhall give but one inſtance of this. She had a ſon in the Duke of Lorrain's ſervice; a ſon, I ſay, who called himſelf the Chevalier de Remorantin, and whom ſhe had by the Cardinal of Guiſe. She imagined that the way to advance him would be, to do ſome ſervice to the Duke of Lorrain, by reconciling him with France, and getting him reſtored to his dominions. Accordingly, ſhe deſired Mr. du Hallier her huſband, who commanded in Lorrain, to adviſe the Court of France to treat with the Duke; and at the ſame time ſhe ſollicited the Princeſs of Cantecroix, whom this Duke had married, though he had another wife living, to employ all her rhetoric and addreſs to make him conſent to an accommodation (2). The negotiation was agreed upon on both ſides, and was terminated by the treaty of St. Germains in 1641; but the Duke not performing his promiſes, and not thinking it would be poſſible for him to ſtand his ground, he retired with his troops to his old poſt between the Sambre and the Meuſe. " However, in order to give ſome colour " to his retreat, he diſpatched a Courier to Cardinal " de Richlieu, to acquaint him that he did not retire " with a deſign of infringing his late treaty; but " that the fear which Madam du Hallier had raiſed " in him, viz. that he the Cardinal intended to have " him ſeized, was the ſole cauſe of it. To ſhew that " this fear was not altogether groundleſs and chimeri- " cal, he ſent him a letter, written by that Lady her- " ſelf to the Superior of the Maidens of the Congre- " gation of Nanci, named Angelica her great Confi- " dante, by which ſhe deſired her to let him know, " that the Court took ſuch umbrage at his conduct, " that they were reſolved to ſeize his perſon. The " Cardinal was ſo highly exaſperated at Madam du " Hallier's boldneſs in ſending ſuch an information, " that her huſband who was employed in recovering " the ſmall towns in Lorrain, and at that ſame time " beſieging Chaté, received orders by a Courier ſent " for that purpoſe, to ſend his wife to one of his ſeats, " to remove the Major of the garriſon of Nanci, and " put in his room one Belcaſtel, who was not his " friend; and immediately after the reducing of Chaté, " to come to Court, and there give an account of his

(2) *Memoires de Beauvau*, pag. 70, 71.

ESSE' (ANDREW DE MONTALEMBERT Lord of) *ſprung from one of the nobleſt and moſt antient families of Poitou*, commanded in Landrecy when the Emperor Charles V beſieged that town in 1543. He defended it ſo vigorouſly *with ruined fortifications, and a garriſon oppreſſed with miſery*, that the Emperor was forced to retire from it the 5th of November, after having beſieged it three months and a half. D'Eſſé in recompence of the ſervice he had done on this occaſion, was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to Francis I. He was ſent into Scotland by Henry II, there to command the army which that Prince ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Scots againſt the Engliſh. He ſignalized himſelf greatly in that Kingdom; and at his return was made Knight of the Order. " It was he who alſo defended Terouenne againſt the army of Charles V, and " who was at laſt killed in the breach, after having ſuſtained three ſucceſſive aſſaults, which " laſted ten hours. By his death he loſt the poſt of Marſhal of France, which was de- " ſigned for him, according to du Bouchet Author of the Annals of Aquitain. Mezerai " ſays in his Hiſtory of France, that he is the immortal honour of Perigord, he " miſtaking with regard to the Province in which D'Eſſe was born, viz. Poictou. " Brantome ſpeaks largely of him under the name of Eſſe (*a*)."

(*a*) Extracted from a *Letter* inſerted in the *Mercure Galant* of Auguſt 1705, pag. 317, & *ſeq.*

(3) Ibid. pag. 76. " own actions, as well as thoſe of his wife (3)..... " towns that had been given up to the Duke, and re- " Mr. de Hallier obeyed the King's orders punctually: " duce them to the power of his Majeſty. With re- " and as his Majeſty had always entertained an affec- " gard to his wife, whoſe ambition had made her ſuſ- " tion for him, and judged him to be of an incorrup- " pected, ſhe was forced to continue in the houſe to " tible fidelity, he was ſent ſome time after to Lorrain, " which ſhe had been baniſhed (4). (4) Ibid. pag. 77. " with orders to complete the reduction of all thoſe

(*a*) See the Advertiſements with regard to the ſecond edition.

ESTAMPES (*a*), in Latin STAMPÆ, a city of France in Beauſſe with the title of Dukedom. It ſtands on the river de la Juine between Paris and Orleans, in a pretty fruitful ſoil. There is here a Baliwick, Provoſtſhip, Election, Marſhalſea, and Granary of ſalt: two Collegiate Churches of royal foundation, one called *Noſtre Dame* our Lady with a Dignitary, and ten or eleven Canons; and another called *Sante-Croix*, i. e. Holy Croſs, with two Dignitaries, and nineteen Canons: five pariſhes, and ſeveral religious houſes. King Robert laid the firſt foundations of the caſtle of Eſtampes, which was demoliſhed at the requeſt of the inhabitants, in the beginning of Henry the IVth's reign. The Prince of Condé garriſoned it in 1652, with part of the forces which Andelot had brought from Germany; and theſe during the ſix weeks they continued there, oppreſſed the inhabitants, and particularly the Clergy, in a moſt dreadful manner. This city is of the antient demeſnes of the Crown. King Charles IV made it an Earldom in favour of Charles d'Evreux his couſin. It had before been a Barony, as appears from the letters by which it was created an Earldom, dated in September 1327. It having reverted to Charles VII, he gave it in 1421 to Richard de Bretagne; and afterwards having been reunited to the Crown, Lewis XI gave it to John de Foix. The letters of donation are dated in April 1498. Gaſton de Foix, ſon of John, having loſt his life in the battle of Ravenne; Anne de Bretagne, wife to Lewis XII, became Counteſs of Eſtampes, by the donation of the King her conſort, in June 1513. After the deceaſe of that Princeſs, which happened the following year, the Earldom of Eſtampes devolved to Madam Claude of France, her eldeſt daughter, who was afterwards married to Francis I, then Duke of Valois. This good Princeſs dying, the King gave it to John de la Barre. After the death of the latter, Francis I created Eſtampes a Dukedom, in favour of John de la Broſſe de Bretagne, and Anne de Puiſſeleu his Lady, who had a great ſhare in the King's favour. Her name is conſpicuous enough in hiſtory. Henry II diſpoſſeſſed them of this Dukedom in 1553, to beſtow it on Diana of Poitiers his favourite, wife to Lewis de Breze, great Seneſchal of Normandy. Upon the acceſſion of Charles IX to the Crown, he reſtored it to John de la Broſſe in April 1562. He dying without iſſue, Henry III beſtowed it in 1576 to Duke John Caſimir; but he renouncing it the year after, the King gave it by engagement to the Ducheſs of Montpenſier, from whom he afterwards took it to beſtow it on Margaret of Valois his ſiſter, Queen of Navarre; and this Princeſs gave it ſome years after to Gabriele d'Eſtree, Ducheſs of Beaufort, who left it to Cæſar Duke of Vendôme, natural ſon to Henry IV. The illuſtrious deſcendants of this Prince are ſtill poſſeſſed of it. Some pretend that Arthur Gouffier, grand Maſter of France, was Count of Eſtampes, but the deed of donation is not found. If this be ſo, the poſſeſſion of Madam Claude of France muſt have been interrupted. However this be, this Lord did not enjoy it very long, he dying in 1518. During the troubles of 1652, the city of Eſtampes, to the great regret of the inhabitants who had always been faithful to the King, was ſurrendred by a traitor to the army of the Princes, but was immediately beſieged in it by the King's forces, which, after having inveſted the city near ſix weeks, and made ſeveral aſſaults, in which great numbers were killed on both ſides, was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, in order to march againſt the Duke of Lorrain, who was coming to the aſſiſtance of the Princes, with an army of nine or ten thouſand men.

COUNCILS held in ESTAMPES.

The city of Eſtampes has had the honour to have ſeveral provincial and one national Council held in it. The ſubject of the firſt, which was convened by Gerduin Archbiſhop of Sens, and held in 1048, is not known. We read what follows in the Lives of the Archbiſhops of Sens. *Gerduinus Synodum Stampis habuit anno* 1048, *in qua Imbertus Pariſienſis, Yſambertus Aurelianenſis, Maynardus Trecenſis, Hugo Nivernenſis, Gilbertus Antiſſiodorenſis, & Galtherius Meldenſis, adfuere Rege Henrico præſente.* The ſecond was convened by Richerius Archbiſhop of Sens in 1092, concerning the ordination of Yves of Chartres, performed by Urban II. This Archbiſhop pretended, that Yves was guilty of high-treaſon, for cauſing himſelf to be ordained, out of the Kingdom, without the King's permiſſion, and therefore that he ought to be depoſed. The third was held in 1112, and Daimbert, Archbiſhop of Sens, preſided in it. The firſt thing that this Council opened with was, the hearing of complaints made concerning the ill conduct of the Biſhop of Troyes; upon which the Council wrote to him. They afterwards proceeded to the conſecration of a Biſhop of Nevers; and at laſt, ſeveral regulations were made in it for the reformation of manners. The national Council held in Eſtampes anno 1130, was aſſembled by order of Lewis de Gros; and the deſign of its being convened was, to enquire whether Innocent II or Peter de Leon, who aſſumed the name of Anacletus II, ſhould be recognized Pope. St. Bernard, who was preſent at this Council, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly, that Innocent had been canonically elected; and that the proceeding to a freſh election was irregular, and invalid. The whole Council acquieſced in St. Bernard's judgment; and Innocent was accordingly acknowledged for the true and lawful ſucceſſor of St. Peter. This Pope came from Chartres to Eſtampes, purpoſely to give the inhabitants a teſtimony of the ſenſe he had of the favour they had done him. He ſtaid two days there, and lodged in the Abbey of Morigni, of St. Benedict's Order, half a quarter of a league from Eſtampes. This we learn from the Chronicles of that Abbey, which never acknowledged any ſuperior but the Archbiſhop of Sens. Lewis le Jeune, before he went into the Eaſt, aſſembled his Parliament in Eſtampes, and left the regency of the Kingdom to Ralph Earl of Vermandois, and to Suger, Abbot of St. Denis. In the conteſt between Alexander III and Cardinal Octavian who had aſſumed the name of Victor, the ſame Prince aſſembled, in 1160, the Gallican Church at Eſtampes, to know which of the two ſhould be recognized; and, on the judgment of the Biſhops, the King adhered to Alexander.

ESTAMPES (ANNE of Piſſeleu Ducheſs of) miſtreſs to Francis I, inflamed the heart of that Prince, a little after his being releaſed from his impriſonment. She was at that time one of the maids of honour to the Queen-Regent (*a*), and was called Mademoiſelle de Heilli [*A*]. She had attended on that Princeſs when ſhe went to meet the King her ſon as far as the frontiers of Spain [*B*]. The King dallied with her as often as he pleaſed; and though no one doubted of it, he yet found a huſband for her, whom he created Duke of Eſtampes [*C*]. Notwithſtanding her marriage, ſhe ſtill continued her amorous

(*a*) Louiſa of Savoy, mother to Francis I.

[*A*] *She was called Mademoiſelle de Heilli.*] She was daughter of William de Pisseleu Lord of Heilli, and of Ann Sanguin his ſecond wife (1). He had three wives, and thirty children. He was ſon to John de Pisseleu Lord of Heilli, *who had the honour to be one of the Knights at the coronation of Lewis XI, and had been ſo conſiderable as to marry Jane de Dreux, a Princeſs of the blood-royal, after the deceaſe of Mary de Hargicourt his firſt wife, mother to William, father of the Ducheſs d'Eſtampes* (2).

(1) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 863.

(2) Ibid.

[*B*] *She had attended on the Queen Regent . . . as far as the frontiers of Spain.*] According to Varillas (3), the Queen Regent excited undeſignedly this new paſſion in the King, *by taking to meet him, as far as Mount Marſan, young Ann de Piſſeleu, who was called Madam de Heilli, and who was lately come into that Princeſs's family, in quality of a Maid of Honour.* All Hiſtorians are agreed, that the Queen Regent went as far as Bayonne, and this Varillas had declared ten pages before. Why then does he ſhorten the journey in this place? Does he mean that ſhe left her Maids of Honour at Mount Marſan, and advanced as far as Bayonne without this part of her train? But would not this be advancing of paradoxes out of mere whim? As the Author of the Gallantries of the Kings of France has only copied Varillas, with regard to Francis I, let me not be aſked whether he ſtopt at Mount Marſan. I am firmly of opinion, that Brantome is miſtaken in aſſerting that the Queen Regent *preſented* Madam *Heilli to King Francis I, at his return from Spain to Bourdeaux* (4).

(3) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Francis I*, lib. 6. pag. m. 401 *ad annum* 1526.

(4) Brantôme, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 394.

[*C*] *The King . . . . nevertheleſs found a huſband for her.*] She married John de Broſſe ſon to René de Broſſe, and of Jane daughter to Philip de Comines. This René had followed the Duke of Bourbon, and was killed at the battle of Pavia, the 24th of February 1525. *By an arret of the Parliament of Paris dated the 13th of Auguſt* 1522, *he had been ſentenced to be beheaded, and afterwards hanged, and his eſtate confiſcated.* He was deſcended from John de Broſſe and Nicole de Châtillon, ſirnamed of Bretagne, Counteſs of Pentheure, a very rich heireſs, which John de Broſſe was *the only ſon of John de Broſſe, Marſhal of France, who deſcended from father to ſon from the antient Viſcounts of Limoges.* John de Broſſe ſon of René imploring *in vain the benefit of the treaty of Madrid*, in order to recover the poſſeſſion of the eſtates which had been confiſcated becauſe of his father's rebellion; and finding no other way to get them reſtored, but by that of becoming a cuckold, he reſolved to marry Madam de Heilli. The King in conſideration of this marriage, gave him the confiſcated eſtates, and added to them the dukedom of Eſtampes (5), and alſo made him Knight of the order, and Governor of Britany. The new Duke of Eſtampes was not the happier for this: for, "beſides that all theſe poſſeſſions and titles came to him "from a poyſonous ſource, in which he did not dare "to view himſelf, for fear of ſeeing a monſter in his "own perſon; he had ſo little happineſs in the enjoy-"ment of them, that as they ſerved only as a title or "cover to his wife, he not only poſſeſſed them but "nominally, but alſo paid very dear for them (6)." Having no children, his eſtates devolved on Sebaſtian of Luxemburg, Viſcount of Martigues, ſon of Charlotte his ſiſter, and father of an only daughter who was wife to Emanuel of Lorrain Duke of Mercœur (7).

(5) Extracted from le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 863.

(6) Le Laboureur, ibid. pag. 864.

(7) Ibid.

amorous commerce with the King; and ſhe roſe to the higheſt degree of favour [*D*], which laſted as long as that Prince's reign. The furious jealouſy ſhe harboured againſt the Dauphin's miſtreſs (*b*), prompted her to the commiſſion of a very black and treacherous act [*E*], which the Cardinal of Lorrain would not ſuffer to be puniſhed.

(*b*) Diana of Poitiers, widow to the great Seneſchal of Normandy.

[*D*] *She roſe to the higheſt degree of favour.*] She made this the inſtrument to the raiſing of her family. At her requeſt Anthony Sanguin her uncle was made *Abbot of Fleuri Biſhop of Orleans, Cardinal, and at laſt Biſhop of Toulouſe. She gave to Charles, her ſecond brother, the Abbey of Bourgueil and the Biſhopric of Condom.* Francis, her third brother, *was Abbot of St. Corneille de Compeigne and Biſhop of Amiens*; and the fourth, *named William, had the Biſhopric of Pamiers. Two of her ſiſters were Abbeſſes, the one of Maubuiſſon, and the other of St. Paul in Beauvoiſis. She married the reſt into the families of Barbançon Canni & Chabot Jarnac; and the laſt and beſt beloved had no children by Francis de Bretagne Count of Vertus and of Goello, Baron of Avaugour. From Adrian de Piſſeleu Lord of Heilly, her eldeſt brother, are deſcended the other Lords of Heilly down to this day* (8). Some Hiſtorians pretend that this Ducheſs, the Conſtable of Montmorenci and Admiral Chabot, *had the greateſt ſhare in the adminiſtration* (9); and that Charles V, fearing he ſhould be ſeized in the Court of Francis I, could not find a better expedient than to bribe this woman, who had an abſolute aſcendant over the King (10). He won her favour, as we are told, by means of a rich ring, which he let fall purpoſely that the Ducheſs might take it up; and that he might ſay to her, with an air of gallantry, that he would not take back what was fallen into ſuch good hands (11). Mezerai rejects this *as an idle ſtory* (12); but he confeſſes (13) that the King could not *refuſe this Lady any thing*; and that ſhe had credit enough firſt to contribute greatly to the reſtoring of Admiral Chabot to favour, after he had been degraded and declared, by a ſolemn Arret, unworthy of his employments. Secondly, to ruin the Chancellor Poyet. *His ill fortune, as it is related*, ſays he (14), ſpeaking of this Chancellor, *came from the Antichamber of the Ladies.* The Ducheſs had procured royal Letters or *Mandates* for la Renaudie, who was at law with du Tillet, and *who carried them to the Chancellor with a recommendation from this Lady. This Chancellor, who ſupported du Tillet, refuſed to let the Letters paſs the Seals, unleſs ſome things were changed which did not pleaſe him. The Lady hearing of this, was exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this contempt*, and took a cruel revenge; for ſhe prevailed with the King to impriſon the Chancellor, who afterwards was ruined by an Arret of Parliament. According to ſome Hiſtorians (15), ſhe was very inſtrumental in the Conſtable's diſgrace: but they alſo ſay, that the Queen of Navarre joined the Ducheſs in ruining the Chancellor. The royal *Mandates* of Renaudie were ſhewn to the King, with the alterations which Poyet had made in them; and it was obſerved to his Majeſty, that this was an infringement of his authority (16). The King however *only ordered la Renaudie, to carry back his Letters to the Chancellor, and to give him more expreſs orders, in his Majeſty's name, to diſpatch them without the leaſt alteration. La Renaudie returned to the Chancellor; and delivered his meſſage, with an arrogant tone of voice, in preſence of the Queen of Navarre, who was then ſolliciting his favour for a domeſtic of her's, convicted of ſtealing a very rich heireſs. The Chancellor took la Renaudie's Letters; and ſhewing them to the Queen of Navarre, added:* Such is the good that Ladies do at Court: Not ſatisfied with exerciſing their Empire there, they even attempt to violate the Laws, and dictate to Magiſtrates who are moſt profoundly ſkilled in the exerciſe of their employments. *Though the Chancellor hinted only at the Ducheſs, it happened unluckily for him, that the Queen of Navarre applied part of it to herſelf; becauſe the words were ambiguous, and might be interpreted, as well of her ſolliciting the Chancellor, in favour of her domeſtic who had ſtole the heireſs; as of the violence committed in his perſon, by forcing him to ſeal la Renaudie's Letters. . . . . The inſtant the Queen was got out of the Chancellor's houſe, ſhe flew to the Ducheſs, to inform her of the paſſion this Magiſtrate was in; and did not leave her till they had concerted meaſures to make the Chancellor loſe the King's favour.* It is a great unhappineſs, it muſt be confeſſed, that the fate of people, their favour or their diſgrace, ſhould depend on the caprice of a coquet, who ſcandalizes a whole Kingdom by the criminal correſpondence ſhe carries on, publicly and with an air of triumph, with the Monarch. But ſhould any perſon cry, *O tempora! ô mores!* ſhould they ſeem aſtoniſhed at this, they would juſtly be look'd upon as ſtrangers in the world; for ſuch perſons would admire, as ſomething extraordinary, a thing that has always been very common, and that is ſtill ſo (17), and which in all probability will be ſuch to the end of the world. A circumſtance that conſoles thoſe who are diſguſted at theſe irregularities is, that the power of coquets ſtands upon a very tickliſh foundation (18).

(8) Ibid.

(9) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Francois I.* lib. 9. pag. m. 370.

(10) Ibid. pag. 389.

(11) Ibid. pag. 390, 391.

(12) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, folio, tom. 2. pag. 1007.

(13) Ibid. pag. 1009, *ad ann.* 1540.

(14) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, pag. 1014, *ad ann.* 1542.

(15) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Francois I.* lib. 9. pag. 397.

(16) Ibid. pag. 413.

(17) *Caſus multis hic cognitus. Et à medio fortunæ ductus acervo.* Juven. Sat. 13. ver. 9.

(18) See the remark [*I*] of the Article of ÆSOP, the firſt, &c.

[*E*] *Prompted her to commit a very black and treacherous action.*] The Ducheſs d'Eſtampes perceiving, that the infirmities of Francis I increaſed daily, and having juſt reaſon to fear the worſt after his death, as well becauſe ſhe could not flatter herſelf with the hopes that her huſband would take her again, as becauſe the Dauphin's miſtreſs would be all-powerful; this Ducheſs, I ſay, perceiving how matters ſtood, carried on a ſecret intelligence with Charles V. She knew the antipathy which the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, who were brothers, harboured againſt one another; and this ſerved as the baſis to her negotiations. She prevailed with the Emperor to favour the Duke of Orleans's faction; and the inſtant ſhe heard that his Imperial Majeſty was inclined to beſtow the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, or that of the Low-Countries, on this young Prince, "ſhe engaged in ſo cloſe "a correſpondence with the Emperor, that ſhe informed "him punctually of the moſt ſecret tranſactions of the "Court and Council; and indeed the very firſt Letter "he received by the Count's means (19), did him ſo "ſignal a piece of ſervice, that it ſaved his perſon and "his whole army (20)." He was at that time in Champagne, at the head of a very powerful army; but he wanted proviſions, "for which reaſon his ſol-"diers were going to deſert, when the Count wrote "him a Letter, the ſubſtance of which was as follows: "That the Dauphin had got together a vaſt quantity "of proviſions of all kinds neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence "of his army in Epernay: that this town was very "weak in itſelf; but that the French imagined the "Emperor would not attempt to ſurprize it, becauſe "the River Maine lay between it and his army: that "orders had been given to break down the only "bridge they could march over; but that the Ducheſs "had ſo artfully prevented the executing of this, that "the bridge might be ſtill ſerviceable; from all which "the Count concluded, that his Imperial Majeſty had "no more to do but to procure refreſhments as ſoon "as poſſible for his army; and to reduce that of the "French to the ſame neceſſity from which he would "free himſelf. The Emperor made his advantage of "the information; and appeared, at a time when he "was leaſt ſuſpected, before Epernay, whoſe inhabi-"tants were in ſuch terror, that they opened their "gates to him. He was ſtill flushed with the joy of "this conqueſt, which recovered his affairs, when he "received a ſecond Letter from the Count, informing "him that there was in Chateau-Thierri another ma-"gazine of meal and corn, full as conſiderable as that "of Epernay. That no troops were appointed to "guard it at this time; and that ſhould the Dauphin "loſe it, it would be impoſſible for him to follow his "Imperial Majeſty's army ſo cloſe, as to hinder the "chief progreſs of it. The Emperor, allured by the "prodigious advantage he had reaped by the firſt ad-"vice, turned towards Chateau-Thierri, and forced it "with little loſs; the inhabitants, as no troops had "been ſent them, not being able to withſtand the aſ-"ſault. The abundance of all things which was there "found, even beyond the hopes of the Imperialiſts "&c (21)." The Court of France being prodigiouſly perplexed, *did whatever could be done in ſuch a juncture; but ſecrecy, which was to be the ſoul of that grand affair, was not obſerved; and France would certainly*

(19) This was the Count of Boſſu, the perſon who managed the Ducheſs of Eſtampes's affairs and her negotiator with Charles V. He was of the family of Longueval.

(20) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Francois I.* lib. 11. pag. 101. *ad ann.* 1544.

(21) Ibid.

puniſhed [F], and which would have ſubjected France to a foreign power, had Charles V taken advantage of the opportunity. As ſhe had behaved very ill towards her huſband (c), ſhe had no reſource left after the death of Francis I, and was reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing the remainder of her days at a country ſeat [G]. It is related that ſhe there profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion [H]. The Duke of Eſtampes had ordered an

(c) See the Remarks [C], [I], and [K].

tainly have changed its Sovereign, had not ſomething ſtill ſtronger than human reaſon, oppoſed the approaching revolution with which it was menaced. The Dauphin acted nothing but in concert with the King his father; and the King did not form the moſt inconſiderable meaſure, but the Ducheſs immediately acquainted the Emperor with it by the Count de Boſſu's means (32). Paris was in ſuch conſternation, that the richeſt Citizens fled from it with their moſt valuable effects, *ſome towards Orleans and others toward Roan* (23). A woman was the cauſe of all this diſorder and confuſion (24), *Dux fœmina facti*. A woman would at that time have ſubverted the Monarchy, had not Charles the Vth's brain turned; or rather, had not ſecret jealouſies broke out between him and Henry VIII of England (25), with whom he had beforehand divided the whole Kingdom. Francis I extricated himſelf from theſe difficulties at a very eaſy rate, and obtained peace in the month of September of the ſame year (26).

(22) Ibid. pag. 103.

(23) Ibid. pag. 104.

(24) The deſcription which Mezerai has given, tom. 2. in folio, pag. 1031. of the conſternation the Pariſians were in, is dreadful. Such as fled were plundered in the way, and the women defiled.

(25) He was at that time on the coaſts of Picardy, where he took ſome cities.

(26) The treaty of Creſſi was concluded the 18th of September 1544.

As Varillas always delights in relating things that border upon the marvelous, I ſhould not have laid much ſtreſs on what I have here quoted from him, did I not find the ſubſtance of it in Mezerai. " The French " Army, *ſays he* (27), had plenty of proviſions; " whilſt that of the Imperialiſts was in ſuch want, " that it muſt have periſhed in a few days, had not " the treaſon of a woman reſtored it to its ſtrength and " vigour. There were at this time two parties in the " Court, that of the Lady d'Eſtampes the King's " miſtreſs; and that of Diana de Poitiers, miſtreſs to " the Dauphin. The former of theſe Ladies, ſtung " with a furious jealouſy againſt the latter, ... had " devoted herſelf to the intereſt of the Duke of Or- " leans, that ſhe might have a ſupport in caſe the " King ſhould die ... and gave the Emperor notice " of whatever was tranſacting in Council; truſting " to the glaring promiſes he made her, viz. that in " caſe the peace ſhould be concluded, he would make " the Duke of Orleans one of the moſt powerful " Princes in Europe. And it is ſaid (28), that being " reduced to ſuch extremity, that there was no other " way for this Emperor to ſave his own life and his " army, but by ſurrendring it, at diſcretion, to the " enemy; ſhe gave him intelligence that there was a " great quantity of proviſions in Eſpernay, one of the " magazines of our camp; and that even the Dauphin " having commanded a Captain of foot to break down " the bridge, and to throw into the river all ſuch provi- " ſions as could not be carried off in three days; ſhe " retarded the execution of this order, by the artifices " of Longueval her confident and very familiar friend. " Thus the enemy having met with a great abundance " of proviſions and booty in this town, and a ſtill " greater quantity in Chateau-Thierry, which they " ſurprized by the intelligence of the ſame Lady, they " refreſhed themſelves at their eaſe &c."

(27) Tom. 2. folio pag. 1031.

(28) Mezerai ſpeaks more affirmatively in the Life of Henry II. Nicholas Boſſu-Longueval, *ſays he*, pag. 1058 of the 2d vol. who *had been one of the Lady d'Eſtampes's faction, and accuſed*, NOT WITHOUT REASON, of having given advice to the Imperialiſts to ſeize upon Eſpernai and Chateau-Thierri, ſaved his life by means of his fine houſe of Marchez near Laon, which he gave to the Archbiſhop of Rheims under colour of a ſale. *See the following Remark.*

[F] . . . *Which the Cardinal of Lorrain would not ſuffer to be puniſhed.*] I ſhall employ Varillas's words, to explain this whole myſtery of iniquity. Here follows the account he gives of the ſtate of affairs, in the firſt year of Henry IId's reign. " The Count of " Boſſu was the chief cauſe of the progreſs the Empe- " ror had made in Champagne, before the Treaty of " Creſpi; and it was thought that the protection of " the Ducheſs d'Eſtampes, would alone have been ſuf- " ficient to ſcreen him from puniſhment. After that " this Lady's favour expired by the King's death, it " was reſolved to bring Boſſu to juſtice; and it was " thought that the proſecuting of him would contri- " bute to maintain the reputation of France; by in- " forming foreigners, that the Emperor would not " have advanced ſo near the Capital, had he not been " favoured by an infamous act of treachery, the pu- " niſhment of which might have been ſuſpended, but " not omitted. Boſſu was not forgetful of his own " ſafety in ſo dangerous a conjuncture; and conſcious " of his guilt, he ſought for protection from the Car- " dinal of Lorrain only (29)." Accordingly, he let him know, that he would give him his *houſe of Marchez*, *provided that his perſon and the other eſtates he poſſeſſed in France, might be ſecured to him* (30). The propoſal was accepted, and the Cardinal ſollicited for de Boſſu's pardon. " The expedient which proved " moſt effectual was, his remonſtrating to the King, " that the Ducheſs of Eſtampes had joined with Count " de Boſſu in his guilt; and conſequently, that it would " not be poſſible to begin a proſecution legally, with- " out involving the Ducheſs in it; and without ble- " miſhing the beginning of his reign by a notorious " and unneceſſary affront done to the memory of his " father, by abandoning to the ſword of juſtice, an " object whom he had ſo tenderly loved for near twen- " ty two years." The King was pacified with this reaſon, tho' it might have been anſwered; and accordingly Boſſu extricated himſelf very happily out of his difficulties (31).

(29) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henri II.* lib. 1. pag. 67. *ad ann.* 1547.

(30) The perſon who made this propoſal was Nicholas de Pelvé, his ſiſter's ſon, and domeſtic of the Cardinal.

(31) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henri II.* lib. 1. pag. 68.

[G] *She was reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing the remainder of her days in a country-ſeat.*] Here follows what Mezerai ſays on this ſubject, where he ſpeaks of the changes that were made at Court, after the death of Francis I. " As for the Lady d'Eſtampes, ſhe " withdrew to one of her ſeats, being univerſally de- " ſpiſed, and even by John de Broſſe her huſband; " where ſhe lived ſome years after, in the ſecret ex- " erciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, corrupting a great " many other perſons by her example (32)." Varillas expatiates on the motives which prompted the Seneſchal's Lady (33), not to quite ſatiate her vengeance, and concludes with theſe words (34); " Be " this as it will the Seneſchal's Lady was ſatisfied " with only ſhewing an indifference for every thing " that related to the Ducheſs: and ſuffered her to en- " joy in peace the riches ſhe had amaſſed in the pre- " ceding reign; though ſhe had acted many things " which would have been juſtly cognizable by the " Laws, had they been put rigorouſly in force againſt " her. It was eaſy to perceive that the Ducheſs d'E- " ſtampes had been more fortunate on this occaſion " than any other perſon, or than ſhe herſelf could " have hoped; ſince that there was not a ſingle Cour- " tier but look'd upon her as ruin'd. She withdrew " to one of the country ſeats ſhe had purchaſed; " where ſhe ſupported with ſo much the more eaſe " the abſence and hatred of the Duke d'Eſtampes her " huſband, as ſhe had never entertained much eſteem " for him. The cauſe of this is not diſcovered by " private Memoirs; but if we may be allowed to " gueſs from the information taken out by this Duke " againſt her, which is found among the manuſcripts " of Lomenie; we muſt conclude, either that he was " a man of very little ſenſe, or was not affected with " any thing (35), ſince he contributed to his own in- " famy, by employing as much pains to blazon his " wife's infamy, as ſuch perſons of quality, who " have the leaſt prudence, take, to eſtabliſh or in- " creaſe their reputation."

(32) Mezerai, tom. 2. folio, pag. 1058.

(33) i. e. Diana de Poitiers, miſtreſs to Henry II.

(34) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henri II.* liv. 1. pag. 34. *ad ann.* 1547.

(35) Theſe words will be examined in the remark [K].

[H] *It is ſaid that ſhe there profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion.*] The Reader has heard what Mezerai relates on this ſubject: but he does not expatiate ſo much as Varillas, who ſearches into the motives of it and relates ſeveral circumſtances. " The judgments " of God, ſays he (36), are dreadful againſt habitual " ſins, and eſpecially againſt ſuch as are contrary to " purity. The Ducheſs d'Eſtampes had led publickly " for one and twenty years a diſſolute life; and Cal- " viniſm appeared to her the moſt proper of all ſects, " to ſtifle the remorſe of conſcience; becauſe on one " ſide, it took away the neceſſity of confeſſion; and " on the other, declared that all men were equally the " enemies of God, and were diſtinguiſhed from one " another only by an imputative righteouſneſs. Nothing " could be more commodious than theſe two maxims, " to encourage the Ducheſs of Eſtampes in her crime; " and ſhe was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded of the truth of it, " that ſhe not only turned Calviniſt, but alſo protected " to the utmoſt of her power, (but not too publickly) " thoſe who had been ſeized for imbibing the modern " hereſy, and would have been ſentenced without mer-

(36) *Hiſt. de Henri II.* liv. 1. pag. 34.

" cy

an information to be taken out againſt her [*I*], in which a very extraordinary circumſtance

" cy to the flames. On this occaſion, ſhe was obliged " to exert the utmoſt power of her charms and em- " ploy all artifices; for tho' the love which Francis I " entertained for her, the firſt time he ſaw her at " Mount Marſan, whither ſhe had accompanied the " Ducheſs of Augoulême his mother, in quality of Maid " of Honour, was not leſſened; it is nevertheleſs pro- " bable, that had he heard ſhe was turned Calviniſt, " he would have cenſured her as much as he did Mi- " tron his Valet-de-Chambre upon the ſame account, " whom he reprimanded ſo very ſeverely, that it " quite turned his brain; and in conſequence of this, " flung himſelf into the firſt well he came to, at his " coming out of the Louvre. But after the death of " Francis I, the Ducheſs d'Eſtampes did not think her- " ſelf obliged to obſerve ſo profound a diſſimulation as " ſhe had done hitherto. She profeſſed the principles " of Calvin in her country ſeat; and the only cau- " tion ſhe obſerved was, not to keep a Proteſtant Mi- " niſter in her houſe. She never went to maſs but " on ſolemn feſtivals; and ſhe was not content with " perverting ſuch of her domeſticks as had the weak- " neſs to change their Religion in order to ingratiate " themſelves with her, and to turn away ſuch as re- " fuſed to do it; but ſpent no more of the income " of the mighty poſſeſſions ſhe had amaſſed whilſt ſhe " was in favour, than what was abſolutely neceſſary " for the ſupport of her family; and put the reſt into " a place that was then called *la Boëte à Perrete*; " that is, in the hands of thoſe who diſtributed it " among poor Calviniſts, or employed it in corrupt- " ing poor Mechanicks and Peaſants, who did not " ſcruple to change their old Religion; becauſe at the " ſame time that money was given them, it was aſ- " ſured, they ſhould not want any thing for the fu- " ture, provided they would profeſs the Proteſtant Re- " ligion and perſevere in it."

REFLECTIONS on the account given by Varillas, concerning the Ducheſs of Eſtampes turning Calviniſt.

I ſhall make two reflections on this relation. I. I am ſurprized at the ſilence of Theodore Beza. If it be true that the Ducheſs of Eſtampes was extremely charitable to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, and did all that lay in her power to increaſe the number of Proteſtants; he muſt certainly have known it. What then can be the reaſon why his Hiſtory of the Churches, which takes notice of things of much leſs importance, ſhould not mention any particulars relating to this Lady? I will take it for granted, that he was prompted from political views, not to join her with the Queen of Navarre, as Maimbourg has done (37), in perſuading Francis I to hear the Calviniſtical Preachers. I will ſuppoſe that he thought it would reflect an odium on the reformation, ſhould it be confeſſed that this Lady, who was actually immerſed in public adultery, favoured the new Religion; but I would aſk why he ſhould have the ſame caution, when it related to the good offices ſhe did the cauſe, during her retirement? Was it a ſcandal to the Proteſtant Religion, to have ſuch a woman profeſs it; a woman, I ſay, who had loſt her virginity in a criminal way; who afterwards had been unfaithful to her huſband, to her gallant (38), to her King, and to her country; who had made her favour ſubſervient to the committing of a thouſand unjuſt actions; whom, in a word, all France might charge with the ruin of ſuch numbers of families; the raviſhing of ſo many women; the ignominy of a diſadvantageous treaty of peace; and the loſs of a very favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf, for deſtroying the army of Charles V; and for revenging in a glorious manner, all the affronts which had been received from that mortal enemy to the French name? But beſides that Theodore Beza might not be acquainted with the deteſtable intrigues of this Ducheſs with Charles V, and her dark and vile ingratitude to a King who loved her with ſo much tenderneſs; would we have this Proteſtant Miniſter to be more ſcrupulouſly delicate on theſe matters than the Scriptures? Have the Evangeliſts made any difficulty to inform the world that Mary Magdalen followed our Saviour? Have not the Apoſtles introduced (39) Rhahab the harlot, amongſt the moſt illuſtrious cloud of witneſſes that the Old Teſtament can produce, for the ſupport of our faith? What ſcandal could have accrued to the Proteſtant Churches, had their Hiſtorian owned, that a miſtreſs to the illuſtrious Monarch Francis I, being undeceived with regard to the vanities of a Court, ſhould have diſcovered the groſſneſs of the Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and given glory to the truth, in order to expiate her paſt crimes? I conclude, that as Theodore Beza, and ſuch Writers, took no notice of an incident that could not be unknown to them, and which they had not good reaſon to ſuppreſs, ſtronger proofs muſt be given before we ought to credit it. I know that the late Author of the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantz aſſerts (40), that this Ducheſs *openly favoured the* Lutherans; *and that after the King's death, ſhe led a very retired life in the full exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion; protecting to the utmoſt of her power, all who profeſſed it*; but as I am perſuaded that he has only copied Mezerai on this occaſion, I ſhall ſtill continue in my opinion.

My IId reflection relates to the controverſies, which Varillas has touched upon in ſuch a manner, as might naturally draw upon him the ſtrongeſt reſentment of ſome choleric Divine. I do not believe that any Chriſtian Sect have tenets which may ſuit a woman, who is publickly immerſed in habitual adultery: but of all the weſtern Communions, none ſeems to have been ſo little adapted to the taſte of the miſtreſs of Francis I, as that which is called Calviniſm; for this Communion not only inveighed in the ſharpeſt terms againſt adultery and gallantry, but againſt all the court-vanities, againſt gaming, dancing, ludicrous diſcourſe, &c. Now let the Reader judge, whether ſuch a Goſpel could have many temptations for our Ducheſs. The two reaſons given by the Hiſtorian are very bad ones; for confeſſion is not the only method of waking a remorſe of conſcience, nor is it a very forcible means to awaken it. The Seneſchal of Normandy's Lady was no better than the Ducheſs of Eſtampes, notwithſtanding what Varillas ſays, viz. (41), that ſhe had a ſtrong averſion to Proteſtants. But farther, this Author confeſſes that the Ducheſs in queſtion, during the life time of Francis I, did not dare to reveal her ſentiments. She conſequently muſt have ſubmitted to the auſterities of the Romiſh Religion, to faſting, confeſſion, &c. what advantage would it then have been to her, had ſhe adhered internally to the principles of Calvin? If ſhe thought them very commodious, ſhe yet was not allowed to take advantage of them; conſequently the charm was removed, and the allurement had loſt its force. Add to this, that he could not adhere internally to the Roman Calviniſm, without believing at the ſame time, that ſhe committed the worſt of crimes in going to maſs; and conſequently nothing could torture her conſcience more, than to follow the doctrine of the Reformers, in a Court where ſhe was obliged to make an open and regular profeſſion of that of the Romaniſts: for with regard to the tenet concerning imputative righteouſneſs, Varillas judges of it as a blind man does of colours, ſince all Proteſtants acknowledge, that this juſtice is of no uſe without repentance; and conſequently it is not the only thing that diſtinguiſhes good men from ſuch as are bad.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary, I have found that Florimond de Remond takes ſome notice of the pretended Lutheraniſm of the Ducheſs of Eſtampes. He ranks her among the Ladies againſt whom the Lutherans *had inveighed*; and who procured them acceſs to the Queen of Navarre, ſiſter to Francis I. He ranks in the ſame catalogue, *the Ladies of Cani, and of Peiſſeleu ſiſter to that Ducheſs*; and declares, that *theſe won over ſome others. It was a very eaſy matter*, adds he, *to gain thoſe ſimple ſouls, this weak ſex; for the rigour of the Laws, and Inſtitutions of the Church, and eſpecially the reſtraint of confeſſion, was inſupportable to many of them* (42). But beſides his not citing any Author, he inſiſts ſo little on this incident; gives us ſo few particulars, and is ſo deſtitute of circumſtances; that he cannot prevail upon me to change my opinion. I fancy that what he relates was procured only from a random hear-ſay, which he was deſirous of publiſhing merely that he might have the opportunity of diſcourſing upon a common topick; I mean that of the ſtratagem of the old ſerpent, who occaſioned the fall of the firſt woman. This Hiſtorian has collected I know not how many moral reflections and authorities on this occaſion. But this is a moſt wretched common place; it has this defect, that it may be retorted by every ſect. See the *Critique generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme* (43).

[*I*] *The Duke of Eſtampes had ordered informations*

(40) Tom. 1. lib. 1. pag. 8, 9.

(41) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henri II.* liv. 1. pag. 36.

(42) Florimond de Remond, *Hiſt. de la naiſſance & progres de l'Hereſ.* liv. 7. chap. 3. pag. m. 847.

(43) In paragraph 13. of the 30th Letter, 3d edit. See alſo the Remark [*D*] of the Article GREGORY I.

(37) *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, lib. 1. pag. m. 22.

(38) It is very probable, that the Count de Boſſu uſed to lie with her. Conſider attentively the expreſſions of Mezerai mentioned above, citation (27). See alſo the remark [*I*], and Brantome, *Vie de Henry II.* pag. 6.

(39) See the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, chap. xi. ver. 31.

ſtance happened, viz. Henry the IId's ſubmitting to the interrogatories in favour of that unhappy huſband. Varillas did not know either the time or the motives of this incident [K]. I ſhall take notice elſewhere (d) of the other chronological errors which he and

(d) In the Article of POITIERS (DIANA).

to be taken out againſt her.] We ſhall ſee another error in Varillas. *She was at ſuch variance with the Duke d'Eſtampes her huſband,* continues he (44), *that he had cauſed a juridical enquiry to be made into her conduct, ever ſince their marriage: which could be aſcribed to nothing but to jealouſy, which obliged him to have recourſe to ſuch ignominious meaſures, in order to wreak his vengeance on his wife, when ſhe ſhould have loſt the King's protection.* Had Varillas peruſed attentively the Manuſcripts which he boaſts were communicated to him, he would not have reaſoned as he has done, with reſpect to the motives of the Duke d'Eſtampes. He would know that the enquiry with regard to the Ducheſs's conduct was made a long time after the death of Francis I; and that the deſign of the huſband, in this, was not to make it publicly known that his wife had violated her conjugal fidelity. He muſt have been the moſt ſilly man that ever lived, had he imagined that informations were wanting to prove him a cuckold. All France was perſuaded of it, would have ſworn it, and have laughed in the face of any perſon that ſhould have queſtioned it. The enquiry therefore was not an affair of jealouſy; and the deſign of it was not to take revenge, after Francis I. ſhould be dead. I have already obſerved, that it was made after the death of this Monarch; and I add, that the tendency of it was to ſhew, not how much the Duke had ſuffered in his honour, by the conduct of his wife, but how greatly he had been injured in his poſſeſſions, of which he wanted to get proofs, in order to ſtrengthen a law-ſuit. This le Laboureur will tell us. The Duke, ſays he (45), *not only poſſeſſed nominally* the Eſtates which Francis I had beſtowed upon him, *but he alſo paid intereſt for them out of his own fortune. Here follows a proof of this from the very mouth, and atteſted in Court, upon oath by King Henry II, whom he humbly intreated to depoſe in his favour, in the ſuit he had with Odet of Bretagne, Count of Vertus his couſin, as heir to Francis de Bretagne his elder brother Count of Vertus; which Francis having married Charlotte de Piſſeleu ſiſter to the Ducheſs of Eſtampes, ſhe obliged the Duke her huſband, to do her what juſtice ſhe pleaſed with regard to her pretenſions on account of Magdalen de Broſſe, de Bretagne, her grandmother. And beſides the permiſſion to enquire farther into that matter, which the King granted him at Paris, the 3d of June 1556, he alſo was ſo gracious as to ſubmit to the interrogatory the 12th of the ſaid month, in the houſe, commonly called* la Maiſon Maigret *in the ſtreet* St. Avoye, *which he afterwards gave to the Conſtable de Montmorenci, in whoſe preſence he declared,* that the Duke d'Eſtampes had told him often, that he was afraid the marriage of the Count de Vertus with the ſiſter of the Lady d'Eſtampes, would be made at his expence, ... That it was very commonly reported, that Longueval managed all the affairs of the Ducheſs (46); and that the Duke often complained of her making him do ſeveral things to his diſadvantage. That the honours which have been beſtow'd on the ſaid Longueval are well enough known, and are owing to the favour of the ſaid Lady. That the ſaid Duke had often complained, that the ſaid Lady receiv'd the monies ariſing from his government of Britany, and that he himſelf did not poſſeſs any thing. That what aggrieved him moſt, was, the contracts made for the Lady d'Avaugour. That the Duke had oftentimes complained to him, .. that he was forced to do ſeveral things, and engage in many contracts to the prejudice of himſelf and his family, according to the pleaſure of the ſaid Ducheſs, of the ſaid de Longueval, and others their aſſociates; wherefore &c.

(44) Varill. *Hiſt. de Francois I.* liv. 11. pag. 96.

(45) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau,* tom. 1. pag. 864.

(46) See the remark [E] Citation (19).

[K] *Varillas did not know either the time or the motives of this incident.*] This is evident from the preceding remark, but here follow other proofs. *Inſtead,* ſays he (48), ſpeaking of the Ducheſs of Eſtampes, *of endeavouring to gain the favour of the Duke . . . . her huſband, whoſe inſenſible diſpoſition, which was but little inclined to love, might have been amuſed by ſome trifling marks of the King's beneficence, and by empty employments, provided they had been beſtowed on him at the time when he wanted them; ſhe had exaſperated him to ſuch a degree of indecorum, by the moſt odd caprice that ever jealouſy inſpired, by proclaiming himſelf his diſhonour, by the juridical enquiry into the conduct of his wife, already mentioned. This procedure, which made them irreconcileable enemies, deprived the Ducheſs of the hopes of ever returning to her huſband, and brought her to that ebb of miſery, that the Seneſchal's Lady, after the King's death, might make uſe of the ſame huſband, as an inſtrument to torture her, till ſuch time as ſhe ſhould have fully ſatiated her vengeance.* We here find that Varillas was fully perſuaded, that the judicial enquiry of the Duke of Eſtampes, had been already made in 1544, in the life time of Francis I, and nevertheleſs it was not made till 1556. Conſequently all the ſpecious arguments he builds on them are ſo many chimæras. This is too dangerous a rock for all ſuch Hiſtorians, as take too much pleaſure in enquiring into the motives of the conduct of Courts, and will not conſult ſufficiently Chronology. We alſo find this Author firmly perſuaded, that an odd caprice of jealouſy, prompted the Duke to take out informations in a legal way againſt his wife; and yet the only motive of them was, in order that he might gain a conſiderable law-ſuit. By the way, Varillas is not the only perſon who pretends, that this Duke was ſo weak as to expoſe his own diſhonour to the eyes of the publick. Abbé de St. Real was of the ſame opinion, he writing as follows (48). " What you have obſerved of Cæſar, " who would not impeach his wife's gallant, brings " to my memory another huſband, whom I heard men- " tioned ſome time ſince, and who was not ſo ſcrupu- " lous. I mean the huſband of the beautiful Ducheſs " d'Eſtampes, the firſt miſtreſs to Francis I. After " the death of this Prince, this ſilly man was deter- " mined to revive a law-ſuit againſt her (49), which " he had not dared to carry on againſt her before, " becauſe of the high regard the King had ſhewn, dur- " ing his whole life, to that Lady; and having occa- " ſion to prove that impoſſibility in Court, he cauſed " an information to be taken out, in which Henry the " IId, and the perſons of the greateſt diſtinction in " his Court, depoſed, at his requeſt, in the moſt de- " cent expreſſions they could employ, the great aſcen- " dant which his wife had over the late King, and the " ſtrict friendſhip that had been between this Prince and " her." Le Laboureur does not vary much from this way of judging. *The poor Duke,* ſays he (50), *muſt have ſuffered very much, in being obliged to leave to poſterity, this injurious monument of his ignonimy and unhappineſs.* Thus, we ſee, that there are Writers who think as Varillas does, tho' they do not expreſs themſelves in ſuch ſtrong terms, when he affirms (51), *that the Duke of Eſtampes muſt have had little underſtanding, or been very inſenſible, ſince he contributed to his own infamy, by taking as much pains to inveigh againſt his wife, as prudent perſons of quality do to eſtabliſh or raiſe their reputation.*

(47) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Francis I.* liv. 11. pag. 92. *ad ann.* 1544.

(48) Ceſarion, Entretien 1. pag. 24. edit. de la Haie, 1685.

(49) Le Laboureur ſeems to me much more worthy of credit, he ſaying, *Addit. à Caſtelnau,* tom. 1. pag. 864. that the Duke did not go to law with his wife, but with the Count de Vertus his couſin.

(50) Le Laboureur, ibid. pag. 865.

(51) *Hiſt. de Henri II,* liv. 1. pag. m. 34.

JUSTIFICATION of the Duke d'Eſtampes with regard to the information againſt his Ducheſs.

With ſubmiſſion to theſe Writers, methinks they are a little miſtaken in the ſentence they pronounce againſt this Duke. He is not to be ranked among thoſe huſbands who reflect infamy upon themſelves by publiſhing their being cuckolds. When a man is made a cuckold by a ſuperior power, and takes ſuch ſteps publickly, as plainly ſhew that ſo far from being a voluntary cornuto, he is exaſperated at his not being able to revenge the inſult, he preſerves, in the moſt conſpicuous manner both his honour and reputation If the quality of ſovereign does not blot out the infamy with regard to a miſtreſs, it at leaſt does ſo with reſpect to every huſband who boldly expreſſes his indignation; and a huſband, ſo far from diſhonouring himſelf by bringing public proofs of the contempt in which he has his wife, would on the contrary diſhonour himſelf, ſhould he make himſelf a ſcreen to her; and if to prevent her being thought a leud woman, he ſhould father the children that ſhe might have had by the Prince. I am ſenſible that courtiers give the name of ſtupidity to the ill humour of a huſband, who has not the art of getting penſions, employments, and governments of provinces, by freely conſenting to let his wife indulge their King the laſt favours. But I know on the other ſide, that they deſpiſe every voluntary cuckold who has this art, and throw out many pleaſant jokes about his *cornucopiæ* or horn of plenty. And it is ſo true, even according to the corrupt judgment

(e) The Author of *Galanteries des Rois de France.*

and his Tranſcriber (*e*) have committed. I can ſcarce believe that Francis I ever declared ſeriouſly that he did not lie with this Lady [*L*], and I very much queſtion whether ſhe would have been pleaſed that this had been credited.

If what a learned man aſſerts be true, we muſt conclude that the paſſion which Francis I entertained for her, did not begin at the time in which it is dated (*f*); that is, upon his return to France, after he had been impriſoned at Madrid; for this learned Gentleman ſuppoſes, that ſhe was the King's miſtreſs before the Conſtable of Bourbon had

(*f*) In the remark [*B*].

of the age, that it is honourable in a huſband to deſpiſe his wife who has given up herſelf to the embraces of a Prince; that a Poet would think it a compliment to expreſs ſuch a conduct in an epitaph, a funeral oration, or any piece of that kind; and a Writer would not dare to applaud for having acted in a quite contrary manner, thoſe who ſhould have put up ſuch an affront purely to make their fortunes. Mankind indeed are very much corrupted, but not to ſuch a degree, as to conſider the traffic which a man may make of his wife as honourable. This method is indeed too often employed in order to get riches. It was known to the antient Romans (52); has never been diſuſed; and yet he does not quite ſcreen a huſband from the contempt and ignominy which it deſerves.

(52) *Scortator erit, cave te roget: ultro Penelopen facilis potiori trade.* Horat. Satyr 5. lib. 2. ver. 75.

Beſides, we ought well to weigh the difference there is between our Duke of Eſtampes, and Cæſar, or any other private man who goes to law in order to prove himſelf a cuckold. The gallantries of Cæſar's wife were not public; the parties accuſed did confeſs the fact; the ſame may be ſaid of thoſe proſecutions for adultery which ſometimes come into our courts. But as for the Ducheſs of Eſtampes, ſhe did not deny her being miſtreſs to Francis I. This Prince denied it ſtill leſs (53); ſo that all Europe looked upon their amorous correſpondence, as a certain and indiſputable fact. The Duke therefore did not increaſe his ignominy by ſuch an enquiry; hence we muſt not conclude him to be a ſilly or inſenſible man, becauſe of this information: we ought not to compare him to thoſe huſbands who diſplay adventures, over which they might always have held a curtain. A juridical enquiry is not ſo formidable a monument as hiſtory. Now the Duke of Eſtampes muſt have been firmly perſuaded, that an hundred good Hiſtorians would eternize his wife's adultery; ſince therefore the enquiry might be of great ſervice in a law-ſuit of that conſequence, he deſerves praiſe for cauſing it to be made; for his not making of it would not prevent his ignominy, if there was any from being as public as before.

(53) See the following remark.

I have one circumſtance more to obſerve, which alone would juſtify him, and that is, that he did not make the enquiry in order to prove himſelf a cuckold, but to prove that his wife had ſquandered away a conſiderable part of his eſtate. Ought that man to be blamed, who, in a law-ſuit for the recovery of it, proves by juridical proceedings, that his wife had unjuſtly taken it from him? People fancy, unleſs they examine the thing very attentively, that no wives are more complaiſant to their huſbands, than thoſe who cuckold them. Read one of La Fontaine's tales which relates to the preſent ſubject (54). Therefore the Duke of Eſtampes's adverſaries might have pleaded that his wife had made over ſeveral gifts to him, in order to make him ſubmit patiently to the title with which ſhe had dubbed him: conſequently he was obliged to prove in a juridical way, that ſhe had been the occaſion of his ſuſtaining very great loſſes.

(54) The reader may alſo ſee a book printed in Holland, in 1682, and intitled, *Les Privileges du Cocuage*, i. e. "The Privileges "of Cuckol-"dom." It is a dialogue between a cuckold and a jealous husband.

Let him therefore not be cenſured, for having added to the title of cuckold in hiſtory, that of cuckold upon record; for the latter was eminently included in the former; and at the ſame time that it could not poſſibly add to his diſhonour, it might ſave him a very conſiderable eſtate. A man may blame as much as he pleaſes thoſe who, not being afraid of having their diſhonour inſerted in the annals of the State, carry it to the Parliament and there regiſter it; but do not blame ſuch who act in this manner, when they are ſure not to eſcape the pens of the moſt faithful Hiſtorians. Count de Buſſy Rabutin received a letter in 1668, where mention is made of a man who was in the former caſe. It is as follows. *With regard to Madam's .... letter to Mr. de .... it has not been handed about. The huſband ſhewed it to the King, and gave it to the Parliament. Thus, not being a cuckold in hiſtory, he will be one upon record* (55).

(55) *Lettres de Buſſi Rabutin*, tom. 2. Letter 153. pag. 335. Dutch edit.

[*L*] *I can ſcarce believe that Francis I ever declared ſeriouſly, that he did not lie with this Lady.*] The Author whom I contradict here, is not conſiderable enough for me to have any ſcruples with regard to the liberty I take with him. His words are theſe. *King Francis being therefore releaſed from priſon, and returning out of Spain, the Queen Regent his mother came to meet him at Bourdeaux, with a great train of Ladies and Gentlewomen, among whom was Anne of Piſſeleu, who was afterwards Counteſs of Pontievre, and at laſt Ducheſs of Eſtampes, on her huſband's account. This Lady was afterwards always in favour with the King, he doing for her what he would have denied another perſon. And tho' diſhoneſt ſuſpicions were raiſed on account of this intimacy, yet the King cleared himſelf, proteſting that the only motive of his loving that Lady was for her gracefulneſs and ſprightly humour. Be this as it will, it is thought that he lay with her, ſince he was pretty fond of the fair ſex, which was the only vice that could be objected to this Prince* (56). It is altogether improbable that this Prince ever proteſted in earneſt, that there never was any indecent commerce between him and the Ducheſs of Eſtampes. He had too much ſenſe, and knew the world too well, not to be ſenſible, that no perſon would give credit to ſuch proteſtations, as the love he had for the fair-ſex was not a ſecret to any one. Beſides, according to the taſte that then prevailed, he would have been afraid of being deſpiſed by his whole Court, had he paſſed for a young Prince, who had ſo long been the ſervant of a beautiful young Lady, without aſking, or receiving the leaſt favour from her. The proteſtation which is aſcribed to him would not be ſo improbable, had he begun to addreſs that Ducheſs at a time when both were in a mature age; but he ſeemed to have fallen in love with her, the inſtant he was returned from his confinement, at which time he was but thirty two years of age, and Madam de Heilly was a very charming young Lady. It is probable that he was not urgent to bring matters to a concluſion, and was not ſoon indulged his ſofteſt wiſhes? Had the fair one's virtue been inſurmountable, he doubtleſs would have fixed his paſſion upon ſome other object, before the year had been expired. But I don't find any Author ſo ſilly, as to applaud our Anne of Piſſeleu for her chaſtity. The credulity of the Author whom I refute, ſtopped in the middle of its career; for, if he was perſuaded that Francis I made a proteſtation of his innocence, he did not believe that his proteſtation deſerved credit. If it merited belief, and if the Ducheſs had been a Proteſtant, thoſe of that perſuaſion would have had, in their communion, the greateſt model of chaſtity that the world could ever boaſt. In this caſe the Ducheſs would have excelled, with reſpect to this virtue, not only the Virgins in the Martyrology, but alſo the Heroines of Romance. Let not the reader wonder at this parallel; I am not the firſt who has aſſerted (57) that the fictitious examples of virtue, which are found in our voluminous Romances formerly (58), were carried to a greater height than the practice of the moſt holy women. For the Heroines of Romance preſerve themſelves pure and inſullied, in the midſt of a court, tho' vigorouſly addreſſed by a very accompliſh'd lover whom they adore, tho' they are ſtole from time to time, and are ever ſurrounded with the moſt dangerous temptations. The chaſtity of Nuns, and of Virgin-martyrs, has not the ſame difficulties to ſurmount; and therefore is not ſo ſurprizing as that of the Ladies in Clelia would be. But as the latter, at the expiration of two or three years, found a period put to all their troubles, by their being happily married; their unſullied virtue does not equal that which muſt be aſcribed to the Ducheſs of Eſtampes, in caſe the King never enjoyed her.

(56) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Proſogr.* tom. 3. pag. 2347.

(57) *See* Abbé de Villiers, in his *Reflexions ſur les Defaute d'autrui.*

(58) Caſſandra, Cleopatra, Cyrus, Clelia, &c.

had gone over to Charles V. Now the Conſtable did this in 1523, and Francis I was not releaſed till 1526.

☞EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, an eminent Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian in the ſixth Century, was born at Epiphania, a city of Syria Secunda [*A*], about the year 536 or 537 (*a*). At four years of age, he was committed by his parents to the care of a School-maſter, in order to learn Grammar (*b*). Two years after, the peſtilence raging in the Eaſt [*B*], he was ſeized with it, as he informs us himſelf (*c*). After he had quitted

(*a*) *Vide* Henric. Valeſium *in Vitâ Evagrii*, & ejuſdem *Notas in Evagr. Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 29.

(*b*) Valeſ. *in Vita Evagrii*, *and* Cave, *Hiſt. Literar.* pag. 355. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(*c*) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 4. cap. 29.

[*A*] *Born at Epiphania, a city of Syria Secunda.*] He ſtiles himſelf Ἐπιφανεὺς in the title of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*; and in his third Book, c. 34. he aſſerts, that he was born at Epiphania. For ſpeaking there concerning Coſmas Biſhop of that city, his words are theſe; Κοσμᾶς τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἐπισκοπῶν Ἐπιφάνειαν, ἣ τὸν Ὀρόντην σύνοιχον ἔχει &c. i. e. "Coſmas, Biſhop of "our Epiphania, near which the River Orontes runs." Beſides this Photius (1) affirms, that he was born at Epiphania, a city of Cœloſyria. But it is very ſtrange, that Nicephorus Calliſtus in two places calls our Evagrius, not Ἐπιφανεὺς, i. e. "of Epiphania," but Ἐπιφανὴς, i. e. "illuſtrious." For in Nicephorus's firſt Book c. 1. his words are theſe: Ὅγε μὴν Εὐάγριος ὁ ἐπιφανὴς. And in Book xvi. c. 31. Nicephorus quoting a paſſage of Evagrius out of his third Book, c. 34. (which paſſage is above cited) expreſſes himſelf thus, οἷα δὲ καὶ Εὐάγριος ὁ ἐπιφανὴς περὶ Σεϋήρου ἱστόρησεν. But Henry Valeſius (2) is of opinion, that the Tranſcribers have committed an error in both theſe places, and have written Ἐπιφανὴς inſtead of Ἐπιφανεὺς. For Nicephorus might have evidently ſeen from Evagrius's words quoted by him, that the latter was born at Epiphania. Gerard John Voſſius (3) has erroneouſly aſſerted, that our Author was born at Antioch.

(1) *Biblioth. XXIX.*

(2) *De Vitâ & Scriptis Evagrii.*

(3) *Addend. ad lib. 2. cap. 23. de Hiſtoricis Græcis.*

[*B*] *Two years after the peſtilence raging in the Eaſt.*] This peſtilence is ſaid to have begun in the year after Baſilius's Conſulſhip, which was in the year of the Chriſtian Æra 543, as it is atteſted by *Victor Turonenſis* in his *Chronicon*, and by the Continuator of *Marcellinus Comes's Chronicon*. Baronius affirms this plague to have begun in the year 544. Evagrius tells us (4), that it raged for two and fifty years, and in a manner deſtroyed the whole earth, πᾶσαν γῆν ἐπινεμηθείσης. He informs us, that two years after Antioch had been taken by the Perſians, this peſtilential diſeaſe began to rage, in ſome reſpects like that recorded by Thucydides (5), though in others different from it. It took its riſe from Ethiopia, as it was then reported; but by turns overrun the whole world, leaving no perſon untouched. Some cities were ſo greatly oppreſſed by this calamity, that they became wholly empty of inhabitants; but in other places it was leſs fatal. Nor did it rage at any certain and ſet ſeaſon of the year; nor, after it had raged, did it recede in the ſame manner. It ſeized ſome places in the beginning of winter, others in the ſpring, others in the ſummer, and others in autumn. In ſome cities, when it had ſeized ſome parts, it left others uninfected. And one might frequently ſee in a city not infected ſome families utterly deſtroyed; but in other places, one or two families having been conſumed, the reſt of the city for the future continued untouched by the diſtemper. But after a more accurate inſpection into the matter, it was found, that thoſe families, which had remained untouched, were the year following the only ones, which ſuffered by this diſeaſe. But what was moſt wonderful was, that if it happened, that the inhabitants of the cities infected removed to any other place, where this diſtemper raged not, they were the only perſons ſeized with theſe diſeaſes. Theſe things happened frequently both in cities and other places at the periods of thoſe Cycles termed the Indictions; but eſpecially in the ſecond year of each Indiction almoſt a total deſtruction befel mankind. This diſtemper conſiſted of a complication of diſeaſes. For in ſome it began from the head, and having made the eyes bloody, and ſwelled the face, it deſcended into the throat, and cut off the perſon ſeized with it. In others it occaſioned a violent diarrhœa; in others bubo's, and afterwards high fevers, which put an end to them in two or three days, being as ſound in body and mind, as thoſe who had been afflicted with no diſtemper. Others became diſtracted and mad, and ſo ended their lives. Carbuncles breaking out deſtroyed a great many. Some perſons having been once or twice ſeized, and having eſcaped with their lives, were afterwards infected again, and died. The manner likewiſe of contracting this diſeaſe was very various and unaccountable. Some periſhed merely by converſing and living together; others by a touch only; others by entering into an houſe; others in the Forum. Some having fled out of infected cities, continued uninfected themſelves, but imparted the diſeaſe to thoſe, who were not infected. Others eſcaped infection, tho' they had lived with many infected perſons, and had touched not only perſons diſtempered, but likewiſe thoſe, who died of it. Others, tho' they endeavoured to deſtroy themſelves, becauſe of the loſs of their children or families, and for this purpoſe were perpetually converſant with the infected, yet after all were not ſeized with the diſeaſe. Evagrius obſerves, that he was ſeized with the bubo's in the beginning of this peſtilence, while he was young at the Grammar-ſchool; and that he afterwards loſt during the ſeveral ſtages of it many of his children, his wife, his daughter, his grandſon, and ſeveral of his relations, and ſervants. Procopius (6) has likewiſe given us an account of this plague, *with as much art and exactneſs*, ſays Dr. Freind (7), *and as much in the language of Phyſic, as if he had been a profeſſed Phyſician.* We ſhall tranſcribe the account here in Dr. Howell's words (8), that the Reader may compare it with that of Evagrius abovecited. "This was a plague, which almoſt conſumed mankind, of which *Procopius* concludes there "was no other cauſe than the immediate hand of God "himſelf. For it neither came upon one part of the "world alone, nor in one ſeaſon of the year, whence "ſubtile wits (as he ſaith) might fetch pretenſions. "It afflicted the whole world, and all conditions of "men, tho' of never ſo contrary a nature and diſpoſition, ſparing no conſtitution nor age. The difference of men as to their places of dwelling, diet, "complexions, inclinations, or any other thing, did "no good in this diſeaſe. Some took it in ſummer, "ſome in winter, and others in other ſeaſons. It "began among the Egyptians of Peluſium, and ſpread "to Alexandria with the reſt of Egypt one way, and "the other to thoſe parts of Paleſtine, which border "upon Egypt. From thence it travelled to the utmoſt bounds of the world, as by ſet journies and "ſtages, making deſtruction its only buſineſs, and "ſparing neither iſland, cave, nor top of mountain, "where mankind inhabited; for if it leaped over a "country, returning afterward, it left no cauſe to rejoice above its fellows. It began ſtill at the ſea-coaſt, "and thence went to the inland parts. In the ſecond "year of its progreſs it arrived at Conſtantinople "about the middle of the ſpring, where it was the "fortune of *Procopius* then to reſide. Apparitions "of ſpirits in all ſhapes human were ſeen by "many, who thought the man they met ſtruck "them in ſome part of the body; and ſo ſoon "as they ſaw the ſpirit, they were ſeized with "the diſeaſe. At firſt when they met them, they repeated divine names, and fled into Churches to no "purpoſe. Afterwards they were afraid to hear their "friends call them, locking themſelves up in their "chambers, and ſtopping their ears. Some dreamed "they ſaw ſuch ſights; others heard a voice tell them "they were enrolled in the number appointed to die. "But moſt without warning became feveriſh ſuddenly; "their bodies changed not colour, nor were hot; the "fever being ſo remiſs till evening, that neither the "patient nor Phyſician by his pulſe could apprehend any "danger. Yet to ſome the ſame day, to others the "next, or many days after, aroſe a bubo both in the "groin, the arm-holes, under the ear, and in other "parts. Theſe were the general ſymptoms which "happened alike to all the viſited perſons." *There were others different, whether ſo made by the diverſity of bodies, or the will and pleaſure of him that ſent the diſtemper, our Author cannot ſay. Some were ſeized with drowſineſs and ſlumbering; others with a ſharp diſtraction: the ſlumberers forgot all things; if they were*

(4) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 4. cap. 29.

(5) Lib. 2.

(6) *De Bello Gothico.*

(7) *Hiſtory of Phyſick*, Part. 1. pag. 143. edit. London 1725, in 8vo.

(8) *Hiſtory of the World.*

ted the Grammar-School, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Rhetoric, and making a great progreſs in that art was regiſtred among the Advocates; whence he obtained the name of *Scholaſticus* [*C*]. It is very probable that he practiſed Law at Antioch [*D*], where he gained the friendſhip of George the Patriarch of that city, who made our Author his Aſſeſſor and Counſellor, and carried him along with him to Conſtantinople, when he appealed to the Emperor and a Synod upon an accuſation of inceſt charged upon him by a Silver-Smith before Johannes, *Comes* of the Eaſt (*d*). In the reign of Tiberius Conſtantinus he had the dignity of Quæſtor conferred upon him; and

(*d*) Valeſ. *in Vitâ Evagrii.*

looked to, ſome would eat, ſome that were neglected, ſtarved to death. Thoſe who were diſtracted were vexed with apparitions, crying there were men to kill them, and running away; being ſo troubleſome and unruly, that their keepers were pitied as much as they themſelves. No Phyſician or other caught the diſeaſe by touching ſick or dead bodies; many ſtrangely continuing free, tho' they tended and buried infected perſons, and many catching it they knew not how, and dying inſtantly. Many leaped into the water, tho' not for thirſt, and ſome into the ſea. Some without ſlumbering or madneſs had their bubo gangrened, and died with extreme pain; which doubtleſs happened alſo to thoſe that had the phrenſy, tho' being not themſelves they underſtood it not. Some Phyſicians hereupon conceiving the venom and head of the diſeaſe to lie in thoſe plague-ſores, opened the dead bodies, and ſearching the ſores, found an huge carbuncle growing inward. Such whoſe bodies were ſpotted with black pimples the bigneſs of a lentile, lived not a day. Many died of vomiting blood. Some that were given over by the moſt eminent Phyſicians unexpectedly recovered; others, of whoſe recovery they thought themſelves ſecure, ſuddenly periſhed. No cauſe of this ſickneſs could be reached by man's reaſon. Some received benefit by bathing, and others it hurt. Many died for want of cure, and many eſcaped without it. In a word, no way could there be found of preſervation, either by preventing the ſickneſs, or maſtering the diſeaſe, no cauſe appearing either of their falling ſick, or of their recovery. " Women with " child which were viſited, certainly died; ſome miſ- " carrying, ſome fairly delivered, and ſome periſhing " with their children. Three women only were ſafely " brought to bed, and recovered, their children dying; " and one died, whoſe child had the hap to live. " Such as had their ſores great and running plenti- " fully, eſcaped; the violence of the carbuncle being " thereby aſſwaged; and this was the moſt certain " ſign of health. Such whoſe ſores ſtaid, as they " firſt aroſe, underwent the miſerable accident formerly " mentioned. Some had their thighs withered, when " the ſores roſe upon them, and did not run. Some " eſcaped with diminiſhed tongues, and lived ſtam- " mering, or uttering ſounds without diſtinction all " their days. In Conſtantinople this peſtilence laſted " four months, raging three months with all extremity. " In the beginning few died more than uſual. Then " it growing hotter and hotter, it came to five, and " at laſt to ten thouſand and more every day. At " firſt they buried their dead carefully; but at length " all came to confuſion, and many lay long unburied. " Servants were without maſters; rich men had none " to attend them. In the afflicted city was little to " be ſeen but empty houſes, no trade going or ſhops " open. The Emperor was much concerned, as he " had reaſon, and committed the overſight of the poor " to *Theodorus*, one of the *Referendarii* that ſubſcribed " the Emperor's anſwers to petitions; who to thoſe " that were in want diſtributed money out of the trea- " ſury. To theſe paſſages Procopius adds, that many " out of fear leſt their bad courſes of life, and conſe- " crated themſelves to God; and many when the dan- " ger was over, fell to their old deſpiſing of God again."

Dr. Howel obſerves, that ſince this plague continued the ſpace of two and fifty years, *and outlived Procopius, no wonder, if in ſo long a time, and ſo various climates and countries, it changed its ſymptoms, and varied ſomething from thoſe accidents, which fell out in his days. Yet the deſcription of* Evagrius *differs very little from that of his. . . . But whereas the Hiſtory of* Procopius *was ſufficiently known to the world, and particularly to* Evagrius *himſelf, who has taken, as all learned men know, much out of it, it is a great wonder he ſhould ſay, that the Hiſtory of this plague was not penned, till the time he undertook it; for we cannot in the leaſt imagine, but it was the ſelf ſame plague they both ſpeak of.* Dr. Freind remarks upon this (9), that it was no doubt the ſame plague they both ſpeak of, viz. that which laſted 52 years, and began in the Eaſt, as Agathias relates, in the *fifth of Juſtinian*; tho' to make his account agree with that of Procopius, it ſhould be read the *fifteenth*. The Doctor adds (10), that there is this further diſtinction to be made in the caſe, that *Procopius* only deſcribed it as it appeared the *ſecond* year at Conſtantinople; and that *Evagrius* gave ſuch an account of it, as fell within his own obſervations many years after, as he aſſures us himſelf; for when it firſt began, he was but a child and learning his Grammar, tho' indeed he had the plague at that time. So that we may eaſily perceive the true reaſon why theſe Authors differ in ſome points. The latter for example, relates one circumſtance as very wonderful, that no native of an infected town, tho' he was in a region diſtant from the infection, found any advantage in changing the climate; for ſuch a one was ſure to be ſingled out as a ſacrifice to this diſtemper, which raged among his countrymen. A fact, in which perhaps the veracity of the Author would have been called in queſtion, had not there been a parallel inſtance in more modern times in the caſe of the *ſweating ſickneſs in England.*

(9) *Ubi ſupra.* pag. 152, 153.

(10) Ibid. pag. 153.

[*C*] *Was regiſtred among the Advocates, whence he obtained the name of* Scholaſticus.] This term ſignifies a Lawyer, as Macarius informs us in his *fifteenth Homily*, in theſe words: " He that deſires to have a " knowledge in forenſic cauſes, goes and learns the " *Notes* [*Letters* or *Abbreviatures*;] and when he hath " been the firſt there, he goes to the ſchool of the Ro- " mans, where he is the laſt of all. Again when he comes " to be the firſt there, he goes away to the ſchool of the " *Pragmatici* [or *Practicants*,] where he is again the " laſt of all, and *Arcarius* [or *Novice*.] Then, when " he is made a *Scholaſticus*, he is *Novice*, and the laſt " of all the *Lawyers*. Again, when he comes to be " firſt there, then he is made a *Preſident* [or *Governor* " of a *Province*]; and when he is made a *Preſident*, " he takes to himſelf an *Aſſiſtant* [Counſellor] or Aſ- " ſeſſor. Ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν πράγματα, ἀπέρχεται καὶ μανθάνει τὰ σημεῖα· καὶ ὅταν γένηται ἐκεῖ πρῶτος, ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν σχολὴν τῶν Ρωμαικῶν· πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅταν γένηται πρῶτος, ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὴν σχολὴν τῶν πραγματικῶν, καὶ ἔσι πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅλων ἔσχατος, ἀρχάριος. εἶτα ὅταν γένηται σχολαςικὸς, ὅλων τῶν δικολόγων ἀρχάριος καὶ ἔσχατος ἐσὶ, πάλιν ὅταν γένηται πρῶτος, τοτε γένεται ἡγεμών. Καὶ ὅταν γένηται ἄρχων, λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν τὸν συγκάθεδρον. In this paſſage Valeſius has corrected the common reading ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν γράμματα, by ſubſtituting the word πράγματα inſtead of γράμματα.

[*D*] *It is very probable, that he practiſed the Law at Antioch.*] It is certain, as Valeſius obſerves, that he could not be an advocate at Epiphania, where he was born, ſince that city had no Judiciary Forum, but brought its cauſes to Apamia, in which the Conſularis of Syria Secunda held a Court of Judicature. The principal reaſon why he may be ſuppoſed to have been an Advocate at Antioch, rather than at Apamia, is, that he was moſtly converſant in that city, where he married a wife, and had ſons by her. He gave his daughter likewiſe in marriage in that city, as he informs us himſelf (11); and after ſhe, together with her ſon, died, in the tenth year of Mauricius, Evagrius being deprived of his wife and children, married again, and took to wife a young virgin of that city, which upon that occaſion kept an holiday, and celebrated a public feſtivity, both in pompous ſhews, and about his marriage-bed (12). Whence by the way, it appears, of how great authority he was at Antioch. Beſides he wrote his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* at Antioch, as may be inferred from the 20*th Chapter* of his *firſt Book*, where ſpeaking concerning the Empreſs Eudocia's journey to Jeruſalem, he ſays, that ſhe came to Antioch; χρόνοις ὕσ- ςερον ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐπειγομένη Χριςῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν πόλιν, ἐν- ταῦθα

(11) Lib. 4. cap. 29.

(12) Lib. 6. cap. 8.

and not long after, when he had made an Oration in praiſe of Mauricius Auguſtus upon the birth of Theodoſius, he was appointed Prefect by Mauricius (*e*). After this he publiſhed *ſix Books of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* [*E*], beginning with the year 431, where Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen conclude; and ending with the 12th year of the Emperor Mauricius, which was the year of our Lord 594. It is not certain when he died. Photius tells us (*f*), that his ſtyle is not unpleaſant, but is ſometimes too redundant; but that of all the Greek Hiſtorians he has moſt ſtrictly adhered to the Orthodox Faith. However, Valeſius obſerves, that he has been leſs diligent in collecting the monuments of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, than thoſe of Profane Hiſtory. And indeed, almoſt his whole ſixth Book is ſpent in an account of the Perſian War. Dr. Cave remarks likewiſe (*g*), that he is too credulous in relating upon all occaſions fabulous ſtories relating to miracles ſaid to be performed by the Croſs and Relicks of Saints. Beſides his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* he wrote a Volume of *Letters*, *Relations*, *Decrees*, *Orations*, *and Diſputations*; the greateſt part of which were written in the name of Gregory Patriarch of Antioch (*h*); but theſe are now loſt; as is likewiſe his *Panegyrick to the Emperor Mauricius upon the birth of Theodoſius* (*i*).

(*e*) *Evagr.* lib. 6. cap. 24.

(*f*) *Bibliothec.* Cod. 29.

(*g*) Pag. 355.

(*h*) Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 6. cap. 24.

(*i*) Ibid.

τοῦδα τε γίνεται: i. e. "A long time after, in her "journey which ſhe made to the holy city of Chriſt "our God, ſhe comes *hither* [viz. to *Antioch*]." Evagrius therefore lived at Antioch, when he wrote this. Hence it is, that he is ſo diligent in giving an account of the Works and public Edifices of that city, as may be ſeen in his *firſt Book*, *Chap.* 18. and in his *third Book*, *Chap.* 28. where he plainly intimates, that he lived at Antioch whilſt he wrote theſe things. Hence likewiſe it is, that he mentions with ſo much care and diligence, the earthquakes with which Antioch was ſometimes ſhaken; and that in the notation of the times, he always makes uſe of the Antiochean year. Laſtly, this may be collected from the ſeventh Chapter of his ſixth Book, where he relates, that Gregory Patriarch of Antioch having been accuſed before Joannes, Comes of the Eaſt, by a Silver-ſmith, and appealing to the Emperor and a Synod, went to Conſtantinople, and took our Author along with him, as his Aſſeſſor and Counſellor. By which words Evagrius plainly enough declares himſelf to have been an Advocate and a Lawyer. For Aſſeſſors were uſually taken out of their body as well by the civil as Military Magiſtrates.

[*E*] *After this he publiſhed* ſix Books of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.] This Work was publiſhed in Greek by Robert Stephens at Paris 1544 in fol; at Geneva in Greek and Latin in 1612 in fol. and at Paris 1673 in fol. with a new Verſion and Notes by Henry Valeſius. T.

EUCLID, born in Megara, and a Diſciple of Socrates [*A*], did not purſue the ſtudies of his Maſter; for inſtead of applying himſelf to the doctrine of Morality, he refined upon the ſubtilties of Logic. He founded a ſect which is conſidered as a branch, or rather a continuation of the ſchool of Xenophanes, of Parmenides, and Zeno Eleates (*a*). Thoſe who followed his method of philoſophizing, were called *Megarici*; afterwards Diſputers, and laſtly *Dialectici* or Logicians (*b*). We know very little concerning the particulars of his tenets; and it is difficult to comprehend any thing in his doctrine concerning the nature of Good [*B*]. He employed only concluſions in his diſputes;

(*a*) Cic. *Academ. Quæſt.* lib. 4. cap. 42.

(*b*) Diogen. Laert. lib. 1, 2. num. 106.

[*A*] *The Diſciple of Socrates.*] Cicero (1), Strabo (2), and Diogenes Laertius (3) aſſert this; but none of them have related a very curious circumſtance, which we meet with in Aulus Gellius, viz. that Euclid, not daring to go to Athens, becauſe the Athenians had pronounced ſentence of death againſt all the Megarenſes who ſhould go thither, went to that city by night, diſguiſed in women's apparel; and after having received the inſtructions of Socrates, returned to Megara the next day, in the ſame diſguiſe. It is to be obſerved, that he had been the diſciple of this Philoſopher, before this ſevere Decree had been made by the Athenians. *Decreto ſuo Athenienſes caverant, ut, qui Megaris civis eſſet, ſi intuliſſe Athenas pedem prehenſus eſſet, ut ea res ei homini capitalis eſſet. . . Tum Euclides, qui indidem Megaris erat, quique ante id Decretum & eſſe Athenis & audire Socratem conſueverat, poſtquam id Decretum ſanxerunt, ſub noctem quum adveſperaſſet, tunica longa muliebri indutus & pallio verſicolore amictus, & caput rica velatus, è domo ſua Megaris Athenas ad Socratem commeabat; ut vel noctis aliquo tempore conſiliorum ſermonumque ejus fieret particeps; rurſuſque ſub lucem millia paſſuum paulo amplius viginti, eadem veſte illa tectus redibat* (4). Aulus Gellius relates in this place, what he had heard from a celebrated platonic Philoſopher, named Taurus, who at the ſame time was making a compariſon between what had been practiſed towards Socrates, and the cuſtoms of the Philoſophers in that Age. We now, ſays he, ſee Philoſophers go and teach in the houſes of the rich, and ſtay till noon in order that their diſciples may have evaporated the fumes of the laſt night's wine. *At nunc*, inquit, *videre eſt Philoſophos ultro currere, ut doceant, ad fores juvenum divitum; eoſque ibi ſedere atque opperiri prope ad meridiem, donec diſcipuli nocturnum omne vinum edormiant* (5). Many people who read this, will call to mind the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* of Moliere, one of the moſt agreeable Scenes (6), of which conſiſts of a Maſter in Philoſophy, a Muſic-Maſter, a Dancing-Maſter, a Fencing-Maſter &c. I know not whether Ariſtophanes and Lucian ever rallied more ſeverely the Philoſophers than Moliere has done in this place. He repreſents them as men who go and teach in families after the ſame manner as Dancing-Maſters, and Fencing-Maſters; and he afterwards ſuppoſes that they fall out with thoſe Maſters, and are heartily drubbed by them. It is to be obſerved, that the Civil Law has been as much debaſed as Philoſophy. Moſt of the young Law-Students uſed to have a Prompter of Inſtitutes come to them; and did not give themſelves the trouble to frequent the public Lectures. Mr. le Tellier, who died Chancellor of France, made ſome regulations againſt this abuſe.

(1) Cicero, *Acad. Quæſt.* lib. 4. cap. 42.

(2) Strabo, lib. 9. *circa init.* pag. m. 271.

(3) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. *in Socrate*, num. 47.

(4) Aul. Gell. lib. 6. cap. 10.

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) The 3d of Act 1.

[*B*] *It is difficult to comprehend any thing in his doctrine concerning the Nature of Good.*] He made it but one under different names. It is ſometimes, ſays he, called Prudence, ſometimes God, at other times Underſtanding, and ſo on (7). He rejected all things contrary to Good, and even taught that they had no exiſtence (8). Such is the account that is given of his doctrine by Diogenes Laertius; but Cicero ſpeaks of it in the manner following: *Euclides Socratis diſcipulus Megareus, à quo iidem illi Megarici dicti, qui id bonum ſolum eſſe dicebant quod eſſet unum & ſimile, & idem & ſemper* (9). i. e. "Euclid, the diſciple of "Socrates, was a native of Megara, from whom "thoſe were called *Megarici*, who aſſerted that to "be the only Good which was one, ſimilar, invariable and eternal." Either Cicero or Diogenes Laertius muſt have given a wrong account of this tenet of Euclid; for if there be but one Good; and if Good for ever reſembles itſelf, and is always one, as Cicero ſuppoſes, how could prudence, God, and the underſtanding be called the Good? Are not the pru-

(7) Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 106.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Cicer. *Acad. Quæſt.* lib. 4. cap. 42.

putes [C]; from whence we may form a judgment of the ardour and impetuosity with which he blended them. We also may judge from thence of the turn of mind with which he inspired his Disciples, viz. a furious passion for disputation (c). Eubulides, who succeeded him, invented curious sophisms, that were exceedingly captious and perplexing [D]. Alexinus

(c) See the remark [D].

dence and understanding of man different from God? Are they like to God? Do they form a simple and individual essence with God? It is my sincere opinion that none of these Authors had a just idea of the doctrine of the Megarenses; and that even these did not either understand it, or not give a good explication of it. We therein have a glimpse of some of the rays of what our Divines teach concerning the Nature of sovereign Good. Our Euclid also seems to have had some little idea of what they teach with regard to the nature of Evil. They say that Evil is nothing; and that it consists in mere privation. But who could the Megarenses think would believe that diseases, afflictions, vices, and all other things contrary to good, are chimæra's that have no real existence? Their System in this respect was a perfect chaos.

[C] *He employed only Conclusions in his Disputes.*] Here follow the words of Diogenes Laertius (10): Ταῖς τε ἀποδείξεσιν ἐνίσατο, ὡ κατὰ λήμματα, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφοράν. *Utebatur probationibus, non his quæ per assumptiones, sed quæ per conclusiones fiunt.* This Latin Version is better than that of Aldobrandinus, which I shall here transcribe: *Argumentorum conclusiones non sumptionibus, sed conclusionibus refellendis oppugnabat.* To speak with greater freedom; Aldobrandinus's version is good for nought. It is in vain for him to cite Cicero, who has observed; that the word ἀπόδειξις signifies *Argumenti conclusio* (11), and that the word λῆμμα signifies *sumptio* (12); he will never persuade one, that there is sense in the following words, *to combat the conclusions of arguments, not by refuting the propositions, but by refuting the conclusions.* In my opinion Gassendi here has perfectly well explained the thought of Diogenes Laertius. *Duo fere solum*, says he (13), *novimus ex Laërtio, unum quod soleret Euclides cæterorum demonstrationibus non sumptionibus impugnare, sed conclusionibus duntaxat, nimirum quasi consequutiones forent satis perspicuæ, illationes congerebat*, Ergo, Ergo, Ergo; *quæ arguendi ratio, quasi respirare non sinens, est omnium urgentissima, quare & cum hoc modo foret instans, premens, ac vehemens, notatus fuit à Timone quasi quandam* Litigii, *seu* contentionis rabiem λύσσαν ἐριστικὴν *Megaricis inspiravisset. Alterum quod &c.* i. e. "There "are two things, *says he*, for the knowledge of which "we are chiefly indebted to Laertius: the one, that "Euclid used to combat the propositions of others, "not by assumptions, but barely by Conclusions; "and, as tho' the consequences had been sufficiently evident, he used to heap inference upon inference, *Therefore, Therefore, Therefore*; which "manner of reasoning, not allowing as it were a "man time to take breath, is of all other the most "forcible. Timon censured him for his heat, vehemence and overbearing way; as having thereby inspired the Megarenses with a litigious frenzy. The "other &c." Doubtless nothing is more apt to puzzle and confound those who maintain a Thesis, than for a disputant to heap conclusions one on the other, *therefore, therefore, therefore*, which was Euclid's custom.

(10) Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 107.

(11) Cicero, *in Quæst. Academ.* lib. 4. cap. 8.

(12) Idem, *de Divinat.* lib. 2. cap. 53.

(13) Gassend. *de Logic.* cap. 3. pag. 40. tom. 1. *Operum.*

[D] *Eubulides . . . invented various Sophisms that were exceedingly subtle and perplexing.*] Here follow their names: *The liar, the deceiver, the Electra, the veil'd, the Sorites, the horrid, the bald* (14). The Reader will find, in Gassendi (15), a good explication of all these Sophisms, supported by examples. The same is also found in Menage (16). I shall only shew what the *liar* was. A man was supposed, who said *I lie*; and afterwards the reasoning was carried on in such a manner, that from what he said true, it was concluded that he lied; and from what he lied in, it was inferred that he spoke truth. *Si dicis te mentiri, verumque dicis, mentiris: dicis autem te mentiri, verumque dicis, mentiris igitur* (17). To puzzle the more, it was observed, that in arguments resembling this with regard to the form, the conclusion was true; how then dare you reject the Conclusion of this, said they, whilst you admit that of others? Cicero observes that Chrysippus, who himself started these difficulties, was not able to solve them. *Qui potes hanc non probare, quum probaveris ejusdem generis superiorem? Hæc Chrysippea sunt ne ab ipso quidem dissoluta* (18). The same sophism was built on what Epimenides, who was a Cretan had asserted, viz. that all the Cretans were liars. He therefore, was it concluded, told a lie in asserting this; the Cretans therefore are not liars; they therefore are worthy of belief, Epimenides's assertion must therefore be credited, and therefore all the Cretans are liars. Aristotle (19) has acknowledged that these sophistries are almost inexplicable. Africanus the Civilian having proposed a case in which the knot was indissoluble, compares it to the sophism in question. *Dixi τῶν ἀπόρων hanc quæstionem esse: qui tractatus apud Dialecticos τῷ ψευδομένῳ dicitur, etenim quidquid constituerimus verum esse, falsum reperietur* (20). i. e. "I declared that this argument was one "of the unresolvable, which the Logicians call *the* "*Liar*; for whatever we lay down as true, will be "found false." It is pleasant to hear how Seneca laughs at those who used to trifle away their time in these vain subtilties. *Quid me detines in eo, quem tu ipse Pseudomenon appellas, de quo tantum librorum compositum est? Ecce tota mihi vita mentitur: hanc coargue, hanc ad verum, si acutus es, redige* (21). i. e. "Why "do you perplex me so much with what you yourself "call *Pseudomenos* (Liar), on which so many Books "have been written? . . . Come on; my whole life is "a lie: do you disprove this: Do you, if it is in the "power of your art, shew this to be true." Some, by too intense a meditation on these things, fell into a consumption that killed them, which circumstance was mentioned in their Epitaph (22): Κινδυνεύεις ἦν ποτε διὰ ταῦτας φροντίδας, ὥσπερ ὁ Κῷος Φιλητᾶς ζητῶν τὸν καλούμενον Ψευδόλογον τῶν λόγων, ὁμοίως ἐκεῖνον διαλυθῆναι. ἰσχνὸς γὰρ πάνυ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὰς ζητήσεις γενόμενος, ἀπέθανεν· ὡς τὸ πρὸ τῆς μνημείου αὐτῆς ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ.

(14) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 108.

(15) Gassend. *de Logic.* cap. 3. pag. 40. tom. 1. *Operum.*

(16) Menag. *in Laert.* lib. 2. num. 108.

(17) Cicero, *Academ. Quæst.* lib. 4. cap. 28, 29.

(18) Idem, ibid.

(19) Aristot. *Ethic. ad Nicomach.* lib. 7. cap. 3.

(20) Africanus, *L. LXXXVIII, D ad L. Falcid. Vide ibi* Cujacium, *item* Menag. *in Diogen. Laert.* lib. 2. num. 108.

(21) Senec. Ep. 45. pag. m. 241.

(22) Athen. lib. 9. pag. 401, E. *See also* Hesychius Illustrius, *in Philetæ.*

Ξεῖνε Φιλητᾶς εἰμὶ λόγων ὁ Ψευδόμενός με
Ὤλεσε, καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἰσπέριαι.

"There is danger, lest, by meditating too intensely
"on these subjects, you, like Philetas of Coos, should
"come to your end. For he thereby fell into a con-
"sumption, and died, as we find by the following
"words engraved on his tomb.

"Here lies Philetas, lost by captious wiles,
"Which day and night, incessant, he pursued."

It might then be said, without an hyperbole or figure, that Eubulides's inventions were so many sophisms fit to kill people. The subtilties of Stilpo, his fellow-disciple, were now no less murthering (23). This brings near to truth what Timon the Phliasian objected to our Euclid. His expression *rage or frenzy in disputation*, becomes thereby less hyperbolical.

(23) See the text of this Article, Citation (e).

Ἀλλ' ἔμοι τούτων Φλειάσιος μέλει, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου
Οὐδενός, ὦ Φαίδων, ὅτις γέ μιν, ἢ δ' ἐριδάντεω
Εὐκλείδου, Μεγαρῆσιν ὃς ἔμβαλε λύσσαν ἐριστικὴν (24).

(24) Timon, *apud* Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 107. pag. m. 142.

"I value not these triflers nor their clan,
"Nor Phædo, nor the ever-wrangling Euclid,
"From whom the Megarensians catch'd their rage."

I am to observe, that the Schoolmen tried their skill on this subject. We need but see what they relate concerning the propositions called by them *Seipsas falsificantes* (25).

Having expatiated sufficiently on the *Sorites* in another place (26), it would be unnecessary to take farther notice of it in this place. I shall only observe, that the sophism called the *bald* was a kind of *Sorites*; and that it consisted in enquiring the exact number of hairs that must be taken away from a man's head to make it bald. Are one or two sufficient? You must answer, No. The person continued to ask whether three, four, five, and so on, were enough: And if at last it was answered *this number is sufficient*; the respondent

(25) *See* Arriaga, *Disput.* 2. *in Summulas*, Sect. 4. Subsect. 4. pag. m. 21, 22.

(26) In the remark [O] of the Article CHRYSIPPUS.

Alexinus who ſucceeded Eubulides, was a great lover of diſputes; and ſo vehement in them, that he acquired a ſurname from thence (*d*). Diodorus, another Diſciple of Eubulides, was ſo ſtrongly infatuated with this kind of conteſt, that he died with grief becauſe he was not able to reſolve off hand the Logical Queſtions that Stilpo had put to him (*e*). Had this ſect contributed in any manner to the clearing up of truth, it muſt have been looked upon as a prodigy; ſince nothing is more apt to darken and perplex matters, and to raiſe doubts in the minds of Authors and Readers, than an application to the ſubtilties and refinements of controverſy [*E*], which commonly degenerate into wrangling

(*d*) Ἀπὸ φιλονεικότατος· διὸ καὶ Ἐλεγξῖνος ἐπεκλήθη. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 109.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

ſpondent was obliged to own, that the difference between a bald head and one that was not ſo, conſiſted only in a ſingle hair. See Gaſſendus, page 41, tom. I. of his works.

[*E*] *Nothing is more apt to darken and perplex matters, and to raiſe doubts .... than an application to the ſubtilties and refinements of controverſy.*] Among all the exerciſes of Philoſophy, there is none in which moderation is more neceſſary than in that of diſputation; for the inſtant a man proceeds beyond certain limits, he degenerates into uſeleſs trifles, and even into irregularities which deprave the mind, and prevent its ſeeing truth. It is to this we may very juſtly apply the following words of Aulus Gellius (27). *Hos alioſque tales argutæ delectabiliſque deſidiæ aculeos quum audiremus, vel lectitaremus; neque in his ſcrupulis aut emolumentum aliquod ſolidum ad rationem vitæ pertinens, aut finem ullum quærendi videremus; Ennianum Neoptolemum probabamus, qui profecto ita ait:*

Philoſophandum eſt paucis: nam omnino haud placet.

i. e. " When I was told or read theſe and ſuch like " ſubtle conceits, the product of an undiſturbed leiſure, " and did not find any thing in them that may contribute to the ſolid advantage of life, nor could perceive any end in theſe enquiries, I approved the follwing ſentiment of Neoptolemus in Ennius,

" We ſhould philoſophiſe in narrow limits."

A diſputation, where well regulated, and confined to proper limits (28), and where the only deſign is to clear up and illuſtrate matters, is the moſt uſeful thing poſſible in the ſearch after truth; and it is with great juſtice that diſputation is compared to the ſtriking of flints one againſt the other, which thereby forces out their hidden fire (29). But it is extremely difficult to obſerve a juſt medium on this occaſion, and it is chiefly with regard to this that the obſervation of Tacitus may be applied. *Retinuit quod eſt difficilimum ex ſapientia*, or *in ſapientiæ modum* (30). i. e. " And, a circumſtance " that is moſt difficult, he obſerved a mean in Philoſo- " phy." If a man gives but ever ſo little the reins in his paſſion for diſputation, he gets a taſte of falſe glory, which prompts him to contradict on all occaſions; and from that inſtant ſhuts his ear to good ſenſe, and abandons himſelf to the paſſion of being reputed a great maſter in ſubtilties. We may pardon a profeſſor for the pains he takes to rouſe, by this method, the genius of a very young ſcholar; but no ſuch excuſe can be pleaded in favour of Euclid or his ſucceſſors, for having made this their principal buſineſs during their whole lives; and for endeavouring to diſtinguiſh themſelves by inventions, whoſe only tendency was to perplex the mind. They were of no ſervice to the correcting of vice; they could not eradicate any important defect; and farther, they did not in any manner advance the knowledge of ſpeculative truths, but were much more apt to retard it. Theſe are two horrid faults, the former of which has been very well deſcribed by Seneca, *Invenisſent forſitan neceſſaria, niſi & ſuperflua quæſiſſent. Multum illis temporis verborum cavillatio eripuit, & captioſæ diſputationes, quæ acumen irritum exercent. Nectimus nodos, & ambiguam ſignificationem verbis alligamus, deinde diſſolvimus. Tantum nobis vacat? jam vivere, jam mori ſcimus? Tota illo mente pergendum eſt, ubi provideri debet, ne res nos, non verba decipiant. Quid mihi vocum ſimilitudines diſtinguis, quibus nemo unquam niſi dum diſputat, captus eſt? res fallunt: illas diſcerne. Pro bonis mala amplectimur .... Adulatio quam ſimilis eſt amicitiæ? .... Doce quemadmodum hanc ſimilitudinem dignoſcere poſſim. Venit ad me pro amico blandus inimicus: vitia nobis ſub virtutum nomine obrepunt: temeritas ſub titulo fortitudinis latet: moderatio vocatur ignavia: pro cauto timidus accipitur. In his magno periculo erratur: his certas notas imprime. Ceterum qui interrogatur, an cornua habeat, non eſt tam ſtultus, ut frontem ſuam tentet: nec rurſus tam ineptus aut hebes, ut non habere ſe neſciat, quod tu illi ſubtiliſſima collectione perſuaſeris. Sic iſta ſine noxa decipiunt, quomodo præſtigiatorum acetabula & calculi, in quibus fallacia ipſa delectat. Effice, ut quomodo fiat intelligam: perdidi uſum. Idem de iſtis captionibus dico: quo enim potius ſophiſmata appellem? nec ignoranti nocent, nec ſcientem juvant. Si vis utique verborum ambiguitates diducere; hoc nos doce, beatum non eum eſſe, quem vulgus appellat* (31). i. e. " They " probably might have diſcovered things neceſſary, " had they not ſought after ſuch as are ſuperfluous. " They trifled away a great deal of time in cavilling " about words, in captious diſputations, which give " exerciſe to the wit to no manner of purpoſe. We " raiſe difficulties, annex an ambiguous ſignification to " words, and afterwards ſolve thoſe difficulties. But " have we ſo much time to throw away? Do we " know how to live or die? We ought to bend our " whole mind to things, to prevent our being impoſed upon by words. To what purpoſe is this " diſtinction in the ſimilitude of words, with which " no perſon, except while he is diſputing, is taken " up. Things deceive: diſtinguiſh them. We embrace the bad inſtead of the good .... How great a " reſemblance is there between flattery and friendſhip? .... Teach me how to diſtinguiſh this reſemblance, a ſoothing enemy addreſſes me under the " appearance of a friend, vices inſinuate themſelves to " us under the name of virtues, raſhneſs conceals itſelf " under the maſk of courage, moderation is called ſupineſs, and fear cautiouſneſs. To err here is very " dangerous, and therefore teach us how to diſtinguiſh " juſtly on theſe occaſions. But that man who is aſked " whether he has got horns, is not ſo ſilly as to feel about " his forehead, nor ſo exceedingly ſtupid as to fancy " he has, what you, by a moſt ſubtle train of conſequences, would perſuade him. Error on theſe occaſions does us no harm, like the juggler's box and balls, " where the fallacy it ſelf is pleaſing. Enable me to " underſtand how this is done; I have loſt the uſe of " it. I ſay the ſame of thoſe quirks; for what better " name can I give thoſe ſophiſms, which neither hurt " him who does not underſtand them, nor profit another who does? But in caſe you are deſirous of " dealing in ambiguities, teach us this, viz. that the " man is not happy, whom the vulgar pronounce to " be ſo." Nothing can be more beautiful or judicious than theſe words of Seneca. I now proceed to the ſecond defect.

(27) Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 15. He ſays in the following chapter, *Ejuſdem illius Enniani Neoptolemi ... conſilio utendum eſt, qui deguſtandum ex philoſophia cenſet, non in eam ingurgitandum.* i. e. " We ſhould " purſue the " counſel of the " ſame Neoptolemus in Ennius, viz. to " take a taſte of " Philoſophy, " but not drown " our ſelves in it.

(28) See the *Art de Penſer*, Part 3. chap. 19. num. 7. pag. 354. where the good and evil effects of diſputation are extremely well deſcribed.

(29) *Quærit pars ſemina flammæ Abſtruſa in venis ſilicis* Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. ver. 6. i. e. " Some " ſtrike from " claſhing flints " their fiery " ſeed." Dryden.

(30) Tacit. *in Vita Agricolæ*, cap. 6.

(31) Senec. Epiſt. 45. pag. m. 240.

A ſpirit or paſſion for diſputation may eaſily degenerate into falſe ſubtilty. Thoſe who devote themſelves to this kind of ſtudy fall into their own ſnares; and after having perplexed their adverſary, are unable to reſiſt the ſophiſms they themſelves have invented, and which may be employed againſt their doctrines. See what I have ſaid of Chryſippus (32), who is a great example of what I have juſt now obſerved. He profeſſed himſelf a dogmatical Philoſopher, and yet he laboured almoſt as vigouroufly for the intereſt of ſcepticiſm as Carneades, who profeſſed to affirm nothing. Both of theſe ſacrificed chiefly to the ſubtilties of their own wit; they had very little regard to truth, provided they could have the raviſhing ſatisfaction to dazzle and triumph by employing their objections. He who ſaid, that men by dint of diſputing loſe the truth (33), was no fool. How many people, who enjoy a profound tranquillity from a firm perſuaſion that they profeſs the true doctrine, would be diſturbed by doubts, were they to hear the reaſons on both ſides? And how many, inſtead of removing their uncertainty, would be ſtill more embaraſſed by it, ſhould they liſten to the replies and rejoinders

(32) In the remarks [*E*], [*F*], [*Q*], of his Article.

(33) *Nimium altercando veritas amittitur.*

wrangling, obſtinacy, inſincerity, and vain ſophiſtry. We know nothing concerning the phyſical ſyſtem of theſe Philoſophers; and it is not very probable that their paſſion for refining on Logical Ideas, ſhould either inſpire them with a deſire, or left them leiſure to attempt an explication of the effects of nature. I have read in Ariſtotle (*f*), that they taught that there was no power ſeparate from its act; that is, that a cauſe which does not actually produce an effect, has not the power to produce it. This is one of the impious paradoxes of the Spinoſiſts, which has been ſtrongly refuted by Ariſtotle (*g*). I refer EUCLID the Geometrician to the ſupplement; and ſhall here take notice of ſome errors of Father Rapin [*F*].

(*f*) Ariſtot. *Metaphyſ.* lib. 9. cap. 3.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

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joynders of two ſubtle diſputants? Thoſe who do not doubt, would complain of the ill office that diſputation had done them; and would inveigh againſt it in much the ſame terms as an orator employed to paint the power of eloquence. *Malam, inquit, crucem importunæ iſti eloquentiæ, quæ me ſecurum animi, compoſitumque in alteram partem, jam ſuſpenſum, & utroque trahentem malè perdidit, quaſi in foro diſceptaretis apud Judicem, adeo me contorto pugnacique iſto genere dicendi exanimaſtis* (34). i. e. "A curſe upon that importunate eloquence which "has brought me from a fixed tranquillity of mind, to "a torturing ſtate of doubt and uncertainty; as tho' "you were contending at the bar before a Judge." Thoſe who have ſome doubts, would complain of their being much more wavering than before; and would ſay to the two diſputants, what Terence put into the mouth of one of his actors. *Feciſtis probe: Incertior ſum multo quam dudum.* i. e. "Many thanks to you: I am "much more uncertain than before." In St. Auſtin's opinion, the public diſputes of Logic are ſo dangerous, that people ought to beg of God, by public proceſſions, not to be expoſed to them (36). *Facere non poſſum, quin hic referam, quæ de Beato Auguſtino, viro* Διαλεκτικωτάτῳ, *quique de Logica plures libros reliquit, tradit Beatus Ambroſius Serm.* 92, *illius ſcilicet pertinaciam & diſputationis acrimoniam ſupplicationibus publicis compeſcendam, & quaſi averruncandam exiſtimaſſe.* It is an inſtrument which may be of great uſe againſt falſhood, but it does not ſtop there; for after deſtroying error, it attacks truth. It is like thoſe corroſive powers which after having eat away the proud fleſh of a wound, would alſo prey upon the ſound fleſh, and pierce the very bone were they not prevented. But not to go to ſuch lengths: let us only conſider the evil effects of diſputing, from the reaſons laid down by Montagne. "Our diſputes, *ſays he* (37), ought to be no leſs prohi- "bited and puniſhed than other verbal crimes. What "vices are not awakened and fomented by them, as "they are commanded and directed by anger? We "begin to harbour an enmity, firſt againſt the argu- "ments and afterwards againſt the men. We learn to "diſpute with no other view but to contradict: and by "every one's contradicting and being contradicted, the "only reſult of diſputing is, that truth is thereby quite "loſt. For this reaſon Plato, in his Commonwealth, "forbids the exerciſe of it to unſkilful and diſingenuous "minds. . . . . What will this end in? the one goes to "the eaſt, the other to the weſt; they loſe the princi- "pal, and drive it from them in the croud of inci- "dents. After ſtorming an hour, they know not "what they ſeek for; one is high, the other low, "another is wide. One man catches at a word or ſimile; "another no longer perceives what is oppoſed to him, "ſo intenſely is he engaged in his career, and thinks "of following himſelf, not you. One finding him- "ſelf weak, fears every thing, refuſes every thing, "and at the entrance into his ſubject confounds it; "or, in the heat of the diſpute is at once ſilent thro' "a churliſh ignorance, affecting either a haughty con- "tempt, or a ſtupidly-modeſt flight from the diſpute. "One man provided he can but ſtrike, does not value "how much he lays himſelf open; another counts "his words, and weighs them out as arguments; ano- "ther employs no other advantages than thoſe of his "voice or lungs. Here we meet with one who con- "cludes againſt himſelf, and another who quite deafens "you with uſeleſs prefaces and digreſſions. Another "takes up no other weapons but harſh invectives, to "diſengage himſelf from the ſociety and argumenta- "tion of a man whoſe genius bears hard upon his. "This laſt man does not ſee any thing in reaſon; but "he keeps you beſieged within the logical incloſure of "his clauſes, and the formularies of this art."

(34) Famian. Strada, *Proluſ.* 2. lib. 2. pag. m. 242.

(35) Terent. *in Phormione*, Act. 2. Scen. 3. ver. 18, 19.

(36) Menag. *in Diogen. Laert.* lib. 7. num. 83. pag. 296.

(37) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 3. chap. 8. pag. m. 252, 253. See the judgment which the Author of the *Art de penſer*, Part 3. chap. 19. num. 7. pag. 356, has formed of theſe thoughts of Montagne.

It may be very juſtly affirmed, that the genius and character of our Euclid, and of his ſucceſſors, have been predominant in the Chriſtian Schools, ever ſince that famous Logician Abelard. But what has all this produced to the advantage of truth? What Philoſophical tenets have the Nominaliſts and Realiſts, the Thomiſts and Scotiſts illuſtrated? What have they done but multiply opinions; and found out the art of maintaining pro and con, by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral barbarous terms? What one aſſerts, another denies; and they have all ſubterfuges to prevent their being ſilenced. They have alternately made the moſt contrary tenets triumph: now this is the natural conſequence of this method of philoſophizing. Rohault has deſcribed this admirably well. *There is obſerved, ſays he* (38), *an invincible obſtinacy*, "in moſt of thoſe "who have gone thro' their courſe of Philoſophy; and "who probably would not have degenerated into ſo "pernicious a turn of mind, had they been accuſ- "tomed to convincing truths; and had not found, "that thoſe who maintain any doctrine whatſoever in "public always triumph over thoſe who endeavour to "prove the contrary; ſo that they conſider all things, "as mere probabilities. They do not conſider ſtudy "as a means to arrive at the knowledge of new truths; "but only as a ſport of the mind in which men exer- "ciſe themſelves, and whoſe aim is only to confound "truth and falſhood in ſuch a manner, by the help of "certain ſubtilties; that either the one or the other "may be maintained, without one's appearing to be "ever forced to yield to any reaſon, how extravagant "ſoever the opinion may be that is defended. And "this indeed is the uſual reſult of all public diſputa- "tions where frequently in the ſame pulpit, opinions "directly oppoſite are alternately propoſed, and tri- "umph equally, without the ſubject's being rendered "more clear, or any truth better eſtabliſhed." I take no notice of an evil infinitely greater than that which a wrangling and logical turn of mind has produced. It has paſſed from the chairs of Philoſophers to the ſchools of Divines, and there made the fundamental points of Chriſtian morality doubtful (39); for have not looſe Caſuiſts ſhaken all the tenets in morality, and thrown ſuch a cloud over them, that the only method of coming to any certainty is, to attend ſolely to the ſimplicity of the Scriptures, without once regarding the ſubtle and captious reaſons of thoſe Doctors?

(38) Rohault, *Preface de ſa Phyſique.*

(39) See the Article LOYOLA, Remark [*S*].

The Reader will find in the following Remark, ſome reflections of Father Rapin, which exhibit as ſtrongly the defect of our Philoſophers of Megara, as that of the Schoolmen.

[*F*] *I ſhall take notice of ſome errors of Father Rapin.*] I ſhall firſt preſent the Reader with ſome fine reflections of his (40). "The moſt ſprightly and ſubtle genius's "are not always the moſt proper for Philoſophy. It "would be better to cloud a little the imagination, "than to let it evaporate in too refined ſpeculations. "The plain and unaffected good ſenſe of Socrates "triumphed over all the art and ſubtlety of the So- "phiſts. Philoſophy did not become abſtracted, till "it ceaſed to be ſolid. Men attached themſelves to "formalities, when they had no more realities; and "they did not attempt to have recourſe to ſubtlety, "till they had no farther hopes of making reaſon tri- "umph by its native ſimplicity *. Protagoras, he who "firſt ſought for captious arguments, aſſumed this air of "ſubtlety, only becauſe he had a wrong turn of "mind. . . . By an endeavour, ſays Seneca †, to re- "fine on all things, all things were depraved. For "men merely to make an empty parade of wit, aban- "doned the moſt eſſential particulars in the ſciences: "they began to weaken the truth of things by the ar- "tifice of words; and when ſound reaſons were want- "ing,

(40) Rapin, *Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie*, num. 28. pag. m. 358, 359.

* *Habet hoc ingenium humanum, ut cum ad ſolida non ſuffecerit, in futilibus atteratur.* Verulam. *de Augm. Scient.*

† *Vide quantum mali fecerit nimia ſubtilitas & quam infeſta ſit veritati.* Sen. Ep. 98.

EUDES, Duke of Aquitain, contemporary of Charles Martel, was concerned in the greateſt affairs of his time. The detail of his Genealogy is not well known; but there is ſome probability that he was ſon of Bertrand Duke of Aquitain, and younger brother of St. Hubert (*a*). He took advantage of the troubles of the Court of France, and the misfortunes into which Spain was plunged by the invaſions of the Saracens; for whilſt the latter thought of nothing but eſtabliſhing their new dominion, and they were vainly endeavouring in France to ſubdue Auſtraſia, where the Mayors of the palace had made themſelves independent, he not only poſſeſſed himſelf of the firſt and ſecond Aquitain, between the Loire and the Garonne, but likewiſe of the whole country of Toulouſe and Uſſez. The Gaſcons at the ſame time overran the countries between the Garonne, the Sea, and the Pyrenean Mountains. We need not be aſtoniſhed if Eudes, having ſuch ſtrength, ſaw himſelf courted by Chilperic II King of France. Reinfroi, Mayor of the Palace, had endeavoured to reduce the Kingdom of Auſtraſia to the obedience of the Crown of France, with the aſſiſtance of the Friſons; but Charles Martel had attacked him ſo opportunely in the Ardennes, in 716, that he had put him to rout. Chilperic and Reinfroi his Mayor were obliged to fly; and having been again defeated the following year, they had every thing to fear from Charles Martel. In this perplexity, they had recourſe to the Duke of Aquitain; and far from finding fault with his having aggrandized himſelf, or his uſurpations, they declared him Sovereign [*A*], and intreated him

(*a*) *See* Audigier, *Origine des François*, tom. 2. pag. 226.

" ing, ſophiſms were employed. By this new art, " Nauſiphanes and Parmenides were victorious in all " arguments..... Thus the ſimplicity of reaſon was " corrupted by the artifices of words; and inſtead of " reſpecting truth, they only ridiculed it. This was " the error of the Spaniards of the laſt age. They " did by Philoſophy as by Politicks; they by the na- " tural turn of their minds formed for reflection, car- " ried both to inconceiveable ſubtilties, inſomuch that " every diſciple refined upon his maſter. Hence aroſe " a diſorder like to that which Seneca complained an- " tiently §: the only fruit of Philoſophy was diſputing: " and it was employed, not ſo much to cure the ſoul, " as to exerciſe the wit." This is juſt and beautiful; our Euclid and Eubulides might have known themſelves by this picture. But let us hear what Father Rapin ſays of them in particular.

§ *Philoſophia non in remedium animi, ſed in exercitationem ingenii inventa.* Seneca, lib. 7. cap. 1. *de Benefic.*

" Euclid of Megara ſubtilized ſtill farther the moſt " ſubtle things in Logic, and added to it a more " ſprightly air of diſputation, by giving more vehe- " mence and ardour to his diſcourſe. He even car- " ried this to ſuch an exceſs, that Timon reproached " him, with having inſpired the Megarenſes with a " *rage or frenzy for diſputation* †, by that captious ſo- " phiſtical Logic, which he taught them, and which " Socrates did not any way approve, becauſe his me- " thod was altogether inſincere. Euclid and Eubuli- " des his diſciple invented thoſe ſophiſms, which " were afterwards ſo famous in the ſchool mentioned " by Diogenes Laertius*; and which after all have " nothing real but their ſubtlety, as the dilemma, the " horned argument, the Electra, the Sorites, thoſe ſo " renowned Megarenſian interrogations (41) mentioned " by Plutarch: and all thoſe cavils of their invention, " which brought Logic into ſuch contempt at Athens, " that Socrates was obliged to treat it as ridiculous, in " his ſpeeches againſt the Sophiſts, in order to unde- " ceive mankind. It was from this Euclid that De- " moſthenes learnt the art of the dilemma, and that " earneſtneſs which made him ſo vehement in the " ſpecies of eloquence he aſſumed (42)." There are ſix errors in this paſſage. I. Socrates was dead when Euclid's Logic appeared, and conſequently it was not poſſible for him to cenſure it. II. Diogenes Laertius did not rank the dilemma among the Sophiſms invented by Euclid and Eubulides. I do not think that other Authors have included it in that liſt; and in reality, it is falſe that the dilemma is a ſophiſm. It is as good a method of reaſoning as the ſyllogiſms; and if ſome dilemmas are falſe, certain ſyllogiſms have the ſame ill quality: but upon pretence that there may be ſophiſtical ſyllogiſms, it would be a great miſtake to aſſert that a ſyllogiſm is a ſophiſm. If the Reader applies all this to the dilemma, he will find that Father Rapin is miſtaken, both with regard to the citation and the matter it ſelf. III. If Socrates could not have diſapproved of Euclid's Logic, much leſs could he have ridiculed that of Eubulides, diſciple and ſucceſſor to Euclid. IV. Demoſthenes learnt the art of reaſoning, not of Euclid but of Eubulides, as Apuleius (43) and Diogenes Laertius (44) affirm. V. After having included the dilemma among the ſophiſms, which *rendered Logic ſo contemptible in Athens that Socrates was obliged to ridicule it*, he ſhould not have aſſigned it as one of the cauſes of that ſpecies of eloquence which cauſed Demoſthenes to be admired (45). VI. This Orator diſtinguiſhed himſelf, not by the dilemma, but the enthymema; whether the latter be taken according to the idea which the Rhetoricians have of it, or according to the idea of the Logicians. I ſhall take no notice of Father Rapin's citing Peter Ramus; he ought to have quoted Laertius.

† Λύσσαν ἐρισμῶν. Ram. lib. 1. Dialect. cap. 7.

* Diog. lib. 2.

(41) See the remark [*G*] of the Article CHRYSIPPUS.

(42) Rapin, *Reflexions ſur la Logique*, num. 3. pag. 372.

(43) Apuleius, *in Apologia*, pag. m. 283.

(44) Diogen. Laert. *in Euclide*, lib. 2. num. 108.

(45) Nothing was more wonderful in this Orator than his vehemence.

To juſtify the firſt of theſe ſix animadverſions. It is certain that the diſciples of Socrates did not found a ſchool in their maſter's life-time; and that Euclid did not retire from Athens till after Socrates's death (46). He then withdrew to Megara, and founded a ſchool of Philoſophy, and conſequently the Logic he taught, and to which he gave a new air of ſubtlety, was after the death of Socrates. It may be obſerved, by the way, that he received in his houſe at Megara, Plato and the reſt of the Athenian Philoſophers (47), when the ſame tyranny which had deſtroyed Socrates, forced them to withdraw to ſome place of ſafety.

(46) *See* Plato *in Phædone*, where he ſays that Euclid was preſent at the laſt Diſcourſe of Socrates.

(47) Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 106. Heſychius illuſtrius, *in Euclide*.

[*A*] *Chilperic and . . . his Mayor . . . declared him Sovereign.*] I might have ſaid King; for theſe are the terms of Fredegarius: *Chilpericus itaque & Raganfredus legationem ad Eudonem ducem dirigunt, auxilium poſtulantes, rogant :* REGNUM *& munera tradunt.* We muſt not imagine that *regnum* here ſignifies a ſimple ornament of the head, called a *Crown*, ſent to the Duke of Aquitain; we muſt underſtand the dignity and authority of which the crown is the ſymbol. Thus Valeſius has underſtood it. *Ut ſuo*, ſays he (1), *ſummoque jure ac regia poteſtate in Aquitaniæ dominaretur provincia regiæ ditioni exempta.* i. e. "That he might " rule in the Province of Aquitain by ſovereign right " and royal power, exempt from the royal juriſdiction." I make this Remark after a modern Author (2), who ſeems to accuſe the learned Father le Cointe of having believed that the regal authority was not given to Eudes; but that they had only ſent him a crown. In the paſſage which that Father quotes (3) *regnum* is taken for a crown, I grant: yet it is not a crown without relation to the ſovereign authority. Rhegino confirms my opinion, when he ſays, under the year 735, that Charles Martel deprived Eudes both of the Kingdom and of his life; *Eudonem* REGNO *ſimul & vita privavit.* The modern Author cites for a third witneſs an Inſcription of S. Maximin, which imports that in 710, under Eudes the moſt pious King of the French, and during the invaſion of the Saracens, they tranſported the body of S. Mary Magdalen: *Anno nativitatis Domini* 710, *ſexta die menſis Decembris . . . regnante Odaino piiſſimo rege Francorum, tempore infeſtationis gentis perfidæ Saracenorum*; but this other authority has too great defects; the one, that the year 710 is not a time wherein the inundation of the Saracens was terrible in Gaul; the other, that Eudes at moſt was but King of Aquitain, and here is an inſcription which calls him King of the French. I am ſurprized that Monſr. Audigier did not perceive the fault in

(1) Adrianus Valeſius, *Hiſt. Francor.*

(2) Audigier, *Origine des François*, tom. 2. pag. 235.

(3) *Romanus Pontifex in ſignum imperii utitur regno, & in ſignum Pontificii utitur mitra.* Innocen. III, *apud* Audigier, *Origine des François*, tom. 2. pag. 235.

him to concur with them againſt the immoderate and rebellious ambition of their enemy. Eudes aſſembled all his troops, and went to join the army of Chilperic near Paris, and when they were beaten he carried with him to Aquitain that unfortunate King, who ſtood in need of ſuch an aſylum to protect him againſt the deſigns of the Conqueror; for that Conqueror was openly paving the way to the uſurpation which afterwards broke out in the moſt ſolemn form (*b*). The retreat of Chilperic to Aquitain, and his defeat near Soiſſons, happened in the year 719. Charles purſued him as far as Tourain. Some time after he ſent Embaſſadors to Eudes, to demand Chilperic. Eudes would not deliver him up, till he had obtained a promiſe that he ſhould be treated according to his dignity. He made him great preſents, and was, perhaps, the principal cauſe why that Prince did not die in a monaſtery. He rendred a ſignal piece of ſervice to the Nation two years after, by the Victory which he gained before Toulouſe over the Saracens. Thoſe Infidels, aſpiring to the conqueſt of the Gauls, had no ſooner made themſelves maſters of Narbonne, than they advanced as far as Toulouſe, and laid ſiege to it. If they had not there loſt Zaman their General, and great part of their troops, it may be imagined in what a fair way they would have been. This defeat did not prevent their returning a little after, and ſeizing on Carcaſſon, Nîmes, and all Septimania as far as the Rhone: ſo that Eudes, who did not think it very reaſonable to ſuffer Charles Martel to take ſuch large ſtrides towards the uſurpation of the Crown [*B*], found himſelf greatly embarraſſed: he was afraid of the Saracens, and had no mind to depend on a man, who had no more right to the ſovereign power than himſelf. The precautions which he took were, on the one ſide, to favour underhand the cabals which aroſe in Neuſtria (*c*), and, on the other, to make an alliance with Munuza, a valiant Mooriſh Captain, to whom the Saracens had intruſted Cerdaña. Munuza, being in love with the daughter of Eudes [*C*], who was very beautiful, in order to obtain her, engaged to revolt. It happened therefore that Eudes, fully perſuaded that the Saracens could not take advantage of his abſence, as being ſufficiently employed by the work which Munuza cut them out, made an irruption into Neuſtria. This enterprize was not ſucceſsful: for he was defeated (*d*) by Charles Martel, and his country pillaged by the victorious army. His ſon-in-law was yet more unfortunate, as we ſhall relate in a proper place (*e*): he periſhed in the troubles which he raiſed; and then Abderama, who had vanquiſhed him, finding nothing to hinder him from penetrating into Aquitain, entered it with a very numerous army. Eudes diſpatched Embaſſadors to Charles to intreat for ſuccour, and, without waiting the arrival of that ſuccour, he had the boldneſs to ingage in a battle with the Saracens ſo ſoon as they had paſſed the Dordogne (*f*). Policy, perhaps, had a greater ſhare in this action than courage: he imagined that if he beat Abderama before the arrival of Charles, he might gain another victory over the latter in caſe of need; to ſay nothing of the glory which he might expect, if he expelled the Infidels without any other's contributing to it. He fought well, but at length, after a long reſiſtance, he was put to flight. Though it is ſaid his loſs was very great [*D*], he nevertheleſs, with what troops he could get together, advanced to the place where Charles Martel was to paſs the Loire, and fought with him in the famous battle wherein Abderama was ſlain [*E*], the 7th of October 732. But he could not prevail

(*b*) When Pipin his ſon cauſed the lawful King to be depoſed, and himſelf elected in his ſtead, in the year 752.

(*c*) This was the name of the weſtern part of the French Monarchy.

(*d*) In 731.

(*e*) See the Article of MUNUZA.

(*f*) Iſidore of Badajos, quoted by Catel, *Mémoires de l'Hiſt. du Languedoc*, pag. 527, ſays the Battle was fought between the Garonne and the Dordogne. See alſo ibid. pag. 529.

the figures 710. It is not an error of the preſs in his Book; but however it be, it is an error. Catel, quoting this inſcription, has pointed it in ſuch a manner that it falls on the year 716 (4). *Anno nativitatis Domini ſeptuageſimo decimo ſexto, die menſis Decembris, &c.* I have read in Belleforet (5), that in the year 741 the Saracens deſtroyed the city of Aix in Provence, and that it was then that Girard de Rouſillon, Count of Burgundy and Provence, cauſed *the body of the bleſſed Mary Magdalen* to be tranſported from Aix to Vezelai.

(4) *Memoires de l'Hiſt. du Languedoc*, pag. 524. He borrows it from Friar *Bernard Guido* in his *Chronicle of the Popes*, and in the Life of Nicholas III.

(5) *Chronique de France*, folio m. 52.

[*B*] *He did not think it very reaſonable to ſuffer Charles Martel to take ſuch large ſtrides towards the uſurpation of the Crown.*] One knows not whether it be better to be angry or to laugh at the baſe partiality of ſo many Writers, who beſtow the appellation of ſeditious perſons and rebels on thoſe who endeavoured to oppoſe the ambition of Charles Martel, and that of Pipin. Theſe ſame Authors would have changed their note if Fortune had declared for thoſe pretended Rebels; and then the diſadvantageous titles of factious, and diſturbers of the public repoſe, of perfidious men, and traitors, would have been reſerved for the Martels and the Pipins: So true it is, that there are vulgar every where, among the Hiſtorians, as well as among the ordinary tradeſmen.

Sed quid
Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam ut ſemper, & odit
Damnatos. Idem populus ſi Nortia Tuſco
Faviſſet; ſi oppreſſa foret ſecura ſenectus
Principis, hac ipſa Sejanum diceret hora
Auguſtum (6).

(6) Juvenal. Sat. 10. ver. 73.

" How goes the Mob? (for that's a mighty thing,)
" When the King's Trump, the Mob are for the
" King:
" They follow Fortune, and the common cry
" Is ſtill againſt the Rogue condemn'd to die.
" But the ſame very Mob, that raſcal crowd,
" Had cry'd *Sejanus* with a ſhout as loud;
" Had his deſigns (by Fortune's favour bleſt)
" Succeeded, and the Prince's age oppreſt."
Dryden.

[*C*] *Munuza fell in love with the daughter of Eudes.*] The miſtakes of ſome Authors concerning this affair ſhall be examined in the Remarks of the Article MUNUZA.

[*D*] *It is ſaid his loſs was very great.*] Roderic of Toledo (7) gives a frightful idea of it, as if God alone knew the number of thoſe who periſhed on that occaſion. I have already obſerved it in the Article of ABDERAMA (8); but here are the words of that Hiſtorian: *Abderamen .... cum amnes Garumnæ & Dordoniæ pertranſiſſet Eudonem de quo diximus invenit ad prælium præparatum, ſed infelicitate præterita comitatus in fugam dilabitur fugitivus, & tot ibi de ejus exercitu ceciderunt quod ejus numerus omni humanæ ſcientiæ occultatur.* He adds a very falſe fact, *viz.* that Abderama ſacked and burned the city of Tours.

(7) *Hiſt. Arabum*, cap. 14.

(8) Remark [*D*].

[*E*] *He fought with* Charles Martel *in the famous battle wherein Abderama was ſlain.*] Several Hiſtorians (9) aſcribe to him the chief part in that ſignal victory (10); for they ſay it was he who forced the Saracens

(9) De Serres, Du Haillan, &c.

(10) See the Remark [*K*] of the Article ABDERAMA.

vail on himſelf to let Neuſtria be at peace; he took arms again in the year 735. This was for the laſt time; for he died of grief the ſame year [F], having ſeen that Charles had entred Aquitain, and had deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword. Hunaud, his ſon, as ambitious as he, would not acknowledge Charles: this rekindled the war, which, after a great deal of various ſucceſs, ſometimes good, and ſometimes bad, ended to the diſadvantage of Hunaud. He was obliged to ſubmit, and they left him in poſſeſſion of the Dutchy (g).

(g) See *l'Hiſtoire de France de Cordemoi.*

Saracens camp, where having put all to the ſword without diſtinction of age or ſex (11), he went to charge the enemy in the rear; and then, thinking themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, they loſt courage and quitted the field. But if thoſe Hiſtorians had no better Memoirs with relation to this fact, than they had with relation to another which they boldly advance, *viz.* that Eudes invited Abderama into France, they would not deſerve to be credited. I know very well that Fredegarius relates this laſt fact. See Catel, in the third Book of his Memoirs of the Hiſtory of Languedoc, where, on an examination of the queſtion, he inclines to the negative, tho' he owns that Ado of Vienna, the Annals publiſhed by Pithœus, Sigibertus, Marianus Scotus, Hermannus Contractus, and ſeveral other Hiſtorians, have written that Eudes, *to oppoſe Charles Martel, had called in the Saracens to his aſſiſtance.* I have refuted this in the Article of ABDERAMA (12). (12) Remark [I].

(11) They ſay the Saracens had entred France with their wives and children.

[F] *He died of grief the ſame year.*] The Annaliſt of Fuld is miſtaken in placing his death under the year 728. Rhegino is alſo miſtaken in the words above quoted, wherein he ſays that Charles Martel deprived Eudes of his life and Kingdom. Fredegarius relates the matter more exactly: he ſays that Charles, being informed of the death of Eudes, held a Council, repaſſed the Loire, advanced to the Garonne, took Blaie, &c.

☞EUDOCIA, wife of the Emperor Theodoſius, was called *Athenais*, before ſhe was converted to the Chriſtian Religion. She was daughter of Leontius, a Philoſopher of Athens, and inſtructed by him in all parts of learning, in which ſhe made an aſtoniſhing progreſs (a), as appeared from her writings [A]. Her father at his death left his whole eſtate to his two ſons, except an hundred pieces of gold, which he bequeathed to his daughter, with this declaration, *that her own good fortune would be ſufficient for her.* Upon this ſhe went to Law with her brothers, but without ſucceſs, and therefore carried her cauſe to Conſtantinople, where ſhe was recommended to Pulcheria, the Emperor's ſiſter, and became her favourite. By Pulcheria's inſtructions ſhe embraced Chriſtianity * in 421. About the twenty firſt year of her age (b) ſhe was baptized by Atticus Biſhop of Conſtantinople, and ſoon after was married to the Emperor Theodoſius (c), through the recommendation of his ſiſter (d). In the year 445 ſhe was expoſed to the Emperor's jealouſy on a very ſlight occaſion. For, as Zonaras informs us (e), the Emperor having ſent to her an apple of an extraordinary ſize, ſhe gave it to Paulinus, who was highly eſteemed by her on account of his learning; and he not knowing from whom the fruit came, preſented it to the Emperor, who ſoon after ſeeing the Empreſs aſked her what ſhe had done with it. She being apprehenſive of giving any ſuſpicion to her huſband, if ſhe ſhould tell him, that ſhe had given it to Paulinus, proteſted ſolemnly that ſhe had eaten it. This occaſioned the Emperor to ſuſpect that there had been criminal converſation between her and Paulinus; and producing the apple he threw her into the utmoſt confuſion, and obliged her to retire. Upon this ſhe went to Jeruſalem, where ſhe employed herſelf in building and adorning of churches, and aſſiſting the poor. Du Pin tells us (f), that ſhe did not return from thence till after the Emperor's death; but Dr. Cave affirms, that ſhe was reconciled to him, and returned to Conſtantinople, and continued with him till his death; after which ſhe went again into Paleſtine, where ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life in pious works. She died in 460, according to Du Pin, or 459, according to Dr. Cave, who obſerves that upon her death-bed, ſhe declared herſelf entirely innocent from all inſtances of unchaſtity. By the Emperor ſhe had a daughter named Eudoxia, who was afterwards married to the Emperor Valentinian (g).

(a) Socrat. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 7. cap. 21.

* *Juſti Lipſii Monita & Exempla Politica*, lib. 1. cap. 5. Monit. 5. pag. 41. edit. Amſtelod. 1668.

(b) Cave, *Hiſt. Literar.* pag. 259. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(c) Socrates, *ubi ſupra.*

(d) Evagrius, *in Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 1. cap. 20.

(e) *Apud* Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom 3. Part. 2. pag. 212. edit. de Mons 1691.

(f) *Ubi ſupra.*

(g) Evagrius, *ſupra.*

[A] *Her Writings.*] Dr. Cave tells us (1) that ſhe finiſhed and digeſted the *Centones Homerici*, begun by Pelagius a Patrician, as appears from Zonaras (2), and the Inſcription of the work itſelf. It is extant in Latin in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and in Latin and Greek in the *Collection of Chriſtian Poets* printed at Paris 1624 p. 95. Du Pin obſerves (3), that Zonaras and Cedrenus affirm, that Pelagius abovementioned, who was put to death by the Emperor Zeno, wrote a work under this title; and in the Catalogue of the Library of Heidelberg this work is aſcribed to one Patricius, who is erroneouſly ſtiled a Prieſt. We meet alſo there with an Epigram of Eudocia upon that Poem. The firſt Greek Editions of Aldus and Stephens in 1554 and 1578 do not mention the Author's name. And Photius, who in his *Bibliotheca* (4) ſpeaks of the other Writings of Eudocia, ſays nothing of this. Theſe conſiderations induce Du Pin to think, that this work was not written by her, but by Pelagius, and that it was aſcribed to her only becauſe ſhe had written an Epigram in commendation of it at the beginning. But Oudin * ſhews, that this work could not be written either by Eudocia or Pelagius. Eudocia wrote *Metaphraſis Octateuchi*, or a Paraphraſe upon the eight firſt Books of the Old Teſtament in Heroic Verſe. Photius aſſures us (5), that this work was excellent, and not inferior to any other of the kind in the beauty of the verſification. But as ſhe confined herſelf ſcrupulouſly to the laws of Tranſlation, ſhe ſometimes broke through the rules of art. However this conduct is approved by many perſons, who aſſert that Tranſlations are to be made in that manner. She does not amuſe herſelf in flattering the ears of the youth by taking the liberty uſual with Poets of changing the truth into fiction. She does not lead her readers by long digreſſions from the ſubject, but follows the text with ſuch exactneſs and fidelity, as might eaſily be diſpenſed with by thoſe, who read her work. She preſerves the ſentiments, and even the very expreſſions of the original, as far as poſſible (6). At the end of every Book ſhe informs us in two verſes, that ſhe was the Author. Photius tells us afterwards (7), that ſhe wrote alſo a *Paraphraſe on the Prophecies of Daniel and Zachariah*; and three Books of the *Life of St. Cyprian.* The firſt Book contained the Life of St. Juſtina, the Artifices, which Cyprian uſed to debauch her, the Converſion of Cyprian, and his ordination. The ſecond contained the Life of Cyprian; and the third his Martyrdom under Diocletian. Socrates tells us (8) that ſhe wrote an Heroic Poem upon the Victory gained by Theodoſius her huſband over the Perſians.

(1) *Hiſt. Liter.* pag. 259. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720.

(2) *Annal.* tom. 3. pag. 37.

(3) *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 3. Part. 2. pag. 211.

(4) Cod. CLXXXIII.

* *Comment. de Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. col. 1260

(5) Ibid.

(6) Du Pin, *ubi ſupra.*

(7) Cod. CLXXXIV.

(8) Lib. 7. cap. 21.

H.

EVE, the wife of Adam, was ſo named by her huſband becauſe ſhe was to be the mother of all living (*a*). She was formed out of one of Adam's ribs, and brought to him that ſhe might become his wife (*b*). God gave them his bleſſing, and commanded them *to increaſe and multiply, and repleniſh the earth* (*c*); and yet Adam did not think of performing conjugal duty, till after he and his wife had violated the prohibition which God had laid on them. It was Eve who firſt diſobeyed God's command: ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be deceived by the lies and fair promiſes of the Serpent [*A*], and then ſhe ſollicited

(*a*) Geneſis iii. 20.

(*b*) Ibid. ii. 22.

(*c*) Ibid. i. 28.

[*A*] *She ſuffered herſelf to be deceived . . . by the fair promiſes of the ſerpent.*] I ſhould never have done, were I to relate all the fictions which are to be met with in Books with regard to this ſerpent. I. Some ſay (1) it was the real animal we call by that name, which tempted the wife of Adam, and they ſuppoſe that at that time the ſerpent converſed familiarly with man, and that he loſt the uſe of Speech as a puniſhment for the malice wherewith he had abuſed the woman's ſimplicity; but this opinion is ſo abſurd, that it is aſtoniſhing ſuch a Writer as Joſephus was not aſhamed to advance it. I am leſs aſtoniſhed at this, than to find ſuch a Viſionary as Paracelſus ſay (2) that not only the firſt ſerpent had the power, by a ſpecial permiſſion of God, to raiſe Adam and Eve to a ſublime degree of natural knowledge; but that even to this day all kinds of ſerpents retain the knowledge of the higheſt natural myſteries thro' the particular will of God. II. Some Rabbins (3) agree with Joſephus that the tempter of Eve was no more than a ſerpent; but inſtead of ſaying, as that Hiſtorian does, that the ſerpent tempted the good woman out of a ſpirit of envy, on conſidering the happineſs promiſed to man in caſe he did not diſobey God, they ſay that the ſpirit of uncleanneſs prompted him to it. He ſaw Adam and Eve enjoying one another, as the laws of marriage allow: he ſaw them employed in that exerciſe quite naked; and that object excited in him very irregular deſires, ſo that he wiſhed himſelf in Adam's place, and hoped that happineſs would befal him if Eve ſhould become a widow: now he thought his ambuſcade would be fatal to the huſband only, becauſe the huſband would be the firſt who would eat the apple; he reſolved therefore to lay the ſnare for them. Is it poſſible to advance impertinences more ill-concerted than theſe? Would a tempter who had ſuch motives, have made the woman eat the apple in the abſence of her huſband? III. If we believe Abarbanel (4), the ſerpent was a tempter only by the ill conſequences which were drawn from his conduct. He had no manner of deſign to do miſchief; he ſaid not one word to Eve, but had only the cunning, which other beaſts had not, to climb up the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and to eat of its fruit. Eve ſeeing he received no manner of hurt, concluded there was nothing to fear from that tree, and eat of it without any apprehenſion of dying. Is it not to make leſs account of the Scripture than Eve did of the prohibition, to explain in this manner a relation which ſo preciſely mentions a Dialogue between the ſerpent and the woman? IV. Some ancient Heretics dreamed that the ſerpent who tempted Eve was a Virtue (5) which Jaldabaoth produced under the form of a ſerpent. This Jaldabaoth was vexed that a greater Deity than himſelf had made man to walk, who before was but a worm, and had given him the knowledge of the ſuperior Deities; for Jaldabaoth would fain have paſſed for the only true God. Spite therefore made him produce the ſerpent of Paradiſe, to whoſe word Eve gave credit, as to that of the Son of God. Theſe Heretics had a great veneration for the ſerpent; for it is he, ſaid they, who having taken of the fruit of the tree has communicated the knowledge of good and evil to mankind. They were called Ophites. V. They carried their wild imaginations yet farther, if we believe St. Auguſtine (6); for they pretended that the ſerpent tempter was Jeſus Chriſt; and for that reaſon they kept a ſerpent, which at the word of their Prieſts ſlid on their Altars, and wound itſelf about their oblations, and licked them; after which he returned into his hole: and for their part, they thought that then Jeſus Chriſt came to ſanctify their elements, and they performed their communion. The trueſt opinion, *viz.* that Eve was ſeduced by the Devil, concealed under the body of a ſerpent, has been tacked to a thouſand ſuppoſitions by the liberty which human invention has taken. VI. For there are ſome Rabbins (7) who ſay that Sammael, the Prince of the Devils, got aſtride on a ſerpent of the ſize of a camel, and in that equipage approached Eve to tempt her. VII. Some ſay (8) the tempter drew great advantages from Eve's not repeating the prohibition in the ſame terms wherein God had pronounced it. God had forbidden them to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but Eve told the ſerpent God had forbidden them either to eat of that tree, or to touch it. Now as ſhe paſſed near that tree, the ſerpent took her and puſhed her againſt it, and having made her take notice that it had not killed her, he thence inferred that neither would ſhe have died if ſhe had eaten of it. Some of the Fathers, and ſeveral modern Divines (9), condemn Eve for not exactly reporting what ſhe had heard from God; and it may be ſaid that it was an ill omen for man's memory. It was, in all likelihood, the firſt time that what one had heard was told again to another; yet ſeveral alterations were made in it: and they were yet in the bleſſed ſtate of innocence. Are we then to wonder that ſinful man every day makes unfaithful relations, and that a fact cannot paſs from hand to hand for a few hours without being diſguiſed? Let this be ſaid by the by, as alſo what I am going to add; that ſome Authors will have it that Eve was not acquainted with the prohibition otherwiſe than by the report of Adam, and that Adam had of his own head made her believe that they were not permitted ſo much as to touch the tree; that he, I ſay, made her believe this in order to render her more circumſpect. A uſeleſs precaution. VIII. Some (10) deny that the ſerpent ſpoke to Eve: he made himſelf underſtood, ſay they, either by his hiſſing, or by certain ſigns; for at that time man underſtood the voices of all the beaſts. Cajetan (11) will not allow the intervention of voice in the temptation of Eve; he maintains the ſerpent made uſe of none but internal ſuggeſtions. IX. A Rabbi named *Laniado* has ſo nicely canvaſſed (12) the expreſſion *dying thou ſhalt die*, that he thinks the ſerpent preſuppoſed it contained a double death, one of which was to depend on the quality of the forbidden fruit, and the other on the prohibition to eat of it; or elſe, the one was to be cauſed by the wood of the tree, and the other by the fruit: whereupon the ſerpent, by a true turn of a Sophiſter, and as if he would have avoided a lie by the help of an equivocation, denied that the threat would be followed by the effect with regard to the wood of the tree; therefore he perſuaded Eve to taſte of that wood; and as ſhe found it had an agreeable taſte, ſhe concluded the fruit muſt be quite another thing; ſo ſhe eat of it. Diſtillers of the holy Scriptures, you would be far leſs blameable if you threw away your time in chymical diſtillations, in ſeeking after that fantom, the Philoſopher's ſtone. X. It has been feigned that the ſerpent aſſumed a face like that of a beautiful maid, when he had a mind to tempt Eve. Nicholas de Lyra mentions this idle imagination (13), and you may ſee in the German Bibles printed before Luther, among other figures, that of a ſerpent with the face of a very handſome girl.

(1) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 1. cap. 2. Aben Ezra *ad Geneſ.* iii.

(2) Paracelſ. *de Myſter. Vermium, apud* Rivinum, *Serpent. Seduct.* pag. 24.

(3) Salom. Jarchi, *apud* Rivinum, ibid. pag. 27.

(4) *Apud* Rivinum, ibid. pag. 95, *& ſeq.*

(5) Tertullian. *de Præſcript. adverſus Hæret.* cap. xlvii. Epiphan. *Hæreſ.* xxxvii.

(6) Auguſtin. *de Hæreſ.* cap. 17.

(7) *Vide* Rivinum, pag. 5, 43, 44.

(8) *Apud eund.* pag. 73.

(9) Ambroſius, *de Paradiſo*, cap. 12. Rupertus, *de Trinit.* lib. 3. Cajetanus, Pererius, Calvinus, Oecolampadius, Lutherus, *apud* Rivinum, pag. 73, 74.

(10) *Apud* Rivinum, pag. 103.

(11) Ibid. pag. 104.

(12) Ibid. pag. 122.

(13) *See* Rivinus, pag. *ult.*

Definit in piſcem mulier formoſa ſuperne (14).
" A maid's fair face ends in a fiſh's tail."

(14) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 4.

The Sirens were alſo a monſtrous compoſition, whoſe upper part reſembled a virgin. Their deceitful and treacherous voice may well be compared to that of this ſerpent; but would to God Eve had done what Ulyſſes is ſaid to have done! She liſtened too much to the ſeducer's diſcourſe; not that we are obliged to give any great credit to all thoſe fine compliments which Alcimus Avitus makes to have paſſed on both ſides (15); for according to the narration of Moſes, this great affair was diſpatched in a very few words. Never was there an enterprize of ſuch importance: the fate of mankind for all future ages was the thing in queſtion: the eternal

(15) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for July 1686, pag. 764. Some faults of Garaſſe are there taken notice of.

ſollicited her huſband to the ſame diſobedience. The incommodities of breeding, the pains of childbearing, and ſubjection to her huſband were the puniſhments to which God condemned her. Adam knew her not till after they had been driven out of the garden of Eden [*B*]. This is no neceſſary proof that it was incompatible with the ſtate of innocence.

How weak a Reſiſtance Eve made.

nal felicity or the eternal damnation of all men depended on it, without reckoning all the follies, and all the ridiculous vanities of the preſent life; and yet never was any affair ſo ſpeedily determined, never, perhaps, has the Devil had ſo cheap a bargain of man. In all likelihood the criminal thoughts of particular perſons, which are of no conſequence, have always coſt him more than that which was deciſive for the whole world; and it muſt be allowed that the two heads, to which God had intruſted the ſalvation of mankind, preſerved it ſo ill, that nothing could be worſe: they ſurrendred the fort to the enemy, almoſt without a blow; and inſtead of fighting for ſo precious a depoſit, as ſtoutly as ſinful man fights for his Religion and his Country, *pro aris & focis*, they made leſs reſiſtance than a child from whom his play-thing is going to be taken. They acted as if a pin had only been at ſtake: *ſic erat in fatis*. However, let us by no means imagine, either that Moſes has abridged this narration too much, or that, according to the genius of the Orientals, he conceals the fatal event under the vail of certain fables. This would be expoſing the intereſt of our fundamental Verities too much; and after all, the great innocence of Eve, and her want of experience in all things, ought to leſſen our admiration at her ſhort and feeble reſiſtance. There is nothing ſo proper to prevent being impoſed upon, as the being exceſſively wicked and deceitful one's ſelf. People of probity are the moſt eaſily taken in the ſnare.

Incapables de tromper,
Ils ont peine à s'échaper
Des pieges de l'artifice.
Un cœur franc ne ſauroit ſoupçonner en autrui
La fourberie & la malice,
Qu'il ne ſent point en lui.

" Incapable of fraud, they hardly ſcape
" The ſnares of artful and deſigning men.
" The heart from guile exempt cannot ſuſpect
" Malice in others, in itſelf unfelt."

It was a victory, therefore, infinitely more uſeful than glorious, which the Devil won over the firſt of women; and we might almoſt addreſs him, and the ſerpent who was his ſecond, in the following words:

Egregiam vero laudem & ſpolia ampla refertis,
Tuque puerque tuus, magnum & memorabile nomen,
Una dolo divum ſi fœmina victa duorum eſt (16).

(16) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 4. ver. 93.

" A mighty triumph this, high honours won
" By your atchievement and your hopeful ſon!
" Two potent Gods one woman hath undone!"
Mr. Sherburn.

For what a modern Author urges, that the good Angels would not have ſuffered ſo unequal a match between a Dæmon thoroughly experienced in buſineſs, and a woman who had juſt been created, and had never ſeen the riſing or ſetting of the ſun, deſerves no other anſwer, than that ſuch an argument, by proving too much, proves too little. *Quod ſi hoc totum*, ſays he (17), *ab inſcitia & imbecillitate mulieris proveniſſe dixeris, æquum utique fuiſſet ignavæ & imbecilli fœminæ ſuccurriſſe ex altera parte bonos Angelos. Æqui ſpectatores rerum humanarum haud tuliſſent tam imparem congreſſum. Quid enim, ſi dolo mali Dæmonis multiſcii & in rebus verſatiſſimi victa fuerit imbellis fœmina, quæ ſolem nondum orientem vel occidentem viderat recens in lucem edita, & rerum omnium inexperta? Meruit certè tam charum caput quod annexam ſibi tenuit humani generis ſalutem, meruit, inquam, cuſtodiam angelicam.* i. e. " Again, if you " ſay that all this proceeded from the ignorance and " weakneſs of a woman, it would, on the other ſide, " have been but juſt that ſome good Angels ſhould have " honoured a poor ignorant weak woman; thoſe juſt " guardians of human affairs would not have permit- " ted ſo unequal a conflict: for what if an evil ſpirit, " crafty and knowing in buſineſs, had by his ſubtlety " over-reached a ſilly woman, who had not as yet " ſeen the ſun either riſe or ſet, who was but newly " come out of the mould, and wholly unexperienced " in all things? Certainly a perſon who had ſo great a " price ſet on her head, as the ſalvation of all man- " kind, might well have deſerved a guard of Angels."

(17) Burnet. *Archæol.* pag. 441. edit. Amſtelod. 1694.

[*B*] *Adam knew her not till after they had been driven out of the garden of Eden.*] None but thoſe who ſhew greater regard to their own imaginations than the authority of Scripture, will deny that Adam and Eve left that Garden before they had carnal knowledge of each other; and Cornelius à Lapide (18) unjuſtly charges the Proteſtants with denying it. I. I ſend thoſe, therefore, to the land of Fables, who ſay that Cain was conceived in the terreſtrial Paradiſe, and that Eve was no ſooner formed, than ſhe loſt her virginity; Adam not having delayed to enjoy her, ſo ſoon as ever he ſaw her. The Author of the Sibylline Verſes maintains that as the exemption from all ſhame was one of the privileges of innocence, man in that ſtate exerciſed the duty of marriage in the ſight of the ſun, and as freely as the brutes (19); but he is an Apocryphal Author, and abſolutely unworthy of credit. The Rabbins, who have had the impudence to give out (20) that the Serpent fell in love with Eve, ſeeing her in the act with her huſband, and on that ſight formed the black deſign of ſeducing them, are more intolerable than the pretended Sibyl, and thoſe other Rabbins, who ſay that Adam was aſleep while Eve diſcourſed with the ſerpent (21), and that he was fallen aſleep to refreſh himſelf after his conjugal toils. Theſe latter Rabbins, however, are very extravagant. We ſhall meet with ſome others in the following Remark, who, tho' they be guilty of ſome idle imaginations, yet confirm the fact which we here maintain with a Father of the Church (22); *viz.* that Adam did not think of celebrating his nuptials till he went out of paradiſe: *Nuptiæ terram replent, virginitas paradiſum* (23). i. e. " The world is a ſtate of matrimony, but paradiſe of " virginity." II. Let us avoid alſo the oppoſite extreme. There are ſome who have pretended that Adam deferred the conſummation of his marriage fifteen years, or even thirty. Others carry the matter yet farther, and maintain that Adam and Eve by mutual conſent, and to bewail their ſin, preſerved their continency for an hundred years. The reaſons which refute this are very good, whether they be taken from the want the world then was in of being peopled, and the commiſſion they had received from God on that head; or whether they be taken from the diſpoſitions in which their age, the conſtitution of their bodies, and the firſt fires of concupiſcence muſt have put them. *Probabiliter cenſet Torniellus in Annal. Cain genitum eſſe mox poſt expulſionem Adæ & Evæ ex Paradiſo, ſcilicet primo anno Mundi & Adæ, tum quia Adam & Eva creati ſunt in ſtatura perfecta & habili ad generandum, tum quia poſt peccatum mox acres libidinis & copulæ ſtimulos ſenſerunt, tum quia ipſi erant ſoli in Mundo, & per eos Deus volebat ſtatim propagari & multiplicari toto orbe genus humanum* (24). III. Thoſe who ſay that Adam had no part in that continence of ſeveral years, are dotards who deſerve not to be heard. They (25) ſuppoſe he continued excommunicated 150 years, for having eaten of the forbidden fruit, and that during that time he lived with a wife who had been formed, like himſelf, out of the earth, and whom they name Lilia. They add that he begat Devils by his commerce with that woman, and that at length, when his excommunication was taken off, he married Eve, who had proceeded out of his head, and begat men. This relation is more confuſed than what we find in other Books (26), *viz.* that Adam, deſiring to do penance, kept himſelf at a diſtance from Eve for 130 years, and cohabited with another woman named Lilitha, on whom he begat none but Dæmons. This fruit was worthy ſo irregular a penance. But, on the other hand, Epiphanius mentions a ſect of Heretics (27), who ſaid that the Devil had had to do with Eve, as a huſband with his wife, and had Cain and Abel by her. See below, Remark [*G*]. Here are compenſations: Adam quits Eve to beget Devils on

(18) In Geneſ. iv. 1. *See* Heidegger, *Hiſt. Patriarchar.* tom. 1. pag. 168.

(19) Καὶ ὡς θῆρες δὴ βίοτον ἀπὸ σκοπιῆσι. *Luce palam vulgo coëuntes more ferarum*, lib. 1. pag. 45. edit. Gallæi.

(20) *Apud* Rivinum, *Serp. Seduct.* pag. 27.

(21) *Apud eundem*, pag. 77, 78.

(22) Hieronymus, lib. 1. *in Jovin.*

(23) See the following Remark.

(24) Corn. à Lapide *in Geneſ.* cap. 4. ver. 1.

(25) *Apud* Saint Romuald, *Abrégé du Threſor Chronolog.* tom. 1. pag. m. 35.

(26) *See* Heidegger, *Hiſtor. Patriarchar.* tom. 1. pag. 168.

(27) Epiph. *Hæreſ.* 40.

innocence [C]. They had ſeveral children, of whom Cain was the firſt, and Abel the ſecond: as to Seth, he did not come into the world till after Abel had been killed by Cain. All this is not to be doubted, ſince the Word of God ſays it; but as it goes no farther, we are at liberty to paſs ſuch judgment as we ſhall think fit on the other particulars which have been related of Eve. For example, that ſhe lay-in every year (d), and every time of a boy and a girl [D], or even of a greater number of each ſex; and that

(d) *See* Genebrard's Chronicle.

on another woman, and the Devil goes and finds out Eve, to beget men on her. IV. But what ought principally to be condemned, is the profane and impious error of thoſe who ſay that the tree of knowledge of good and evil was nothing elſe but the pleaſure of love: whence they conclude that the fall of our firſt parents was only, on the woman's part, the deſire of loſing her virginity, and, on the man's part, the accompliſhment of that deſire. Cornelius Agrippa is not the firſt who has vented this piece of impertinence: the Cathari, the Manicheans, the Priſcillianiſts, and the Baſilidians, had advanced it long before (28); and it appears from the Book of the Count de Gabalis that it is one of the Doctrines of the Cabala, and that the Initiated and Adepts explain the ſtory of the temptation in no other manner. *The wiſe man eaſily unfolds theſe chaſte figures*, ſays that Author; *when he ſees that the taſte and the mouth of Eve are not puniſhed, and that ſhe is delivered with pain, he knows that it is not the taſte which is criminal: and diſcovering what the firſt ſin was by the care which the firſt ſinners took to hide certain parts of their bodies with leaves, he concludes that God did not deſign men ſhould be multiplied that filthy way.* Robert Flud, therefore, was far from departing from this abſurd opinion (29). *Graviter erravit Cornelius Agrippa* in declamat. de Orig. peccati & *Robertus Flud, ſub nomine anagrammatiſato Rudolphi Otreb,* in tract. Theologico-Philoſophico, de vita, morte, & reſurrectione, lib. 2. cap. 2. & 3. *dum tradunt, primum & originale peccatum aliud nihil fuiſſe, quàm copulam carnalem viri mulieriſque, & nullum alium Dæmonem Evam tentaſſe arbitrantur, quàm illum de quo ait Job, cujus virtus eſt in lumbis & in umbilico poteſtas. A quâ etiam opinione non plane alienus videtur Philo Judæus* de opific. mund. fol. 26. & ſeqq. (30). i. e. "Cornelius Agrippa, *in his Declamation on the Original of ſin*, and Robert Flud, under the anagrammatized name of Rudolphus Otreb, *in his Theologico Philoſophical Treatiſe on life, death, and reſurrection*, have been guilty of a grievous error, in aſſerting that the firſt and original ſin was no other than the carnal commerce between the man and the woman, and fancying that no other Devil tempted Eve, than he of whom Job ſays, whoſe ſtrength is in his loins, and his force in the navel of his belly. From which opinion alſo Philo Judæus ſeems not much to differ." Though it ſhould be granted that there is ſomething figurative in Moſes's account, it would nevertheleſs be certain that we ought to take it literally with regard to the order of time. Now it is inconteſtable that the firſt congreſs of Adam and Eve is related in Scripture as poſterior to the ſentence which God pronounced on their crime. Reyſſenius has ſolidly refuted the Fable of theſe Libertines (31). Here are four falſities with regard to one ſingle point.

[C] .... *This is no proof .... that it was incompatible with the ſtate of innocence.*] Several of the ancient Fathers, too much prejudiced in favour of the preeminencies of virginity, have pretended (32) that if man had perſevered in innocence, he would not have entered into the commerce of marriage, and that the multiplication of mankind would have been effected in quite another manner; but St. Auguſtin has maintained the contrary by very ſtrong reaſons (33): for, in ſhort, the bleſſing of God, the command to multiply, and the difference of the ſexes, are things which preceded the fall; and it would be abſurd to ſay that ſin was abſolutely neceſſary, that human generations might furniſh God with the number of his elect (34). It is true, St. Auguſtin grants that in the ſtate of innocence generation would have been performed without any mixture of paſſion, and without the loſs of virginity, and that the natural parts would have been intirely ſubject to reaſon; ſo that, according to him, the rebellion of thoſe parts was the next and moſt immediate conſequence of the diſobedience of our firſt parents, as appeared from the ſhame which preſently ſeized them and obliged them to make themſelves aprons. *Voluntati membra illa* (in Paradiſo) *ut cætera cuncta ſervirent. Ita genitale arvum vas in hoc opus creatum ſeminaret, ut nunc terram manus* (35). *Seminaret igitur prolem vir, ſuſciperet fœmina genitalibus membris quando id opus eſſet, & quantum opus eſſet, voluntate motis, non libidine concitatis* (36). *Ita tunc potuiſſe utero conjugis ſalva integritate fœminei genitalis virile ſemen immitti, ſicut nunc poteſt eadem integritate ſalva ex utero virginis fluxus menſtrui cruoris emitti* (37). It ſeems that certain Rabbins have attributed this to a natural quality of the forbidden fruit: the mechanic principles of the new Philoſophy would eaſily furniſh them with arguments to defend their opinion. Theſe Doctors add (38) that the knowledge, which the tempter promiſed to our firſt parents by the means of that fruit, was that they ſhould have a deſire to couple, the only thing wherein their knowledge was defective (39). The tree was to open their eyes in this manner: Adam was to perceive the beauty of his wife, which he took no notice of, being too much taken up with intellectual things, and they were both to conſider the parts deſigned for the functions of marriage. In conſequence whereof they were to produce other men, and to become like unto God in the power of producing new beings. Can a bolder impiety be ſeen than what is to be found in Abarbanel (40); that God, out of jealouſy to man, and that himſelf might be the ſole producer, forbade him to eat of the tree which communicated the power of generation? The Rabbins apply to this the proverb *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro*; and there are ſome who maintain (41) that Adam did well in eating of the forbidden fruit, becauſe without that man would have been like a brute beaſt, not diſcerning good and evil, and would have had no privilege above the beaſts, except only that of ſpeech. The learned Maimonides has refuted this extravagance. Thoſe people ſeem to have believed that the machine of Adam and Eve were of ſuch a conſtruction, that it wanted the ſpirituous parts of the forbidden fruit to open certain obſtructions, without which they would have always been inſenſible and impotent, like thoſe mentioned in the title *de frigidis & maleficiatis*.

[D] *It is ſaid that ſhe lay in .... every time of a boy and a girl.*] Some have thought that Cain and Abel were twins; but the contrary may eaſily be proved from the narration of Moſes. Neither is it the more common opinion. They chuſe rather to ſuppoſe that a ſon and a daughter were born at each birth, and then they ſuppoſe that ſhe who was born with Cain married Abel, and that ſhe who was born with Abel married Cain, and ſo of the reſt (42). They pretend by this means to extenuate the inceſt as much as poſſible. But it was not neceſſary for that or any other reaſon that the twins ſhould be of different ſexes; for if Eve had lain in the firſt time of two boys, and the ſecond time of two girls, they might have married as well and with as little inceſt as on the other ſuppoſition. However it be, the moſt common opinion is, that a ſon and a daughter were born together, and they have even undertaken to tell us the names of the daughters. Cains's-twin-ſiſter was named Calmana (43), or Caimana (44), or Debora (45), or Azrum (46): that of Abel was named Delbora (47), or Awina (48). St. Epiphanius, in his XXXIXth Hereſy, mentions Azura and Sava as two daughters of Adam (49), and ſays that Sava was the wife of Cain. Cedrenus and ſome others give the name of Aſua to Adam's eldeſt daughter, and make her the wife of Cain. According to Toſtatus it was very true that the Rabbins gave Cain his twin-ſiſter for wife; but her name was Calmana. See the Remark [F] of the Article ABEL. They who have ventured to affirm theſe kinds of particularities, deſerv'd, for the puniſhment of their raſh credulity, to fall into yet greater variations than thoſe which we obſerve in

(28) *See* Hadrian. Beverland. *de Peccato Originali*, pag. 44, 45.

(29) Jacobus Mollerus, *in Tractatu de Hermaphroditis*, cap. 6. pag. 176.

(30) See in the Remark [I] what will be quoted from *Leo Hebræus*.

(31) In *juſta Deteſtatione ſcelerati Libelli Adr. Beverlandi.* See alſo *Polygam. triumphat.* pag. 233, & *ſeq. Saldeni Otia Theolog.* pag. 595, & *ſeq.*

(32) *Vide* Salianum, tom. 1. pag. 174.

(33) Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 21, & *ſeq.*

(34) Idem, ibid. cap. 23.

(35) Idem, ibid.

(36) Idem, ibid. cap. 24.

(37) Idem, ibid. cap. 26.

(38) *Apud* Rivinum, pag. 127, & *ſeq.*

(39) *Unicam rem ignoravit, coïtum nempe.* Aben Eſra, *apud* Rivin. pag. 127.

(40) *Apud* Rivinum, pag. 129.

(41) *Apud eundem*, pag. 126.

(42) *See* Heidegg. *Hiſtor. Patriarch.* tom. 1. pag. 169, 198.

(43) Corn. à Lapide, *in Geneſ.* pag. 95.

(44) Comeſtor, *apud* Salian. pag. 178.

(45) Methodius, *apud* Raderum, *Not. in Chron. Alexandr.* citante *Saliano*, pag. 175.

(46) Saidus Patricides, *apud* Heidegg. tom. 1. pag. 169.

(47) A Lapide, *in Geneſim*, pag. 95.

48) Saidus Patricides, *apud* Heidegg. tom. 1. pag. 169.

(49) *Vide* Heidegg. ibid. *and* Salian. pag. 183.

that ſhe lived 940 years (*e*) [*E*]. There is nothing improbable ſo far; but what I am going to ſay ſavours ſtrongly of romance and monkiſh invention, viz. that ſhe inſtituted a Religious Order of certain young women who were to continue virgins, and *to preſerve unextinguiſhed the fire* which had fallen from heaven on Abel's victim, and which was called *Veſta*, or *the flame of God* (*f*). Hence came the Origin of the Veſtal Virgins according to this fine ſtory. We ſhall ſee elſewhere that the ſame has been referred to Noah's wife. It is alſo a moſt groſs fable to ſay, as ſome have done (*g*), that Eve cut off a branch of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and made a ſwinging cudgel of it with which ſhe forced her huſband to eat of the fruit of that tree. Moreover, it is quite a prophane thought to ſay, as others have done (*h*), that Eve was herſelf the tree of knowledge of good and evil, whoſe fruit was forbidden (*i*). As to thoſe who believe that if ſhe had not taſted that fruit, there would never have been any love between the two ſexes [*F*], but only friendſhip; their opinion can neither be ſolidly refuted, nor ſupported by good proofs.

(*e*) Salianus, *Ann.* tom. 1. pag. 231.

(*f*) Saint Romuald, *Abrégé du Tréſor Chronologique*, at the year of the World 99.

(*g*) *Apud* Salden. *Otia Theol.* pag. 607.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) See the Remark [*B*].

Beſides in them. A confuſion of tongues ought to be the lot of too audacious enterprizes; but what extreme boldneſs is it to pretend to penetrate beyond the deluge, and even to the firſt origin of things, without the aſſiſtance of the only Hiſtorian we have remaining? We might ſooner build the tower of Babel, than find out the names of Adam's daughters at ſuch a diſtance of time. We ought in that particular, and in ſeveral others, to ſtick ſolely to the Text of Moſes; and ſeek for thoſe things only which might be learned from the inſpired Writers. They alone knew things truly; the reſt was all fable. We ſhould ſay to them, as the Poets of old did to the Muſes, *It belongs to you, who know theſe things, to teach us:*

Et meminiſtis enim divæ, & memorare poteſtis,
Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura (50).
That is,
" For ye well know, and can record alone
" What Fame to future times conveys but darkly
" down." Dryden.

(50) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 7. ver. 645, in imitation of this paſſage of Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 2. ver. 485.
Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστὲ παρίστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα,
Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.
Vos enim deæ eſtis, adeſtisque ſcitiſque omnia,
Nos autem famam ſolum audimus neque quicquam ſcimus.

We refute in the Article of CAIN thoſe who ſay that Eve had had but two children when Abel was murdered.

[*E*] . . . . *and that ſhe lived nine hundred and forty years.*] If you require witneſſes, they will produce you three, Marianus Victor, Genebrard, and Feuardent (51): but a hundred thouſand ſuch as theſe are incapable of leſſening the uncertainty of ſuch a fact. Beſides, I meet with ſome Authors (52) who think it deſerves notice that Eve ſhould live ten years longer than Adam, notwithſtanding ſuch frequent breeding and lyings-in, notwithſtanding the perpetual dominion of her huſband, the death of Abel, the Schiſm of the Cainites, and her continual ſorrow for her ſin. They are in the wrong to crowd into this Liſt Adam's authority over his wife; for unleſs they take him for an ill huſband, that authority cannot be ſuppoſed to contribute to the ſhortening of Eve's life. However it be, they muſt give this firſt woman the beſt conſtitution in the world; for they pretend that ſince her huſband could live nine hundred and thirty years, and communicate to his ſons for ſeveral generations the principles of ſo long a life (which is no leſs applicable to Eve than to him) he muſt needs have been of a very vigorous conſtitution. His long penance, ſay they, and grief for having loſt ſo much happineſs, with reſpect both to himſelf, and to his poſterity, perhaps weakened his conſtitution; but it is not known that he was ever ſick. Turn the thing as you will, it will always be an argument from the greater to the leſs, to ſhew that Eve's body was better conſtituted than that of her huſband. *Quantum porro fuerit Adami robur, quæ firmitas laterum, quis nervorum vigor, quis contextus muſculorum docet nongentorum & triginta annorum ætas, nullo quod ſciatur languore debilitata, eademque in multorum ſæculorum poſteros propagata, etſi fortaſſis illam totius corporis firmitatem nonnihil tam diuturna pœnitentia, tam multiplex triſtitia, de tot tantiſque bonis ſibi ſuiſque amiſſis, afflixerit* (53).

(51) Salian. tom. 1. pag. 231.

(52) Idem, ibid.

(53) Idem, ibid. pag. 109.

[*F*] *Some think that if ſhe had not taſted the forbidden fruit, there would never have been any love between the two ſexes.*] I have quoted (54) the words of St. Auguſtine, which clearly teſtify that according to him Fathers would have produced children with the ſame tranquillity that our huſbandmen feel when they ſow their ground. It might be objected to him that the brutes remain in the ſtate of their creation, and yet they are incited to multiply their ſpecies with incredible ardour.

Inde feræ pecudes perſultant pabula læta,
Et rapidos tranant amnes (55).
That is,
" Hence beaſts forget their rage, and entertain
" A ſofter fury, thro' the flow'ry plain;
" Thro' rapid ſtreams they ſwim, &c."
Creech.

(55) Lucret. lib. 1. ver. 14.

What they call *libido*, and whatever can be conceived of the greateſt impurity and moſt violent eagerneſs under that term, is manifeſtly ſeen among brutes when the fire of love ſtimulates them: yet they have done nothing to deſpoil them of their natural ſtate. It ſeems, therefore, that thoſe impetuous motions, accompanied with pleaſure, and yet ſubject to reaſon, have nothing incompatible with the ſtate of innocence. St. Auguſtin would not have failed to intrench himſelf behind the eſſential differences which are found between a reaſonable creature, made in the image of God, and brute beaſts; and it would be very hard to beat him out of ſuch intrenchments. Wherefore let us leave him there undiſturbed, and content ourſelves with ſaying, that ſince man after his fall became conſequently unable to pay exact obedience to the light of reaſon, nothing was more neceſſary than to introduce love into the world; for it is inconceivable how mankind could have ſubſiſted without it. The paſſions, with regard to the natural good of ſocieties, are the ſame thing as repentance with regard to celeſtial good, a plank after a ſhipwreck: and ſince reaſon was to become ſo weak, recourſe could not be had to a better ſhift than that of the paſſions, among which love is without diſpute the principal, and in ſome manner the ſoul of the world. See what Lucretius ſays of it, in the ſequel of the verſes quoted above:

Ita capta lepore
. . . . . .
Te ſequitur cupidè, quò quamque inducere pergis.
Denique per maria, ac montes, fluvioſque rapaces,
Frondiferaſque domos avium, campoſque virentes,
Omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem
Efficis, ut cupidè generatim ſæcla propagent.
Quæ quoniam rerum naturam ſola gubernas,
Nec ſine te quidquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit lætum, neque amabile quidquam;
Te ſociam ſtudeo ſcribundis verſibus eſſe,
Quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor (56).
That is,
" Whole nature yields to thy ſoft charms; the ways
" Thou lead'ſt, ſhe following eagerly obeys:
" Acted by principles Thou doſt infuſe,
" Each bird and beaſt endeavours to produce
" His kind, and the decaying world renews.
" Thee, nature's pow'rful Ruler, without whom
" Nothing that's lovely, nothing gay, can come
" From darkſome Chaos' deep and ugly womb;
" Thee, now I ſing of Nature, I muſt chuſe
" A Patron to my verſe; be Thou my Muſe."
Creech.

(56) Lucret. ibid. ver. 15, & ſeq.

(54) In the Remark [*C*], Citation (35). *See the* Maſter of the Sentences, *in* 19 *diſtinct. ſecund.* and other Authors, *apud* Caſp. à Reyes, *Elyſ. jucund. Quæſt. Campo*, Quæſt. 42. num. 2.

See what has been ſaid on the uſefulneſs of the paſſions and prejudices by the Critic on Maimbourg, in the ſecond volume of his *Nouvelles Lettres*, from page 499, to page 572. See alſo the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the month of September 1686, Article I, page 989.

Beſides the preceding, I ſhall mention two or three extravagant fancies of the Rabbins. Some of them ſay that Eve was formed out of her huſband's tail. They pretend (*k*) that God, having at firſt ſet a tail to Adam's body, perceived afterwards that it diminiſhed the beauty of his Workmanſhip, and therefore he reſolved to cut it off; however he made uſe of it to produce the woman which he gave to the firſt man (*l*). This woman, ſay they, was ſo beautiful that the Prince of all the Angels became violently in love with her (*m*) [*G*]; which occaſioned his falling from his ſtate of innocence. She alone could quench the amorous ardour of Adam: he had in vain tried every other way [*H*]; and this made him ſay, *This is now bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh* (*n*). So madly are they bent, not only to utter abominable imaginations, but alſo to ground them on Scripture by the moſt abſurd method of interpretation that can be. The whimſies of a Jewiſh Author who lived in the ſixteenth Century, and is commonly called Leo the Hebrew (*o*), are not much more ſolid. He pretends (*p*) that the man whom God formed on the ſixth day of the Creation was at the ſame time both male and female; and that this man, having made a review of the terreſtrial animals and birds, without finding any one whoſe company and help might be agreeable and proper for him, was caſt into a profound ſleep, that being divided in two, he might be taken out of the ſolitude wherein God did not think good to leave him. After this diviſion, the woman, who before had no particular name, was called Eve. The Author reconciles his Hypotheſis, in the beſt manner he can, with the Androgynes of Plato (*q*), and imagines that Man would never have ſinned, if the two ſexes which were at the beginning united in the ſingle perſon of Adam, had not been ſeparated [*I*]. He pretends alſo that in each ſex there was a maſculine part,

(*k*) *See* Bartolocci's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, tom. 1. pag. 69.

(*l*) Ibid. tom. 3. pag. 396.

(*m*) Ibid. tom. 1. pag. 322.

(*n*) Geneſ. ii. 23.

(*o*) He was ſon of the Rabbi *Abrabanel*. See above the Remark [*I*] of the Article ABRABANEL.

(*p*) Leon Hebreu, *Philoſophie d'Amour*, Dialogue III. pag. m. 612, 613.

(*q*) See above the Remark [*F*] of the Article ADAM.

[*G*] *The Rabbins ſay . . . . that the Prince of all the Angels fell violently in love with her.*] They call him Samael, and make him the father of Cain, who, according to their whimſical imaginations, was Abel's brother by the mother only: on which occaſion they allow of what the Phyſicians call *ſuperfœtation*. Read this Latin: *Ingreditur ad Evam* (nempe Samael) *equitans ſuper ſerpentem, & gravidavit eam Caino; deinde aſcendit Adam, & fœcundavit eam Abele* (57). i. e. "Samael went in unto Eve riding on a ſerpent, and "got her with child of Cain; then Adam took his "turn, and begot on her Abel." Father Bartolocci adds, that they ſuppoſe all the people in the world, except the Jews, owe their origin to the like adulteries of Adam's wife. *Non* Samael *ſolum cognovit Evam, ſed & ſerpens ipſe antiquus cum Eva coivit, ex cujus ſemine omnes mundi nationes (Judæis exceptis) provenire dicunt* (58). i. e. "Not only Samael knew Eve, but the "old ſerpent himſelf alſo lay with her, from whoſe "ſeed they ſay all the nations of the earth (the Jews "excepted) are derived." They likewiſe make her the mother of ſeveral Dæmons. *Adamum intra ſpatium centum triginta annorum Dæmones procreaſſe ex Lilith . . . . Evam autem Dæmonum concubitum per idem tempus appetiiſſe, ex qua Dæmones nati ſunt, volunt* (59). i. e. "They pretend that Adam during the "ſpace of 130 years begot Dæmons on Lilith. . . And "that Eve, during the ſame time, lay with Dæmons, "and brought forth Dæmons." The ſtrangeſt of all is, that they ground all theſe chimæra's on the words of Scripture, which they pervert and ſophiſticate in a wretched manner.

(57) Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* tom. 1. pag. 291, tranſlating a paſſage of the *Jalkut*, Sect. *Bereſcith*, pag. 26.

(58) Idem, ibid.

(59) Idem, ibid. pag. 222.

[*H*] *She alone could quench the amorous ardour of Adam: he had in vain tried every other way.*] Let us here make uſe of the words of an Italian Monk (60). "What wonder is it, *ſays he*, if they ſay theſe things" (viz. 1, that Adam knew Eve the very day he was created: 2, that ſhe conceived four children, Cain, Abel, and two daughters: 3, that they made haſte to conſummate their marriage, becauſe their conduct in that reſpect was to be a leſſon and example to all the brute creation, to ſet about the multiplication of individuals: 4, that no creature performed that function before man (61):) "which are of leſs conſequence, "when they ſhameleſly aſſert of our firſt parent that "before the formation of Eve he tried every method "to ſatisfy his luſt, but was not able to do it till he "carnally knew her." Read his Latin, which expreſſes this in a plainer manner. *Quid mirum ſi hæc dicant quæ minora æſtimantur, cum de protoparente Adamo ita ſiniſtre ſentiant, ut etiam ipſum nefariæ incontinentiæ, quod referre pudet, inſimulent? In Ialkut tom. I. n. 24. ante Evæ formationem omnia jumenta, feraſque campi, carnaliter cognoviſſe aiunt his verbis* . . . dixit R. Eleazar, quid ſibi vult, hac vice? (*Vulg. hoc nunc*) Gen. ii. 23. ad docendum, quòd ingreſſus fuerat Adam ſuper omne jumentum & feram, neque refrigerata eſt illius concupiſcentia, quoſque copulata eſt ei Eva. Father Bartolocci obſerves that there are ſome modern Rabbins, who ſay that this is to be underſtood in a metaphorical ſenſe; but he maintains the contrary, ſince the laſt words, *quouſque copulata eſt ei Eva*, are to be taken in the literal ſenſe, and the Rabbi's thought is ſo clear, that it is ſurprizing ſome Chriſtian Authors ſhould have endeavoured to ſtrain it to an allegorical meaning. Solomon Jarchi (62), continues he, underſtood it literally.

(60) Idem, ibid. pag. 75, 76.

(61) *Non coivit aliqua creaturarum ante primum hominem.* Bartolocci, ibid. pag. 75.

(62) *In Poſtilla Geneſ.* ad hunc locum.

[*I*] *Leo Hebræus . . . imagines that man would never have ſinned, if the two ſexes . . . had not been ſeparated.*] Leo ſuppoſes that the ſerpent could not deceive the woman while ſhe was joined to the man, nor deceive the man and the woman jointly (63). So that the power of ſin was a conſequence of the diviſion of the two ſexes; a diviſion which God had made for good ends, that is, that each of the two ſexes might help the other in the work of generation. Let us ſay ſomething of the allegories which this Writer adds hereto. He pretends (64) that every man, and every woman, is compoſed of a maſculine part and a feminine part. The underſtanding is the maſculine part, and the matter, or body, is the feminine. Between theſe two parts there was at the beginning a very good underſtanding: *The ſenſual feminine Corporeity was obedient and ſubſervient to the Intellect and maſculine Reaſon; ſo that there was no diverſity in man, and life was altogether intellectual* (65). The prohibition to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil ſignified that Adam was not to turn aſide his intellect towards *acts of ſenſuality* (66), or towards the acquiſition of uſeful things: for ſenſual, corporeal, and corruptible objects make the intellect which is too much addicted thereto, material and corruptible, *that is, ſubject to puniſhment and condemnation* (67). However, adds this Jewiſh Doctor, *the Deity did not permit* the obedience *of the corporeal feminine part to the intellectual maſculine part*, to be conſtant. God foreſaw that the union of thoſe two parts would make the eſſence of man more and more immortal and perfect, but that, on the other hand, it would be very prejudicial to *the corporeal and feminine part*, as well with regard to the individual, as with regard to the propagation of human ſpecies: for 1, *When the Intellect is inflamed with the knowledge and love of eternal and divine things, it abandons the care of the body, and lets it die before its time.* 2, *Thoſe who are ardently engaged in intellectual contemplations, deſpiſe corporeal love, and fly the laſcivious act of generation; ſo that this intellectual perfection would occaſion the loſs of the human ſpecies.* For which reaſon God determined to *put ſome moderate diviſion between the feminine ſenſual part, and the maſculine intellectuul part*, to the end that (68) *Senſuality* might draw *the Intellect to certain corporeal deſires and acts, neceſſary for the corporeal ſupport of the individual, and for the ſucceſſion of the ſpe-*

(63) Leon Hebreu, *Philoſophie d'Amour*, Dial. III. pag. m. 616.

(64) Ibid. pag. 618.

(65) Ibid. pag. 619.

(66) Ibid. pag. 620.

(67) Ibid. pag. 621.

(68) Ibid. pag. 622.

part, and a fœminine part. The explications of this Writer are not very proper to juſtify Divine Providence with regard to the fall of Adam, and are not very different from the opinion of thoſe who imagine that the firſt ſin was an act of laſcivious love. See the Remark [*I*]. While we are condemning theſe unbelieving Doctors, let us not ſpare a Wit of the Romiſh Communion, by nation a Frenchman. He made a Sonnet which has been printed, and which, to ſay no worſe of it, is extremely profane [*K*]. It would

cies. And this is the meaning of the Text, when it ſays, It is not good that man ſhould be alone, let us make him an help before, *or overagainſt* him, *that is to ſay, that the ſenſual feminine part ſhould not be ſo perfectly obedient to the intellectual as never to make any reſiſtance, but ſhould draw it in ſome meaſure to corporeal things, for the help of the individual being, and of the ſpecies.* As to the ſleep which fell on Adam, during which God took from him a rib to form Eve out of, our Author pretends the meaning of it is (69) that *the primary intellectual watching, and the ardent contemplation* of Adam was interrupted, and that *the intellect began to incline to the corporeal part, as a huſband to his wife, and to have a moderate care of the ſupport thereof, as a part of itſelf, and of the ſucceſſion of its like, for the ſupport of the ſpecies: ſo that the diviſion between the maſculine moiety, and the feminine, was made for a good and neceſſary end: and afterwards followed the reſiſtance of the feminine matter, and the inclination of the maſculine intellect towards it, with an immoderate purſuit of corporeal neceſſity; and it was no longer tempered by Reaſon, as it ought to have been, and as the Creator intended; but the intellect yielding and ſubmitting to matter, by plunging itſelf too deeply in ſenſuality, the ſin of man followed thereupon. And this is what the Hiſtory denotes, when it ſays that the ſerpent deceived the woman, bidding her to eat of the forbidden tree of knowledge of good and evil: becauſe, when they ſhould eat of it, their eyes would open, and they would become like Gods, knowing good and evil. Which the woman ſeeing, and that the Tree was good for food, beautiful and delightful, and of deſirable knowledge, ſhe eat of the fruit, and made her huſband to eat of it with her, and then their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked: and they ſewed fig leaves together, and made themſelves aprons. The ſerpent is the carnal appetite, which firſt incites and deceives the corporeal feminine part, when he finds her any way divided from the intellect her huſband, and reſiſting his ſtrict laws, to the end that ſhe may ſink into the mire of carnal delights, and may be blinded by the acquiſition of ſuperfluous riches (which is the tree of knowledge of good and evil, for the two reaſons I have mentioned) ſhewing her that thereby their eyes will be opened; that is to ſay, that they will know many things of the like nature with thoſe which he ſhews them in the tree of good and evil, and which they knew not before: to wit, ſeveral wiles and particulars relating to laſciviouſneſs and avarice, which before they minded not. And he tells them, that they ſhould become like unto Gods in that reſpect, that is, in opulent generation: for as God is intelligent, and the heavens are the productive cauſes of creatures inferior to them, ſo Man, by means of continual carnal meditations, would at length procreate a numerous race. In this caſe the corporeal feminine part not only refuſed to be governed, as was juſt, by her intellectual huſband; but drew him into the mire of corporeal things, eating with him of the fruit of the forbidden tree: and immediately their eyes were opened; not their intellectual eyes, for theſe were rather cloſed, but thoſe of the corporeal fancy, regarding carnal and laſcivious acts: and yet they knew they were naked; that is, they knew the diſobedience of carnal acts to the intellect; and therefore they endeavoured to cover their genital parts, as ſhameful, and rebellious to reaſon and wiſdom.*

(69) Ibid. pag. 623.

Two things may be cenſured in this doctrine of Leo Hebræus. The firſt is, that he ſays plainly enough that the firſt ſin of Eve was an act of incontinence, from whence it follows that the fruit of the tree, which ſhe made her huſband eat, was nothing but her exciting him to enjoy her. In the ſecond place, this Author attributes to God a conduct moſt unworthy of the ſupreme perfection. He ſuppoſes that the joining of the two ſexes in the firſt man was a ſtate of immortality, and intellectual life, which excluded the unhappy power of ſinning, and yet that God ſoon overturned this ſtate, to remedy two inconveniences, *viz.* man's neglecting his body too much, and his abſtaining from the carnal acts whence generations flow. God foreſaw theſe two diſorders; wherefore he ſeparated what he had joined. Would it not have been better, might one ſay to this falſe Doctor, to have formed the two ſexes apart, than to unite them, and ſoon after to divide them? Was he obliged to make a piece of work, whoſe defects would require it to be immediately undone? And if God foreſaw theſe two conſequences of the conjunction, did he not likewiſe foreſee the conſequences of the ſeparation? Did he not foreſee that the two ſexes becoming ſubject to ſenſuality would be hurried into irregularities by the force of pleaſure? Were not theſe inconveniencies worſe than the other two, and did they not at leaſt require a remedy? Methinks this conduct reſembles that of thoſe Judges, who being unwilling either to ſet a priſoner formally at liberty, or to keep him in priſon, gratify him with the benefit of the *laxior cuſtodia*, or elſe underhand order the Jailor to furniſh him with opportunities to make his eſcape. The feminine part during its conjunction with the maſculine was under ſo good a guard that it could not deviate from its duty; it is let looſe therefore, and put into a condition of uſing and abuſing its liberty. What ſhould we think of a Phyſician, who ſhould employ the *Ure, Seca*, apply cauſtics, and make inciſions, to cure thoſe who were not ſufficiently addicted to ſenſual pleaſures, and who ſhould not cure thoſe who were too much addicted to them; who ſhould expel the contempt of wine, and leave drunkenneſs at quiet (70)? We muſt therefore reject the Hypotheſes of this Jewiſh Author as abominable.

(70) That is, who ſhould oppoſe it by palliating remedies only, which he knows, and foreſees would prove uſeleſs.

[*K*] *A Wit . . . made a prophane Sonnet.*] It is eaſy to perceive that I mean the famous Sonnet of Sarraſin, *Quand Adam vit cette jeune beauté.* The concluſion of it is not only too ſatyrical againſt the fair ſex, but profane even to impiety.

Cher Charleval, *alors en vérité,*
Je croy qu'il fut une femme fidelle;
Mais comme quoy ne l'auroit-elle eſté,
Elle n'avoit qu'un ſeul homme avec elle.
Or en cela nous nous trompons dous deux,
Car, bien qu'Adam fût jeune & vigoureux,
Bien fait de corps & d'eſprit agréable,
Elle aima mieux, pour s'en faire conter,
Preſter l'oreille aux fleurets du Diable,
Que d'eſtre femme & ne pas coqueter (71).

(71) Sarraſin, *Poeſies*, pag. 61. ed. Paris, 1658, in 12mo.

That is,

" Dear Charleval, then indeed I believe there was " one faithful wife: for how could ſhe be otherwiſe, " when ſhe had but one man with her? Yet herein " we are both miſtaken: for tho' Adam was young " and vigorous, well made in his perſon, and agree- " able in converſation, ſhe had rather give ear to the " courtſhip of the Devil himſelf than be a woman " and not play the coquet."

Jealousy is the chief reaſon which induces men to call all women Coquets.

One would think that Sarraſin wrote this in a violent fit of jealouſy, and when he had juſt heard that his miſtreſs had ſhewn great civility to ſome young ſparks who praiſed her; for this is one of the caprices of love. A man is never more diſpoſed to rail at women in general than when he knows that ſhe who loves him, and whom he loves, liſtens with pleaſure to the amorous diſcours of others; that ſhe voluntarily engages in a particular converſation, that ſhe is very merry where he is abſent, &c. He would have a woman, as ſoon as ever ſhe is engaged in an amour with him, to look down with contempt on all other men, to reject all their courtſhip with diſdain, and to become, with regard to them, ill humoured, rude, untractable, and brutiſh; and when he ſees quite the contrary, as frequently happens, he is provoked, and vents his paſſion with ſo little juſtice, that all the fair ſex muſt ſuffer for it. He inveighs againſt women in general: he accuſes them of being coquets eſſentially: and if he ſhould then be writing a Treatiſe of Logic, and

would be in vain for him to plead the privileges of Poetry; that would be a frivolous excuſe: the juſt licence of Poets does not extend ſo far; and how many caſes are there, where their maxims againſt Morality, and the Faith, may be lawfully condemned according to the judicial forms of the Inquiſition? See the Remark [*I*] of the Article GARASSE. Another Wit, an Italian by nation, and a noble Venetian, in a word, the celebrated Loredano, has deſerved cenſure for not having ſufficiently conſulted decency with regard to the honour of Eve; for he ſuppoſes that after ſhe had been driven out of Paradiſe with her huſband ſhe exhorted him to render her conjugal benevolence, in purſuance of the Order which God had given them to increaſe and multiply (*r*). *Decorum* required that Adam ſhould be ſuppoſed to make the firſt advance. There are ſome other things to be blamed in Loredano [*L*]. A German Writer has been infinitely more favourable to the firſt of women: he thinks the ſin of Adam was greater than that of Eve, and that

(*r*) See the Remark [*L*].

come to the chapter of Univerſals, he would aſſign Coquetry for the *proprium quarto modo* of the female ſex, for that property *quæ convenit omni, ſoli, & ſemper ſubjecto, & cum eo reciprocatur*. He would be very far from this injuſtice were he not in love; for he would ſee nothing to be condemned in the pleaſure they take to be flattered and courted, and in their civil and courteous manner of anſwering a compliment. Nay, he is not ſo unjuſt when he is deeply in love, and his miſtreſs is a coquet only to him; it is jealouſy, therefore, which makes him rail thus, and incites him to aſperſe, not only his unfaithful, or pretended unfaithful, miſtreſs, but all women in general, as if coquettry was inſeparable from them. What can be more fantaſtical and blind than the caprice of theſe jealous gallants? They cannot even endure that their miſtreſs ſhould ſhew any complaiſance which betrays fondneſs to their huſbands. Here is one of their complaints on this head.

Je penſerois n'être pas malheureux,
Si la beauté dont je ſuis amoureux
Pouvoit enfin ſe tenir ſatisfaite,
De mille amans avec un favori:
Mais j'enrage que la coquette
Aime encor juſqu'à ſon mari (72).

That is,

(72) Buſſi Rabutin, *Hiſtoire amoureuſe des Gaules.*

" I ſhould not think my ſelf unhappy, if the beauty
" whom I adore would be ſatisfied with a thouſand
" lovers, and a favourite beſides: but I loſe all pati-
" ence to find the coquet loves her very huſband."

[*L*] *There are ſome other things to be blamed in Loredano.*] I conſider here only his work intitled *The Life of Adam*: it is a Book which has been tranſlated from Italian into French; and this Tranſlation, *done from an eighth edition printed at Venice by Valvaſenſe* (73), was publiſhed at Paris in the year 1695 †, and ſoon after reprinted at Amſterdam. You may ſee in the *Mercure Galant* for the month of December in the ſame year a very good Critique on that Writing (74). Mr. Baſnage de Beauval has wittily criticized it in his month of March 1696 (75). One cannot ſpeak worſe of ſuch a Book than it deſerves, nor forgive the Author the liberty he has taken to introduce in a ſubject of this kind ſo many romantic inventions, ſo oppoſite to gravity, and ſo fit for a comic Hiſtory. Let us conſider only ſome of the thoughts which relate to Eve. The Author aſſerts (76) that *it was an effect of God's goodneſs towards Adam, to ſuffer him to ſleep at that time* (77), *well knowing that in a little time he would loſe his reſt in his wife's company.... Adam being indued with the ſpirit of Prophecy*, continues he, *might foreſee the evils which the production of Eve would cauſe to all mankind; ſo that God perhaps caſt him into that ſleep leſt he ſhould oppoſe the creation of his wife.... Does it not ſeem that God, by creating no more than one wife for Adam, gave men to underſtand that they ought to be contented with ſingle marriage? but perhaps he did it for another reaſon: namely, becauſe he would not multiply his troubles, by giving him many wives, there being commonly nothing more capable of exerciſing a man's patience, and diſturbing his quiet, than the cares of matrimony* (78). He ſuppoſes (79) Eve was ſo beautiful that Adam *was upon the point of worſhipping her as a Deity* (80). No Romance contains a more paſſionate declaration of love than that which Adam makes here (81). The Author finds no incident more proper to prevent the conſequence of the *tranſports*, with which the firſt man *expreſſed the tenderneſs of his heart*, than to feign that God himſelf came to interrupt their converſation (82). Adam warned his wife *not to touch that fatal fruit which would bring death into the world* (83). " This prohibition made Eve curious; for it is awak-
" ing the curioſity of a woman to forbid her any thing.
" The prohibition excites and inflames her deſires,
" which are generally violent for things permitted,
" but inſatiable for thoſe which are forbidden. Hur-
" ried away therefore by that impatience which dug
" the grave of their happineſs, ſhe left Adam, to en-
" joy without witneſs, and without reproach, the
" ſight of a fruit which ſhe eſteemed the moſt exqui-
" ſite of all, becauſe it was forbidden (84)." This paſſes not without a moral Reflection, which teaches women to keep always under the eye of their huſbands. " The farther a woman departs from her huſband, the
" nearer ſhe approaches to her deſtruction: while ſhe
" is ſeparated from him, ſhe is in danger of being
" loſt; becauſe ſhe furniſhes opportunity, and inſpires
" every one with the boldneſs to lay ſnares for her.
" A woman when alone is expoſed to the temptation
" even of a ſerpent. The moon is eclipſed, when ſhe
" is too near the Sun, but the woman, on the
" contrary, ſuffers fatal eclipſes in her chaſtity, when
" ſhe is at a diſtance from her huſband (85)." Let us omit the compliments which the Author ſuppoſes the ſerpent in the form of a young virgin made to Eve; but let us obſerve that he pretends ſhe inſerted a lie in her anſwer (86), and that ſhe had recourſe to ſighs, to tears, to careſſes, and to *paſſionate kiſſes* (87), in order to prevail on Adam to eat the apple ſhe offered him. Could you ever gueſs at the employment Loredano has aſſigned to God? *In the mean while*, ſays he (88), *God walked in the garden, and took the cool air of the weſtern breezes, when towards the evening they blew ſomewhat freſher. This action of the divine Majeſty ſufficiently teſtified the uneaſineſs which the ſin of man gave him; ſince to moderate the heat of his juſt indignation, he ſeemed to beg the ſuccour of thoſe winds which are always temperate.* A Pagan Poet would not be excuſable if he had ſaid ſuch a thing of Jupiter: but let us leave this, ſince we have promiſed to take notice only of what concerns the wife of Adam.

(82) Ibid. pag. 47.
(83) Ibid. pag. 49.
(84) Ibid. pag. 50.
(85) Ibid. pag. 51.
(86) Ibid. pag. 58.
(87) Ibid. pag. 71.
(88) Ibid. pag. 77.

The Author ſuppoſes (89) that ſhe ſtrove to eaſe the afflictions of her huſband, who ſought *from time to time ſome conſolation in the arms of his wife*, and that ſhe reminded him that God had commanded them to multiply, adviſing him to take care not to tranſgreſs that command. *Let us endeavour*, ſaid ſhe to him (90), *to recover, by means of a fruitful poſterity, what we have loſt. A weak and ſlight conſolation for ſuch great calamities! and yet a neceſſary one, ſince God has ſo ordained it. Let us take care not to diſobey him a ſecond time: our diſobedience would be without excuſe; it would diſguſt the divine mercy, and we ſhould be for ever the objects of his too juſt indignation. Let us follow the will of Heaven, in procuring the propagation of all mankind. It is the way to vanquiſh death, which muſt one day triumph over our fleſh, ſince we ſhall live, in deſpight of him, in the perſons of our children, and our grand-children, and in the memory of our poſterity. I do not ſay we ought therefore entirely to dry up our tears. My ſorrow for having offended my God ſhall end but with my life; and my heart, which muſt quit it the laſt, ſhall live no longer than my grief. But we ought to take care not to irritate by a freſh offence that God who has treated*

(89) Ibid. pag. 109.
(90) Ibid. pag. 110.

(73) Preface to the French Tranſlation.

† It had before been tranſlated into Engliſh, which tranſlation was publiſhed in the year 1679. ADD. REM.

(74) See the Remark [*A*] of the Article VALERIUS.

(75) Article IV, pag. 327, &c.

(76) Loredano, *Vie d'Adam*, pag. 37, 38. Edit. Amſt. 1696.

(77) That is, when Eve was made.

(78) Lored. *Vie d'Adam*, pag. 41.

(79) Ibid. pag. 42.

(80) Ibid. pag. 44.

(81) Ibid. pag. 45.

that God did not expel her from Paradiſe; but that Adam alone ſuffered that puniſhment. We ſhall ſee whereon he grounds his opinion [*M*].

treated us ſo favourably; this would be as impious as it muſt be dangerous to us. Adam anſwered her, ſmiling, I ſhall not be apprehenſive for the future leſt your company ſhould be fatal to me, ſince you perſuade me only to what is good. . . . . It is juſt to give ſome relaxation to our woes, and ſome little relief to our ſenſes overwhelmed with the weight of our affliction, and to people the world in obedience to our God. Then adding careſſes to his words, he abandoned his ſoul to pleaſure, and forgot, for a while, in the arms of his wife, the fatal ſubject of his grief. If after Abel's death the father and mother engaged themſelves in continency, it was Adam who firſt bound himſelf to it by oath, without having conſulted his wife (91). This is ordering matters as in the old Romances, wherein the Heroines made the firſt advances (92); but it would have been better to have conformed to the modern Romances, and the temper of the Jewiſh Nation, which required great reſerve on the woman's part in demanding her conjugal due; for if ſhe demanded it ſo loud that her female neighbours could hear the converſation turned on ſuch ſubjects, ſhe might be divorced (93).

(91) Loredano, *Vie d'Adam*, pag. 141.

(92) See the Remark [*C*] of the Article LONGUS.

(93) Eadem Maimon. c. 24. § 12. & Ammud Golah, ſeu Liber præceptorum parvus, ubi in gloſſa additur: *ſi fuerit exigens debitum conjugale à marito ſuo voce clara, ita ut ejus vicinæ audire* potuerint eam loquentem de re iſtâ. *Polygam. triumphatrix*, pag. 56. col. 1.

[*M*] *We ſhall ſee whereon he grounds his opinion.*] He is ſo far from ſuppoſing, as Loredano does, that Eve was excited by the prohibition to wiſh for the forbidden fruit, that he ſuppoſes (94), on the contrary, that the ſerpent tempted her before ſhe thought of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. He adds, I, that ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be perſuaded that ſhe had not well underſtood her huſband's meaning, or that her huſband had been deceived by ſome falſe report. II, That believing it was not true that God had given ſuch prohibition, ſhe eat of the fruit; and that her fault conſiſted in taking a precipitate reſolution in an affair of ſo great conſequence, and without conſulting her huſband. III, That having ſinned through ignorance (95), tho' it was not an invincible ignorance, ſhe committed a leſs heinous crime than Adam; for his was voluntary and againſt conſcience. IV, That Eve did not neceſſarily incur the penalty of eternal death; for God's decree only imported that man ſhould die, if he ſinned againſt his conſcience, *ſi ſciens prudenſque peccaſſet* (96). V, That tho' God might have inflicted death on Eve without injuſtice, yet he reſolved, ſo great is his mercy towards his works, to let her live, ſince ſhe had not ſinned maliciouſly. VI, That being exempted from the puniſhment contained in God's decree, ſhe might retain all the prerogatives of her former condition (97), except thoſe which were not conſiſtent with the infirmities to which God condemned her. VII, That ſhe retained in particular the prerogative of bringing forth children who had a right to eternal happineſs, on condition of obeying the new Adam. VIII, That as mankind was to proceed from Adam and Eve, Adam was preſerved alive only becauſe his preſervation was neceſſary for the procreation of children. IX, That it was by accident, therefore, that the ſentence of death was not executed on him (98); but that otherwiſe he was more ſeverely puniſhed than his wife. X, That ſhe (99) was not driven out of Paradiſe, as he was; but was only obliged to leave it to find out Adam in caſes of neceſſity: and that it was with a full privilege of returning thither again. XI. That the children of Adam and Eve were ſubject to eternal death, not as proceeding from Eve, but as proceeding from Adam (100). Theſe are nearly the particulars which relate to Eve in that work. Thoſe who would ſee the author's proofs and deſign, and the conſequences which he draws from theſe new thoughts, will do well to have recourſe to his Book. It cannot be objected to him, as it may to Loredano, that he has transgreſſed decency in ſuppoſing that Eve went to find out her huſband; for it was thro' pure neceſſity, ſince it was not poſſible for Adam to enter the terreſtrial Paradiſe again. And beſides, it is very likely, that if this Writer was aſked, *Did Adam's wife make uſe of the right which had been preſerved to her of continuing in the garden of Eden?* he would anſwer, No, What ſhould ſhe have done there alone? She would ſoon have been tired of it: the moſt charming landſcapes, the moſt delicious gardens, do not pleaſe a woman who finds there no ſociety, no ſort of company. Solitude in the fineſt place in the world is extremely burdenſome, unleſs one is a Philoſopher, and of a contemplative or meditative diſpoſition. It is to be believed, therefore, that as well on account of her perſonal intereſt, as becauſe reaſon required it, Eve would have preferred the cottage of her exiled huſband to the abode of the terreſtrial Paradiſe. The garden of Eden to her was wherever Adam pitched his tents (101). There it was her duty to fix, that ſhe might be a help to him, according to the end of her creation, and might ſhare with him all the cares of his family. See the Margin (102).

(94) See the Book intitled, *Cogitationes novæ de primo & ſecundo Adamo examini Eruditorum compendioſe propoſitæ*, printed at Amſterdam, *apud* Eleutherium Aſpidium, *Anno Domini* 1700, in 8vo, at the 8th page.

(95) Ibid. pag. 10, 12.

(96) Ibid. pag. 15.

(97) Ibid. pag. 16.

(98) Ibid. pag. 18.

(99) Ibid. pag. 19, 20.

(100) Ibid. pag. 23. *See alſo* pag. 60, 65, 140, &c.

(101) Apply hereto what has been ſaid of Camillus, *Tarpeia ſede peruſta Gallorum facibus, Veioſque habitante Camillo, Illic Roma fuit.* i. e. "When Gallic "flames the "burning City "felt, "At Veii "Rome with "her Camillus "dwelt." Lucan. *Pharſal.* lib. 5. ver. 27.

(102) Note the Author ſuppoſes that Adam dwelt very near the terreſtrial Paradiſe, and that by God's order.

☞EVELYN (JOHN), a very learned Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, deſcended of a good family [*A*], was ſecond ſon of Richard Evelyn of Wotton in Surrey Eſq; [*B*], and born at Wotton in Surrey October the 31ſt (*a*) 1620. He was educated at the Free-ſchool at Lewes in Suſſex (*b*), and became a Gentleman Commoner of Baliol College in the Univerſity of Oxford in the beginning of the year 1637, where he continued about three years in the ſtudies of Logic and Philoſophy. Thence he removed to the Middle Temple, where he reſided till the breaking out of the civil wars. In 1644, he, by the expreſs leave of King Charles I. under his own hand dated at Oxford, travelled ſeven years into the politer countries of Europe (*c*), and in his return

(*a*) *Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County of* Surrey. *Begun in the year* 1673, *by* John Aubrey *Eſq; and continued to the preſent time. Illuſtrated with proper Sculptures. In five Volumes.* Vol. 4. pag. 117. London 1718, in 8vo. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 941, ſays the 21ſt of October.

(*b*) *Natural Hiſtory &c.* ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Deſcended of a good family.*] He tells us himſelf (1), that there were of his name both in France and Italy, written *Ivelyn*, *Avelin*; and that he found in old Deeds, *Avelyn* alias *Evelyn*. That one of the name was taken priſoner at the battle of Agincourt. *When the Ducheſs of Orleans*, ſays he, *came to Dover to ſee the King, one of our name (whoſe Family derives itſelf from* Luſignanus, *King of* Cyprus) *claimed relation to us. We have in our Family a tradition of a great ſum of money, that had been given for the ranſom of a French Lord, with which a great eſtate was purchaſed.* He likewiſe obſerves, that his family had not been at Wotton in Surrey (purchaſed of one Owen, a great rich man) above 160 years. "My great grandfather, *con-*"*tinues he*, came from Long Ditton (the ſeat now of "Sir *Edward Evelyn*) where we had been long be-"fore; and to Long Ditton from Harrow on the Hill, "and many years before that from Evelyn near Tower "Caſtle in Shropſhire," at what time there tranſmi-"grated alſo (as I have been told) the *Onſlow's* and "*Hatton's* from ſeats and places of thoſe names yet "there."

(1) See Note (1) pag. 116, 117, vol. 4. of the *Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surrey, &c.*

[*B*] *Second ſon of* Richard Evelyn *of Wotton in Surrey Eſq;*] This Gentleman was youngeſt ſon of George Evelyn Eſq;, who purchaſed the Eſtate at Wotton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and by two wives had ſixteen ſons and eight daughters; four of which ſons lived to be men, and made families, and from one of them, by his mother, was deſcended *Evelyn Pierpoint*, Duke of Kingſton. *Richard*, the youngeſt ſon, to whom his father left this eſtate, increaſed it very much by his marriage with Eleanor Stanfield, daughter and heireſs of John Stanfield of the Cliff near Lewes in Suſſex, and by his own good management (2). He dying December 20th 1640 (3) was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *George*, who was ſeveral times Knight of the Shire for Surrey, and dying in 1699 at eighty three years of age, without male-iſſue ſurviving, left the greateſt part of his eſtate to his brother *John*, of whom we treat in this article.

(2) Ibid. pag. 115, 116.

(3) See his Epitaph, ibid. pag. 127, 128.

turn through France in 1647 married the ſole daughter and heireſs of Sir Richard Brown Bart. then Reſident for King Charles II at the Court of France (*d*). He ſettled afterwards at Says-Court in Deptford, the ſeat of his father-in-law, which he very much improved by his ſkill in Gardening and Planting (*e*). After the Reſtoration he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, being one of the firſt of thoſe Gentlemen, who earlieſt met for the eſtabliſhment of that Society (*f*). He was likewiſe one of the Commiſſioners for the taking care of the ſick and wounded ſeamen in both the Dutch wars, having in the firſt Sir Thomas Clifford, afterwards Lord Treaſurer, for his Collegue; and was afterwards appointed one of the Council of Trade and Plantations (*g*). In the year 1667 he, by his intereſt obtained of the Lord Henry Howard, that the *Arundelian Marbles* ſtanding in the garden belonging to Arundel Houſe without Temple-Bar, ſhould be given to the Univerſity of Oxford [*C*], for which Mr. Evelyn had the thanks of the Univerſity ſent to him by the Delegates thereof (*h*); and July 15, 1669 had the Degree of Doctor of Civil Law conferred upon him (*i*). In December 1685 he with Viſcount Tiviot and Col. Robert Philips were conſtituted by his Majeſty Commiſſioners of the Privy Seal during the abſence of Henry Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and this office they enjoyed till March the 11th 1686, when Henry Lord Arundel of Wardour was ſworn in Lord Privy-Seal (*k*). In the reign of King William he was Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital in Kent (*l*). He was a conſiderable benefactor to the Royal Society, giving to it the Tables of Veins and Arteries, which he had brought from Padua, and procuring for it the Arundel Library by his intereſt with the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, whoſe grandfather, the Earl of Arundel, the great Collector of Pictures and Antiquities, he had been well acquainted with in Italy (*m*). Our Author publiſhed ſeveral Works [*D*]. Mr. Wood tells us, that he was *an ingenious and polite perſon,*

(*d*) *Natural Hiſtory, &c.* pag. 117.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 118.

(*f*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Natural Hiſtory, &c. of Surrey*, pag. 118.

(*b*) Wood.

(*i*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 180.

(*k*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* col. 942.

(*l*) *Natural Hiſtory &c. of Surrey*, pag. 118.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 120, 121, 122.

[*C*] *Obtained of the Lord* Henry Howard, *that the* Arundelian Marbles . . . *ſhould be given to the Univerſity of Oxford.*] Theſe marbles had been collected at a great expence from different parts of the world by *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, grandfather to the Lord Henry Howard, and placed by him in his garden at Arundel Houſe. They were afterwards fixed on the outward wall of Archbiſhop Sheldon's Theatre in Oxford, and marked with the letter *H*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of Selden, which are mark'd with *S*; and the following inſcription is placed under the arms of the Howards (4). *Æternæ Memoriæ excellentiſſimi Dni. Domini* HENRICI HOWARD de Caſtle-Reiſing, *Fratris & Hæredis* THOMÆ HOWARD, *Ducis* Norfolciæ, *a proſapiâ regiâ primi Angliæ Ducis, Comitis Arundeliæ, & primi Comitis Angliæ, Comitis* Surreiæ, *Domini & Baronis de* Howard, *Domini & Baronis* Mowbray, Seagrave Brewes de Gower, Fitz Allan Clun Oſwaldſtree Maltrevers, & Greyſtoke, *ad Muley Urſhed Marocienſem Imperatorem Legati. Ob Marmora hæc* Arundelianorum *nomine per totum Orbem celeberrima, Avi ſui* THOMÆ Arundeliæ *Comitis, ſupremi Angliæ Mareſcalli, ſummique Artium liberalium patroni, ſumptibus & ſollicitudine ingentibus, ab Ottomanicâ Barbarie vindicata, & in Palatium gentilitium Londini pridem traducta, ab ipſo dein donata, gratabunda poſuit* UNIVERSITAS OXONIENSIS.

(4) *See* Wood, *Hiſtoria & Antiquit. Univerſitatis Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 28.

[*D*] *Our Author publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] *The State of France.* London 1652 in 8vo. *A Character of England, as it was lately preſented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France; with Reflections upon* Gallus Caſtratus, 3d edit. London 1659 in 16mo (*). *An Apology for the Royal Party: written in a Letter to a Perſon of the late Council of State; with a touch at the pretended Plea of the Army.* London 1659, third Edit. in two ſheets in 4to (5). *A Panegyric at his Majeſty Charles II his Coronation.* London 1661, fol. (6). Fumifugium, *or the Inconveniencys of the Air and Smoak of London diſſipated: together with ſome remedies humbly propoſed by J. E. Eſq; to his ſacred Majeſty and the Parliament now aſſembled. Publiſh'd by his Majeſty's Command.* London 1661 in five ſheets in 4to. Tyrannus, *or the Mode: In a Diſcourſe of Sumptuary Laws.* London 1661 in 8vo. Sculptura; *or the Hiſtory and Art of Calcography and engraving in Copper; with an ample enumeration of the moſt renowned Maſters and their Works. To which is annexed a new Manner of Engraving or* Mezzo Tinto, *communicated by his Highneſs Prince* Rupert *to the Author of this Treatiſe.* London 1662 in 8vo. Sylva: *or a Diſcourſe of Foreſt-Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in his Majeſty's Dominions, &c. To which is annexed* Pomona, *or an Appendix concerning Fruit-Trees, in relation to Cyder, &c.* London 1679 fol. 3d ed. The 1ſt was publiſh'd in 1664, the 2d in 1669. Mr. Joſeph Glanvill ſpeaks of this work in the following terms (7). "Another excellent Vertuoſo of the "ſame Aſſembly (8), Mr. *John Evelyn*, hath very "conſiderably advanced the Hiſtory of Fruit and Fo- "reſt Trees by his *Sylva* and *Pomona*; and greater "things are expected from his preparations for *Elyſi- "um Britannicum*, a noble deſign now under his hands. "And certainly the inquiſitive world is much in- "debted to this generous Gentleman for his very inge- "nious performances in this kind, as alſo for thoſe "others of *Sculpture, Picture, Architecture*, and the like "practical, uſeful things, with which he hath enrich- "ed it." *Public Employment and an active Life preferred to ſolitude in a Reply to a late ingenious Eſſay of a contrary title.* London 1667 in 8vo. Kalendarium hortenſe: *or the Gardiners Almanac, directing what he is to do monthly throughout the year, and what Fruits and Flowers are in prime.* London in 8vo. This Book is dedicated to Abraham Cowley Eſq; and was printed at leaſt ſeven times before the year 1684, with many uſeful additions by the Author. *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progreſs; containing a ſuccinct Account of Traffic in general, its Benefits and Improvements; of Diſcoveries, Wars and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of Navigation to this Day, with ſpecial regard to the Engliſh Nation; their ſeveral Voyages and Expeditions, to the Beginning of our late Difference with Holland; in which his Majeſties title to the Dominion of the Sea is aſſerted againſt the novel and later Pretenders. By* J. Evelyn *Eſq; S. R. S.* London 1674 in 8vo. This Treatiſe he dedicated to the King, as "a tribute, *ſays he*, the moſt due, and "the moſt becoming my relation to your Majeſty's "ſervice of any that I could deviſe, ſince your Ma- "jeſty has been pleaſed among ſo many noble and "illuſtrious perſons to name me of the *Council* of your "*Commerce* and *Plantations*." Terra: *A Philoſophical Diſcourſe of the Earth relating to the Improvement of of it for Vegetation and the Propagation of Plants,* &c. London 1676 in 8vo and 1679 in fol. There is an Account of this Book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (9). *A Letter to one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society, concerning the damage done to his gardens by the preceding Winter:* dated at *Sayes Court* in Deptford 14th of April 1684, and printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (10). Mundus Muliebris; *or the Ladies Dreſſing-Room unlock'd, and her Toilette ſpread. In Burleſque. Together with the Fop-Dictionary, compiled for the uſe of the Fair-Sex.* London 1690 in 4to. Numiſmata: *A Diſcourſe of Medals, antient and modern; together with ſome account of Heads and Effigies of illuſtrious and famous Perſons in Sculps and* Taille-Douce, *of whom we have no medals extant; and of the Uſes to be derived from them. To which is added a Digreſſion concerning Phyſiognomy. By* J. Evelyn; *S. R. S.* London 1697 in fol. Acetaria: *A Diſcourſe of Sallets, by* J. E.

(*) *Natural Hiſtory &c. of Surrey*, pag. 119.

(5) Wood, col. 942.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Plus Ultra: *or the Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the Days of Ariſtotle*, cap. 10. pag. 73, 74. edit. London 1668, in 8vo.

(8) The Royal Society.

(9) Num. 119. pag. 454.

(10) Num. 158.

(n) *Athen. Oxon.* col. 442.

perſon, affecting a private and ſtudious life (n). Dr. Burnet (o) ſtiles him a "moſt inge- "nious and virtuous Gentleman;" and informs us, that he was not "ſatisfied to have "advanced the knowledge of this age by his moſt uſeful and ſucceſsful labours about "planting, and divers other ways; but was ready to contribute every thing in his power "to

(o) *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England*, Part 2. B. 3. pag. 417.

J. E. *S. R. S.* Author of the *Kalendarium*. London 1699 in 8vo. He hath likewiſe tranſlated ſeveral Books into Engliſh. I. *Of Liberty and Servitude*. London 1649 in 12mo. II. *An Eſſay on the firſt Book of Titus Lucretius Carus* de Rerum Natura, *interpreted and made into Engliſh Verſe by* J. Evelyn Eſq; London 1656 in 8vo. The Frontiſpiece was the deſign of Mary his wife. Mr. Waller wrote commendatory Verſes on this Tranſlation, printed among his Poems. III. *The French Gardiner, inſtructing how to cultivate all ſorts of Fruit-Trees and Herbs for the Garden; together with Directions to dry and conſerve them in their natural perfection* &c. London 1658 in 12mo and reprinted ſeveral times after. In moſt of the Editions is added *The Engliſh Vineyard vindicated*, by John Roſe, Gardiner to his Majeſty King Charles II; with a *Tract of the making and ordering of Wines in France*. The 3d Edition of this *French Gardiner*, which was publiſhed in 1676, was illuſtrated with Sculptures. IV. *The Golden Book of St. John Chryſoſtom concerning the Education of Children. Tranſlated out of the Greek by* J. E. Eſq; London 1659 in 12mo. V. *Inſtructions concerning erecting of a Library*. London 1661 in 8vo. This piece was written by Gabriel Naudé. VI. *A Parallel of the antient Architecture with the modern &c.* London 1664, 2d edit. in fol. This was written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Cambray. There was another edition of this book at London 1706 in fol. VII. *An Idea of the perfection of Painting; demonſtrated from the principles of Art, and by examples conformable to the Obſervations, which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the moſt celebrated Pieces of the antient Painters, parallel'd with ſome works of the moſt famous modern Painters*, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Pouſſin. *Written in French by* Roland Freart, Sieur de Cambray, *and rendred Engliſh by* J. E. *Eſquire, Fellow of the Royal Society*. London 1668 in 8vo. Mr. Evelyn dedicates this Tranſlation to Henry Howard of Norfolk, heir-apparent to that Dukedom; and the dedication is dated from Says-Court June the 24th 1668. In the preface he obſerves, that the reader will find in this diſcourſe *(though ſomewhat verboſe*, ſays he, *according to the ſtyle of this overflowing Nation* (11),) divers uſeful remarks, eſpecially, where the Author treats of Coſtúme, "which "we, *ſays Mr. Evelyn*, have interpreted *Deco-* "*rum*, as the neareſt expreſſion our language will "bear to it. And I was glad our Author had "reproved it in ſo many inſtances, becauſe it not "only grows daily more licentious, but even ridi- "culous and intolerable. But it is hoped this may "univerſally be reformed, when our modern workmen "ſhall conſider, that neither the exactneſs of their "deſign, nor ſkilfulneſs in colouring has been able "to defend their greateſt predeceſſors from juſt re- "proaches, who have been faulty in this particular. "I could exemplify in many others, whom our Au- "thor has omitted; and there is none but takes no- "tice what injury it has done the fame of ſome of "our beſt reputed Painters, and how indecorous it is "to introduce circumſtances wholly improper to the "uſages and genius of the places, where our Hiſtories "are ſuppoſed to have been acted." Mr. Evelyn then remarks, that this was not only the fault of *Baſſano*, who would be ever bringing in his wife, children, and ſervants, his dog and his cat, and very kitchen-ſtuff, after the Paduan mode, but of the great *Titian* himſelf, *Georgion*, *Tintoret*, and the reſt; as *Paulo Veróneſe* is obſerved alſo to have done in his ſtory of Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moſes out of the river, attended with a guard of Swiſſes. *Malvogius* likewiſe in a picture, then in the King's Gallery at Whitehall, not only repreſents our firſt parents with navels upon their bellies, but has placed an artificial ſtone-fountain carved with imagery in the midſt of his Paradiſe. Nor does that excellent and learned Painter *Rubens* eſcape without cenſure, not only for making moſt of his figures of the ſhapes of brawny Flemings, but for other *Sphalmata* and circumſtances of the like nature; though in ſome he has acquitted himſelf to admiration in the due obſervation of *Coſtúme*, particularly in his crucifixes, &c. *Raphael Urbino* was doubtleſs one of the firſt, who reformed theſe inadvertencies; but it was more conſpicuous in his latter, than in his former pieces. *As for* Michael Angelo, continues Mr. Evelyn, *though I heartily conſent with our Critic in reproving that almoſt idolatrous veneration of his works, who had certainly prodigiouſly abuſed the Art, not only in the table this diſcourſe arraigns him for, but ſeveral more which I have ſeen; yet I conceive he might have omitted ſome of thoſe imbittered reproaches he has reviled him with, who doubtleſs was one of the greateſt maſters of his time; and (however he might ſucceed as to the decorum) was hardly exceeded for what he performed in Sculpture and the Statuary Art by many even of the Antients themſelves, and haply by none of the Moderns; witneſs his* Moſes, Chriſtus in Gremio, *and ſeveral other figures at Rome; to ſay nothing of his talent in Architecture, and the obligation the world has to his memory, for recovering many of its moſt uſeful ornaments and members out of the neglected fragments which lay ſo long buried, and for vindicating that antique and magnificent manner of building from the trifling of Goths and Barbarians.* Mr. Evelyn then obſerves, that the next uſual reproach of Painting has been the want of judgment in Perſpective, and bringing more into Hiſtory than is juſtifiable upon one aſpect, without turning the eye to each figure in particular, and multiplying the points of ſight; which is an error, into which even Monſieur *Freart* (for all the pains he has taken to magnify that celebrated *deciſion of Paris*) has failed in. For the knowing in that art eaſily perceive, that even Raphael himſelf has not ſo exactly obſerved it, ſince inſtead of one (as Monſieur Freart takes it to be, and as indeed it ought to have been) there are no leſs than four or five, as *du Boſſe* hath well conſidered in his *Treatiſe of the Converted Painter*; where by the way alſo he judiciouſly numbers amongſt the faults againſt *Coſtúme*, thoſe landſkips, groteſque figures, &c. which we frequently find (abroad eſpecially, for in our country we have few or none of thoſe graceful ſupplements of ſteeples) painted horizontally and vertically on the vaults and ceilings of cupolas; ſince we have no examples for it from the Antients, who allowed no more than a frett to the moſt magnificent and coſtly ones which they erected. But would you know from whence this univerſal caution in moſt of their works proceeded, and that the beſt of our modern Painters and Architects have ſucceeded better than others of that profeſſion; it muſt be conſidered, that they were learned Men, good Hiſtorians, and generally ſkilled in the beſt Antiquities. Such were *Raphael*, and doubtleſs his ſcholar *Julio*; and if *Polydore* arrived not to the glory of letters, he yet attained to a rare habit of the antient guſto, as may be interpreted from moſt of his deſigns and paintings. *Leon Baptiſt Alberti* was ſkilled in all the politer parts of learning to a prodigy, and has written divers curious things in the Latin tongue. We know that of later times *Rubens* was a perſon univerſally ſtudied, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Latin Epiſtles of his to the greateſt ſcholars of his age. And *Nicholas Pouſſin*, the Frenchman, who is ſo much celebrated, and ſo deſervedly, did, it ſeems, arrive to this culture, by his indefatigable induſtry; "as the preſent famous Statu- "ary, *Bernini*, now living, *ſays Mr. Evelyn*, has "done to ſo univerſal a maſtery, that not many years "ſince he is reported to have built a Theatre at "Rome, for the adornment whereof he not only cut "the figures, and painted the ſcenes, but wrote the "play, and compoſed the muſic, which was all in "*recitativo*. And I am perſuaded that all this is "not yet by far ſo much as that miracle and orna- "ment of our age and country Dr. *Chriſtopher Wren* "were able to perform, if he were ſo diſpoſed and "ſo encouraged, becauſe he is maſter of ſo many ad- "mirable advantages beyond them. I alledge theſe "examples partly to incite, and partly to ſhew the

(11) France.

" to perfect other men's endeavours." Mr. Cowley, who was a very intimate friend of our Author, addreſſed his Eſſay, intitled, *The Garden*, to him [*E*]. He died at London February the 27th $170\frac{5}{6}$, in the eighty ſixth year of his age, and was interred at Wotton, where a monument is erected to him (*p*). We ſhall give ſome account of his *Hiſtory of Chalcography* [*F*]. By his wife Mary, who died February 9, 1708 in the ſeventy fourth

(*p*) See his Epitaph in the *Natural Hiſtory &c. of Surrey*, pag. 131.

" dignity and vaſt comprehenſion of this rare art; " and that for a man to arrive to its utmoſt perfec- " tion he ſhould be almoſt as univerſal as the Orator " in *Cicero*, and the Architect in *Vitruvius*. But cer- " tainly ſome tincture in Hiſtory, the Optics, and " Anatomy are abſolutely requiſite, and more (in the " opinion of our Author) than to be a ſteady deſigner, " and ſkilled in the tempering and applying of co- " lours, which amongſt moſt of our modern work- " men go now for the only accompliſhment of a " Painter." VIII. *The Hiſtory of the three late famous Impoſtors, viz.* Padre Ottomano, *pretended ſon and heir to the late Grand Seignior*; Mahomet Bei, *a pretended Prince of the Ottoman family, but in truth a Walachian counterfeit*; *and* Sabbatai Sevai, *the ſuppoſed Meſſiah of the Jews in the year* 1666; *with a brief Account of the ground and occaſion of the preſent War between the Turk and the Venetian: Together with the Cauſe of the final Extirpation, Deſtruction, and Exile of the Jews out of the Empire of Perſia*. London 1669 in 8vo. IX. *Monſieur* de la Quintinye's *Treatiſe of Orange-Trees, with the raiſing of Melons, omitted in the French edition. Made Engliſh by* John Evelyn *Eſq*; This is printed at the end of Monſieur de la Quintinye's *Compleat Gardiner*. London 1693 in fol. X. *Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας; that is, another Part of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm; or the new Hereſy of the Jeſuits publickly maintained at Paris in the College of Clermont the 12th of December* 1661, *declared to all the Biſhops of France, according to the copy printed at Paris. Together with the imaginary hereſy in three Letters; with divers other particulars relating to this abominable myſtery. Never before publiſhed in Engliſh*. London 1664 in 8vo. Our Author likewiſe, when he came to Paris in 1649, etched five ſeveral proſpects of places, which he had drawn on the ſpot between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed alſo a frontiſpiece, intitled, *Locorum aliquot inſignium & celeberrimorum inter* Romam & Neapolin *jacentium ὑποδειξις & Exemplaria Domino Domino* Thomæ Henſhaw *Anglo, omnium eximiarum & præclariſſimarum Artium Cultori ac Propugnatori maximo & συνοπψαμένῳ αὐτῷ (non propter operis pretium, ſed ut ſingulare Amoris ſui Teſtimonium exhibeat) prima has ἀδοκιμασίας Aqua forti excuſas & inſculptas* Jo. Evelynus *Delineator D. D. C. Q.* R. Hoare *excud.* I. *Tres Tabernæ, ſive Appii Forum celebre illud in ſacris Literis.* Act. 28. II. *Terracini, olim Anxuris Promontorium.* III. *Proſpectus verſus Neapolin a Monte Veſuvio.* IV. *Montis Veſuvii juxta Neapolin externa Facies.* V. *Montis Veſuvii Fauces & Vorago, ſive Barathrum internum.* He etched alſo a view of his own ſeat at Wotton, and another of Putney in Surrey.

[*E*] *Mr. Cowley, who was a very intimate friend of our Author, addreſſed his Eſſay, intitled,* The Garden, *to him.*] In this *Eſſay* he takes notice of Mr. Evelyn's having dedicated to him his *Kalendarium Hortenſe, the moſt uſeful book*, ſays Mr. Cowley, *that has been written in that kind, and which is to laſt as long as months and years*. Mr. Cowley then proceeds thus. " Among many other arts and excellencies which you " enjoy, I am glad to find this favourite of mine the " moſt predominant; that you chooſe this for your " wife, though you have hundreds of other arts for " your concubines. Though you know them, and " beget ſons upon them all (to which you are rich " enough to allow great legacies) yet the iſſue of this " ſeems to be deſigned by you to the main of the " eſtate. You have taken moſt pleaſure in it, and " beſtowed moſt charges upon its education. And I " doubt not to ſee that book, which you are pleaſed " to promiſe to the world, and of which you have " given us a large earneſt in your *Calendar*, as ac- " compliſhed as any thing can be expected from an " extraordinary wit, and no ordinary expence, and a " long experience. I know no body that poſſeſſes " more private happineſs than you do in your gar- " den, and yet no man who makes his happineſs more " publick by a free communication of the art and " knowledge of it to others. All that my ſelf am " able yet to do is only to recommend to mankind " the ſearch of that felicity, which you inſtruct them " how to find and to enjoy.

" Happy art thou, whom God does bleſs
" With the full choice of thine own happineſs;
" And happier yet, becauſe thou'rt bleſt
" With prudence how to chooſe the beſt.
" In books and gardens thou haſt plac'd aright
" (Things which thou well doſt underſtand;
" And both doſt make with thy laborious hand)
" Thy noble, innocent delight:
" And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again doſt meet
" Both pleaſures more refin'd and ſweet:
" The faireſt garden in her looks,
" And in her mind the wiſeſt books.
" O who would change theſe ſoft, yet ſolid joys
" For empty ſhows and ſenſeleſs noiſe,
" And all which rank ambition breeds,
" Which ſeem ſuch beauteous flowers, and are ſuch pois'nous weeds?"

[*F*] *We ſhall give ſome account of his* Hiſtory of Chalcography.] In the dedication to Mr. Robert Boyle, dated at Says-Court April the 5th 1662, he obſerves that he wrote this Treatiſe at the *reiterated inſtances* of that Gentleman. The *firſt* chapter is *Of Sculpture, how derived and diſtinguiſhed, with the Styles and Inſtruments belonging to it.* The *ſecond* chapter is *Of the Original of Sculpture in general.* The *third* is " Of the Reputation and Progreſs of " Sculpture among the Greeks and Romans down to " the middle ages; with ſome pretenſions to the in- " vention of copper-cuts and their impreſſions." The *fourth* is " Of the Invention and Progreſs of Chalco- " graphy in particular; together with an ample enu- " meration of the moſt renowned maſters and their " works." The *fifth* is " Of Drawing and Deſign " previous to the Art of Chalcography, and of the " Uſe of Pictures in order to the education of chil- " dren." The *ſixth* is " Of the new way of engrav- " ing or *Mezzo Tinto*, invented and communicated by " his Highneſs Prince Rupert." In the *ſecond* chapter our Author obſerves, that Letters, and conſequently Sculpture, were long before the Flood, Suidas aſcribing both Letters and all the reſt of the Sciences to Adam; *τάυτα πάντα ἐυρήματα* &c. After the Flood, as he ſuppoſes, there were but few who make any conſiderable queſtion, that it might not be propagated by Noah to his poſterity; though ſome admit of none before Moſes. " But what then ſhall we think of " that book of the wars of the Lord, which this ſa- " cred Author mentions, Num. xxi? not to inſiſt " upon the lxxxviiith and cixth Pſalms, by many " aſcribed to ſome of the Patriarchs his predeceſſors. " Mercurius Triſmegiſtus three hundred years after " the Flood, and long before Moſes engraved his ſe- " cret and myſterious things in ſtone, as himſelf re- " ports, reforming what had been depraved by the " wicked Cham; ſome in letters, ſome in figures, " and enigmatical characters; ſuch happly, as were " thoſe contained in the magnificent and ſtupendous " obeliſks erected by Miſra, the firſt Egyptian Pha- " raoh, which being at leaſt four hundred years be- " fore Moſes (as the moſt indefatigable Kircher has " computed) does greatly preſage their antiquity to " have been before that holy Prophet. But not to put " too much ſtreſs upon ſuperannuated tradition, this we " are ſure of is of faith, and without controverſy, that " in Moſes we have the *Tables of Stone*, engraven by the " *finger of God* himſelf, where the command is expreſs, " even againſt the abuſe of this very art, as well as an " inſtance of the idolatry atteſting that of Sculpture: " *Thou*

fourth year of her age, he had five ſons and three daughters, of whom only one daughter Suſanna, married to William Draper of Adſcomb in Surry Eſq; ſurvived him, the other two dying in the flower of their age; and all the ſons very young, except one named *John*, who became a Gentleman Commoner of Trinity College in Oxford in Eaſter-Term 1668, aged thirteen years, and was afterwards one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in Ireland. He tranſlated into Engliſh Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, publiſhed in the *Tranſlation*

Exod. xx. " *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image.* " But this, which is indeed the firſt writing that we " have Scripture to vouch for, does yet preſuppoſe en- " graving to have been of much greater antiquity. " What elſe were the *Teraphim*, what the *Penates* " ſtolen by Rachel? The Idols of *Terah?* or the E- " gyptian? &c. But we forbear to expatiate, only " that which is by Ben Syrac ſomewhere in *Eccleſiaſti- " cus* delivered, that the original of idolatry was from " images to preſerve the memory of the dead, as in *See* Sap. c. xiv. " proceſs of time by the flatterers of great men it was " turn'd to be an object of adoration, plainly infers " Graving to have been elder than Idolatry." But now, continues our Author, to recover its eſteem again beyond all prejudice (however by others abuſed, as indeed many of the beſt things have been;) it was, Exod. xxxi. we know, imputed for a ſpiritual talent in Bezaleel and Aholiab, who made Intaglias to adorn the High-Prieſt's Pectoral. And we have ſaid how the Egyptians reverenced it, as ſeeming to have uſed it before Letters; or rather their Hieroglyphics (importing ſacred ſculpture) were thoſe elements, by which they tranſmitted to poſterity what they eſteemed moſt worthy of record, and not (as ſome have imagined) wrap'd up in thoſe enigmatical Figures the ſecrets of their arts both divine and ſecular; for

Lucanus, lib. iii.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
Noverat, & Saxis tantum volucriſque feræque,
Sculptaque ſervabant magicas animalia linguas:

Whence Tacitus calls them *antiquiſſima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impreſſa ſaxis*. Such as were alſo the *Horapollinis notæ*, and all thoſe other venerable antiquities of this nature tranſported to Rome out of Egypt in no leſs than two and forty prodigious obeliſcs, interpreted by the induſtrious Kircher. Suidas attributes the Invention to the *Father of the Faithful*; others to *Theut* or *Hermes*; ſome to *Cadmus* and the Phenicians. Bibliander will have Letters and Sculpture from Adam; Joſephus from Henoch; Philo from Abraham; Euſebius from Moſes; Cyprian from Saturn, where by the way, becauſe it is ſaid he did *Literas imprimere*, Petrus Calaber, who calls himſelf Pomponius Lætus, abſurdly deduces, that even the Voſſius *in Art. Hiſt.* Typographical Art was known in the age of this Hero. But thence it deſcended to the Egyptians by Miſraim, and ſo was communicated to the Perſians, Medes, and Aſſyrians, thence to the Greeks, and laſtly to the Romans, from whom it was derived to us, as Peter Crinitus in his 17th Book *de honeſtâ Diſciplinâ* out of a very ancient manuſcript *Bibliothecæ Septimianæ* ſeems to deduce, and thus ſums them up together:

Moyſes primus Hebraicus exaravit literas.
Mente Phœnices ſagaci condiderunt Atticas.
Quas Latini ſcriptitamus, condidit Nicoſtrata:
Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaicas:
Iſis arte non minor protulit Egyptiacas.
Gulfila promſit Getarum quas videmus literas.

Now ſhould all this but relate to the ſeveral characters only, it ſhall yet ſerve our purpoſe; ſince whoever was the Inventor of Letters, was alſo doubtleſs the father of Sculpture, as is apparent, if not by the columns erected by Seth (one whereof Angelus Roccha in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana* preſumes to have been of braſs,) by ſeveral other inſtances; the writing with ink, paper, or parchment, being altogether a novelty in compariſon with the more ancient forms and materials, ſuch as were the ſlit-ſtones or ſlates, which ſucceeded the ſtately marbles, and preceded the thinner leaves of bark and tables of wood, which from the German *Bucher* ſignifying the *Fagus* or *Beech-Tree*, (whoſe fruit does ſtill with us retain the name of *Buch-maſt*) were called *Books*, to whatever voluble or folding matter applied. For before the invention of paper they uſed the leaves of palms, as Varro *de Sibylla*; then the rinds of trees; afterwards ſheets of lead, linnen, wax, and ivory, as Vopiſcus tells us. They wrote in ſilk among the Perſians and Chineſe; and laſtly were invented parchment and paper. But whether in all theſe, or whatever the ſubject were (ſome few later excepted) it was ſtill by inſculping, ſcarifying, and making a kind of inciſion into it, eſpecially intending to conſign to poſterity their laws divine and human, Roman, Egyptian, or Hebrew: for ſo of old,

——Verba minantia fixo Metamorph. lib. 1.
Ære ligabantur;

according to the Poet. Thus were the *Hieronicæ* preſerved in the Temple of Olympian Jove, and the Roman Conſuls in the Capital; and as by thoſe innumerable Inſcriptions of irrefragable and undeniable Antiquities does appear. We have already computed how probable it is, that Sculpture was in uſe in Egypt ſomewhat before, or at leaſt as ſoon as the Patriarch Abraham went thither. But the leſs diſcerning Greeks, who received it from the Egyptians, could tell us of no writings of theirs extant before Homer, if we will give ear to Joſephus before that of Tatian, a learned Aſſyrian, and contemporary with Juſtin Martyr, where he mentions no leſs than ſeventeen Greek Writers more ancient than the Homer. Οὐκ Ὁμήρου μόνου πρεσβύτερος ἐστιν ὁ Μωσῆς ἔτι δὲ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων, Αἴνου, Φιλάμμωνος, Θαμύριδος, Ἀμφίονος, Μουσαίου, Ὀρφέως, Δημοδόκου, Φημίου, Σιβύλλης, Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κρητὸς, ὅσις εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, Ἀριστέου τοῦ Προκοννησίου τοῦ τὰ Ἀριμασπία συγγράψαντος, Ἀσβόλου τε τοῦ Κινταύρου καὶ Ἰσάτιδος, Δρυμῶνός τε καὶ Ἑυμήλου τοῦ Κυπρίου, καὶ Ὤρου τοῦ Σαμίου, καὶ Προσαντίδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου &c. There are alſo enumerated the names of twenty Argive Kings from Inachus to Agamemnon, which ſtrongly infers the means of recording by ſculpture and writing to have been very ancient. For ſo we read that the Poems of Heſiod were ingraven in lead. Ariſtotle mentions Daphne a certain Devotreſs of Apollo; Sabinus, and Diodorus many others. But when, or whoever it were, thence, as we obſerved, it travelled into Greece, that Theatre of Arts, where it ſoon arrived to the ſupremeſt height of perfection, when being applied to the forming of figures, it was celebrated by all the witty men of thoſe and the ſucceeding Ages. Homer Iliad. tells us of the engraving in the ſhield of Achilles; Heſiod of that of Hercules; not to mention the ſculptures upon the Chariot of the Sun deſcribed by the Poet, becauſe it is altogether fictitious, tho' extremely Metamorphoſ. ingenious, and whence perhaps they might have their lib. 2. *Vehicula Cælata* mentioned by Q. Curtius. *But whether now*, ſays Mr. Evelyn, *theſe antient and famous pieces were hollow, like thoſe of our Burine, or the work of our chiſſel and repair'd emboſsments, might ſeem a difficulty to reſolve from the frequent interpretations we attributed to the verb in the former chapter, if what we have here atteſted concerning the Antiquity of Letters, and conſequently of flat Inciſions, pronounce for its preeminence, however this may appear to the more judicious. Add to it, that both* Plaſtica *(whatever others may fancy) unleſs we will aſcend to the divine Figulation of the firſt breathing Statue, that was ever formed, (and with Pliny derive it to be before, and the* Mother *of* Sculpture) *and the* Anaglyptic *Art, (not produced in the world till about the time of Belus, and the beginning of Gentiliſm) were not till long after the uſe of Letters, if Enoch's Prophecy were not preſerved by unwritten Tradition, and the former Apocryphal Monuments have no other foundation than the wit of the Rabbins, which we can by no means aſſent to in the general.* " Beſides if " we apply it to *Intaglia's* in Stone-Seals, and the like, " for having been almoſt coevous with rings, (what " was elſe the ſignet, which Judah left with his daugh- " ter Tamar?) it queſtionleſs derives its original be- " fore any Hiſtory at preſent extant in the world, di-

Tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives by ſeveral Hands. Rapin's *Four Books of Gardens*, London 1673, in 8vo. *The Hiſtory of the Grand Viſiers*, Mahomet, *and* Achmet Coprogli, *of the three laſt Grand Seigniors, their Sultana's and chief Favourites, with the moſt ſecret intrigues of the Seraglio*, London 1677 in 8vo; and was Author of ſome copies of Verſes publiſhed in *Dryden's Miſcellanies.* He died March the 24th $169\frac{8}{9}$, in the forty fifth year of his age, leaving a daughter Elizabeth, and a ſon John, who ſucceeded to his grandfather's eſtate at Deptford and Wotton, and on the 30th of July 1713 was created a Baronet, and is at preſent one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, and Fellow of the Royal Society, and Vice-Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries at London.

" vine or human, was committed to writing: of " which he who has a thirſt to ſatisfy his curioſity " farther, may conſult *Gorlæus*, or *Fortun. Licetus de* " *Annulis Antiquorum*; where alſo concerning their " ſculpture, firſt in iron, then in gold, other metals " and ſtones; and of which might very much be " added, both touching their dignity, ſignification, " and how they came at length to be worn ſo univer- " ſally. Something we might here likewiſe inſert of " their conſtellated Figures, or Taliſmans, long ſince " engraven upon certain inſtants and periods of the Sun's " ingreſs into ſuch and ſuch particular ſigns of the Zo- " diac, treated of by *Francis Rueus* the Phyſician, " *Tralianus, & inſtar omnium* by the learned *Gaffarel* " at large; but we haſten to that which follows." In the *fourth* chapter our Author tells us, that the art of engraving and working off from plates of copper, which we call prints, was not yet appearing, or born with us, till about the year 1490. In the ſixth chapter, wherein he diſcourſes *Of the new way of Engraving, or* Mezzo-Tinto, *invented, and communicated by his Highneſs Prince Rupert*, he obſerves, that his Highneſs did indulge him the liberty of publiſhing the whole Manner and Addreſs of this new way of engraving; *but when I had well conſider'd it*, ſays he, *(ſo much having been already expreſſed, which may ſuffice to give the hint to all ingenious perſons how it is to be performed) I did not think it neceſſary, that an art ſo curious, and as yet ſo little vulgar, (and which indeed does not ſucceed where the workman is not an accompliſh'd Deſigner, and has a competent talent in painting likewiſe) was to be proſtituted at ſo cheap a rate, as the more naked deſcribing of it here would too ſoon have expoſed it to. Upon theſe conſiderations then it is, that we leave it thus ænigmatical; and yet that this may appear no diſingenuous rodomontade in me, or invidious excuſe, I profeſs myſelf to be always moſt ready* (ſub ſigillo, *and by his Highneſs's permiſſion) to gratify any curious and worthy perſon with as full and perfect a demonſtration of the entire art, as my talent and addreſs will reach to; if what I am now preparing to be reſerved in the Archives of the* Royal Society *concerning it, be not ſufficiently inſtructive.* We have now in our hands, communicated to us by the very learned Richard Middleton Maſſey, M. D. and F. R. S. an original manuſcript written by Mr. Evelyn, and deſigned for the Royal Society, and intitled, *Prince* Rupert's *new Way of Engraving, communicated by his Highneſs to Mr.* Evelyn. In the margin is this note: *This I prepared to be regiſtred in the* Royal Society, *but I have not yet given it in, ſo as it ſtill continues a ſecret.* In this manuſcript he firſt deſcribes the two Inſtruments employed in this new manner of engraving, viz. the *Hatcher*, and the *Style*; and then proceeds to explain the method of uſing it. He concludes with the following words: " This invention, or new man- " ner of *Chalcography*, was the reſult of chance, and " improved by a German Soldier, who eſpying ſome " ſcrape on the barrill of his muſquet, and being of " an ingenious ſpirit, refined upon it, till it produced " the effects you have ſeene, and which indeede is " for the delicacy thereof much ſuperiour to any " invention extant of this art, for the imitation " of thoſe maſterly drawings, and (as the Ita- " lians call it) that *morbidezza* expreſſed in the beſt " of their deſignes. I have had the honour to be the " firſt of the Engliſh, to whom it has bin yet com- " municated, and by a ſpecial indulgence of his High- " neſs (who with his owne hands was pleaſed to di- " rect me) with permiſſion to publiſh it to the world; " but I have eſteemed it a thing ſo curious, that I " thought it would be to profane it, before I had firſt " offered it to this *illuſtrious Society*. There is another " way of engraving by rowelling a plate with an in- " ſtrument made like that, which our Scriveners and " Clearks uſe to direct their rulers by on parchment; " only the poynts are thicker ſett into the rowell. " And when the plate is ſufficiently freckled with the " frequent reciprocation of it upon the poliſh'd ſurface " ſo as to render the ground darke enough, it is to be " abated with the *Style*, and treated as we have alrea- " dy deſcribed. Of this ſort I have ſeene a head of " the Queen *Chriſtina*, grav'd (if I miſtake not) as " big as the life, but not comparable to the *Mezzo-* " *Tinto* of Prince *Rupert* ſo deſervedly celebrated by " J. Evelyn."

T.

EUGENIUS IV, created Pope the third of March 1431, was of a Plebeian family in Venice (*a*) and ſon to Angelo Condelmerio, but not nephew to Pope Gregory XII [*A*], as is ſaid in Moreri. He was a Celeſtine Friar, when he was brought to Rome by this Pope's nephew (*b*). This nephew was alſo a Celeſtine Friar, and a Canon of the Congregation of St. George in Alga. The brother-monk whom he brought to Rome, ſoon ingratiated himſelf with Gregory XII, who appointed him his Treaſurer, afterwards Biſhop of Sienna, and at laſt Cardinal Martin V gave him the Legateſhip of the Picentine, and afterwards that of Bologna. This Cardinal diſcharged his office with great ability, and ſucceeded Martin V (*c*). I ſhall not expatiate on the particulars of his actions, which may be ſeen in Moreri, but will content myſelf with relating certain things omitted by him, and which ought abſolutely to have been inſerted in his Dictionary. Eugenius opened

(*a*) Platina, *in Vita Eugenii IV.*

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *Ex eodem*, ibid.

[*A*] *Not nephew to Pope Gregory XII.*] De la Rochepozai, in his *Nomenclator Cardinalium* (1), Spondanus in his Annals of the Church (2), and a numberleſs multitude of Writers more, aſſert, that Eugenius IV, was ſon to the ſiſter of Gregory XII. I fancy they are miſtaken, and for this reaſon; neither Platina nor Volaterranus declare him to be ſuch; and could not have been ignorant of this circumſtance had it been true; not to mention that Platina's ſilence is attended with ſuch circumſtances, that it amounts to a poſitive proof. This Author relates that Anthony Corario, nephew to Gregory XII, carried to Rome Gabriel Condelmerio, who was of the ſame religious Order with him (3), and with whom he had been very intimate ever ſince his youth: *Romam iturus Gabrielem Condelmerium* (that is Eugenius IV) *qui ejuſmodi profeſſionis erat, quicum ab ineunte ætate familiariter vixerat, ſecum aliquandiu recuſantem duxit* (4). With ſuch circumſtances, is it poſſible for any Author not to ſay, that ſuch a one is nephew of ſuch an one? And it is to be obſerved that Platina, blending together the riſe of theſe two men, calls, on every occaſion, Anthony Corario the Pope's nephew, but never beſtows it on the other. Some unattentive, heedleſs reader, may have been deceived by this; and not have diſtinguiſhed the circumſtances belonging to Corario, from thoſe which relate to Condelmerio; he may have miſtaken the latter for the nephew to Pope Gregory XII; after which Hiſtorians may have followed one another, without enquiring farther into this circumſtance.

(1) At pag. 73.

(2) *Ad ann.* 1408, num. 6; & *ad annum* 1431, num. 4.

(3) i. e. *Celeſtine.*

(4) Platina, *in Eugenio IV*, folio m. 307.

opened his Pontificate by an action which was attended with ill conſequences. He liſtened to ſome informers, who told him that Martin V, fired by an inſatiable ſpirit of avarice, had amaſſed great treaſures. He cauſed to be ſeized, at the inſtigation of thoſe people, Oddo Poccio, Vice-Chamberlain to Martin; but he commanded Stephen Colonna, General of his troops, to bring Poccio before him with as much privacy as poſſible, and not to expoſe him to ſhame; but this order was not obſerved. Oddo's houſe was plundered by the ſoldiers, and he himſelf was dragged, like a felon, to the Pope's palace, in ſight of the whole City. Eugenius was greatly offended at this, and threatened Stephen Colonna, who thereupon fled for refuge to the Prince of Paleſtrina's palace, and there perſuaded him to drive the Pope from his throne; he declaring that if this were not done, the whole family of the Colonna's would be in danger of being ruined. The Prince believing what he heard, and pitying the friends of Martin V, who had been treated very injuriouſly, reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of Rome. Accordingly he ſeized on the Appian Gate, and advanced as far as St. Mark's Church, without committing the leaſt violence, or meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance: but there he was forced to fight with the ſoldiers of Eugenius, ſeconded by a great number of the inhabitants. A ſharp engagement enſued, and many were killed on each ſide. The Prince of Paleſtrina was obliged to retire, but he afterwards exerciſed hoſtilities of every kind. The Pope took repriſals on the Colonna's and their adherents. He fell ſick; whether it were that he had been poiſoned, or from the ſorrows that ſo grievous a war had brought upon him. He therefore turned his thoughts wholly to peace; and having concluded it by the negotiation of Angelotto Foſco, a Roman Citizen (*d*), he recovered his health (*e*). This happened a little before the Emperor Sigiſmund went into Italy. The Pope concluded a treaty with that Emperor; received him with great magnificence in Rome, and there crowned him (*f*). Some time after he was expoſed to a dreadful misfortune, which was no leſs than a complete revolution [*B*]; the Romans took up arms, and he could ſcarce ſecure himſelf by flight from their fury. But they were not able to maintain that liberty which this revolution gave them, and were very ſeverely puniſhed. Eugenius died the 22d of February 1447, at ſixty four years of age (*g*). His Pontificate continued ſixteen years wanting a few days, and was a true ſeries of war; for, abſtracted from the very warm eccleſiaſtical diſputes in which this Pope engaged with the council of Baſil, he was embroiled in all the wars of Italy. He excited the King of Hungary to take up arms againſt the Turks, and the Dauphin againſt the Swiſs (*h*). He was ſo much the more accountable for the fatal effects of the former of theſe two wars, as he had ſent a Cardinal-Legate into Hungary, who excited the King to infringe a treaty of peace that had been ſolemnly concluded with the Port (*i*). The reflection he made on his fate is remarkable [*C*]; and a proof

(*d*) *Ex eodem* Platina, ibid.

(*e*) Nauclerus, *Generat.* 48. folio m. 934.

(*f*) *Anno* 1433.

(*g*) Platina, *in Vita Eugenii IV*, Volaterr. lib. 22. pag. m. 815. *ſays he was but* 63 *years of age.*

(*h*) Platina, ibid.

(*i*) *See* Æneas Sylvius's 81ſt Letter.

[*B*] *He was expoſed to a dreadful misfortune, which was no leſs than a complete Revolution.*] Philip Duke of Milan, being exaſperated at the Pope, made an incurſion into the territories of Rome. The cavalry he ſent thither, was commanded by Nicholas Fortebrachio, a renowned Captain, who had quitted the Pope's ſervice in great diſguſt: for having demanded his pay, Eugenius anſwered, that he ought to think he had been amply payed, by the ſpoils he had taken in the plunder of ſome towns. Exaſperated at this anſwer, he ſought another maſter; and being employed by Duke Philip againſt this Pope, he made ſuch dreadful havock in the places adjacent to Rome, that the whole City was in the utmoſt conſternation; and the Pope himſelf was in doubt, for ſome time, whither to retire. The people uſed to go to him in crouds, to complain about the loſſes they had ſuſtained; but as he then was in an ill ſtate of health, and did not know which way to turn himſelf, he uſed to refer every one to the Cardinal his nephew and chamberlain, an idle and voluptuous man, who returned no other anſwer but this to thoſe who told him that they had loſt their cattle; *You put too great hopes in your cattle; the Venetians lead a much more agreeable life without them* (5). But the people were ſo much exaſperated at this anſwer, that they cried aloud, *to arms! Liberty!* They removed from their employments all the Magiſtrates who had been appointed by Eugenius; filled them with others, and ſeized the Cardinal his nephew. The Pope being reduced to ſuch extremities, aſſumed a Monk's diſguiſe, and went on board a veſſel, in order to fly to Oſtia, where he arrived happily, notwithſtanding the volleys of ſtones and arrows that were diſcharged at him, and after this went to Florence (6). According to ſome Writers (7), he was confined in St. Mary's church on the other ſide of the Tyber; but having eluded his keepers, he got into a fiſher-boat, and went down the river as far as Oſtia; the Romans ſhooting vollies of arrows at him. Volaterranus (8) adds, that the Romans poſſeſſed themſelves of the Capitol and Caſtle of St. Angelo. However, I believe he ſays too much; for Platina, followed in this by a great number of Writers, declares that the caſtle of St. Angelo was not taken. But be this as it will, the Romans did not long enjoy this liberty; the Pope's authority was reſtored there, in his abſence, by John Vitelleſchi, Patriarch of Alexandria, who employed the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the mutineers. The revolution here ſpoken of, happened in June 1434. It is ſo very remarkable a one, and ſo many Authors (9) have ſpoken of it, that I wonder how Moreri came to omit it. He might have copied it from Spondanus's Annals (10). Ambroſio de Camaldoli mentioned it in his *Hodœporicon*; and it was not omitted by Abbé de la Roque, when he gave the extract of this work (11).

[*C*] *The reflection he made on his fate is remarkable.*] As he was going to breathe his laſt, he turned towards the Friars who ſurrounded him; and, with a voice interrupted by ſighs, declared that it would have been much better for his ſalvation, had he never been Cardinal or Pope. *Hic* (Eugenius) *cum eſſet morti proximus, apud Raynaldum* anno M. CCCCXLVII *aliquid dixiſſe memoriæ proditur, quod niſi pœnitentiam oſtendat, certè mihi terrorem injicit: Verba ſunt*; Cumque à religioſis viris cinctus eſſet, interpuncta ſuſpiriis voce, verſoque ad eos vultu dixiſſe fertur: O Gabriel, quantò magis conduxiſſet animæ tuæ ſaluti, ut nunquam Cardinalatum, nec Pontificatum obtinuiſſes, ſed in tuo monaſterio religioſam diſciplinam coluiſſes! *Hæc ex vitæ Eugenii auctore, qui tunc claruit, & à Raynaldo laudatur* (12). i. e. "This Eugenius, being ready "to breathe his laſt, is reported by Raynaldus, anno "1447, to have employed an expreſſion, which, in "caſe it did not ſhew his repentance, does certainly "fill me with terror. His words are theſe: *Being "ſurrounded by a company of Monks, he, with a voice "broken by ſighs, and his face turned towards the people round him, ſpoke as follows: O Gabriel, how "much better would it have been for thy ſoul's health, "hadſt thou never been raiſed to the purple or pontificate, "but continued a religious life in thy monaſtery!* Theſe "particulars are cited from the Author of Eugenius's "life, who flouriſhed at that time, and is applauded "by Raynaldus."

(5) *Eos nimiam ſpem in pecoribus collocaſſe: Venetos quidem ſine gregibus & jumentis longe urbaniorem vitam ducere.* Platina, *in Vita Eugenii IV*, folio 310.

(6) *Ex* Platina, *in Eugenio IV*, folio 310.

(7) Volaterr. lib. 22. pag. 814.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Blondus, St. Antonin, Platina, Volaterran, Nauclerus.

(10) *Ad ann.* 1434. num. 4.

(11) See the *Journal des Savans* of March 2, 1682, pag. 79. Dutch edit.

(12) Launoius, *Epiſt. ultima*, Part 1 pag. 82. edit. Cantabrig.

a proof that thoſe who poſſeſs the higheſt dignities, find them to be meer vanity. I muſt not omit to ſhew that he was not entirely devoted to military actions, he affected to perform in perſon, and with great ſplendor, ſome religious ceremonies, and to employ himſelf in the beautifying and reformation of ſome churches in Rome [D]. He was a handſome man; had a venerable aſpect; and always held his eyes downwards whenever he appeared in public (k). He never drank wine; and obſerved, with regard to his own perſon, the rules of frugality, though great magnificence was ſeen in his palace (l). He was no ſcholar, but loved and encouraged learned men [E]. It was under his Pontificate that the Cardinals began to keep packs of hounds; to build fine ſtables, and abandon themſelves to luxury in their furniture and entertainments [F].

(k) *Vir aſpectu inſignis & veneratione dignus.* Platina, *in Vita Eugenii IV. Vultu alioqui decoro, ac venerabili, oculos in publico nunquam attollebat, ut à parente meo qui eum ſequebatur accepi.* Volaterr. lib. xxii. pag. 815.

(l) *Splendidus in victu familiæ, parcus in ſuo, & à vino ita alienus ut abſtemius meritò vocaretur.* Platina, *in Vita Eugenii IV.*

[D] *He affected to perform in perſon, and with great ſplendor, ſome religious ceremonies; and to employ himſelf in the beautifying and reformation of ſome Churches in Rome.*] This appeared when Nicholas Tolentin was canonized, and St. Sylveſter's mitre was carried from Avignon to Rome. Read the following words of Platina, and you will there find likewiſe that that he drove the ſecular Canons from the Church of St. John of Lateran, and ſettled Canons regular in their ſtead. *Interea vero Eugenius, ne rembellicam ſolum curare videretur, Nicolaum Tollentinatem Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini miraculis clarum in Sanctos referens: à ſancto Petro cum omni clero ſupplicando ad ſanctum Auguſtinum profectus ſolennia ipſe celebrat, aſtante populo Romano Cardinaliumque omnium cœtu: præterea vero pulſis omnino è ſancto Joanne Laterano canonicis ſecularibus admiſſiſque tantummodo regularibus: & porticum illam extruxit quæ ab eccleſia ad ſancta ſanctorum; & clauſtrum ubi ſacerdotes habitarent reſtituit: auxit & picturam templi à Martino antea inchoatam. Præterea vero ſancti Sylveſtri mitram Romam Avenione delatam ipſemet è Vaticano ad Lateranum detulit magna cum veneratione & litania ſacerdotum omnium populique Romani* (13).

(13) Platina, *in Vita Eugenii IV.* folio 320 *verſo.*

[E] *He was no ſcholar, but loved and encouraged learned men.*] According to Platina, he ſpoke with more gravity than eloquence. He had but little erudition; was well verſed in Hiſtory (14), was extremely liberal to all men, and eſpecially to the learned. He delighted in their converſation; Leonardo Aretino, Carlo Aretino, Poggio, Auriſpa, Blondus and George Trapezuntius being his Secretaries. He is ſaid to have written a great number of Books; but the catalogue that is given of them (15) includes ſo many pieces written by his Secretaries, that the ſame judgment ought to be formed of all the reſt. The remark I have made againſt Ghilini (16), may have place on this occaſion.

(14) *Gravis in dicendo potius quam eloquens; modicæ literaturæ; multæ cognitionis, hiſtoriæ præſertim.* Idem, ibid. folio 321.

(15) See the *Nomenclator Cardinalium*, pag. 74, and the *Bibliotheca Pontificia* of Father Jacob, pag. 65, *& ſeq.*

(16) In the Article CHARLES V, remark [C].

[F] *It was in his Pontificate that the Cardinals began to abandon themſelves to luxury in their furniture and entertainments.*] A remarkable circumſtance is, that the Cardinal who began this innovation had been a Phyſician. Read the following words of Volaterranus. *Ludovicum Patriarcham Aquileienſem, cum exercitu Florentinis auxilio miſit* (Eugenius IV) *qui tunc ad Anglare oppidum à Picinino duce copiarum Philippi vicecomitis oppugnabantur; ex quo victoria potiti ſunt. Hic Ludovicus patria Paduanus; arte medicus; ob ſua merita pugnæ, in ſenatum aſcitus, tantos ſibi ſpiritus aſſumpſerat, immemor generis, ut primum ſit auſus cardinalium, canes equoſque alere: conviviorum, lautitiæque, ac ſupellectilis plus quàm illi ordini par erat, ſplendorem introducere* (17). i. e. "Eugenius IV ſent "Lewis, Patriarch of Aquileia, with an army to ſuc- "cour the Florentines, who at that time were beſieged "in the town of Anglara, by Picininus, General of Phi- "lip's troops; by which means they gained the vic- "tory. This Lewis who was a native of Padua and "a Phyſician, being promoted, on account of his ſer- "vices done in the field, to the dignity of a Senator, "grew ſo proud, that, forgetful of his birth, he was "the firſt Cardinal who preſumed to keep horſes and "hounds; and to introduce magnificence in feaſting, "furniture, and equipage, more than became that "Order."

(17) Volaterran. lib. 22. pag. 815.

☞EUGENE (PRINCE). See Houſe of SAVOY.

EUPHRATES, a diſciple of Plato, was in ſuch prodigious favour with Perdiccas King of Macedon, that he was as much monarch as he. He was a wicked man, and an informer; and he excluded, from Perdiccas's table, all perſons who were not ſkilled in Geometry or Philoſophy [A]. Parmenio put him to death in the reign of Philip, ſucceſſor to Perdiccas (a).

(a) Extracted from Athenæus, lib. 11, *ſub finem*, 508.

[A] *He excluded, from Perdiccas's table, all perſons who were not ſkilled in Geometry or Philoſophy.*] A Court which, like that of Macedon, at the time we are now ſpeaking of, was but juſt emerging out of ignorance, doubtleſs look'd upon this condition as a kind of tyranny; for if the Profeſſors who wrote the following words over the doors of their Schools, Οὐδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω; i. e. "Let no one who is igno- "rant of Geometry enter here," required very hard preliminaries; what muſt Perdiccas's Courtiers think, when they ſaw that their admiſſion to the King's table depended on ſuch a Law? Had nothing been inſiſted on but a ſlight knowledge of the Poets and Hiſtorians, this condition might have been fulfilled; but Euphrates required the gueſts to be Geometricians or Philoſophers; now for theſe two characters, and eſpecially the former, very few have a reliſh, even among thoſe who apply themſelves to the ſciences.

☞EVREMOND (CHARLES DE SAINT DENIS, Lord of Saint) was born at St. Denis le Guaſt, within three leagues of Coutance in Lower Normandy, on the firſt of April 1613, and was ſon of Charles de St. Denis by Charlotte de Rouville, both of them of the beſt families in Normandy. Being one of the younger ſons, he was deſigned for the gown, and at nine years of age was ſent to Paris to be educated a ſcholar. He was entered in the ſecond form of the College of Clermont, and continued there four years, during which he went through Grammar learning and Rhetorick. He went next to the Univerſity of Caen, in order to ſtudy Philoſophy, and having continued there one year returned to Paris, where he purſued the ſame ſtudy one year longer in the College of Harcourt. As ſoon as he had gone through Philoſophy, and learned his exerciſes, he began the ſtudy of the Law; but whether his relations had then other views, or his genius inclined him to arms, he quitted that ſtudy, after he had followed it ſomewhat more than a year, and was made an Enſign before he was full ſixteen years of age. After he had ſerved two or three campaigns he obtained a Lieutenant's Commiſſion, and had a company of foot given him after the ſiege of Landrecy in 1637 (a). A military life did not hinder him from cultivating Philoſophy and the Belles Lettres at his leiſure hours;

(a) *Life of Monſieur de St. Evremond. By Mr. Des Maizeaux, F. R. S.* prefixed to the *Works of Monſ. de St. Evremond*, pag. 2, 3, 4. 2d edit. London 1728, in 8vo.

hours [*A*]; and he ſignalized himſelf by his politeneſs and wit as much as by his bravery. He was at the ſiege of Arras in 1640, and the year following obtained a poſt in the horſe, which gave him freſh opportunities of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. The Duke of Enguien was ſo charmed with his converſation, that he made him Lieutenant of his Guards, that he might have him conſtantly near him [*B*]. In 1643 after the campaign of Rocroy, he wrote a kind of Satyr againſt the French Academy, which was publiſhed in 1650 [*C*]. He made the campaign of Fribourg in 1644; and the next year received a dangerous wound in the knee at the battle of Nortlingen (*b*). After the taking of Furnes in 1646 the Duke of Enguien pitched upon him to carry the news of it to the Court; and having at the ſame time opened to him his deſign of beſieging Dunkirk, charged him to propoſe it to Cardinal Mazarin, and to ſettle with him all that was neceſſary for the execution of ſo great an undertaking. Monſieur de St. Evremond was ſo dextrous in the management of this affair, that he made the prime Miniſter conſent to all that the Duke deſired (*c*). Some time after this he wrote two or three little pieces, upon occaſion of ſome diſcourſe which had paſſed between him and his friends [*D*]. In 1648

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 4—10.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 11, 12.

[*A*] *A military life did not hinder him from cultivating Philoſophy . . . at his leiſure hours.*] With regard to Philoſophy, it ſoon fared with him, as it commonly does with perſons, who, in a riper age, bethink themſelves of making uſe of their reaſon. He examined whether his maſters had given him a true inſight into the nature of things; but the farther he purſued his inquiries, the more he was ſenſible of the vanity of their pretences; what they had often laid down to him for moſt evident truth, ſcarce appearing to him within the verge of probability. *When I had reach'd*, ſays he of himſelf (1), *the period of man's age, which fits the underſtanding for the purſuit of knowledge, I had a curioſity to comprehend the nature of things; and ſoon preſumed that I had attained to it. The leaſt proof ſeemed to me a demonſtration, and a probability paſſed for a truth: nor can I expreſs with what contempt I look'd down upon thoſe, whom I thought ignorant of thoſe things, which I flatter'd myſelf I knew perfectly well. At length, when age and experience, which unhappily never comes before it, put me upon ſerious reflections, I began to lay aſide the ſtudy of a ſcience always conteſted, and about which the greateſt men ever had different ſentiments. I knew from the univerſal conſent of Nations, that* Plato, Ariſtotle, Zeno, *and* Epicurus, *were the Luminaries of their age; and yet there was nothing ſo contrary as their opinions. Three thouſand years after, I found them equally diſputed; ſticklers on all ſides, but nothing of certainty or ſecurity on any. In the midſt of theſe meditations, which inſenſibly undeceived me, I had the curioſity to ſee* Gaſſendus, *the moſt knowing, and the leaſt preſuming of all Philoſophers. After ſeveral long converſations, wherein he communicated to me all that can be attained by reaſon, he lamented, that* nature had given ſo large a ſcope to our curioſity, and ſuch narrow limits to our knowledge; *adding*, he did not ſay this to mortify the preſumption of others, or to make a falſe oſtentation of his own humility, which ſavours of downright hypocriſy; that perhaps he was not ignorant of what judgment might be made of many things; but that he durſt not be poſitive he was thoroughly acquainted with the moſt inconſiderable. *Upon this*, adds M. de St. Evremond, *a Science, which I already ſuſpected, appeared too vain for me to be a ſlave to it any longer. I broke off all commerce with it, and began to admire how it was poſſible for a wiſe man to ſpend his life in unprofitable inquiries.* Theſe were our Author's thoughts about the barren ſpeculations of Philoſophy: but he entertained a far different opinion of the ſtudy of the Law; which he judged to be not only uſeful, but even neceſſary for a Gentleman, and ever delighted in cultivating it (2).

(1) *Jugemen ſur les Sciences où un honnête homme peut s'occuper.*

(2) See his *Diſcourſe addreſſed to the Mareſchal de Crequi.*

[*B*] *The Duke of* Enguien *was ſo charmed with his converſation, that he made him Lieutenant of his guards, that he might have him conſtantly near him.*] That young Prince had a great penetration, and a moſt accurate judgment; was a great lover of Literature; and, upon the death of Cardinal Richelieu, deſigned by ſeveral Members of the French Academy for their Protector (3). Reading was one of his moſt agreeable amuſements; and as he always deſired to have the company of M. de St. Evremond at his Lectures, the latter made it his buſineſs to delight and inſtruct him at the ſame time. Being ſenſible, that Princes, whoſe time is precious, ought not to ſtudy after the common method of other men, when he read any paſſages out of ancient Hiſtorians, he left to Grammarians the ſcrupulous explanation of words and phraſes, and bent his whole application to the unfolding and clearing the meaning of the Authors; making reflections on the juſtneſs and beauty of their thoughts; obſerving the ſkill, with which they repreſent great men, and the nice differences they mark in their characters. In ſhort, he laboured to give a true notion of the ſtate of affairs, and to penetrate into the different views of the great perſonages of thoſe times (4). And indeed this is the method, as Mr. Des Maizeaux obſerves (5), which not only Princes, but all perſons of quality, who are arrived at the age of diſcernment and reflection, ought to follow in the reading of antient Authors; tho' it muſt be confeſſed at the ſame time, that it is no eaſy matter for them to find men capable of clearing up all thoſe things. Commentators would in ſome meaſure make up that defect, had they turned their views that way; but whether they were not equal to the taſk, or imagined it to be foreign to their province, there is nothing like it in their writings. Mr. de St. Evremond has very well remark'd their imperfections in one of his pieces (6): "I have ſeen within "a few years, *ſays he*, abundance of criticks, and "but few good judges. Now I do not affect that ſort "of learned men, who rack their brains to reſtore a "paſſage, which is not the more agreeable to us by "the reſtitution. They make a myſtery of knowing "what they might as well be ignorant of, and are "abſolute ſtrangers to what is really worth knowing. "For want of having nice ſentiments and thoughts, "it is impoſſible for them to enter into the delicacy "of the one, or the fineneſs of the other. They "may ſucceed well enough in expounding Grammarians, who applied themſelves to the ſame ſtudy, "and whoſe genius was the ſame; but they can never hit the ſentiment of a polite well-bred man "among the ancients, becauſe theirs is diametrically "oppoſite to it. In hiſtory, they neither know men "nor affairs: they lay the whole ſtreſs on Chronology; and they prefer the date of a Conſul's death "to his character, and the tranſactions of his Conſulſhip. *Tully*, with them, will never be any more "than an *Oration-maker*; or *Cæſar* than a Writer of "*Commentaries:* the Conſul and the General eſcape "their notice; the ſpirit that animates their works "is unperceived; and the principal matters, which "they treat of, unknown."

(3) *Hiſtoire de l'Académie Françoiſ depuis ſon établiſſement juſqu'à 1652. Par M. Peliſſon*, pag. 174, 175. edit. de Paris 1730.

(4) *Life of Monſieur de St. Evremond. By Mr. Des Maizeaux, F. R. S.* prefix'd to the *Works of Mr. de St. Evremond*, pag. 7, 8. 2d edit. London 1728, in 8vo.

(5) Ibid. pag. 8.

(6) *Diſcourſe addreſſed to the Mareſchal de Crequi.*

[*C*] *In* 1643, *after the campaign of Rocroy, he wrote a kind of Satyr againſt the French Academy, which was publiſhed in* 1650.] It was printed with the title of, *Comedie des Academiſtes pour la Reformation de la Langue Françoiſe.* It was handed about a long while in manuſcript, and, as it generally happens on the like occaſions, every body aſſumed the liberty either of adding to it, or ſtriking out of it what he thought fit; ſo that when it appeared in print, M. de St. Evremond ſcarce knew it to be his. However Monſr. Peliſſon (7) expreſſes ſome eſteem of it, and declares, that this piece, "tho' written without either art or rule, and deſerving the name more of a farce than a Comedy, "is not without wit, and there are very humorous paſſages in it." Mr. Des Maizeaux has publiſhed a correct copy of it in the Collection of our Author's *Works*.

(7) *Hiſt. de l'Académie Françoiſe*, pag. 62.

[*D*] *Some time after this he wrote two or three little*

1648 he loſt the poſt which he had near the Prince of Condé [*E*], which was the Duke of Enguien's title after his father's death; and the year following went into Normandy to ſee his family. The Duke of Longueville, who had declared againſt Cardinal Mazarin, uſed all endeavours to engage Monſieur de St. Evremond in his party, offering him the command of his artillery, which he refuſed, as he tells us himſelf in a ſatirical piece, intitled, *The Duke of Longueville's Retreat to his Government of Normandy*; which the Cardinal was ſo extremely pleaſed with, that in his laſt ſickneſs he ſeveral times engaged M. de St. Evremond to read it to him. In 1650 he followed the Court to Havre de Grace, in company with the Duke de Candale; in which journey he had a long converſation with that Lord, which he afterwards ſet down in writing, and in which he joined to the judicious counſels which he gave his friend, the characters of the courtiers, with whom he had the greateſt intimacy (*d*). The civil war breaking out in 1652, and the King being acquainted with his merit and bravery, and knowing that he had conſtantly refuſed to ſide with thoſe againſt the Court, made him a *Mareſchal de Camp*, or Major-General, as appears by his Commiſſion dated September 16, 1652, and the next day gave him a warrant for a penſion of three thouſand livres a year (*e*). He ſerved under the Duke of Candale in the war of Guienne; but upon the reduction of that Province was committed priſoner to the Baſtile by means of Cardinal Mazarin [*F*], where he continued two or three months. In 1654 he ſerved in Flanders (*f*). In 1657 he fought a duel with the Marquis de Fore; and notwithſtanding all poſſible care was taken to keep it ſecret, the Court had notice of it, which obliged Mr. de St. Evremond to retire into the country, till his friends had obtained his pardon (*g*). It was probably during this retirement that he wrote his *Diſcourſe on Pleaſures* [*G*]. In 1659 he ſerved in Flanders till the ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed on between France and Spain (*h*); and afterwards accompanied Cardinal Mazarin, when he went to conclude the peace with Don Luis de Haro, the King of Spain's firſt Miniſter. He had promiſed the Marquis de Crequi, afterwards

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 15, 16.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 17.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 18.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 20.

(*h*) It began May 8, 1659, and was continued till the concluſion of the peace the 7th of Nov. following.

pieces, upon occaſion of ſome diſcourſes, which had paſſed between him and his friends.] They were reflections upon the following maxims, *That man, who is deſirous to know all things, knows not himſelf: That we ought to deſpiſe fortune, and not care for the Court: That a man ought never to be wanting to his friends.* Theſe three pieces were printed at Paris in 1668, but ſtrangely altered. M. de St. Evremond has reſtored the two firſt, which are publiſhed by Mr. Des Maizeaux amongſt his works. He obſerves in the firſt of theſe pieces, that the Author of Nature would not allow us to be well acquainted with ourſelves; and that while we covet to know every thing, we are reduced to the fatal neceſſity of being ignorant of what we are. He maintains, that "no man was ever convinced by reaſon, either that the ſoul is certainly immortal, or "that it is really annihilated with the body." He ſhews, that the moſt knowing Philoſophers, as *Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Ariſtotle, Seneca*, and even *Solomon, the greateſt of all Kings, and the wiſeſt of all men*, could never ſatisfy themſelves on this head; and from the contrariety of their opinions he concludes, *that unleſs faith ſubjects our reaſon, we paſs our lives between belief and unbelief, in endeavouring to perſuade, while we are unable to convince ourſelves. It belongs*, ſays he, *to God alone to make Martyrs; and to engage us by his promiſe to lay down the life we enjoy, for another, which we know nothing of. For a man to pretend to convince himſelf of the immortality of the ſoul by reaſon, is to diſtruſt the aſſurance God has given us of it; and is, in ſome meaſure, renouncing the only thing, by which we may be certain of it.*

[*E*] *In* 1648 *he loſt the poſt, which he had near the Prince of Condé.*] The occaſion of it was as follows. That Prince took great delight in finding out the ridicule of mankind, and often ſhut himſelf up with the Count de Mioſſens and M. de St. Evremond, to ſhare that pleaſure with them. One day after theſe two Gentlemen had a converſation of this nature, Mr. de St. Evremond chanced unawares to aſk the Count de Mioſſens, whether he thought that his Highneſs, who was ſo fond of ſpying out the ridicule of others, had no ridicule himſelf? and they agreed, that the very affectation of ſearching out the ridicule of others, ſubjected him to a ridicule of a peculiar ſtamp. This was ſo pleaſant a thought, that they could not reſiſt the temptation of making merry upon it with their friends; of which the Prince being informed, ſoon ſhewed his reſentment. He took from M. de St. Evremond the Lieutenancy of his Guards, and would have no farther correſpondence with the Count de Mioſſens. However, it is probable, that he would have reſtored them both to his favour, if affairs had not taken a new turn. The war at Paris was juſt begun; and the Prince having declared againſt the Court, at laſt withdrew into the Low-Countries, where he was made Generaliſſimo of the King of Spain's armies. When he returned into France, after the Pyrenean Treaty, M. de St. Evremond went to wait upon him, and he received him very graciouſly. He even offered him his protection; and afterwards, on ſeveral occaſions, gave him aſſurances of his affection and eſteem (8).

(8) *Life of St. Evremond*, pag. 13, 14.

[*F*] *Committed priſoner to the Baſtille by means of Cardinal Mazarin.*] Some jeſts, which were paſſed on the Cardinal in a company, where M. de St. Evremond was, and in which he had no greater ſhare than the reſt, were the pretence of his confinement. But the true reaſon of it was this; when they talked of an accommodation with Guienne, the Cardinal deſired, that the application ſhould be made to the creatures he had in the party of the Princes. But the Duke of *Candale* thought it better to treat with the friends of the Biſhop of Agen, who had turned out the Duke d'*Epernon*, rightly foreſeeing, that as they were the ſtrongeſt, their opinions would draw in the reſt, which happened accordingly. This want of deference touched the Cardinal to the quick; who concluding that M. de St. Evremond had given this counſel to the Duke of *Candale*, he reſolved to puniſh him for it. However, when M. de St. Evremond went to return him thanks after his enlargement, the Cardinal told him very obligingly, *That he was perſuaded of his innocence; but that a man in his ſtation was forced to hearken to ſo many reports, that it was very difficult for him to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, and not do injuſtice ſometimes to an honeſt man* (9).

(9) Ibid. pag. 17, 18.

[*G*] *It was probably during this retirement, that he wrote his Diſcourſe on Pleaſures.*] In this *Diſcourſe* he obſerves firſt, "that if a man intends to live happy, "he muſt make few reflections upon life, and often be "abſent, as it were, from himſelf; and amidſt the "diverſions, which exterior objects furniſh him with, "ſteal from the knowledge of his own miſeries." He adds, that we ſhould not contemplate too much on death; not that we ſhould never think of it; he believes it *next to impoſſible not to make ſome reflections upon a thing ſo natural; and that it would be a kind of effeminacy to be always afraid to think of it:* only he would not have a man make it his *particular ſtudy*, which he ſays is an *employment* of the mind *too inconſiſtent with life*. After this he conſiders how a man muſt manage pleaſures, in order to render them more quick and laſting; and concludes with obſerving the advantages which *true Chriſtians* have over the Followers of *Epicurus* and *Ariſtippus*.

afterwards Marſhal of France, to give him a particular account of the whole negotiation; and therefore as ſoon as the peace was ſigned, he wrote a long letter to the Marquis, in which he ſhewed, that the Cardinal had ſacrificed the honour and welfare of France to his own private intereſt, and raillied him in a very ſatirical manner. This letter falling afterwards into the hands of the Cardinal's creatures, ſome time after his death, it was repreſented as a State-crime, and he was obliged to fly to Holland [*H*], where he arrived in 1661. He had too many friends in England, (whither he had taken a tour the year before with the Count de Soiſſons, who had been ſent over by the King of France to compliment King Charles II upon his reſtoration,) to make any long ſtay in Holland, and therefore paſſed over to England, where he was received with great reſpect (*i*), and admitted into an intimate friendſhip with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, eſpecially the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord d'Aubigny [*I*]. Here he wrote ſeveral pieces, which with the reſt of his Works have been ſeveral times printed [*K*]. In 1665 he was ſeized with vapours,

(*i*) *Life of Mr. de St. Evremond*, pag. 28, 29.

[*H*] *This Letter falling afterwards into the hands of the Cardinal's creatures.*] The affair happen'd in this manner. The King ſet out for Britany ſome days before Monſieur Fouquet was arreſted; and M. de St. Evremond being one of thoſe named for the journey, he left in the hands of Madam du Pleſſis-Belliere, mother to the Marchioneſs de Crequi, a ſtrong box, with money, notes, and ſeveral letters. As ſoon as Monſieur Fouquet was arreſted, (which was on the 5th of September 1661) they were not contented with ſeizing all his papers, but likewiſe clapped a ſeal on what they found at the houſes of all ſuch as were thought to be his confidents; and did not fail making a viſit to the Lady du Pleſſis-Belliere, who was too great a friend to the Superintendant to be forgotten. There they ſeized Mr. de St. Evremond's ſtrong box, and the letter relating to the Pyrenean treaty, which had been communicated to none but the Mareſchal de Clerimbaut, and two or three other perſons. Meſſieurs le Tellier and Colbert, who were the Cardinal's creatures, pretending a grateful veneration for the memory of their benefactor, read the letter to the King, and left no ſtone unturned to exaſperate him againſt M. de St. Evremond. They put his Majeſty in mind of the great zeal which his Eminence had ever ſhewn for his intereſt, and the ſervices which he had done the ſtate in the worſt of times. They added, that the invectives of M. de St. Evremond reflected on the regency of the Queen-Mother, and even on the King's reign, ſince his Majeſty had thought fit to purſue the Cardinal's ſcheme and maxims. And in ſhort, they told him the danger of allowing private men to judge of ſtate-affairs according to their caprice, and with impunity to cenſure the conduct of Miniſters. Nor did they fail to make an handle of the friendly correſpondence which M. de St. Evremond held with the Superintendant, whoſe ruin had been reſolved on. Theſe inſinuations made an impreſſion on the King, who ordered M. de St. Evremond to be committed to the Baſtille. It happened that he was gone to ſee the Mareſchal de Clerimbaut in the country, not ſuſpecting what had paſſed. But M. de Gourville hearing that orders were iſſued to apprehend him, and knowing that he was returning with the Mareſchal to Paris, ſent a man poſt to advertiſe him of it, who overtook him in the foreſt of Orleans; and upon M. de Gourville's advice retired into Normandy. After having lain hid there for ſome time, he went privately to the frontiers of the Kingdom, and at laſt reſolved to go to Holland, where he arrived about the end of the year 1661 (10).

(10) Ibid. pag. 26, 27, 28.

[*I*] *Admitted into an intimate friendſhip with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, eſpecially the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord d'Aubigny.*] He courted the correſpondence of perſons the moſt eminent for learning in England. He often converſed with Sir Kenelm Digby and Mr. Hobbes, but more eſpecially with Mr. Cowley and Mr. Waller. The Duke of Buckingham and the Lord d'Aubigny, and M. de St. Evremond were together almoſt every day, and their converſation was often upon Theatrical performances. M. de St. Evremond not underſtanding the Engliſh tongue, thoſe Gentlemen acquainted him with the beſt dramatic pieces compoſed in that language; of which he retained ſo clear an idea that forty years after he remembred them very diſtinctly. The reading of them furniſhed him with the reflections which he has made upon the Engliſh Tragedies and Comedies in ſome of his Works (11). It was this ſort of amuſement too, which gave them occaſion to write the Comedy of *Le pretendu Politique* (12) or *Sir Politick Would-be*, towards which each of them clubbed part of the characters, which M. de St. Evremond reduced to form (13).

(11) Vol. 2. pag. 157 and 168. of the Engliſh Tranſlation.

(12) See the French edition of his Works, vol. 2. Amſterdam 1726, in 12mo.

[*K*] *Several pieces, which with the reſt of his works have been ſeveral times printed.*] We ſhall give ſome account of ſeveral of his writings, and the occaſions of writing them. When Queen Chriſtina of Sweden came to Paris in 1656, ſhe was the ſubject of all converſation; there was no other talk but about her abdication, learning, and behaviour, which produced various comments, and ſometimes very pleaſant ſcenes. Such, for inſtance, was the diſpute which aroſe one day between the Count du Bautru, the Commander de Jars, and the Biſhop of Mans, three great originals in their way. M. de St. Evremond, who was witneſs to their diſpute, thought it ſo remarkable that he made a narrative of it, and ſent it to the Count d' Olonne (14). The diſpute between the Jeſuits and Janſeniſts making a great noiſe in the world about the year 1663, our Author having one day related to the Lord d'Aubigny the converſation he had with Father Canaye about the animoſity between both parties, the Lord d'Aubigny was charmed with the Jeſuit's frankneſs, and to ſhew that there was as much candor among the Janſeniſts as among the Fathers of the Society, he gave him the character of the Janſeniſts, and diſcloſed to him the whole ſecret of their cabal. M. de St. Evremond committed this converſation to writing, and it is printed next to that, which the Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt had with Father Canaye (15). About that time, one of his friends aſking him, *what ſciences he thought it was convenient for a Gentleman to apply himſelf to*; he ſent him a ſhort diſcourſe, wherein he reduces them to morals, politics, and the Belles Lettres (16). "The firſt, *ſays he*, has a relation to "reaſon, the ſecond to ſociety, and the third to converſation. The one teaches us to govern our paſſions; "by the other we are inſtructed in affairs of ſtate, and "how to regulate our conduct in good or ill fortune; the laſt poliſhes the mind, and inſpires what "is delicate and agreeable." The *Reflections upon the different Genius of the Roman People* (17), which our Author wrote afterwards, have merited univerſal applauſe, and obtained a ſort of preference to all his other works. He begins them with remarks on the fabulous original of the Romans, and the genius of that people under the firſt Kings. He ſpeaks afterwards of the genius of the antient Romans, in the beginning of the Republic, and in their firſt wars. He confutes Livy, who thought that the firſt Romans would have vanquiſhed Alexander the Great, if he had made war againſt them; and ſhews, that the Conſuls at that time had not by far ſo good troops, nor ſo great ſkill in the military art, as that Conqueror. He deſcribes the genius of the Romans, when Pyrrhus waged war againſt them; he treats of the 1ſt and 2d Punic wars; of the genius of the Romans towards the end of the latter; and laſtly, of the government of Auguſtus and Tiberius, their genius, and that of the Romans, who lived under the reign of thoſe two Princes. M. de St. Evremond has treated of thoſe things like one, who perfectly knew mankind, as well as affairs civil and military. He has entered ſo far into the genius of thoſe antient Romans; ſo artfully unravelled the different motives that actuated them; and ſo well penetrated into the private views of their leaders, that Mr. Des Maizeaux is of opinion (18), that *nothing better has yet*

(13) *Life of St. Evremond*, pag. 40, 41.

(14) Vol. 1. pag. 36. of the Engliſh Tranſlation.

(15) Ibid. vol. 1. pag. 176.

(16) Ibid. pag. 49.

(17) Ibid. pag. 55, *& ſeqq.*

(18) *Life of St. Evremond*, pag. 45.

vapours, which caſt him into a ſort of melancholy, and weakened him very much; upon which he was adviſed to go to Holland, where he viſited ſome learned men, and celebrated Philoſophers, who were then at the Hague, particularly Heinſius, Voſſius, and

yet appeared on the Roman Hiſtory. But one half of this Work was unfortunately loſt. The vacuum in it was filled up by the conteſt of Gracchus with the Senate; by reflections on the genius of the Roman people, when Jugurtha ſeized the Kingdom of Numidia; on the ſordid intereſt, which was then predominant, and on the infamous character of the Romans, who were firſt employed in that affair. Then came the picture of *Scaurus*; the war managed by *Metellus*, his character, and that of *Jugurtha*; and ſome ſtrokes on the pride of the Nobility. Next followed the character of *Marius*, with ſome reflections on the arrogance of that Conſul. He there deſcribed the genius of the people, who had aſſumed a tyrannical ſuperiority over the Senate, which went near to prove fatal to the commonwealth. He gave after that the character of *Sylla*, and ſhewed how he freed the Senate, and oppreſſed the people; and then ſpoke of Pompey and Sertorius. He afterwards repreſented the State of Rome, and the genius of the Romans, at the time of *Cataline*'s conſpiracy, whoſe character he deſcribed with that of *Clodius* and *Cicero*, and mentioned the baniſhment of the latter; ſhewing the State of Rome, when the government was divided between *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus*. In the laſt place he laid open the motives of the Civil War between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*; drew the characters of thoſe great men; ſhewed how the Senate was affected to *Pompey*, and the people to *Cæſar*; diſcovered the ſentiments of the former concerning the Republic, and how his power was eſtabliſhed to the prejudice of liberty, and repreſented Cæſar's gradual advancement towards abſolute power. M. de St. Evremond had treated of all theſe great ſubjects; but this part of his labour is loſt, and he would never take the trouble to recal it to mind, and write it over again. This is the account of Mr. Des Maizeaux (19); and we are informed likewiſe in an advertiſement at the end of Chap. VIII. of our Author's *Reflections*, that he having reſolved to go over into Holland in 1665, left his papers in the cuſtody of his good friend Mr. *Waller*; but upon his return to London in 1670, found that moſt of them were loſt during the great plague; and among the reſt Chap. IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, of the *Reflections on the different genius of the Roman People*, with part of Chap. VIII. relating to the conteſt of Gracchus with the Senate. He alſo wrote about the ſame time his *Judgment upon Cæſar and Alexander* (20), wherein he compares thoſe two heroes with reſpect to their birth, manners, qualities of mind, actions, and conduct. *This*, ſays Monſr. le Clerc (21), *is a piece full of good ſenſe and penetration*. In 1664 he wrote his *Judgment upon Seneca, Plutarch, and Petronius* (22); in which he obſerves, that Petronius's love for pleaſures "did not render him an enemy to buſineſs; that he had the "merit of a governor in his government of Bithynia, "and the virtue of a Conſul in his Conſulſhip." He does not forget Petronius's death, which he takes to be *the moſt glorious of antiquity*, and ſhews, that it has ſomething more great and noble in it, than either that of *Cato* or *Socrates*. *Petronius*, ſays he, *leaves us nothing at his death but an image of life; no action, no word, no circumſtance ſhews the perplexity of a dying man: it is with him properly, that to die, is to ceaſe to live*. Mr. Addiſon (23) has made ſome animadverſions upon this paſſage of our Author, and having obſerved, that "the end of a man's life is often compared to "the winding up of a well written Play, where the "principal perſons ſtill act in character, whatever the "fate is, which they undergo;" tells us, that *there is ſcarce a great perſon in the Grecian or Roman Hiſtory, whoſe death has not been remarked upon by ſome Writer or other, and cenſured or applauded according to the genius or principles of the perſon, who has deſcanted on it*. *Monſieur* de St. Evremont *is very particular in ſetting forth the conſtancy and courage of* Petronius Arbiter *during his laſt moments, and thinks he diſcovers in them a greater firmneſs of mind and reſolution than in the death of* Seneca, Cato, *or* Socrates. *There is no queſtion but this polite Author's affectation of appearing ſingular in his remarks, and making diſcoveries, which had eſcaped the obſervation of others, threw him into this courſe of reflection. It was* Petronius *his merit, that he died in the ſame gaiety of temper, in which he lived; but as his life was altogether looſe and diſſolute, the indifference which he ſhewed at the cloſe of it is to be looked upon as a piece of natural careleſſneſs and levity, rather than fortitude. The reſolution of* Socrates *proceeded from very different motives, the conſciouſneſs of a well ſpent life, and the proſpect of a happy eternity. If the ingenious Author abovementioned was ſo pleaſed with gaiety of humour in a dying man, he might have found a much nobler inſtance of it in our countryman Sir* Thomas More. In 1666, upon occaſion of Mr. Greatrak's pretending to cure diſeaſes by touching the patients only, our Author wrote a *Novel*, intitled, *Le Prophete Irlandois*, or the *Iriſh Prophet*, in which he ridicules the credulity of the people, and the ſpirit of ſuperſtition. He diverted himſelf alſo with drawing the picture of *a woman who never was, nor will ever be found*, or rather in giving the character of an *accompliſhed perſon*; and he obſerves, "that he did not attempt to "ſeek ſuch a perſon amongſt men, becauſe there is "always wanting in their converſation a certain ſweet-"neſs, which we meet with in that of women; and "that he thought it more poſſible to find the ſtrongeſt "and ſoundeſt reaſon of men in a woman, than thoſe "charms and endearments, which are ſo natural to "women in a man." The converſations which he had with Iſaac Voſſius, gave him the thought of writing down ſome *Obſervations*, which he had made *on Saluſt and Tacitus* (24), which he addreſſed to that great man, whom he called his *Learned Friend*. He wrote likewiſe during his reſidence in Holland a *Diſſertation* on Monſr. Racine's Tragedy, called *Alexander the Great* (25); and in England he compoſed three little diſcourſes on *ſordid and baſe intereſt*; on *pure and ſolid virtue*; and *the thoughts of a Gentleman, who keeps a medium, and draws from both what ought to enter into civil intercourſe* (26). The Mareſchal de Crequi having aſked him *what frame his mind was in, and what he thought of things in his old age*, he ſent him a diſcourſe containing reflections on the different tempers of a man's mind according to his different ſtages of life; on the reading and choice of Books; on Poetry; on ſome Spaniſh, Italian, and French Authors; on converſation; on literature; the knowledge of law; on ingratitude; and on religion. Of all the Works of M. de St. Evremond, there is none, in which he has painted himſelf more to the life than in this. It ſhews him at one view a Courtier, a man of letters, a Philoſopher, a Divine; and diſcovers a fine genius, and delicate taſte, and a nice diſcernment (28). Madam Queroualle, afterwards Ducheſs of Portſmouth, coming over to England in 1671, M. de St. Evremond ſent her a *Problem in imitation of the Spaniards* (29), in which he puts the queſtion, "which of the two is moſt injurious to the well-be-"ing of the fair ſex, either to abandon themſelves "wholly to their inclinations, or to follow all the "dictates of virtue;" and "whether their indulging "their paſſions is attended with more misfortunes than "they are deprived of pleaſures by a conſtraint." In 1672 he wrote ſome Reflections on *the ancient and modern Tragedy* (30), and *on the characters of Tragedy* (31). In 1673 he compoſed a diſcourſe upon *the French Hiſtorians* (32); which was followed by his *Reflections upon the French Tranſlators* (33). The Ducheſs of Mazarin coming over to England about the end of the year 1675, and the Prince of Monaco becoming a paſſionate admirer of her, our Author ſoon obſerved that ſhe was not inſenſible; and as he was privy to the myſtery of the Ducheſs's journey hither, and even ſomewhat concerned in it, he omitted nothing to prevent ſo fatal an amour, and addreſſed to her a little *diſcourſe on Friendſhip* (34). The converſations held at that Lady's Houſe gave occaſion to ſeveral of our Author's Works; ſuch as his *Defence of ſome Plays of M.* Corneille (35); his *Reflections on the French, Spaniſh, Italian, and Engliſh Tragedies and Comedies*, and *on Opera's*; his *Comedy of the Opera*; his *Diſſertation on the word* Vaſt; and ſeveral others. In 1680 he compoſed

(19) Ibid. pag. 45, 46.

(20) Vol. 1. pag. 135 of the Engliſh Tranſlation.

(21) *Biblioth. choiſie*, tom. 9. pag. 326.

(22) Vol. 1. pag. 153. of the Engliſh Tranſlation.

(23) Spectator, num. 349. vol. 5.

(24) Vol. 1. pag. 224. of the Engliſh Tranſlation.

(25) Ibid. pag. 232.

(26) Vol. 2. pag. 34.

(27) Ibid. pag. 53, &c.

(28) Des Maizeaux, *Life of M. de St. Evremond*, pag. 73.

(29) Vol. 2. pag. 91.

(30) Ibid. pag. 101.

(31) Ibid. pag. 112.

(32) Ibid. pag. 126.

(33) Ibid. pag. 144.

(34) Ibid. pag. 202.

(35) Ibid. pag. 227.

(k) Ibid. pag. 54, 55, 56.

and Spinoſa (*k*). He afterwards reſolved to ſee Flanders, and ſpent ſome time at Breda, where the peace was negotiating between England and Holland; and went thence to Spaw and Bruſſels; and in his return to the Hague paſſed through Liege, where he became acquainted with Mr. Sluſius, a Canon of St. Lambert, famous for his knowledge of the

(l) Ibid. pag. 61.

Law and the Mathematics (*l*). He had no other thoughts than quietly to paſs the remainder of his days in Holland, when Sir William Temple delivered to him Letters from the Earl of Arlington, informing him that King Charles deſired his return to England. Hereupon he croſſed the ſea once more, and the King gave him a penſion of three hundred pounds a year. However he could not forget his own country; and he made ſeveral attempts to procure leave to return, but in vain. After the peace of Nimeguen in 1679, he wrote an Epiſtle in verſe to the King of France, in which he indirectly aſked leave to return to his native country, but it proved ineffectual. Upon the death of King Charles in 1685 he loſt his penſion, and as he could not rely on the affection of King James II, though that Prince had ſhewn himſelf extremely kind to him, he deſired his friends to renew their endeavours to procure his return. The Mareſchal de Crequi adviſed him to write to the King, and promiſed to deliver his letter; but it had no more

(m) Ibid. pag. 120, 121.

effect than the former (*m*). In 1686 the Earl of Sunderland propoſed to King James to create for M. de St. Evremond a place of *Secretary of the Cabinet*, whoſe province ſhould be to write the King's private letters to the foreign Princes. The King approved the motion; but M. de St. Evremond thought it did not become him to accept ſuch an office.

(36) Ibid. pag. 261.

poſed a little Piece (36), in which he enquires into the reaſon why the greateſt men of antiquity, ſuch as *Alcibiades*, *Ageſilaus*, *Scipio*, and *Julius Cæſar*, were ſo little addicted to the fair ſex, whilſt that wiſe and learned King *Solomon* was inſenſible to all other charms. The Ducheſs of Mazarin cauſed this Piece to be printed at London in 1681, and maliciouſly intitled it, *Friendſhip without Friendſhip, dedicated to the Earl of St. Albans*. About the year 1683 he wrote *Obſervations upon the Taſte and Judgment of the French* (37). The Ducheſs of Mazarin having recovered her health after a great fit of ſickneſs in 1684, ſaid one day ſmiling, that ſhe would be glad to know, what people would ſay of her after her death? This was ſufficient to engage M. de St. Evremond to write her Panegyrick under the title of *a Funeral Oration* (38). This Piece was followed by two little *Diſcourſes on Religion*; in the firſt of which (39) he ſhews the unhappy ſtate of thoſe who live in doubt, the advantages of ſincere Devotees; and the various judgments which are paſſed on thoſe who leave the world for a retired life. In the other Piece (40) he ſhews, that *Devotion is our laſt Love*; and that a converted ſinner generally intermixes the idea of his worn out paſſions with the moſt tender ſentiments of his Devotion. In a *Letter*, which he then wrote *to a Lady who deſigned to turn devout* (41), he diſcovers the motives which generally induce women to turn devout, and the ſecret ſprings which animate their devotion. Then he gives advice to his friend to direct her conduct in the new ſtate, which ſhe was going to enter into. About the year 1685 he wrote reflections *on the Poems of the Antients*, and on the *Wonderful* which is found in them (42); and a little Diſcourſe (43), in which, after having acknowledged, that of all the opinions of the Philoſophers concerning the ſovereign good, none appears to him ſo rational as that of *Epicurus*, who makes it to conſiſt in voluptuouſneſs or pleaſure; he adds, that it is, however, no eaſy matter to determine what he meant by the word *Voluptuouſneſs*, ſuch is the variety of opinions amongſt the Antients about the morals of that Philoſopher. But our Author is of opinion, that *Epicurus was a very wiſe Philoſopher, who, according to different times and occaſions, loved voluptuouſneſs in repoſe, or voluptuouſneſs in motion; and that this difference of voluptuouſneſs occaſioned the various reputation which that Philoſopher has undergone*. The Diſcourſe, which he compoſed in 1686 *on Retirement* (54), contains ſeveral reflections on the ordinary defects of old men, and on the reaſons, which ought to induce them to leave the world. In 1688 he wrote a letter to Dr. le Fevre, a famous Phyſician at London, in which he gives his *Judgment on the ſeveral Accounts of* Siam by the Chevalier *de Chaumont*, Father *Tachard*, and the Abbot *de Choiſi* (45), and alſo on *Confucius*; and a little Piece upon the Mareſchal de Turenne (46). He reviſed likewiſe the *Parallel between the Prince of Condé and the Mareſchal* de Turenne, which he had rough-drawn in Holland (47). In 1692, upon occaſion of the diſpute, which aroſe in France about the preference of the ancients to the moderns, he wrote a little piece on that ſubject (48), and a copy of Verſes, wherein he maintains, that with regard to philoſophy, wit, and gallantry the moderns excell the antients (49). The Ducheſs of Mazarin falling ſick in 1693, our Author wrote a *Dialogue* in verſe (50) between the *old man*, that is himſelf, and *death*; which, as was very well obſerved (51), "is an imitation of the Prologue of the "Alceſtis in Euripides; tho' it ſurpaſſes its original "by the delicacy of the turn, and the nice ſatyr that "runs thro' it. The queſtion is, whether any body "will die for the Ducheſs of *Mazarin?* And this "gives the Author occaſion to muſter up all the friends "of both ſexes, of the illuſtrious ſick Lady; that is "to ſay, almoſt the whole Court of England. Their "characters are touched with a maſterly hand." But Father Niceron (52) complains of the verſification as very rough, and obſerves, that our Author ſhould have been confined to write only in proſe. In 1695 our Author being included in the tax, which the Parliament had laid on batchelors, took occaſion from thence to write a copy of verſes full of fire and gaiety (53). In 1696 his *Anſwer to the pleading of M.* Herard *Advocate in the Grand Council, or rather to the Invective or Libel, which the Duke of* Mazarin *cauſed to be printed againſt his Lady the Ducheſs*, was printed at London. There was a Preface written by Mr. John Dubourdieu, containing an Encomium on the Ducheſs; but M. de St. Evremond thought it too long, and abridged it. There have been ſeveral Editions of our Author's works, but almoſt all of them very incorrect; but the firſt authentic Edition, was publiſhed by Dr. Peter Silveſtre and Monſr. Des Maizeaux at London 1705 in two volumes in 4to; and was reprinted at Amſterdam 1706 in five volumes in 12mo, to which is added, *Mélange curieux des meilleurs pieces attribuées à M. de* Saint Evremond, *& de pluſieurs autres Ouvrages rares ou nouveaux*. Amſterdam 1706 in 12mo, two volumes. To this is prefixed the Life of M. de St. Evremond by Mr. Des Maizeaux. Theſe Editions have been reprinted in France; but are all eclipſed by the fourth Edition *revûe, corrigée & augmentée, & enrichie de figures par Bernard Picart le Romain*. Amſterdam 1726 in 12mo, five volumes, together with *Mélange curieux, troiſiéme Edition, où l'on a retranché pluſieurs pieces pour en ajoûter de plus intereſſantes*, two Vol. in 12mo. The Life of M. de St. Evremond is more exact than in the former Editions; the Author having carefully reviſed it. Several of M. de St. Evremond's pieces had been tranſlated into Engliſh, tho' very incorrectly; but we have an accurate Tranſlation of the whole publiſhed by Mr. Des Maizeaux, the ſecond Edition of which was printed at London 1728 in three volumes in 8vo under the following title: *The Works of Monſr.* de St. Evremond, *made Engliſh from the French Original: with the Life of the Author by Mr.* Des Maizeaux, *F. R. S. To which are added* The Memoirs of the Ducheſs of Mazarin, &c. *The ſecond Edition, corrected and enlarged.* The Preface of Mr. Des Maizeaux is dated at London July 5th, 1728.

(37) Ibib. pag. 303.

(38) Ibid. pag. 310.

(39) Ibid. pag. 333.

(40) Ibid. pag. 337.

(41) Ibid. pag. 340.

(42) Ibid. pag. 344.

(43) Ibid. pag. 363.

(44) Ibid. pag. 370.

(45) Ibid. pag. 403.

(46) Vol. 3. pag. 1.

(47) Ibid. pag. 11.

(48) Vol. 2. pag. 417.

(49) See the *Works of M de St. Evremond* in French.

(50) See the ſaid Works in French.

(51) *Mémoires pour l'Hiſt. des Sciences & des beaux Arts.* Janv. 1706, pag. 30, 31.

(52) *Mémoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 7. pag. 181. edit. de Paris 1729.

(53) See the French edition of his Works.

(n) Ibid. pag. 126.

fice (*n*). The Revolution, which raiſed the Prince of Orange to the Throne of Great Britain, was advantageous to him. That Prince had been very kind to him in Holland, and when he came to be King of England, gave him very ſubſtantial marks of his favour. He often took him into his parties of pleaſure, and loved to converſe with him, and to hear him talk of the great Captains whom he had ſeen in France, and of the military tranſactions to which he had been witneſs. M. de St. Evremond thought of nothing but ending his days in peace in England, when he received letters from the Count de Grammont, acquainting him that the King of France had declared, that *he might return, and ſhould be well received.* But he returned for anſwer, that the infirmities almoſt inſeparable from old age would not permit him to undertake ſuch a journey, and to leave a country where he lived very agreeably. In 1697 he wrote a little piece againſt the Abbot Renaudot on the ſubject of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary. June 22, 1699 he ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of the Ducheſs of Mazarin, with whom he had lived in the moſt unreſerved friendſhip (*o*). In September 1703 he was ſeized with a ſtrangury, of which he died [*L*] the 9th of that month, aged ninety years, five months, and twenty days, and was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument is erected to his memory [*M*]. We ſhall give his character in the Note [*N*].

(o) Ibid. pag. 144, 145.

EURYDICE

[*L*] *Of which he died.*] Mr. Bayle tells us in his Letters (54), that it is publicly known, that he uſed no aſſiſtance either of Prieſt or Miniſter to prepare himſelf for death; and that it is ſaid, that the Envoy from the Court of Florence offered to ſend to him an Eccleſiaſtic, or actually ſent one, who aſking him, whether he would be reconciled, he anſwered, *With all my heart, I would fain be reconciled to my ſtomach, which no longer performs its uſual functions.* "I have "ſeen verſes, *continues Mr. Bayle*, which he wrote fifteen days before his death; and his only regret "was, that he was reduced to boiled meats, and could "no longer digeſt partridges and pheaſants." Monſr. Deſlandes likewiſe informs us (55), that our Author was more affected with the death of the Ducheſs of Mazarin, than with his own; for he ſhewed no regret for life, tho' for above fifty years he had made the purſuit of pleaſure his principal ſtudy. *He leap'd blindfold (to uſe* Montaigne's *expreſſion) into eternity, without viewing or reflecting upon it. In his laſt ſickneſs, what he lamented moſt, was the loſs of his appetite; and I have been informed, that one about him, having aſk'd him, whether he ſhould bring him a Prieſt to reconcile him with* —— I loſt my ſtomach, *ſaid M.* de St. Evremond, *interrupting him*, I'd fain be reconciled with it.

(54) Letter 234.

(55) *A Philological Eſſay: or Reflections on the Death of Free-Thinkers: with the Characters of the moſt eminent Perſons of both Sexes, antient and modern, that died pleaſantly and unconcerned. By Monſ. D——— of the Royal Academy of Sciences in France, and Author of the* Poetæ ruſticantis Literarum Otium. *Tranſlated from the French by Mr. B——— with Additions both by the Author, now in London, and the Tranſlator.* pag. 82. edit. London 1713 in 8vo.

[*M*] *Where a monument is erected to his memory.*] His Buſto is placed over his Epitaph, which is engraven on a white marble-ſtone, affixed to the wall over-againſt the place, where his body lies, and is as follows:

CAROLUS DE ST. DENIS DNS DE ST. EVREMOND
Nobili genere in Normannia ortus,
A prima Juventute
Militiæ nomen dedit:
Et per varia munera
Ad Caſtrorum Mareſcalli gradum evectus
Condæo, Turennio,
Aliiſq; claris belli ducibus
Fidem ſuam & fortitudinem
Non ſemel probavit.
Relictâ patriâ Hollandiam,
Deinde a Carolo II. *accitus Angliam*
Venit.
Philoſophiam & humaniores Litteras
Feliciter excoluit.
Gallicam Linguam
Cum ſolutâ tum numeris aſtricta oratione
Expolivit, adornavit, locupletavit.
Apud potentiſs. Angliæ Reges benevolent. & favorem,
Apud Proceres gratiam & familiaritatem,
Apud omnes laudem & applauſum
Meruit.
Nonaginta annis major obiit
Die IX Septembris MDCCIII.

Viro clariſſimo
Inter præſtantiores
Ævi ſui Scriptores
Semper memorando
Amici mœrentes
P. P.

[*N*] *We ſhall give his character in the note.*] He drew this character of himſelf in the year 1696. "He "is Philoſopher, *ſays he in a Letter to Count* de Gram- "mont, equally remote from ſuperſtition and impie- "ty; a voluptuary, who has no leſs averſion for de- "bauchery, than inclination for pleaſure; one, who "never felt the preſſure of indigence, who was never "acquainted with plenty. He lives in a condition "deſpiſed by thoſe who have every thing, envied by "thoſe who have nothing, reliſhed by thoſe who "make their reaſon the foundation of their happineſs. "When he was young, he hated profuſeneſs, being "perſuaded that wealth is neceſſary for the conveni- "ences of a long life: now he is old, he can hardly "endure thriftineſs, being of opinion, that want is lit- "tle to be dreaded, when a man has but little time "left to be miſerable. He is well pleaſed with na- "ture, and does not complain of fortune. He hates "vice, is indulgent to frailties, and laments misfor- "tunes. He ſearches not after the failings of men "with deſign to expoſe them; he only finds out their "ridicule for his own diverſion: he has a ſecret plea- "ſure in perceiving this himſelf; he would have yet "a greater in diſcovering it to others, were he not "check'd by diſcretion." *Life, in his opinion, is too ſhort to read all ſorts of books, and to burthen one's memory with a multitude of things at the expence of one's judgment: he does not apply himſelf to the moſt learned writings, in order to acquire knowledge, but the moſt rational, to fortify his reaſon. Sometimes he chooſes the moſt delicate, to render his own taſte ſo; ſometimes the moſt agreeable, to give the ſame turn to his own genius. It remains, that I deſcribe him ſuch as he is in friendſhip and in religion. In friendſhip, he is more conſtant than a Philoſopher, and more ſincere than a young man of good nature without experience. As to Religion,*

Juſtice and charity ſupply the place
Of rigid penance and a formal face.
His piety, without inflicted pains,
Flows eaſy, and auſterity diſdains.
God is the only Object of his care,
Whoſe goodneſs leaves no room for black deſpair:
Within the boſom of kind Providence,
He places his repoſe, his bliſs, and ſure defence.

Mr. Des Maizeaux tells us (56), that his behaviour was civil and engaging, his converſation lively and pleaſant, his repartees quick and happy; that he read well, and had an happy manner of telling a ſtory. He had a ſtrong inclination to Satyr; and the ridicule which he obſerved in mankind, made him merry; and he loved to expoſe it by fine raillery, or by an ingenious irony. But he grew more indulgent towards the latter end of his life. His humour was ever gay; which was ſo far from declining in the latter part of his life, that it ſeemed to gather freſh ſtrength. Tho' he did not pretend to over-rigid morals, yet he had all the qualities of a man of honour. He was juſt, generous, and grateful, and full of goodneſs and humanity. He always profeſſed the Roman Catholic Religion; and in his ordinary converſation, he never let fall any looſe or licentious expreſſion againſt Religion, and could not bear, that any body ſhould droll upon it, which, ſaid he, bare decency, and the re-

(56) *Life of M. de St. Evremond,* pag. 154, & *ſeq.*

EURYDICE, wife to Amyntas King of Macedon, brought him four children, three ſons, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip father to Alexander the Great, and a daughter named Euryone. That Queen was a moſt deteſtable woman, ſhe falling ſo diſtractedly in love with her ſon-in-law, that, in order to marry him, ſhe promiſed to raiſe him to the throne, and to murther her huſband [*A*]. This execrable conſpiracy would have been put in execution, had not Euryone informed the King of Eurydice's adultery and her wicked deſigns. The King, though convinced of his wife's crimes, nevertheleſs pardoned her, out of love for the children ſhe had brought him. After his death, his ſon Alexander ſucceeded him, but did not live long; for Eurydice, fired with luſt and ambition, got him murthered; as alſo Perdiccas her ſecond ſon, who aſcended the throne after the death of Alexander (*a*). The Hiſtorians that are extant go no farther; and do not inform us what became of her, nor whether ſhe was puniſhed for her barbarous actions. There are even ſome Hiſtorians who, without taking notice of her, aſcribe to other cauſes the death of the two Princes who ſwayed the ſcepter ſucceſſively after Amyntas, which is ſomewhat ſtrange [*B*]. I ſhall take notice of an incident we find in the Orations of Æſchines [*C*], and ſhall criticiſe Biſſelius the Jeſuit [*D*]. I am to obſerve that

(*a*) Extracted from Juſtin, lib. 7. cap. 4, 5.

gard due to one's Fellow-Citizens will never ſuffer. His writings ſhew, that he had learning; but his learning was polite and ſuitable to a perſon of his profeſſion and quality. The hiſtory of men of learning and their works pleaſed him very much, and ſometimes he made them the ſubject of his converſation. He was a paſſionate lover of Muſic; and having ſome ſkill in the compoſition, he ſet the *Idylles*, *Prologues*, and pieces, which were ſung at the Ducheſs of Mazarin's (57); tho' as to Symphonies, he left that part to be performed by the Sieur Paiſible, or ſome other able Muſician. He had blue, lively, and ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, thick eye-brows, an handſome mouth, and a ſneering ſmile, an agreeable and ingenious phyſiognomy. Twenty years before his death, a wen grew between his eye-brows, which, in time, encreaſed to a conſiderable bigneſs. He once deſigned to have it cut off; but as it was no ways troubleſome to him, and he little regarded that kind of deformity, Dr. le Fevre adviſed him to let it alone, leſt ſuch an operation ſhould be attended with dangerous ſymptoms in a man of his age. He would often make merry with himſelf on account of his wen, his great leather-cap, and grey-hair, which he choſe to wear rather than a peruke. H.

(57) See the *Works of M. de St. Evremond*, in French.

[*A*] *She falling ſo diſtractedly in love with her ſon-in-law, that in order to marry him, ſhe promiſed to raiſe him to the throne, and to murther her huſband.*] Here follow Juſtin's words, which inform us of theſe horrid particulars. *Inſidiis Eurydices uxoris, quæ nuptias generi pacta, occidendum virum, regnumque adultero tradendum ſuſceperat, occupatus fuiſſet* (Amyntas) *ni filia pellicatum matris & ſceleris conſilia prodidiſſet* (1).

(1) Juſtin, lib. 7. cap. 4.

[*B*] *Which is ſomewhat ſtrange.*] Juſtin's hiſtory, as tranſmitted to us, is the epitome of an univerſal hiſtory, which Trogus Pompeius had written at large. There is no doubt but that the actions of Eurydice were there expreſſed in a much greater detail than we now find them in Juſtin; and eſpecially we may be perſuaded, that Trogus Pompeius had borrowed his account of this ſubject from good Authors. Wherefore then ſhould Diodorus Siculus not take any notice of this Queen? Why does he relate that Alexander the eldeſt ſon to Amyntas, and his ſucceſſor (2), was killed by Ptolomy Alorites his brother (3), and that three years after (4) this Ptolomy was treated after the ſame manner by Perdiccas (5)? Had he not read the ſame Authors which Trogus Pompeius had conſulted? In caſe he did not peruſe them, we may blame him for his negligence; and if he did read them, we may aſſert, that he ought not to have ſuppreſſed the particulars relating to Eurydice. It would be in vain for him to anſwer, that it appeared to him ill grounded; for we ſhould anſwer, that he ought at leaſt to have ſaid, that ſhe had been unjuſtly accuſed of putting her ſons to death. To pretend that he knew very well that ſhe was guilty, but did not care to mention this in his hiſtory, is no ways probable; for what reaſons could have induced him to ſpare the memory of a Queen who had been dead ſo many years, and whoſe poſterity were all extinct?

(2) Diod. Sicul. lib. 16. cap. 2. pag. m. 736.

(3) Idem, lib. 15. cap. 71. pag. m. 712, *ad ann.* 1. *Olymp.* 103.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Idem, lib. 16. cap. 2.

[*C*] *I ſhall take notice of an incident we find in the Orations of Æſchines.*] Had we no other particulars of Eurydice but this, we ſhould have her memory in great veneration. The orator in queſtion informs us that this Queen, after the death of Alexander her eldeſt ſon, was involved in a very perplexing affair. Pauſanias who had been ſent into baniſhment, took hold of this conjuncture; and having the diſpoſal of ſome Grecian forces, and ſeveral friends in Macedon, he reſolved to ſeize upon the Kingdom. Eurydice ſaw him ſoon take ſome towns; and ſhe found very little fidelity among her friends. Her ſubjects were divided into factions, and a very great number ſeemed to favour Pauſanias. Being reduced to this extremity, ſhe ſent for Iphicrates the Athenian General, who was not far from Amphipolis, and putting her ſon Perdiccas in his arms, and her ſon Philip on his knees, ſhe recalled to his memory that he was their brother by adoption, and that there had always ſubſiſted a ſtrong friendſhip between the late King Amyntas and the Republic of Athens; and therefore earneſtly conjured him from theſe conſiderations, to exert himſelf for them, for her, and for the Kingdom. Iphicrates was moved to ſuch compaſſion by her entreaties, that he repulſed Pauſanias (6). Eurydice would have appeared in the moſt amiable light, had no other incidents relating to her been tranſmitted to poſterity; but when we call to mind the particulars related by Juſtin, we are no ways inclined to applaud her conduct in the affair of Iphicrates. The moſt ambitious mother that ever lived, a mother of a ſoul black enough to ſacrifice the lives of her children to her ambition, might have done the very ſame thing as Eurydice; for ſhe had the worſt to fear from Pauſanias.

(6) Extracted from Æſchines's Oration *de falſa Legatione*, pag. m. 250. *See alſo* Cornelius Nepos, *in Vita Iphicratis*, cap. 3.

[*D*] *I ſhall criticize Biſſelius the Jeſuit.*] He declares without reſtriction, that Diodorus Siculus acts unfaithfully in taking no notice of the parricides which Eurydice committed: this is the ſenſe of the following words, *Diodorus .... perpetuus* Eurydices *parricidiorum diſſimulator* (7). I do not object to him, that we cannot conceive what ſhould prompt this hiſtorian to diſſemble: I ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying, that he ought to have adhered to his firſt cenſure; ſhould not have varied; ſhould not have refuted it by vague and undeterminate expreſſions. *Qui Diodorus*, ſays he in another place (8), *incertum qua cauſa ſtudiove, de ſcelere ac parricidiis Euridices altum ſilet.* i. e. "It "is uncertain from what motives, or in what views "Diodorus is ſo profoundly ſilent, with regard to the "crimes and parricides of Eurydice." He adds a particular that is ſtill more worthy of cenſure. *Et è contrario, in Perdiccam verbis claris culpam detorquet necati hujus Ptolemæi, quin & necis Alexandri prædeceſſoris: quando ſic loquitur*, ſimili fraude ſublatus eſt e Perdicca Ptolemæus *(qua fraude ſcilicet Alexander quum paullo ſuperius dixerat*, dolo interemptum: *nec addit* ab Eurydice. i. e. "But on the contrary, he evi- "dently charges Perdiccas with the murther of Ptolemy "as likewiſe of Alexander his predeceſſor; he writing "as follows, *Ptolomy was diſpatched by Perdiccas, in "the ſame treacherous manner* as had been practiſed "with regard to Alexander, whom he declared a little "before to have been *treacherouſly ſlain*; but had not ſaid "by Eurydice." But this Author is miſtaken. Diodorus does not pretend in any manner to charge Perdiccas with the treaſon which brought Alexander to his

(7) Joannes Biſſelius, *illuſtrium Ruinarum* Decade IV. pag. m. 1118.

(8) Idem, ibid. pag. 1287.

(b) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. 226.

that Arabeus, Prince of the Lynceſtæ, deſcended from the Bacchiadæ, was grandfather, by the mother's ſide, to our Eurydice (b).

(9) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 15. cap. 71.
(10) In chap. 2. of book 16.
(11) Biſſelius, *Illuſt. Ruinar.* pag. 1287.

end; he imputes it only to Ptolemy Alorites, as is evident from a paſſage of the fifteenth book (9). Had Father Biſſelius known this paſſage in Diodorus, he would not have ſpoke as he has done; he would have known that this Author meant no more than this (10), viz. that Perdiccas deprived Ptolemy Alorites of his life by a treacherous act reſembling that which Ptolemy had employed, in order to kill Alexander. This ſhews how neceſſary it is for a perſon to know what an Author ſays in different parts of his Works. Beſides, what was Biſſelius (11) thinking of, when he cited Guthberlet, an Author of yeſterday, to prove that this Alexander reigned but one year, and Ptolemy Alorites three years? Ought he not to have proved theſe things by Diodorus Siculus (12)?

(12) Diod. Siculus, lib. 15. cap. 60, 71.

(a) Cyna, daughter of Philip, was mother to Eurydice. See the *Prolegomena* of Freinſhemius on Quint. Curtius, cap. 5.

EURYDICE, daughter to Amyntas, the ſon of that Perdiccas King of Macedon who was brother of Philip father to Alexander the Great, married her uncle (a) Arideus, natural ſon of the ſame Philip. It is univerſally known, that this Aridæus was declared King of Macedon after Alexander's death (b). He was not poſſeſſed of qualities proper for the ſupporting of the regal dignity, and eſpecially in troubleſome times as were thoſe of his reign. Accordingly it may be affirmed that he was rather a titular than a real Monarch. Eurydice his Queen concerned herſelf more with the adminiſtration than he did (c), particularly when Olympias, Alexander's mother was to be oppoſed; for ſhe on that occaſion was more jealous of the regal authority, than if a man had been her competitor for it (d). She placed great confidence in Caſſander, and ordered Antigonus and Polyperchon to reſign to him the command of the forces, for which reaſon he obeyed her well in all things (e). She had the ill fortune to be deſerted by her ſoldiers, at her endeavouring to hinder Olympias from returning into Macedon (f). By this deſertion Arideus fell immediately into Olympias's hands (g); and Eurydice his Queen having fled to Amphipolis, was taken priſoner there very ſoon after [A]. Olympias impriſoned them both in a dungeon, where they were treated with great inhumanity; and when ſhe ſaw that the Athenians murmured at her cruelty, ſhe cauſed ſome Thracians to murther Arideus, ſix years and a half after Alexander's death. This rigour could not bridle Eurydice's tongue; for which reaſon Olympias, exaſperated at her priſoner for boaſting on all occaſions that ſhe had the only right to the crown, reſolved not to let her live any longer. Accordingly ſhe ſent her a ſword, a halter, and a cup of hemlock juice, and commanded her to die by which of them ſhe pleaſed. Eurydice, without ſhedding a tear, or deſponding ever ſo little, took the girdle and ſtrangled herſelf with it; after beſeeching the Gods that ſuch preſents might be ſent to Olympias (h). After the latter was dead, Caſſander ſolemnized the funeral obſequies of Arideus and Eurydice in a royal manner (i).

(c) Juſtin. lib. 7. cap. 5. (b) Quint. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 7. Juſtin, lib. 13. cap. 3. (c) *See* Juſtin. lib. 14. cap. 5. (d) *See* Juſtin. ibid.

(e) *Quo beneficio devinctus Caſſander, nihil non ex arbitrio muliebris audaciæ gerit.* Idem, ibid.

(f) Juſtin, lib. 14. cap. 5.

(g) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 11.

(h) Extracted from Diodorus Siculus, ibid.

(i) Idem Diodorus, lib. 19. cap. 52.

[A] *Was taken priſoner there very ſoon after.*] It is related in the Supplement to Moreri, that ſhe was taken priſoner in a battle, which is not true. I ſhall not take notice of the reſt of the inaccuracies and omiſſions, for theſe the reader may diſcover, by comparing the two articles together. I will only obſerve, that our Eurydice's father was not Amyntas III (1). It is a query whether he ever was a King; and in caſe he was not, he ſhould not have been diſtinguiſhed by a numerical epithet; if he was a King, he ſhould be called Amyntas IV. The circumſtance which makes the uncertainty is, that Juſtin (2) ſays that Perdiccas left a ſon a minor, of whom Philip was guardian for ſome time. I ſhall not obſerve to my readers, that if, on one ſide, women are generally more tender than men; it is certain, on the other, that thoſe who are fired with a ſpirit of cruelty and ambition, go greater lengths than men in thoſe two vices. *Optimi corruptio peſſima.* It is much worſe when thoſe are joined by laſciviouſneſs; for then they will not ſpare the lives of their huſbands, nor thoſe of their children, of which the other Eurydice (3) is an example.

(1) He is thus computed in the *Supplement to Moreri.*

(2) Juſtin, lib. 7. cap. 5.

(3) Of the preceding Article.

(a) Plutarch. *de Liberis educandis*, in fine, pag. 14.

(b) It conſiſts of four Greek verſes.

EURYDICE, an Illyrian Lady. Plutarch applauds her, and propoſes Eurydice as a pattern, becauſe that, although ſhe was of a barbarous country, and advanced in years, ſhe applied herſelf to ſtudy, that ſhe might be enabled to educate her children (a). She conſecrated to the Muſes an inſcription wherein this circumſtance was taken notice of (b), and which Plutarch has preſerved (c). We find in it, that there was in Illyricum, a city called Hierapolis (d), of which Geographers make no mention. One of the Commentators on Plutarch has committed ſome miſtakes [A].

(c) Plutarch, ibid. *ut ſupra.*

(d) See the Remark.

(1) Page 404.

(2) Pag. 405.

(3) It would be to no purpoſe to quote thoſe Authors, who ſeem to ſay that Orpheus reigned.

[A] *One of the Commentators on Plutarch has committed ſome miſtakes.*] This was Peter Weſthuſius, Rector of the College at Hamburg. His book printed in that city, anno 1665, is intitled *Plutarchi Chæronenſis de puerorum educatione Libellus analyſi logica, grammatica, ethica, politica, & hiſtorica illuſtratus.* We there find (1), that the Eurydice in queſtion was a Queen, and a little after (2) the wife of Orpheus. But theſe two qualities do not agree with each other (3); and beſides, Orpheus's wife had no occaſion to inſtruct her children, for their father who was a very good ſcholar would have eaſed her of that trouble. Had he died before her, my obſervation would be falſe, but it is well known that ſhe died young before her huſband (4). The Commentator aſſerts (5), but without any proof, that ſhe was born in Illyricum. What does he mean by obſerving, that Hierapolis a city of Aſia, was ſituated oppoſite to Laodicea? Is this Hierapolis hinted at in the following words of Plutarch. Εὐρυδίκη Ἱεραπολῖτις, *Eurydice Hierapolitana?* Is it not an Illyrian woman who ſpeaks? He ought to have endeavoured to diſcover this city of the Illyrians, or have ſaid that it was unknown to Geographers.

(4) Virg. *Georg.* lib. 4. ver. 458. calls her *puella.*

(5) Pag. 405.

EURIPIDES, one of the Greek Poets who excelled in Tragedy, was born the firſt year of the ſeventy fifth Olympiad, in the iſland of Salamis, whither his parents were retired.

retired [*A*], a little before Xerxes entered Attica. There is a diſpute concerning their quality or condition [*B*], ſome declaring them to have been of a noble, and others of a Plebeian family. By a certain Oracle's being miſunderſtood, Euripides was brought up in the ſame manner as thoſe whom the Greeks deſigned for Athletæ or Wreſtlers [*C*]; but

[*A*] *He was born . . . in the iſland of Salamis, whither his parents had retired*] Euripides's father was called Mneſarchus. He was an Athenian, of the Oenoide tribe; and of the borough or people (1) called *Phyle*. This I find in the life of Euripides, written by the learned Mr. Barnes, and prefixed to his excellent Edition of this Poet. But other learned men (2) aſſert, Euripides was born in Phlya, of the Ptolemaid Tribe (3). But I had rather ſay, that it was the birth place of Mneſarchus, Euripides's father; and declare expreſly, that our Poet was born in Salamis. Tanaquil Faber ſhould rather have written thus, than to ſay, that *he was born in Phlya, a Borough of Attica* (4). I am ſenſible that Clito, Euripides's mother, was delivered of him at Salamis by accident, I mean, becauſe ſhe was forced to retire thither with ſeveral other Athenians, when the city of Athens was deſerted upon Xerxes's invaſion. I alſo know, that this is a very good reaſon to aſſert that Euripides is an Athenian, and of the ſame country with his father. But after all, we are deſirous of knowing the birth-place of illuſtrious men; and therefore it is not enough to inform us of the native place of their parents, on ſuch occaſions as theſe, when children are born, either in the flight of their mothers, or whilſt they are on a journey. Clito was big with Euripides when ſhe left Athens with her huſband, and fled to Salamis (5). She was delivered on the very day that the Greeks triumphed over the King of Perſia's fleet near that iſland (6); and ſome are of opinion this child which Clito brought into the world was called Euripides (7), becauſe this victory was gained near the Euripus. This Etymology does not agree with Suidas, he mentioning two Euripides's different from, and older than our Poet. They both were Tragic Writers, and one was the other's nephew. Add to this, that mention is made of an Athenian Captain, called Xenophon, the ſon of Euripides, in the ſecond year of the Peloponneſian war. Thucydides who ſpeaks of him (8), would in all probability have added, that this Euripides was the Poet, had it been he. But his ſilence makes me believe that Mr. Barnes (9) is in the wrong, in ſuppoſing that this Xenophon was ſon to our Euripides.

[*B*] *There is a diſpute concerning their quality or condition.*] Some relate that Mneſarchus, the father of Euripides, was a Bœotian, who in all probability, had ſuffered in his own country the puniſhment inflicted on bankrupts (10). It was cuſtomary in ſome parts of Bœotia, to carry perſons who did not pay their debts into the place of public reſort, where they were commanded to ſit down, and to throw a buſhel, which was a mark of infamy. With regard to Clito the wife of Mneſarchus, it is pretended ſhe was an herb-woman; an opinion founded not only on the authority of a comic Poet, (a profeſſed Libeller,) but alſo on that of an Hiſtorian. The comic Writer I mean is Ariſtophanes (11). The Hiſtorian's name is mentioned in the following paſſage of Chapter XX, Book XV of Aulus Gellius. *Euripidi Poetæ matrem Theopompus agreſtia olera vendentem victum quæſiſſe dicit.* i. e. "Theopompus relates, that the mother of Euripides "the Poet, got a livelihood by ſelling greens." Add to this the teſtimony of Valerius Maximus: *Quam matrem Euripides aut quem patrem Demoſthenes habuerit, ipſorum quoque ſeculo ignotum fuit: alterius autem matrem olera, alterius patrem cultellos venditaſſe omnium pene doctorum literæ loquuntur* (12). i. e. "The mother "of Euripides and the father of Demoſthenes, were "not known even to the people of the age in which "they lived: but moſt Authors agree in this, viz. "that the former ſold herbs, and the latter knives." Suidas does not ſay any thing particularly concerning Mneſarchus's birth; but declares that Euripides's mother was not an herb-woman, ſhe being (ſays he) of a very noble extraction, as is proved by Philocorus. Οὐκ ἀληθὲς ᾗ ὡς λαχανέπωλις ἦν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῷ. κ᾽ ἡδ᾽ τὰν σφέδρα εὐγενῶν ἐτύγχανεν ὡς ἀποδείκνυσι Φιλόχορος. He confeſſes that Mneſarchus and his wife fled into Bœotia, and afterwards lived in Attica. This leaves a bad impreſſion rather than a good one, and confirms in ſome meaſure what is related by Stobæus. It is to be obſerved that Ariſtophanes, to add the greater virulence to his ſatyr, ſuppoſes that Euripides's mother ſold only very bad herbs. *Hæc eſt* (ſcandix) *quam Ariſtophanes Euripidi Poëtæ objicit joculariter, matrem ejus ne olus quidem legitimum venditaſſe, ſed ſcandicem* (13). i. e. "This is the (Scandix) wild Chervile, concerning "which Ariſtophanes banters Euripides the Poet, as "tho' his mother had not vended good herbs, but wild "Chervile." The Notes of Father Hardouin inform us of the particular place where Ariſtophanes has thrown out this jeſt; as alſo what is obſerved by the Scholiaſt, and other things. He cites the IVth Scene of Act II of the Comedy, entitled, *Acharnenſes, pag.* 394. He alſo might have quoted the ſame Poet *in Equitibus*, Act I, Sc. I, *pag.* 289; and *in Cerealibus*, *pag.* 786 *G*, and *page* 790 *F*. Mr. Drelincourt informed me of this.

[*C*] *By a certain oracle's being miſunderſtood, Euripides was brought up in the ſame manner as thoſe whom the Greeks deſigned for Athletæ or Wreſtlers.*] Was it true, as Mr. Barnes pretends, that the oracle of Apollo was conſulted on Euripides's fate, whilſt Clito was big with him (14), it would be probable enough that ſhe was not an herb-woman; for the huſband of ſuch a woman would hardly have taken it into his head to importune the Oracle of Apollo, concerning the fate of a child that was not yet born. I do not ſay the ſame with reſpect to a child of ſix or ſeven years of age. Such a one might give ſuch ſingular marks of a noble genius or great courage, that his father, in whatever ſtation of life he might be, might be vaſtly impatient to know what would be the deſtiny of ſo promiſing a child. So that whilſt we are ignorant of the time in which the Oracle relating to our Euripides, was pronounced; we cannot conclude any thing in favour of his nobility, and againſt thoſe who declare him to be ſon to an herb-woman. Now it is certain that we know nothing concerning this æra. The mother (15), whom Mr. Barnes quotes, does not ſay a word about it; he obſerving only that the Oracle made the following anſwer.

Ἔσαι σοι κῦρος Μνησαρχίδη, ὃν τινα πάντες
Ἄνθρωποι τίσουσι, καὶ ἐς κλέος ἔσθλὸν ὀρούσει,
Καὶ σταφέων ἱερῶν γλυκερὴν χάριν ἀμφιβάλλεται.

That is,

"A ſon, to thee Mneſarchus, fate ſhall give;
"To all exalted honours he ſhall riſe;
"And, the fam'd verdant crown ſhall grace his
"temples.

He might have animadverted better on this oracle than he has done; and I am ſurprized that ſince he profeſſedly endeavoured to prove the Divinity of Apollo an impoſture, he yet ſhould take no notice of the untruth contained in theſe three Greek verſes. A man muſt be very fond of chicane, not to own that this Oracle promiſes the crowns which were won in the Olympic, Pythian and other Games. Now we do not read (16), that Euripides won this ſort of crown; the very firſt time he offered to diſpute for them, he was ſent back (17). It perhaps will be ſaid, that Euripides won the crown in poetical conteſts. I will anſwer, that he gained but few; that his glory ſhould be very inconſiderable ſhould it be meaſured from thence (18); and that after all dramatic triumphs ought not to have been promiſed in this manner. Apollo might therefore be reproached with having been miſtaken: and we may ſay farther, viz. that he beſtowed the epithet *ſacred* on crowns which did not deſerve it (19). When therefore I declare, in the text of this article, that the Oracle was miſinterpreted, I do not pretend to ſay, but that the moſt natural ſenſe poſſible was given to the expreſſion; all I pretend is, that they miſtook in not rightly apprehending the ill-expreſſed intention of him who had ſpoke. Mneſarchus therefore was not in the wrong for promiſing himſelf that his ſon would one

(1) In Greek Δῆμος, a kind of diviſion in Athen.

(2) Spon, *Voyage de Grece*, tom. 2. pag. m. 478.

(3) Spon, ibid. pag. 477 obſerves, that Stephanus and other Authors place Phlya under the Cecropian Tribe; but he himſelf, on the authority of a Marble, and on Heſychius, places it under the Ptolemaid.

(4) Le Fevre, *Lives of the Greek Poets*, pag. 97.

(5) Suidas in Εὐριπίδης, and Manuel Moſchopulus, *in Vita Euripidis.*

(6) Idem. ibid. Heſychius *illuſtrius*, *in* Εὐριπίδης, & Thom. Magiſter, *in Vita Euripidis.*

(7) Joſua Barteſius, *in Vita Euripidis Editioni Cantabrigienſi* 1694 *præfixa*, num. 3.

(8) Lib. 2.

(9) *In Vita Euripidis*, pag. 24.

(10) Stobæus, *in Sermone* περὶ νόμων, folio 293, *apud* Barneſium, ibid. pag. 4.

(11) Ὑπὸ Εὐριπίδου τοῦ τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας. *Ab Euripide filio olerum venditricis*, Ariſtoph. *in Theſmophoriaſ*, pag. m. 772. Ἀργία γαρ ἡμᾶς ὦ γυναῖκες δρᾶ κακά. Ἀτ ἐν ἀγρίοισι λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφείς. *Agreſtibus enim nos, ô mulieres, afficit malis, utpote inter agreſtia olera ipſe enutritus.* Idem, ibid. pag. 776. Aulus Gell. lib. 15. cap. 20. relates theſe verſes.

(12) Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 4.

(13) Plin. lib. 22. cap. 22. pag. m. 203, 204.

(14) *Quum adhuc Clito mater illum in utero gereret, conſulenti de eo oraculum patri hoc reſponſum dedit Apollo.* Barneſ. *in Vita Euripidis*, num. 3. We ſhall ſee below, that Aulus Gellius ſays, that ſome Chaldeans made this prediction after Euripides's birth.

(15) Oenomaus, *apud Euſebium de Præpar. Evang.* lib. 5. cap. 33. pag. m. 227.

(16) *See* Barneſ. *in Vita Euripid.* pag. 10.

(17) *See* Aulus Gellius below, citation (20). He ſays nevertheleſs, that Euripides, after this refuſal, diſputed for the prize, and won it in leſs famous combats.

(18) See the remark [*I*].

(19) It is on this that Oenomaus's criticiſm turns, *apud* Euſebium, *Præparat. Evangel.* lib. 5. cap. 33. pag. 228.

but he afterwards ſhewed that he was better qualified for other things. He learnt Rhetoric under Prodicus, Morality under Socrates [*D*], and natural Philoſophy under Anaxagoras; but finding that the laſt mentioned was perſecuted, becauſe he dogmatized againſt the popular opinion, he abandoned Philoſophy, and applied himſelf to dramatic Poetry (*a*). He was then eighteen (*b*). However, the reader is not to ſuppoſe, that he therefore afterwards laid aſide the ſtudies of Morality and Phyſics, his works ſhewing that he did not [*E*]. He wrote a great number of Tragedies, which were greatly eſteemed, both in his

(*a*) Suidas *in* Εὐριπίδης. Manuel Moſchopulus, *in Vita Euripidis. See alſo* Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 20.

(*b*) Aul. Gellius, ibid.

day be a great Athleta, but Apollo for foretelling it him. Be this as it will, Mneſarchus brought up his ſon in this view. Here follows an Author who aſcribes this prediction only to Fortune-tellers, Aſtrologers, and in a word, Chaldeans. *Patri autem ejus* (Euripidis) *nato illo reſponſum eſt à Chaldæis, eum puerum, quum adoleviſſet, victorem in certaminibus fore. Id ei puero fatum eſſe. Pater interpretatus athletam debere eſſe, roborato exercitatoque filii ſui corpore, Olympiam certaturum eum inter athletas pueros deduxit. Ac primo quidem in certamen per ambiguam ætatem receptus non eſt. Poſt Eleuſinio & Theſæo certamine pugnavit, & coronatus eſt. Mox, à corporis cura ad excolendi animi ſtudium tranſgreſſus, auditor fuit phyſici Anaxagoræ & Prodici rhetoris, in morali autem philoſophia Socratis, tragœdiam ſcribere natus annos duodevingti adortus eſt* (20). i. e. " Euripides being born, his father was anſwered by the " Chaldeans, that this boy, when he ſhould be come " to years of maturity, would conquer in the games; " and that this was his fate. His father interpreting " this, as tho' his ſon would be a champion; having " ſtrengthned and exerciſed his body, carried him to " Olympia to contend among the young Athletæ. He " was refuſed at firſt, becauſe his age was doubted: " He after ſome time was admitted a combatant, and " crowned in the games of Theſeus and of Ceres. " But afterwards leaving the care of his body, and " applying himſelf to the improvement of his mind, " he frequented the lectures of Anaxagoras the natu- " ral Philoſopher, of Prodicus the Rhetorician, and of " Socrates the moral Philoſopher. He firſt began to " write Tragedy at eighteen years of age."

(20) Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 20.

[*D*] *He learnt . . Morality under Socrates.*] I have quoted thoſe who ſay this: but I ought to obſerve here, that it is very probable they were miſtaken; for Socrates was near thirteen years younger than Euripides. Notwithſtanding this difference of age, the younger of theſe two great men, when he came to years of maturity, might have been admitted to the intimacy and friendſhip of the elder, and have improved by his learned converſation; but this is not what we call going through a courſe of Morality under a Profeſſor; the being his ſcholar or diſciple. I can eaſily believe with Mr. Barnes, that Socrates improved greatly by Euripides's converſation. *Haud bene temporum rationes conſiderârunt*, ſays he (21), *qui* Socratem Euripidis *in* Moralibus *magiſtrum affirmant, ipſo nempe diſcipulo duodecim fere annis juniorem. Videtur potius is ex* Euripide *multa hauſiſſe, quem & apud* Platonem *haud raro laudare deprehenditur.* That is, " Thoſe, *ſays he*, do not duly conſider the circum- " ſtances of time, who affirm that Socrates inſtructed " Euripides in Morality; the maſter being almoſt " twelve years younger than the ſcholar. Socrates " ſeems rather to have borrowed many things from " Euripides, whom he frequently applauds, and that " in Plato." I would not queſtion the truth of what we read in Diogenes Laertius (22), viz. that Socrates aſſiſted Euripides in compoſing his Tragedies; and this being taken for granted, I ſhould not be ſurprized to hear, that Socrates went very ſeldom to the play-houſe, except when ſome of Euripides's Plays were acted. Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης σπάνιον μὲν ἐπιφοίτα τοῖς θεάτροις εἴποτε δὲ Εὐριπίδης ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς ἠγωνίζετο καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς, τότε γε ἀφικνεῖτο. καὶ Πειραιοῖ δὲ ἀγωνιζομένῳ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατῄει. ἔχαιρε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, δηλονότι διά τε τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέτροις ἀρετήν (23). i. e. " Socrates ſeldom came to the theatre, except when " Euripides the Tragic Writer contended with the " new Tragedians; for he uſually was preſent on " thoſe occaſions. And when Euripides contended in " the Piræeus, he likewiſe went thither: for he loved " the man, both on account of his wiſdom, and the " beauty and excellency of his Poems." I ſhould not wonder at this, were I perſuaded that the Philoſopher had no ſhare in the compoſitions of the Poet; there being ſo many beautiful moral touches in the Tragedies of Euripides, that they could not but charm Socrates. Euripides has been called the Stage-Philoſopher, σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος (24). ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς φιλόσοφος (25). By the way, Father Schottus ſhould not have attempted to prove, by Diogenes Laertius, that Euripides made choice of Socrates for his maſter, after Anaxagoras's condemnation. *Anaxagoræ præceptore capitis damnato ad Socratem ſe in Academiam contulit, non intelligendi modo, ſed & dicendi magiſtrum ea tempeſtate optimum. Ita enim Laertius Diogenes* (26). i. e. " Anaxagoras his Præceptor being ſentenced to death, " he entred into the ſchool of Socrates, who was " look'd upon, not only as the greateſt Reaſoner at " that time, but likewiſe as the greateſt Orator; for " thus ſays Diogenes Laertius." I ſhall not cite the long paſſage, which Father Schottus had added to theſe words. I only ſay, that the only circumſtance this paſſage of Diogenes Laertius informs us of is, that it was thought Socrates aſſiſted Euripides in the compoſition of his Tragedies; and that, after Anaxagoras's condemnation, he was the diſciple of Archelaus. The great miſtake of the Jeſuit is, his having applied to Euripides what Diogenes Laertius ſays of Socrates; for it is of the latter it is to be underſtood, that after Anaxagoras's condemnation he went to the Lectures of Archelaus. This miſtake of Schottus is blended with many others. He did not know that Euripides, ſeeing the danger in which Anaxagoras was, abandoned Philoſophy, and devoted himſelf to the Stage, and not to Socrates the Philoſopher. He did not know that Euripides was then but eighteen. Judge then whether Socrates, who was much younger than Euripides, could be the ableſt Profeſſor at that Age. It was Plato, not he, who taught in the Academy. Clemens Alexandrinus (27) and Euſebius (28) have erred with many others, they thinking that Euripides had been Socrates's diſciple.

(21) Barnes, *in Vita Euripidis*, num. 13. *ſub finem.*

(22) Lib. 2. *in Socrate*, init.

(23) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 13.

(24) *Origenes contra Celſum*, lib. 3. pag. 214. See the following Remark.

(25) Clem. Alexand, *Stromat.* lib. 5. pag. 581. [C].

(26) Schott. Nodor. *Ciceroni-anor.* lib. 2. cap. 15.

(27) *Admonit. ad Gentes*, pag. 60. A.

[*E*] *His works ſhewing that he did not.*] They abound with moral aphoriſms, as was obſerved in the preceding remark. They likewiſe include many tenets in Phyſicks. See Diodorus Siculus (29), who has twice quoted the opinion of this Poet, with regard to things relating to Natural Philoſophy. But nothing is a better proof of Euripides's application to this ſcience, than the pains he took to find out the opinions of Heraclitus. This Philoſopher hid his writings in the temple of Diana; and thought they would one day be taken from thence, and publiſhed as a myſterious work. But Euripides prevented the effect of theſe hopes, he going aſſiduouſly to Diana's temple, and there, by dint of reading over often the pieces which Heraclitus had depoſited there, got them by heart, and publiſhed them to the world. I read this ſtory in Tatian; for as to Diogenes Laertius, he indeed ſays (30), that our Poet was more deſirous of recovering Heraclitus's works than Socrates, ſince it was he who procured Socrates a peruſal of them; but he does not take notice of this diligent attendance in Diana's temple. Here follow Tatian's words (31): Οὔτ' ἂν ἐπαινέσαιμι καταχρύψαντα τὴν ποίησιν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναῷ (32), μυσηριωδῶς ὅπως ὕστερον ἡ τούτου ἔκδοσις γένηται. καὶ γὰρ οἷς μέλον ἐστὶ περὶ τούτων, φασὶν Εὐριπίδην τὸν τραγῳδοποιὸν κατιόντα, καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα διὰ μνήμης κατ' ὀλίγον τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σκοτεινὸν σπουδαίως παραδεδυκέναι. i. e. " Nor can I commend his hiding his Po- " ems in Diana's temple, in order that they might after- " wards be publiſhed as a myſtery. For the perſons who " are entruſted with the care of theſe things, give out, " that Euripides the Tragic Writer uſed to go fre- " quently thither; and by often reading over theſe " hidden remains of Heraclitus, fixed them deep in " his memory." I add what many have obſerved (33), viz. that Euripides ſhewed, by many paſſages in his Tragedies, that he followed the opinions of Anaxagoras his maſter. I before obſerved, that he was called

(28) *De Præparat. Evangel.* lib. 5. cap. 32. pag. 227, A.

(29) Lib. 1. cap. 7, and 38.

(30) Lib. 2. *in Socrate*, num. 22.

(31) *Orat. contra Græcos*, pag. 143 (*B*).

(32) Diog. Laertius of this, Book 9. num. 6. Menage ibid. *obſerves againſt* Cuper; *that* Clemens Alexandrinus *has not ſpoke of this.*

(33) *See* Caſaubon. *and* Menag. *in Diogen. Laert.* lib. 2. num. 10.

his life-time and after his death; and we can ſpecify very good judges, who conſider him as the beſt of all the tragic Poets [*F*]. Thoſe who imagine that the reaſon why the Roman Poets made very little mention of him was, becauſe the ſyllables which compoſed his name, were not of a *quantity* proper for Latin verſe [*G*], gave a conjecture with ſome

led the Stage-Philoſopher. Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus (34), and Euſebius (35), declare this. Vitruvius, whom I ought to have named before them, aſſerts this expreſly: *Euripides auditor Anaxagoræ, quem philoſophum Athenienſes ſcenicum appellaverunt* (36). i. e. "Euripides, who was called the Stage-Philoſopher by "the Athenians, was Anaxagoras's Scholar." I do not believe, tho' this is aſſured by Menage (37), that Athenæus and Diodorus Siculus aſſerted it alſo.

[*F*] *Good Judges . . . conſider him as the beſt of all the Tragic Poets.*] I obſerved elſewhere (38), that the Criticks are divided with regard to beſtowing of the palm, whether on Æſchylus, Sophocles or Euripides. Each of theſe Poets has his admirers, and ſome judges will not give their opinion on this occaſion. Quintilian ſeems to have been one of the latter; and yet it is eaſy to perceive that, on the whole, he gives the ſuperiority to Euripides. Here follow his words (39): *Longe clarius* (quam Æſchylus) *illuſtraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides: quorum in diſpari dicendi via uter ſit Poëta melior, inter plurimos quæritur. Idque ego ſanè quoniam ad præſentem materiam nihil pertinet, injudicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur neceſſe eſt, iis qui ſe ad agendum comparant, utiliorem longè Euripidem fore. Namque is in ſermone (quod ipſum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas & cothurnus & ſonus Sophoclis videtur eſſe ſublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi; & ſententiis denſus; & in iis quæ à ſapientibus tradita ſunt, penè ipſis par; & in dicendo ac reſpondendo cuilibet eorum qui fuerunt in foro diſerti, comparandus. In affectibus verò cùm omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miſeratione conſtant, facilè præcipuus. Hunc & admiratus maximè eſt (ut ſæpe teſtatur) & ſecutus, quanquam in opere diverſo, Menander.* i. e. "Sophocles and Euripides "have far excelled Æſchylus in this kind. Many "people make it a queſtion, which of theſe two "Poets, in their different manner, deſerves the preference; but as this bears no relation to what I am "now writing upon, I ſhall leave it undetermined. "However, there is no one but muſt own, that Euripides will be of much more uſe to thoſe who are "intended for public buſineſs. For his diction (which is "cenſured by ſuch as think there is more ſublimity "in the grave, majeſtic and ſonorous ſtyle of Sophocles) comes nearer to that of an Orator. He likewiſe abounds with moral reflections; and is almoſt "equal to the Sages, when he treats on the ſame ſubjects with them. In his manner of reaſoning and "replying, he may be put in parallel with the moſt "renowned Orators at the Bar. He charms all when "he attempts to raiſe the paſſions; and when he "would raiſe pity, he is inimitable. Alexander, as "this Poet frequently teſtifies, admired him prodigiouſly; and imitated him, tho' in a different kind "of writing." Barnes has collected (40) a great many Elogiums which the moſt learned men among the ancients have beſtowed on Euripides. Peruſe him, and you will find, that if this Poet has not equalled Sophocles in majeſty and ſublimity, he has compenſated for this with ſo many other perfections, that he may aſpire to the firſt rank. We ſhall ſoon ſee that this was pronounced by an Oracle. The admirers of Sophocles boaſt of the judgment of Lucian, they relating, that he weighed the verſes of Sophocles and thoſe of Euripides in a pair of ſcales; and found that thoſe of the former were heavier than thoſe of the latter, and conſequently more excellent, as true gold is weightier than that which is counterfeit. Lucianus *ſophiſta, qui auctore* Lanctantio *nec Diis nec hominibus pepercit unquam, in librili ſuſpendit carmina tragicorum poetarum,* Sophoclis *ſcilicet* & Euripidis, *comminiſciturque* Sophoclis *verſus tanquam plus gravitatis habentes terram petere,* Euripidis *vero veluti leviores ad cœlum tendere, tanquam in tragico ſcribendi genere* Sophocles *ſit* Euripidi *præferendus. Nec mirum igitur ſi* Virgilius *ait,*

Sola Sophoclæo tua carmina digna cothurno,

Hoc eſt gravi & exacto plus habente medullæ quam corticis, gravitatis quam levitatis (41). Barnes ſought for this in Lucian to no purpoſe (42); and, however this be, he pretends that this author's intention was not underſtood, he thinking it more favourable to Euripides than to Sophocles. He is of opinion, that Lucian had an eye to what we read in Homer (43) concerning the fate of Achilles and that of Hector, which were put into the ſcales of Jupiter: that of Achilles, as being predominant, mounted towards heaven, and that of Hector ſunk towards the earth. I conjecture that Lucian has been miſtaken for Ariſtophanes (44). It is this comick Poet (45), who ſuppoſes that Bacchus, putting into a pair of ſcales a verſe of Euripides againſt one of Æſchylus, found that that of Æſchylus was ever heavieſt. Now it is certain, that the deſign of Ariſtophanes in this piece is to ſhew, that the firſt rank among the Tragic Poets was due to Æſchylus, and the ſecond to Sophocles. This I obſerve againſt the explication of Mr. Barnes.

[*G*] *The ſyllables of his name were not of a* quantity *proper for Latin verſe.*] Floridus Sabinus, in his Anſwer to Beroaldus, who had ſlander'd Euripides, employs the following obſervation among others (46): *Cumque Virgilius Sophoclem nominavit, hoc nempe verſu,*

Sola Sophoclæo tua carmina digna cothurno,

Non ideo factum reor quod eum Euripidi anteponere voluerit, ſed quia id nomen heroïco metro melius conveniret Cui & ſimile eſt Propertianum illud ad Linceum poetam,

Deſine & Æſchyleo componere verba cothurno,

Non Æſchylum ſcilicet quaſi aliis præſtantiorem nominavit Propertius, quem (*) *rudem in pleriſque & incompoſitum fuiſſe ſcimus, ut cujus Fabulas in certamen correctas deferre poſterioribus Poëtis permiſerint Athenienſes, ſed quod ab ejus nomine deductum nomen verſu recte clauderetur. An cùm Horatius de Romano populo ſic inquit:*

Serus enim Græcis admovit lumina chartis,
Et poſt Punica bella quietus quærere cœpit,
Quid Sophocles, quid Theſpis & Æſchylus utile ferrent †.

An idcirco Euripidem non nominavit, quod vel Theſpi eum vel Æſchylo duxerit poſtponendum? Hoc ne ipſe quidem Beroaldus per ſomnium affirmaret.

That is,

"Altho' Virgil mentioned Sophocles in the following "verſe,

"Thy Poems, worthy Sophocles alone,

"I do not believe that he wrote in this manner, as "though he preferred him to Euripides, but becauſe "that name ſuited better with heroic verſe; to which "the line of Propertius to Lynceus the Poet reſembles "very much,

"O ceaſe to copy Æſchyl's lofty ſtrains,

"Propertius did not therefore mention Æſchylus, as "excelling other tragic Poets, for we know him to "have been generally rude and incorrect, ſince the "Athenians ſuffered ſucceeding Poets to bring his pieces, when corrected, to the conteſt, but becauſe a "word derived from his name would fill up the verſe "exactly. When Horace ſpeaks as follows of the "Romans,

"*Till Carthage ruin'd, ſhe grew ſoft in peace,*
"*And then enquir'd what mighty Sophocles,*
"*What Æſchylus, what Theſpis taught the age,*
"*What good, what profit did commend the ſtage,*
Creech.

"did he therefore forbear to mention Euripides, be"cauſe he thought him inferior both to Theſpis and "Æſchylus;

(34) See the preceding remark, citation (25).

(35) *Præp. Evangel.* lib. 10. cap. *ult.* pag. 504.

(36) Vitruv. lib. 8. *in Præfat.*

(37) *In Diogen. Laert.* lib. 2. num. 10.

(38) In the Article ÆSCHYLUS, Remark [*K*].

(39) *Inſtitut. Orat.* lib. 10. cap. 1. pag. m. 468, 469.

(40) In *Vita Euripidis*, num. 20, 21.

(41) Johan. Baptiſta Pius, *Annotat. Poſterior.* cap. 28. *apud* Barneſ. *in Vita Euripidis*, pag. 19. Thomas Stanleius, *Comment. in Æſchyl.* folio 701. *and* Lilius Gyrald. *Poet. Hiſt.* Dialog. 7. are alſo cited by Barnes, ibid.

(42) I don't believe that this is mentioned by Lucian. Mr. Drelincourt tells me in a letter, that it may be boldly affirmed, that Lucian has ſaid nothing of this matter.

(43) Iliad 10. ver. 212.

(44) Cœlius Rhodig. lib. 24. cap. 10. gave, probably, occaſion to this miſtake.

(45) In *Ranis*, Act. 5. Scen. 3.

(46) Franc. Floridus Sabinus, *Lectionum ſubciſivar.* lib. 2. cap. 13. *apud* Barneſ. *in Vita Eurip.* pag. 17.

* *Ita* Quintil. *Inſtitut. Oratoriar.* lib. 10. cap. 1.

† II Epiſt. 1. ver. 161.

ſome probability. His verſes were of very great ſervice to the Athenian ſoldiers in Sicily [*H*], which ſhews that his compoſitions were prodigiouſly applauded, and yet they ſeldom won the prize [*I*]. The emulation, and at laſt the enmity which broke out between

" Æſchylus? Beroaldus himſelf though aſleep, would " not make ſuch an aſſertion." Barnes adopts the following reaſon. *Quod autem* Virgilius, ſays he (47), *tanto elogio* Sophoclem *ornet*, Euripidem *vero ne nominet quidem, id non tam illius judicio tribuendum (nam & ſæpe eum imitatus eſt, ut in* (†) *annotationibus oſtendimus) quam legum metricarum neceſſitati, quandoquidem, ut ſupra diximus*, Euripides *apud* Latinos *ut & apud* Græcos *ſit vox minus apta verſui Heroico.* i. e. " Although Virgil beſtows ſo great an elogium on " Sophocles, and does not mention Euripides, this " muſt not be aſcribed ſo much to his own judgment " or opinion, (for he has often imitated him as I have " ſhewn in the notes,) as to the reſtraint which the " laws of verſe put him under; ſince, as I obſerved " above, the word *Euripides* does not ſuit well with " heroick verſe either in Greek or Latin." Even the God of Poetry, Apollo of Delphos was obliged to ſubmit to the laws of quantity; he not finding any other expedient, when he was to name Euripides, than to lay aſide Hexameters, and to anſwer in Iambicks: ſo that had he been able to write Hexameter verſes only, he muſt have been forced to ſuppreſs the definitive ſentence, which ſettled the precedency between three illuſtrious perſonages (48). *Nec abſonum prorſus erit in hac controverſia* Pythii Apollinis *judicium audire qui* Chærephonti *Tragico Poëtæ de amico ſuo* Socrate *conſulenti hoc oraculum traditur dediſſe* (49): i. e. " Nor " will it be improper in the preſent controverſy, to " take notice of the anſwer made by the Pythian " God to Chærephon the Tragic Poet, when he con- " ſulted him about his friend Socrates.

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερός γ' Εὐριπίδης,
Ἀνθρώπων δ' ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

i. e. " Sophocles is wiſe, Euripides is ſtill more ſo, but " the wiſeſt of all men is Socrates." Gyraldi is ſurprized that the Prieſteſs of Delphos ſhould employ Iambicks for this anſwer and not Hexameters, as was her uſual cuſtom (50). But ſhe was ſaid to deviate from cuſtoms, ſince neceſſity has no law; both the names Euripides and Socrates are quite unfit for heroic verſe; and neither Apollo himſelf, nor the whole choir of the Muſes would be able to adjuſt them to it. *Nec mirari debuit* Lilius Gyraldus ‡ Pythiam *Sacerdotem*, ïambico *jam trimetro reſpondiſſe cum heroico ſolita eſſet oracula reddere: nomina enim certe* Socrates & Euripides *heroico verſui aptare nec ipſe potuit* Apollo, *nec Muſæ ipſæ* (51). Let any one ſay after this, that it is of no importance to have one name rather than another (52). Here we ſee Euripides, who perhaps, was more admired by Virgil, and the reſt of the Poets in Auguſtus's court, than Sophocles: here we ſee him, I ſay, diveſted of that advantage, becauſe they could not introduce his name in their Hexameters; and on this account Poets were forced to immortalize to his prejudice thoſe who were judged inferior to him; but the laws of Proſody were againſt them. There is one of thoſe conflicts between rhyme and reaſon which De Boileau has ſo well deſcribed (53). Horace being to name a little city of Italy, could not do it, but was forced to point it out by certain characteriſticks. It was called Equotutium, a word that could not be introduced in an Hexameter verſe.

Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti & millia rhedis
Manſuri oppidulo, quod verſu dicere non eſt,
Signis perfacile eſt (54).

" Thence four and twenty miles in four hours time,
" To a ſmall place whoſe name won't ſtand in rhyme:
" But yet by ſigns 'tis very eas'ly known:
Creech.

It is ſometimes a happineſs to have a name that cannot be ſubjected to the laws of Poetry (55).

[*H*] *His verſes were of very great ſervice to the Athenian ſoldiers in Sicily.*] The Athenian army under the command of Nicias, ſuffered all the calamities which ill fortune can poſſibly reduce men to. The victors made a moſt cruel advantage of their victories: but although they treated the Athenian ſoldiers with ſo much inhumanity, they yet were extremely kind to all ſuch as could repeat any of Euripides's verſes. Several who, after having eſcaped from the field of battle, did not know what courſe to take, and wandered about from place to place, found a ſupport by ſinging the verſes of this Poet. They gained a livelihood this way, people uſing to give them victuals and drink as a recompenſe for thoſe ſongs. Τότε γοῦν φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων οἴκαδε συχνοὺς ἀσπασάσθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς μὲν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν, ἐκδιδάξαντες ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνητο, τοὺς δ' ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τροφῆς καὶ ὕδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ἄσαντες. *Plures autem tunc commemorant, qui ſoſpites domum reverſi ſunt, Euripidem benignè ſalutaviſſe, ac prædicaſſe alios fuiſſe ſe manumiſſos, quòd quæ ipſius carmina tenuerant memoria, illos ea docuiſſent, alios palantes poſt pugnam fuiſſe cibo & potu adjutos, quum verſus illius canerent* (56). i. e. " We are told " that many who returned ſafe to their country, " kindly ſaluted Euripides, declaring that they had " been reſtored to their liberty, for teaching their vic- " tors ſuch verſes of Euripides as they remembered; " and that others who roamed up and down, had " meat and drink given them, in return for ſinging " his verſes." It was doubtleſs a very great pleaſure to Euripides, to ſee many of thoſe unhappy men come to his houſe, to return their thanks, becauſe his verſes had ſaved their lives and procured them their liberty. The Sicilians gave another illuſtrious teſtimony of the eſteem they had for Euripides. A Caunian veſſel being chaſed by pirates, endeavoured to ſhelter itſelf in ſome haven in Sicily, but could not obtain leave to do this, till it was known that ſome perſons on board that ſhip, could repeat ſome verſes of Euripides (57). I muſt not omit obſerving, that they were aſked if they could repeat any of them by heart. This ſingle queſtion implies more than I am able to expreſs. I will here cite a paſſage from Tanaquil Faber (58). " Euripides muſt have been extremely " affected, to ſee every day one of thoſe unhappy " creatures come and thank him as their deliverer; " and tell him, that his verſes had changed their ſad " fate, and been of greater ſervice to them, than if " they had a paſſport ſigned by the five Ephori, and " the two Kings of Lacedæmon (59). Euripides muſt " therefore have been a great and a glorious Poet; but " what ſhall we ſay of the Sicilians of that age; muſt " they not have been very worthy people? The miſ- " fortune is, ſo excellent an example has not been fol- " lowed; and at this time of day ſuch relations would " be looked upon, in France and Spain, as ſo many " tales of antient Greece, which are always called " lyes.

[*I*] *His compoſitions ſeldom won the prize.*] Only five Tragedies out of the ſeventy five written by him, gained it. This we are told by Varro. *Euripidem quoque M. Varro ait cùm quinque & ſeptuaginta tragœdias ſcripſerit, in quinque ſolis viciſſe, cùm eum ſæpe vincerent aliqui Poetæ ignaviſſimi* (60). Moſt of thoſe who conquered Euripides were wretched Poetaſters as Varro obſerves. This is not to be wondered at, for at that time cabal (61) perhaps more than in the preſent age, pronounced the fate of compoſitions; and the baſeſt arts were employed, in order to procure the favour of the Judges. See Ælian's indignation (62), becauſe one Xenocles a Poet of no merit, was preferred to Euripides in a conteſt of four pieces againſt four, at the ſolemnization of the eightieth Olympiad. Some may think that there are two miſtakes in theſe words of Varro; as ſome Authors declare that Euripides compoſed ninety two Tragedies, and was fifteen times victorious (63). Barnes gives us the title of eighty four pieces of that Author. Thus Varro is convicted of falſhood in one of theſe articles. With regard to the other, ſome criticks read *quindecim* fifteen inſtead of *quinque* five in Aulus Gellius (64): their reaſon is, that the Greek Authors relate that Euripides won the prize

(47) *In Vita Euripidis, pag.* 19.

(†) Hecub. 992. *Oreſt.* ver. 1134. *Phœniſſ.* ver. 18, &c.

(48) Barneſ. pag. 20.

(49) Suidas, *in Voce* Σοφὸς.

(50) Barnes, pag. 20, obſerves that this Prieſteſs did not always anſwer in hexameters. *Quinimo fallitur vir doctus quod putet* Pythiam *nonniſi heroïcis uti ſolitam, nam ut cætera taceam, extat etiamnum apud* Pauſaniam *oraculum* Delphicum *ïambico metro ab ipſa Pythia datum* Tiſidi Meſſenio. He puts in the margin, *Quare* Anton. van Dalen *hunc errorem errat cum aliis.*

‡ *Poët. Hiſtor.* Dialog. 7. folio 271.

(51) Barneſ. *in Vita Euripid.* pag. 20.

(52) See the article BALZAC (John Lewis Guez of) remark [*A*].

(53) In his 2d Satyr. Add to this the following exclamation of Meſſieurs de Port-Royal: *How many People has rhime obliged to tell untruths! Art de Penſer*, Part 3. chap. 19. pag. m. 366.

(54) Horat. Sat. 5. lib. 1. ver. 86.

(55) See above, the end of the remark [*C*] of the article BALESDENS.

(56) Plut *in Nicia, ſub finem*, pag. 542 [*C*].

(57) Idem, ibid.

(58) *Vie des Poëtes Grecs*, pag. 96.

(59) Gylippus, General of the Lacedæmonians had defeated the Athenians in Sicily.

(60) Aul. Gellius, lib. 17. cap. 4.

(61) *Menander à Philemone nequaquam pari ſcriptore in certaminibus comœdiarum ambitu, gratiaque & factionibus ſæpenumero vincebatur.* i. e. " Menander was " often over- " come, in the " poetical con- " teſts, by Phi- " lemon, who " was a far infe- " rior writer; " but he got the " better of him " by mean arti- " fices and the " favour of a " cabal."

(62) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 8.

(63) Thom. Magiſter ſays this, *in Vita Euripidis.*

(64) *Iſaacus Caſaubonus in A Gellio pro quinque legit quindecim, quoniam Græci, inquit, ſcriptores teſtantur Euripidem νίκας τιθέναι πεντεκαίδεκα.* Barneſ. pag. 26.

between him and the great Sophocles [K], made him perhaps leſs uneaſy than the taunts of Ariſtophanes, who took a pleaſure in abuſing him in his Comedies. It is thought that the chief reaſon which prompted him to retire to the court of Archelaus King of Macedon, was, to ſee the comic Poets divert the Athenians at his coſt (c). There are ſeveral *Parts* in his Tragedies againſt women; and it cannot be denied but that he took a pleaſure in railing againſt the fair ſex, whence the name of *Woman-hater* (d) was given him [L]. He nevertheleſs married [M]; not only before he had experienced in his own family,

(c) Thomas Magiſter, *in ejus vita.*

(d) Μισογύνης.

prize fifteen times. But this is a weak reaſon, ſince Suidas and Moſchopulus both Grecians, ſpeak only of five victories. Their authority is as good as that of Thomas Magiſter who reckons up fifteen.

[K] *The enmity which broke out between him and the great Sophocles.*] It was almoſt impoſſible for two ſuch great Poets, who aſpired to the ſame glory, to love one another. Athenæus relates certain particulars with regard to their quarrel, which are no ways honourable to them (65). If Euripides wrote the letters which are aſcribed to him, Sophocles and he muſt have been very good friends. Barnes (66) who attributes thoſe letters to Euripides, pretends that thoſe two Poets were a conſiderable time at variance, but at laſt became good friends. Sophocles diſcovered a great eſteem for Euripides, when he heard of his death. He cauſed a Tragedy to be repreſented, wherein he himſelf appeared in a mourning habit, and made his actors take off their crowns (67). However, this is a very ambiguous proof of friendſhip and ſorrow. Two great men who aſpire to the ſame glory, that is, to bereave each other of the palm, have a greater eſteem inwardly for each other, than they would have, but they cannot love one another. Whichſoever of them happens to die firſt, the ſurvivor ſhall be the firſt that offers up incenſe to him. He then heartily applauds and honours him; he is freed from the thorns of competition; and he does juſtice with a good grace to the merit of the deceaſed, becauſe he has the pleaſure to dread him no longer. Add to this, that he would prejudice himſelf very much in the opinion of the public, were he not to be affected at the loſs that had been ſuſtained, as he would appear too jealous.

(65) Athen. lib. 13. pag 604.

(66) In *Vita Euripid.* pag. 27.

(67) Thom. Magiſter, *in Vita Eurip.*

[L] *The name of* woman-hater *was given him.*] Suidas and Moſchopulus aſſure that this was given him, becauſe of his authority and inſenſibility (68). Σκυθρωπὸς ἦ τὸ εἶδος ἦν, καὶ ἀμιξὴς καὶ φεύγων τὰς συνουσίας, ὅθεν καὶ μισογύνης ἐδοξάσθη. i. e. "He was of a melancholy diſpoſition, and ſhunned all commerce "with the fair ſex, whence he was called the wo-"man-hater." He never laughed, and had no inclination for thoſe pleaſures which may be ſhared with women. This therefore gave occaſion to this epithet. If afterwards he levelled an hundred common places againſt the women in his Tragedies, and took a pleaſure in diſplaying with ſeverity, the ill qualities of ſome under general deſcriptions; this only confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of this title; and we are not to doubt, as his evil ſtar directed him ill in the hymeneal choice, but that this perſonal and domeſtic reaſon heightened his ſpleen, and ſuggeſted ſatyrical ideas. *Mulieres fere omnes in majorem modum exoſus fuiſſe dicitur, ſive quod natura abhorruit à mulierum cœtu, ſive quòd duas ſimul uxores habuerat, quum id decreto ab Athenienſibus facto jus eſſet; quarum matrimonii pertædebat* (69). i. e. "It is related that he entertained a "ſtrong averſion to women, either from a na-"tural antipathy to their company, or becauſe he "had two wives together, (this being allowed by a "decree of the Athenians) and was heartily tired of "both." But then nothing can be falſer than to aſſert, that having left his country, becauſe of the ſhame which his two wives brought upon him, he conceived a hatred againſt the fair ſex in general, and ſatyrized them all for the faults committed by a few. This is undeniably refuted, by ſhewing that he did not leave his country till a little before his death; and after that the Athenian ſtage had reſounded a multitude of times with his invectives againſt women. *Hac ignominia motus* Euripides *in* Macedoniam *ſe contuliſſe dicitur, & perpetuo in omne genus mulieres odio exarſiſſe, ſuarum nimirum uxorum adulterarum gratia. Sed pace Grammaticaſticorum liceat dicere, quod & probaturus ſum, aliud huic nomini originem & cauſam dari.* Euripides *enim non modo quia tot ſceleſtas mulieres, tot veneficas, tot adulteras, & viricidas & inceſtas in ſcenam induxerit, verum etiam quod tot aculeatis omnem illum ſexum conſo-*

(68) See the Greek verſes cited by Aulus Gellius, chap. 20. book 15.

(69) Aulus Gell. lib. 15. cap. 20.

deret ſententiis, apud veteres Μισογύνης *audiebat . . . . . & plures certe, ſi non omnes illius Tragœdiæ in quibus tantopere mulieres perſtringit, actæ erant antequam ad iter in* Macedoniam *animum applicaret* (70). i. e. "It (70) Barneſ. "is ſaid that Euripides, being ſtrongly affected with pag. 19. "this ignominy, retired into Macedonia, and enter-"tained a perpetual averſion to the whole female ſex, "becauſe of the adulterous practices of his wives. "But with ſubmiſſion to theſe little criticks, let me "ſay what I ſhall prove, viz. that this name was "owing to another cauſe. Euripides was not ſo much "called a *woman-hater*, for bringing on the ſtage ſo "many wicked women, ſo many ſorcereſſes, adulte-"reſſes, murthers of their huſbands, and inceſtuous "males; but for having ſatyrized ſo very ſeverely "the whole female ſex . . . . beſides, it is certain that "the greateſt part, if not all of his Tragedies, in "which he inveighs ſo ſeverely againſt women, were "acted before he ſo much as thought of going into "Macedonia." It muſt be particularly obſerved, that as Euripides introduced ſome very wicked women into his Tragedies, he has alſo introduced heroines, and has ſpoke honourably of the ſex on many occaſions. But ſtill this did not wipe off the ſtain; the remembrance of injuries eraſes that of kindneſſes. Here follows Barnes's Latin. *Quamquam idem cum res ferret haud minus honorificis fœminas teſtimoniis ornaverit, plurimas Heroïnas ob virtutem eximias fabulis ſuis populo exhibendo, ut oſtendimus plus ſemel in* annotationibus *noſtris* (*), *manſit tamen affixum Poëtæ vocabulum, quia plus mordent paucæ offenſiunculæ, quam multa beneficia* (71). We muſt alſo remember that Ariſtophanes, upon pretence of defending the fair ſex againſt Euripides, has abuſed them more than this tragic Poet has done. I allude to the Comedy in which Euripides ſuppoſes, (71) Ibid. that the women brought an action againſt Euripides. *Fatendum eſt in* Theſmophoriazuſis *non tam* Euripidem, *adverſus quem Drama illud inſtitutum putatur, quam totum fœmineum genus hunc Comicum perſtringere videri, peculiari ſibi cavillandi charactere uſum, & quaſi genio ſuo obſecundatum. Dum enim* Euripidem *à mulieribus condemnatum fingit, quod de iis male eſſet in ſuis tragœdiis locutus, multò plura iſtius ſexus flagitia in unica illa comœdia profert, quàm in omnibus ſuis* Tragœdiis Euripides *unquam memoraverit, atque ita* Euripidem *accuſando abſolvit, mulieres vero laudando excuſandoque maxime denigrat* (72). i. e. "We muſt confeſs that in (72) Barneſ. pag. "the *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, the comic Poet does not ſeem 4. "ſo much to laſh Euripides, (againſt whom that play "ſeems to be levelled) as the whole female ſex; he "therein giving a looſe to his peculiar fondneſs for "cenſuring; and obeying as it were the impulſe of "his genius. For whilſt he ſuppoſes that Euripides "was condemned by the women, becauſe he had "ſpoke ill of them in his Tragedies; he vents more "enormous particulars againſt the whole ſex in that "ſingle Comedy, than Euripides had done in all his "Tragedies. Thus by accuſing Euripides, he acquits "him; and by applauding and apologizing for the "fair ſex, he blackens their characters the more." But we will now quote a Writer, who ſaid more ill of women in three words, than Euripides did in fifty Tragedies. Weigh well the following anſwer of Sophocles. Being aſked one day why he introduced good and virtuous women in his Tragedies, whilſt thoſe of Euripides were very bad: *Euripides*, replied he, *repreſents them as they are, and I as they ſhould be. Fertur Sophocles non nihil de hac quæſtione haud minus in fœminas aculeatum ſtrinxiſſe; interrogatus enim quando quidem Euripidis perſonæ mulieres malæ eſſent, cur ipſius è contra forent bonæ.* Αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφη ποιεῖν, οἵας δεῖ, Εὐριπίδης δὲ οἵαι εἰσὶν (73). I am to obſerve that (73) Ibid. pag. Ariſtotle relates in general, and without a diſtinction 17. of ſex, that Sophocles uſed to ſay, *I repreſent perſons as they ought to be, and Euripides as they are* (74). (74) Ariſtot. *de Poët.* cap. 25. pag. m. 518. E.

(*) *Ad* Troad. ver. 651, & Menalipp. ver. 54. Proteſilaum, ver. 5, &c.

[M] *He nevertheleſs married.*] This very man, who ſhunned ſo induſtriouſly the amorous congreſs (75), grew

(75) Φεύγων τὰς συνουσίας. Suidas, *in* Εὐριπίδης.

family, the truth of his dramatic common places, but likewiſe after that the diſorderly life of his firſt wife had forced him to divorce her. His ſecond wife was as diſſolute, at leaſt, as his firſt (*e*). I cannot ſay with which of theſe two it was that he found one of his own actors; but it is very probable that it was with the laſt, becauſe we are told that the diſgrace this brought upon him, and the frequent jeers of the comic Poets on that account, obliged him to leave Athens (*f*). Some Authors ſay, that Euripides deſiring to make uſe of the permiſſion which men were allowed in Athens, viz. of marrying two wives, took two together, but made ſo ill a choice, that they quite wore out his patience, and raiſed in him an averſion to the whole ſex (*g*). But however this be, he met with a very gracious reception from King Archelaus, this Prince loving learned men, and inviting them to his court by his great munificence. He raiſed Euripides to very high honours [*N*]. The advanced age of Euripides, and the chaſtity which many writers aſcribe to him, ſhould prevent our believing too lightly the adventures which it is ſaid befell him in Macedon [*O*]. He there came to an unhappy end. Euripides was walking

(*e*) Suidas, *in* Εὐριπίδης, Manuel Moſchopulus, Thomas Magiſter, *in Vita Euripidis.*

(*f*) Φωράσας δὲ τὸν αὐτῆ ὑποκριτὴν Κηφισοφῶντα ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν μὴ φέρων αἰσχύνην, σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Κωμῳδοποιῶν ἀφεὶς τὴν Ἀθήνησι διατριβὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆρε.

(*g*) Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 20.

grew tractable betimes and married at twenty three years of age (76), in order to preſerve his chaſtity, which he idolized ſo much. *Ut caſtitati quam unice colebat melius conſuleret* (77). The woman he married was named Chœrina (78), and he had three ſons by her. After divorcing her he married another whoſe name I know not. The Writer who drew up the *Index* to Dalechamp's Athenæus ſays, that Euripides loſt in one day, his wife, two ſons and a daughter, and refers us to page 60, where nothing like this is found: but we find in page 61, that Euripides going to Icaria, wrote an Epigram on a diſaſter that happened at a peaſant's houſe, where a woman with her two ſons and a daughter died by eating of muſhrooms. Judge from this inſtance, what hazards thoſe run who rely on Index-makers. If Athenæus were to be credited, we ſhould not entertain a very favourable idea of Euripides's chaſtity. He aſſures us that this Poet was very fond of the fair ſex (79); and that Sophocles hearing ſome perſon ſay that Euripides bore a mortal hatred to them; *I own he does*, replied Sophocles, *in his Tragedies; but he is paſſionately fond of them in bed.* Ἰφάνωρις γοῦν ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φησι φάτνης, εἰπόντος Σοφοκλεῖ τινὸς ὅτι μισογύνης ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδης, ἔνγε ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἔφη ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐπεὶ, ἔνγε τῇ κλίνῃ φιλογύνης (10). Stobæus (81) relates the ſame circumſtance which he borrows from Serinus's books. See the Remark [*R*]. I have cited the paſſage of Aulus Gellius which informs us that Euripides had two wives at the ſame time. It is the XXth Chapter of Book XV.

(76) This is Barnes's conjecture, pag. 24.

(77) Barneſ. in *Vita Euripid.* pag. 24.

(78) Suidas, *in* Εὐριπίδης.

(79) Φιλογύνης δ' ἦν καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητὴς. Athen. lib. 13. pag. 557. *See alſo* pag. 603.

(80) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 557.

(81) *Sermone de Intemperantia.*

[*N*] *Archelaus . . . . raiſed Euripides to very high honours.*] He made him his Prime Miniſter, if Solinus may be credited. *Hic Archelaus in tantum literarum mire amator fuit, ut Euripidi tragico Conſiliorum ſummam concrederet: cujus ſuprema non contentus proſequi ſumptu funeris, crines tonſus eſt, & mœrorem quem animo conceperat vultu publicavit* (82). i. e. "This Archelaus was ſo paſſionately fond of learning, that "he entruſted Euripides the tragic Poet with the ſu"preme adminiſtration of affairs; and not contented "with ſolemnizing his funeral obſequies, he alſo cut "his hair; and ſhewed by his outward ſorrow, how "deeply he was afflicted in his mind." Thomas Magiſter ſays much the ſame with this tho' not ſo expreſly. *Ab illo* (Archelao) *honeſtiſſime ſuſceptus eſt, honoribuſque auctus ad ſummam dignitatem pervenit* (83). Can we find a more expreſs mark of a high eſteem, than the behaviour of Archelaus towards a man who had affronted Euripides? This man's name was Decamnichus, who one day reproached our Poet by telling him that he had a ſtinking breath. The Poet was not at a loſs for a reply, and aſcribed a glorious cauſe to this defect, I mean, the fidelity with which he had kept the ſecrets that he had been entruſted with. Εὐριπίδης ὀνειδίζοντος αὐτῷ τίνος, ὅτι τὸ στόμα δυσῶδες ἦν, πολλὰ γὰρ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἀπόῤῥητα ἐγκατέσπη (84). i. e. "Euripides being reproached by a certain man with hav"ing a ſtinking breath, replied, that this might ve"ry well be, ſince ſo many ſecrets had rotted in it." But Archelaus not thinking the Poet ſufficiently revenged by this anſwer, delivered up Decamnichus to him, in order that he might expiate for the affront by being ſoundly laſhed. It is related that Euripides made uſe of the King's permiſſion, which cannot be doubted if we will give credit to Ariſtotle, who ſays as follows. Τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐπιθέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο παροξύνων τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους πρῶτος. αἴτιον δ' τῆς ὀργῆς ὅτι, αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ· ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης ἐχα-

(82) Solin. cap. 9. pag. m. 26.

(83) Thom. Magiſter, in *Vita Eurip.*

(84) Stobæus, Serm. 39. περὶ ἀπορρήτων.

λέπαινεν εἰπόντός τι αὐτῷ εἰς δυσωδίαν τῷ στόματος (85): i. e. "Decamnichus was at the head of the conſpi"racy formed againſt Archelaus, he being the firſt "who excited and exaſperated thoſe who murdered "that Prince. The cauſe of his rage was, Archelaus "having delivered him up to Euripides to be ſcourged; "and the cauſe of Euripides's anger was, Decamni"chus having ſaid ſomething concerning the diſagreea"bleneſs of his breath." Barnes would not have us give credit to Ariſtotle, and for this reaſon, becauſe Archelaus was not murthered till ſix years after Euripides's death (86). But this reaſon is no ways convincing to me; and it is eaſy to conceive that the Poet's death ſhould not have extinguiſhed Decamnichus's reſentment againſt the King. Notwithſtanding it be ſuppoſed (tho' Ariſtotle does not ſay ſo) that Decamnichus brought the unhappy Euripides to his end; it nevertheleſs may be very probable, that the reſentment of this man againſt the Prince, who had ſubjected him to ſo great an affront, preſerved its whole vigour; and prompted him to embrace opportunities for revenging it, which preſented themſelves ſix years after. We ſhall ſee below (87) whether he brought Euripides to his end.

(85) Ariſtot. lib. 5. *de Republica*, cap. 10. pag. m. 305, F.

(86) Barneſ. in *Vita Euripidis*, num. 30. *ſub fin.*

(87) In the remark [*R*], where he is not named among thoſe who are accuſed of bringing that Poet to his end.

I muſt not omit that Archelaus gave our Poet a golden cup, and at the ſame time beſtowed a very honourable elogium on him. This Prince having refuſed it to the man who had begged it, ſent it to Euripides and ſaid to the other: "Thou art fit to "aſk, but unworthy to receive; but as for Euripides, "he deſerves to receive without aſking." Σὺ μὲν (εἰπὲ) αἰτεῖν ἐπιτήδειος εἶ κ᾽ μὴ λαμβάνειν. οὗτος δ᾽ λαμβάνειν κ᾽ μὴ αἰτῶν (88).

(88) Plut. *de vitioſo Pudore*, pag. 531, D.

(89) Dionyſ. Byzantinus, in *Anthologia*, lib. 3. folio 274.

(90) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 13. cap. 4.

[*O*] *We ſhould not believe too lightly the adventures which it is ſaid befell him in Macedon.*] He was ſeventy two years of age when he went to the Macedonian Court, and it has always been confeſſed, that he was never inclined to criminal amours, Σκοτίης Κυπρίδος ἀλλότριος (89). However this be, let us give the Reader what is related of him. It is ſaid (90), that in a banquet which the King of Macedon made for his friends, Euripides having intoxicated himſelf with wines fell a kiſſing the Poet Agatho who ſat next to him, and was about forty years old; and that the King aſking whether Agatho ſeemed in his eye, ſtill amiable, he replied: *By Jove he appears to me perfectly amiable; for the autumn of handſome perſons has ſomething lovely in it.* Ναὶ μὰ Δία ὦ γὸ μοιόν τὸ ἔαρ τῶν καλῶν κάλλιστον, ἀλλὰ κ᾽ τὸ μετόπωρον (91). Plutarch pretends, that Archelaus ſaid this by way of excuſing Euripides, for kiſſing a man who was of ſo mature an age (92); but in other places (93), he aſcribes this thought to Euripides; ſo true it is, that he made the ſame ſtory ſerve at pleaſure to different uſes. He ſometimes fathered it upon one, at other times upon another. He employed it oppoſite ways, and even made alterations in it as he judged neceſſary (94). *Neque enim inuſitatum* Plutarcho *eaſdem res & ſententias aliquando narrando variare, aliquando diverſis authoribus tribuere, non memoria lapſus, ſed ut in rem ſuam quam præſens ornat, torqueat* (95). The learned Scheferus did not know the variations which Plutarch has made with regard to the autumn of handſome perſons, and imagines that Plutarch has always aſcribed that thought to Archelaus; and nevertheleſs in one of the paſſages cited by him (96), it is manifeſt that Euripides pronounced this ſaying, on account of his kiſſing Agatho. See Cœlius Rhodiginus (97) who cenſured a tranſlator of Plutarch, for ſo falſly

(91) Idem, ibid.

(92) Plutarch in *Apophth.* pag. 177, A.

(93) Idem, *in Vita Alcibiad.* pag. 192, A; and in *Amatorio*, pag. 770, C.

(94) See the remark [*M*] of the article ACHILLES, between the citations (137) and (138).

(95) Barneſ. in *Vita Euripidis*, pag. 30.

(96) Scheffer. in *Ælian.* lib. 13. cap. 4. cites Plutarch in *Amatorio* it is there that the ſaying is aſcribed to Euripides, and in *Apophth. Lacon.* This is not found in the *Apophthegms* of the Lacedæmonians.

(97) *Antiq. Lect.* lib. 24. cap. 7.

walking in a wood, and in deep meditation according to his uſual cuſtom. The intenſeneſs of his reflections doubtleſs carried him too far; he meeting in a ſolitary place, with the hounds of Archelaus, who was then hunting, was torn to pieces by thoſe curſed animals. Archelaus buried him with great magnificence [*P*], but the Athenians were ſo much afflicted at his death, that the whole city went into mourning (*b*). One of his friends named Philemon, was ſo affected at this, that he declared, as ſome relate, could he be perſuaded that the dead preſerve a ſenſe of things, he would hang himſelf, in order to enjoy the ſight of Euripides [*Q*]. This great Poet was near ſeventy five when he left the world. The circumſtances of his death are variouſly related [*R*]. He never

(*b*) Thomas Magiſter, in *Vita Euripidis.*

falſly interpreting that paſſage in the life of Alcibiades, where this ſaying of Euripides is related. But the adventure of this banquet is not the worſt fault of this Poet. It is related that (98) he had a paſſion for Agatho, and that he wrote the Tragedy of Chryſippus, merely out of complaiſance to him. It is ſaid that he was engaged in a very ſcandalous intrigue with Archelaus's minion; and that it was on his going to meet him in the night time, that he was met by ſome women who tore him to pieces. Others relate, that he was going to meet the wife of Nicodemus the Arethuſian. Οἱ δὲ, ἰσόρησαν ἐχ ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γυναικῶν νύκταρ διασπασθῆναι, πορευόμενον ἀνῃ πρὸς Κρατερὸν τὸν ἐρώμενον Ἀρχελάου, ϗ ἦ σχεῖν αὐτὸν ϗ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἔρωτας. οἱ δὲ, πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν Νικοδήμου τοῦ Ἀρεθουσίου (99). These are the particulars I hinted at in the text of this Remark.

(98) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 21.

(99) Suidas, *in* Εὐριπίδης.

[*P*] *Archelaus buried him with great magnificence.*] Doubtleſs the following words of an Epitaph on Euripides, Ἀλλ' ἔμολες Πελλαῖον ὑπ' ἠρίον. i. e. "Thy bo-"dy is buried in Pellæan earth," gave occaſion to Barnes to ſay, that the King of Macedon would have our Poet buried in his capital city. *Deſignaverat inter Macedonicorum regum tumulos* Euripidem *reponere, atque ita paulo poſt in urbe* Pella *quam nonnulli* Berœam *putant*, Macedoniæ *metropoli nobile illi extructum ſepulchrum* (100). i. e. "He deſigned to inter the re-"mains of Euripides, among the tombs of the Ma-"cedonian Monarchs; and therefore a little after raiſ-"ed a moſt noble monument to his memory, in the "city of Pella, which ſome ſuppoſe to be Berœa, the "capital of Macedon." See above the paſſage of Solinus (101), and add to it the following of Aulus Gellius which ſhews at one and the ſame time the veneration which the Athenians and Macedonians had for Euripides. The Athenians ſent Embaſſadors to Macedonia, in order to have his bones, but were not allowed to take them away. *Sepulchrum autem ejus & memoriam Macedones eo dignati ſunt honore, ut in gloriæ quoque loco prædicarent* ὅποτέ σον μνῆμα Εὐριπίδης ἄλιτο πᾶν, *quod egregius poëta morte obita ſepultus in eorum terra foret. Quamobrem cum legati ad eos ab Athenienſibus miſſi petiſſent, ut oſſa Athenas in terram illius patriam permitterent tranſferri, maximo conſenſu Macedones in ea re deneganda perſtiterunt* (102). It appears by a paſſage in Vitruvius (103), that Euripides's tomb was in the open field, at the confluence of two little rivers, whoſe waters were very different, the one being mortal, and the other ſo good, that travellers uſed to delight to dine on its banks. Now could this have been ſaid, had Euripides's tomb been in the Capitol of Macedon? And in this caſe, would not Vitruvius and Pliny (104) have pointed out more exactly the ſituation of theſe two rivers? Would they not have obſerved, that they either flowed by, or very near, to the city of Pella? And would Plutarch have ſaid, that this Poet was buried near Arethuſa (105)? A thunder-bolt fell on the tomb of this Poet, which was look'd upon as a glorious accident, the like having never happened to any one but Lycurgus: Ὥστε ἀπολόγημα ϗ μαρτύριον μέγα εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν Εὐριπίδην, τὸ μόνῳ συμπεσεῖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τελευτὴν, ϗ γενέσθαι ἃ τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ ϗ ὁσιωτάτῳ πρότερον συνέπεσε (106). i. e. "What follows affords a "ſtrong proof and teſtimony of Euripides's merit, to thoſe "who admire it, viz. that a thing happened to him "after death, which before had happened only to a moſt "excellent man, and dear to the Gods." The Athenians not being able to get his bones, erected a moſt noble *Cenotaphium* or honorary tomb to his memory (107), which was ſtanding in Pauſanias's time. Thoſe who affirm, that the Argives alſo raiſed one in his honour are groſly miſtaken. Cœlius Rhodiginus, & *ab eo deceptus* Lilius Giraldus, *aliud* Euripidis *ſepulchrum memorat in medio* Argivorum *foro*; & Palinthum *nuncupatum ex* Strabone *refert*; *ſed optandum eſt ut inter tot lectiones antiquas nullos novos errores proſeminaret* Cœlii *incuria, nam* Strabo (108) *hoc ſepulchrum* Danai *fuiſſe ait, quanquam eodem loci* Euripidem *authorem laudat* (109). i. e. "Coelius Rhodiginus, and Lilius Giraldus who "was led into a miſtake by him, take notice of an-"other ſepulchre of Euripides, raiſed in the middle "of the Forum at Argos, and declares it to be called "Pallinthum by Strabo; but it were to be wiſhed that, "among ſo many ancient readings, Rhodiginus may "not, for want of care, have interſperſed new miſ-"takes; for Strabo ſays that this was Danaus's "tomb, tho' he applauds Euripides in the ſame place."

(100) Citation (82).

(101) Barneſ. in *Vita Euripid.* pag. 32.

(102) Aul. Gell. lib. 15. cap. 20.

(103) Lib. 8. cap. 3. pag. m. 163.

(104) Lib. 31. cap. 2. *ſub fin.*

(105) Plut. *in Lycurgo, ſub fin.* pag. 59.

(106) Plut. ibid.

(107) Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 2.

(108) Lib. 8. pag. 256.

(109) Barneſ. in *Vita Euripid.* pag. 33. He quotes Cœlius Rhodiginus, *Antiq. Lect.* lib. 23. cap. 10. *and* Gyraldus, *Poët. Hiſt.* Dial. 7. folio 268. I do not find this in my edition of Rhodiginus, of Frankfort 1666, in the place pointed out. He ſhould have cited lib. 24. cap. 10.

[*Q*] *Philemon . . . declared . . . he would hang himſelf, in order to enjoy the ſight of Euripides.*] The verſes of this tender, but a little too unbelieving friend, deſerve to be quoted. *Tantopere autem Philemon eum adamavit, ut hæc de eo dicere non dubitaverit:*

Εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν οἱ τεθνηκότες
Αἴσθησιν εἶχον ἄνδρες, ὡς φασίν τινες,
Ἀπηγξάμην ἂν, ὡς ἰδεῖν Εὐριπίδην (110).

That is,

"Philemon had ſo much fondneſs for him, that he "did not ſcruple to ſay the following words,

"If the deceas'd have ſenſe, as ſome pretend,
"I, with a halter, ſoon would end my life,
"That thy dear ſight (my friend) I might enjoy.

(110) Thom. Magiſt. in *Vita Euripidis.*

[*R*] *The circumſtances of his death are variouſly related.*] The reader may have obſerved in the Text of this article, that the King being in a party of hunting, ſome hounds fell upon Euripides as he was meditating in a wood (111), and tore him to pieces. This is extracted from Thomas Magiſter's life of this Poet. See alſo Diodorus Siculus, Chap. CIII of Book XIII. According to other Writers theſe hounds did not ruſh accidentally upon Euripides, but that they were purpoſely let out upon him; and that this was by the baſe artifices of two Poets (112), jealous of his glory, who, with a ſum of money, bribed the Keeper of the King's hounds to do this (113). Valerius Maximus ſays only this, viz. that Euripides having ſupp'd with the King, and going home, was ſo cruelly bit by the dogs that he died (114). Aulus Gellius declares expreſly, that this baſe turn was done him by an envious man. *Is cum in Macedonia apud Archelaum regem eſſet utereturque eo rex familiariter, rediens nocte ab ejus cœna canibus à quodam æmulo immiſſis dilaceratus eſt, & ex his vulneribus mors ſecuta eſt* (115). I ſhall not repeat what I have already touch'd upon in the remark [*O*], viz. that it was ſaid, that going to ſee ſome man or woman at an undue hour, upon an ill deſign, he was met by ſome women who knock'd out his brains. But I may very properly introduce, in this place, the reflection of Tanaquil Faber. *Others would have perſuaded the world*, ſays he (116), *that he had been torn to pieces by women, to revenge the honour of their ſex, againſt whom he had always declaimed. But it is very probable that this hiſtory was copied from the fable of Orpheus.*

(111) Ἐπειδὴ ϗ τινὲς ἄλλως φρονοῦντες ἔτυχεν.

(112) Arideus the Macedonian, and Cratevas, a Theſſalian.

(113) Suidas, *in* Εὐριπίδης, *and* Manuel Moſchopul. in *Vita Euripidis.*

(114) Val. Maxim. lib. 9. cap. 12. Ext. 4.

(115) Aul. Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 20.

(116) *Vie des Poëtes Grecs*, pag. m. 98, 99.

I will conclude this remark with a little piece of learning which is furniſhed us by Eraſmus (117). There was in Macedon a village which was called the village of the Thracians, becauſe it was inhabited by the people of that country. One of Archelaus's dogs happening to ſtray into that village, was there ſacrificed, and fed upon, according to the cuſtom of the inhabitants. This coming to the King's ear, he ſentenced them to pay a talent, by way of fine: but being unable

(117) On the proverb Κυνὸς Νίκην. *Canis vindictam.* Adagior. Chil. 1. Cent. 7. num. 47. pag. m. 245.

never was with Plato in Egypt [S], notwithſtanding the aſſertion of * Tanaquil Faber. There are now extant but twenty Tragedies writ by him, though he had compoſed ninety two (i). He took a pleaſure in interſperſing his dramatick pieces with a great number of moral reflexions [T]; on which occaſion he drew his own character; he being a man of great gravity and ſeverity in his conduct, and regardleſs of pleaſures. He uſed to ſhut himſelf up in a gloomy cave, and there compoſe his works [U]. However, all Euripides's

* Mr. le Fevre.

(i) Suidas, who relates this, ſays alſo that, according to others, he wrote but 75. Mr. Barnes found the titles of 84 Tragedies of Euripides. See his edition, pag. 55.

able to do this, they beſought Euripides to get it remitted, which by his favour it was. But he was puniſhed for it ſome time after, being killed by the King's dogs in a foreſt (118); and people were perſuaded that the dogs who killed him, ſprung from him whom the Thracians had ſlaughtered. This gave riſe to a proverb (119) among the Macedonians. Here follows another piece of learning of the ſame Eraſmus. He pretends (120), that the proverb *Promeri canes* owes its original to a revenge which Promerus, an Officer of Archelaus's, took for an ill turn which Euripides had done him. He let looſe his dogs upon him, which tore him to pieces. Eraſmus has forgot to tell us, what Stephanus Byzantinus ſays on this ſubject. The ill fated Euripides was very much worried by dogs in a part of Macedonia called *Bermiſcus*. He did not die immediately, but never recovered after having been bit ſo grievouſly by them. Βερμίσκος· χωρίον Μακεδονίας· ἐν ᾧ κυνοσπάρακτος γέγονεν Εὐριπίδης . . ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἡγημάτων ἀῤῥωστήσαντα τὸν ἀποθανεῖν. *Bormiſcus, oppidum* (regiuncula, according to Berkelius) *Macedoniæ, ubi à canibus diſcerptus fuit Euripides . . . ex morſibus verò quum ægrotaret, aiunt obiiſſe.* I don't doubt but that the verſes 597 and 598 of Ovid's *Ibis*, on which de Boiſſieu had no remark to make, hint at the tragical end of our Poet.

(118) *Cum Euripides in ſylvas quadam ſolus eſſet, & Archelaus à venatu reverteretur, canes Euripidem cinctum diſcerpſerunt devoraruntque.* Eraſm. Adagior. *Chil.* 1. *Cent.* 7. *num.* 47. He ſhould not have ſaid that they devoured him; this being refuted by what we have ſaid concerning Euripides's tomb.

(119) See above, citation (117).

(120) Chil. 2. Cent. 7. num. 88. pag. 56. Apoſtolius ſays the ſame thing, in general terms, Cent. 16. num. 70.

Utque cothurnatum vatem tutela Dianæ
Dilaniet vigilum te quoque turba canum.

That is,

"May'ſt thou be torn to pieces by curſt dogs,
"As fam'd Euripides was by Diana's.

[S] *He never was with Plato in Egypt.*] Authors are not agreed upon the year of Plato's birth, but we may fix it very ſafely to the 88th or 89th Olympiad. I would not adviſe any perſon to contradict Mr. Barnes, who aſſerts (121), that Plato was but ſeventeen when Euripides went into Macedon; and but twenty, when Euripides died. How abſurd is it to ſay, as Diogenes Laertius has done, that Euripides accompanied Plato in his voyage to Egypt (122)! Had they gone thither together, it would have been juſt and decent to have placed Euripides, then a venerable old man, as the leader; and Plato, at that time a very young man, following him as a diſciple; much after the ſame manner as young Engliſh Lords, and young Counts of the Empire, travel over the Alps with tutors! But to leave this incongruous abſurdity, viz. the aſſerting that Plato and Euripides travelled together into Egypt. Euripides left Athens, teized to death with the ſatyrical taunts and jeſts of the comic Poets; and went, being about ſeventy two years of age, to Archelaus's Court. It is very certain, that his journey into Egypt is not poſterior to that of Macedonia: his journey muſt therefore have been a mere chimæra, or muſt have preceded the ſeventy ſecond year of Euripides. Now it cannot be denied but that this Poet, during the five or ſix years which preceded the journey into Macedon, lived in his native country. He exhibited Oreſtes at ſixty nine years of age (123). He received in Athens, at ſixty ſeven years old (124), the thanks of thoſe who had ſaved their lives in Sicily, by repeating his verſes. Is it natural to imagine, that he ſhould attempt to go into Egypt at ſeventy years of age? And if this abſurdity will go down with ſome, I would aſk, how it could be poſſible for Plato, then not twenty, to accompany him into Egypt, ſince he did not go thither till after (125) the death of Socrates (126), which happened ſome years after that of Euripides; he, in a word, who did not undertake to go into Egypt till after he had ſeen Italy (127), and who did not leave Athens till he was twenty years old (128)? Tho' Diogenes Laertius ſhould ſwear to the journey in queſtion, he would not deſerve to be credited againſt the clear and ſolid reaſons which are brought from Chronology. With much more reaſon ought ſuch a fable to be rejected, ſince he relates it only from hearſay: and yet we ſee Joſeph Scaliger, Tanaquil Faber, and Menage, ſtrongly perſuaded that Plato and Euripides went together into Egypt. I don't pretend to excuſe Diogenes Laertius; for when a *hearſay* is evidently falſe, a Writer ought not to publiſh it without contradicting it at the ſame time. Laertius furniſhes me with a proof againſt his *hearſay*. He obſerves that Euripides fell ſick in Egypt, and that the Prieſts cured him by ſea-medicines; which made him ſay ſome time after,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

That is,

"The Ocean every human ill removes."

It is the 1193d verſe of the Tragedy of Iphigenia in *Tauris*, which was prior to the ſixty ninth year of Euripides, ſince that the Tragedy of Oreſtes, which he exhibited at ſixty nine years of age, was the laſt piece written by him in Athens (129). His journey into Egypt muſt therefore have neceſſarily been prior to his ſixty ninth year, and thus Plato muſt have gone into Egypt before he was fourteen years of age, which is abſurd. The learned men of England (130) were not ſo eaſily impoſed upon as thoſe of France, and did not ſay, like the great Scaliger: *Plato, Eudoxus, Euripides, profectionis in Ægyptum ſocii planetarum curſum ab Ægyptiis didicere; & primi omnium Græcorum populares ſuos id docuerunt, Plato quidem in Timæo, Eudoxus* ἐν ἐνόπτρῳ, *Euripides in Thyeſte. Verba ſunt magni Scaligeri in Notis ad Sphæram Manilii* (131). i. e. "Plato, Eudoxus and Euripides went together into Egypt; "learnt the courſe of the Stars from the people of that "country; and were the firſt among the Greeks who "inſtructed their countrymen in this. Plato in his "Timæus, Eudoxus in his ἐνόπτρον, Euripides in his "Thyeſtes. Such are the great Scaliger's words, in "his Notes on Manilius's Sphere." They don't ſay as Tanaquil Faber (132), that Euripides, after having learnt Rhetoric from Prodicus, *went into Egypt with Plato, there to enjoy the converſation of the Prieſts of that Country, who in that age were a little more renowned for their learning than the Prieſts of Spain or Italy.* There was an interval of above thirty years between Euripides's learning Rhetoric and the birth of Plato. This circumſtance aggravates Tanaquil Faber's error.

(121) In *Vita Euripid.* pag. 27.

(122) Οὗ φασι καὶ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ συναπολωλεκέναι. Diogen. Laert. lib. 3. in *Platone*, num. 6.

(123) Barneſ. pag. 28. *ex Scholiaſt. Eurip. & Joan. Meurſio.*

(124) Barneſ. ibid.

(125) Diog. Laert. in *Platone*, num. 6.

(126) See the remark [DD].

(127) Diog. Laert. in *Platone*, num. 6. Cicero 5. *de Finibus*, ſays the contrary; but as Apuleius obſerves that Plato went twice into Italy, and the ſecond time after the journey into Egypt, it is eaſy to reconcile Cicero with Hermodorus in *Diogenes Laertius*.

(128) Diogen. Laert. in *Platone*, num. 6.

[T] *He took a pleaſure in interſperſing his dramatic pieces with a great number of moral reflections.*] There is no occaſion of proving this; and we need but read ſuch of his compoſitions as have been handed down to us. But any who is deſirous of having vouchers for this, may join to the paſſage cited below from Quintilian (133), the following words of Cicero (134): *Cui* (Euripidi) *tu quantum credas neſcio: ego certe ſingulos ejus verſus ſingula ejus teſtimonia puto.* In Cicero's opinion, every verſe, of Euripides was a maxim or ſentence. Are we to wonder after this, that this illuſtrious Orator ſhould have read this Poet, in order to prepare himſelf for death? It has been obſerved (135) that the aſſaſſins who purſued and killed him, found him reading the Medea of Euripides in his litter. Now as the beſt things ſpoil a Book if they are not managed with diſcretion, the Criticks had perhaps great reaſon to cenſure in this Poet, his a little too frequent uſe of philoſophical Aphoriſms. It has been obſerved particularly, that his Hecuba aſſumes to exceſs, and often unſeaſonably, the character of a Philoſopher. Τὸν Εὐριπίδην καταμεμφόμεθα ὅτι παρὰ καιρὸν αὐτῷ ἐκυβὴ φιλοσοφεῖ (136).

(129) Barneſ. *in Vita Euripid.* pag. 30.

(130) *See* Barneſ. ibid. pag. 27.

(131) Menagius *ad* Diog. Laertium, lib. 3. num. 6. pag. 140. Since he cites this without cenſuring it, he is guilty of the ſame error with Scaliger, and that of Tanaquil Faber.

(132) *Vie des Poetes*, pag. 97.

(133) Remark [F] citation (39)

(134) Epiſt. 8. lib. 16. *ad Famil.*

(135) Ptolemæus Hephæſt. lib. 5. *variæ Hiſtor. apud* Photium, pag. m. 485.

[U] *He uſed to ſhut himſelf in a gloomy cave, and there compoſe his works.*] It was in the iſland of Salamis. Aulus Gellius had the curioſity to go into it.

(136) Theo, *in Progymnaſmatis*, cap. 1. pag. 4.

Philochorus

Euripides's maxims were not good. He gave one with regard to the ſanctity of an oath [X], which was thought ſo unguarded, that he was called to account for it. On another occaſion he dogmatized ſo gravely in favour of avaricious men, that the whole audience were ſhocked at it [Y]. Another time ſuch offence was taken at the two firſt verſes of his Menalippus, which ſeemed to doubt the exiſtence of the greateſt of all the Gods [Z], that he

(137) Lib. 15. cap. 20. *Philochorus refert*, ſays he (137), *in inſula Salamine ſpeluncam eſſe tetram & horridam, quam nos vidimus, in qua Euripides tragœdias ſcriptitavit.*

[X] *He gave out one* maxim, *with regard to the ſanctity of an oath.*] He introduces Hippolytus guarded with a diſtinction, when he is reminded of his oath.

Ἡ γλωσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος (138).

That is,

" My tongue has ſworn it, but not ſo my mind (139).

(138) It is the 612th verſe of Hippolitus.

(132) *See* Balzac's *Prince*, num. 262, pag. m. 191.

This is directly the ſophiſtry, or rather the treachery of mental reſervations. One Hygiænon could not bear this verſe; he impeached Euripides of impiety, as teaching and defending perjury. The Poet demanded to be tried by his proper Judges, appealing to the juriſdiction of thoſe Judges appointed to decide all diſputes relating to the Theatre; and ſaid that he had given, or was ready to give, an account of his faith and doctrine before that Tribunal, and that he ought to have been impeached there, and not in the uſual Courts. Ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῦ Διονυσιακῦ ἀγῶνος· κρίσεις εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄγουλα· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν δεδωκέναι λόγον ἢ δώσειν εἰ βούλεται κατηγορεῖν (140). Ariſtotle, who informs us of this circumſtance, leaves us there: he does not tell us either the conſequences or reſult of this proſecution; his ſubject not ſuffering him to expatiate on it. But if Euripides extricated himſelf by appealing from court to court, and had only ſpecious arguments to offer in his own favour, it muſt be confeſſed that his cauſe was not a very good one, and that his friends and admirers have pleaded it better than he did himſelf. I do not include Cicero among his advocates; for he did not take the pains to prove, that Hippolytus's diſtinction was within the limits of the rule which he (Cicero) had juſt before laid down; but contented himſelf with giving, in general, that diſtinction, with an adverb of applauſe: *Non falſum jurare perjurare eſt*, ſays he (141), *ſed quod ex animi tui ſententia juraris, ſicut verbis concipitur more noſtro, id non facere perjurium eſt. Scitè enim Euripides,*

(140) Ariſtotel. *Rhetor.* lib. 3. cap. 15. pag. m. 464.

(141) Cicero, *Officior.* lib. 3. cap. 29.

Juravi lingua, mentem injuratam gero.

i. e. " To ſwear falſly is not always perjury; but " ſhould a perſon ſwear at his own choice, to do a " thing, and according to the form in which it is " taken by us; in that caſe to not perform it would " be perjury. Euripides therefore ſaid juſtly,

" *My mind was free, altho' my tongue had ſworn.*"

The Scholiaſt on Euripides has explained this much better, he thinking that the Poet's thought is as follows. Hippolytus did not underſtand what the affair was, when he was made to ſwear; things had been diſguiſed to him; he had ſincerely underſtood them in a certain manner, and had ſworn according to the ſtate of the queſtion, as he underſtood it. After this he was ſhewn the affair in another light, and it was pretended that he had bound himſelf by an oath. Euripides anſwered, that it was never his intention to ſwear in ſuch a manner, and therefore, that his tongue only had ſworn. Methinks here is a caſe very different from equivocations and mental reſervations. Hippolytus, upon this ſuppoſition, ought to enjoy the prerogatives of ignorance, which clear a man at Law. *Si certum eſt eum qui juravit, aliquod factum ſuppoſuiſſe, quod revera ſe ita non habeat, ac niſi id credidiſſet non fuiſſe juraturum, non obligabit juramentum* (142). But nevertheleſs, Euripides's maxim in general is a very bad one, ſince there is no kind of perjury but might be excuſed that way. May not thoſe who employ equivocations ſay, that their tongue and heart did not agree; that the latter ſwore, but the former did not ſo? Barnes, to juſtify Euripides, obſerves (143), among other particulars, that Hippolytus choſe to die rather than to violate this verbal oath.

(142) Grotius, *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. 2. cap. 13. num. 4. In the Note he applies his maxim to Hippolytus.

(143) In *Vita Eurip.* pag. 22.

[Y] *He dogmatized ſo gravely in favour of avaricious men, that the whole audience were ſhock'd at it.*] The audience would have driven the actor from the ſtage, had not Euripides himſelf come upon it, and beſought them to have a little patience, by aſſuring that they would ſoon ſee the unhappy end of the miſer, whoſe maxims had ſo ſtrongly diſguſted the audience. We are obliged to Seneca for this particular. He gives in Latin verſe the maxims of this miſer, and afterwards adds: *Cum hi noviſſimi verſus in tragœdia Euripidis pronunciati eſſent, totus populus ad ejiciendum & actorem & carmen conſurrexit uno impetu: donec Euripides in medium ipſe proſiluit, petens, ut expectarent, viderentque quem admirator auri exitum faceret. Dabat in illa fabula pœnas Bellerophontes, quas in ſua quiſque dat. Nulla enim avaritia ſine pœna eſt, quamvis ſatis ſit ipſa pœnarum* (144). Juſtice obliges us to be ſatisfied with this kind of apology. The ſame Poet employs it for his Ixion. Some perſons cenſuring him for exhibiting ſo wicked and impious a man on the ſtage; " Obſerve, *ſays he*, how I ſhall fix him to a wheel before he leaves it: Ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐιπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὸς τὸν Ἰξίονα λοιδορᾶνλας ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ μιαφὸν. Οὐ μέν τοι πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξήγαγον τῷ τροχῷ προσηλῶσαι (145). This was the beſt thing in Tragedies; perſecuted virtue triumphed at laſt in it, and the wicked were brought to condign puniſhment; but nevertheleſs there was reaſon to fear, that certain examples and certain ſpeeches would become infectious. See how Ariſtophanes (146) reproaches Euripides on account of his Phædra. It is to be obſerved, that the two charges againſt Euripides are confounded in the *Menagiana*, it being there aſſerted (147) *that the five judges appointed by the Athenians to ſettle the conteſts which might ariſe with regard to the Theatre . . . having* (148) *one day ſummoned Euripides to appear, to anſwer with regard to a verſe in one of his Tragedies, wherein he made the Actor ſay, that he had ſworn with his tongue and not with his mind; Euripides defended himſelf by ſaying, that they muſt wait till the Play was ended, and that they then would ſee this Actor broke on the wheel.*

(144) Senec. Epiſt. 115. pag. m. 452.

(145) Plutarch. *de audiendis Poetis*, pag. 19.

(146) In *Ranis*, Act. 4. Sc. 2. pag. m. 243.

(147) Menagiana, pag. m. 119.

(148) Ibid. pag. 120.

[Z] *Such offence was taken at the two firſt verſes of his Menalippus . . . that he was forced to change them.*] This is proved by Plutarch. I ſhall relate his words at length, becauſe they ſhew us what ſtreſs the Heathens laid on tradition (149), when the exiſtence of a Deity was to be proved. Plutarch confeſſes plainly enough, that it would be dangerous not to adhere ſtrongly to this proof; and that it would be difficult to find out more certain ones. The Philoſophers of this Age are not reduced to ſuch a ſtrait: they give very evident proofs, and much more demonſtrative than it is poſſible for tradition to be. But let us hear Plutarch (150). " Thou ſeemeſt to me to ſtart a great " and bold queſtion, or rather, to move a point, which " we ought not to touch upon in any manner; I mean, " the opinion and belief which we entertain of the " Gods, by requiring a proof and reaſon for each of " them. For the ancient faith and belief concerning " them, which we received from our forefathers, in " this country, ought to ſuffice us; it not being poſſible for us to imagine to ourſelves a better or more " evident proof.

(149) See *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, num. 137.

(150) Plutarch. *in Amatorio*, pag. 756.

" Surely the ſubtleſt wits, earth e'er produc'd,
" Could never reach the depths of heavenly wiſ-
" dom.

" So that tradition being the common baſis of all " Religion; ſhould the authority and belief of it, " tranſmitted from one generation to another, be " ſhaken and moved in a ſingle point, it becomes ſuſpicious and doubtful in all the reſt. Thou may'ſt " remember to have heard how Euripides was hiſſed " and inſulted, on account of the beginning of his " Tragedy of Menalippus, which was as follows,

" O Jupiter,

he was forced to change them. He has ſometimes vented impious propoſitions, whereupon ſome declared him to be an Atheiſt [*AA*]. I ſhall not examine this point; and ſhall only obſerve in general, that it is abſurd to aſcribe to the Author of a Tragedy the ſentiments he puts into the mouths of his Actors [*BB*]. The manner in which Euripides received the hints of the people, with reſpect to the correction of a paſſage in his Tragedies; and the anſwer he made to a Poet, who boaſted that he could compoſe with eaſe, are capable of a good or ill conſtruction [*CC*]. He is accuſed of ſlandering Medea out of

" O Jupiter, for nought I know of thee,
" Except thy name. ———

" He was extremely fond of this Tragedy, as being
" very ſublime and exquiſitely well writ; but the peo-
" ple murmured ſo much, and made ſuch a tumult,
" that he changed the verſes in manner following, as
" they now ſtand.

" O Jove, how well this mighty name
" Suits thy divinity!

[*AA*] *Some declared him to have been an Atheiſt.*] Plutarch among the antients, and Sir Thomas Brown (151) among the moderns, have given Euripides this character. See the remark [*H*] of the article CRITIAS. Ariſtophanes ſays a thing, which recalls to my memory the fear that certain people had in Epheſus, with regard to the Preachers of the Goſpel (152). He introduces (153) a widow who had gained a livelihood by vending holy noſegays; but, ſaid ſhe, ſince Euripides, by his impious verſes, has perſuaded men that there are no Gods, I have little or no cuſtom. It is to be particularly obſerved that the Heathen Deities were ſo ridiculous, that a man might juſtly laugh at them without being an Atheiſt in any manner. The paſſage of Euripides quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus does therefore prove nothing; I mean that where this Poet ſays, that were the Gods ſummoned to give an account of their adulteries, Neptune and Jupiter himſelf would be forced to quit their temples in execution of the ſentence that ſhould be pronounced againſt them: but, continued, I do not believe that matters will ever be carried to ſuch lengths (154): Ἤδη δὲ ἐν Ἰόνι τῷ δράματι γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐγκυκλεῖ τῷ θεάτρῳ τὰς Θεάς.

Πῶς ἦν δίκαιον, τὰς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς
Γράψαντας, αὐτὰς ἀδικίας ὀφλισκάνειν;
Εἰ, δ' ἐ γὰρ ἔσαι, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι·
Δίκας βιαίων δώσετ' ἀνθρώποις γάμων,
Σὺ κἠ Ποσειδῶν, Ζεὺς θ' ὃς ὑφανῦ κρατεῖ,
Ναὰς τίνοντες ἀδικίαν κενώσετε.

That is,

" He now introduced in the Tragedy entitled *Ion*,
" the Gods bareheaded.

" Does it ſeem juſt, for you to break thoſe Laws,
" Which you yourſelves to human creatures gave?
" But ſhould that happen, (which, ſure, hardly can,)
" That you, for all your rapes, ſhould give account;
" Then Neptune, thou, and Jove the Lord of all,
" Would leave your deſolated temples."

Father Thomaſſin (155) has reaſoned juſtly on the contradiction which is found in the conduct of the Heathens. They worſhipped in the temples, the ſame Deities which were ridiculed with impunity on the Stage.

I muſt take notice of a great error of Theophilus Raynaud. He ſays that Euripides the Atheiſt attacked Anaxagoras the Philoſopher on the doctrine of the Unity of God (156); and he cites the VIth Chapter of Book XIVth of Euſebius's *Præparatio Evangelica*. He ſhould have quoted the XVIth Chapter; but this would not have mended the matter; for here follows what Euſebius has ſaid, where he epitomizes the relation which Plutarch has made of the opinion of the antients concerning the Nature of God. Euripides, not daring to expreſs his thought from his apprehenſion of the Areopagus, inſinuated it, by introducing Siſyphus who denied that there were any Gods. Plutarch afterwards brings Anaxagoras, as the firſt who entertained orthodox ſentiments with regard to the Deity. This is what we are told by Euſebius (157).

[*BB*] *It is abſurd to aſcribe to the Author of a Tragedy, the ſentiments he puts into the mouths of his Actors.*] Barnes obſerves that Euripides, to ſupport the character of Siſyphus, was obliged to make him reaſon as an Atheiſt, and therefore that Plutarch had no reaſon to diſcover there the artifices of an author; the artifice, I ſay, of publiſhing with ſafety, his own thoughts under another's name (158). *Miror autem plurimum quid tanto viro perſuaſerit hæc vafre ab* Euripide *dicta ſub* Siſyphi *perſona, & poëtæ ipſius eſſe ſenſus, cum nemo unquam extitit noſtro poeta pientior, ut ex innumeris ejus locis colligi poteſt, &* Siſyphi *characterem maxime decuit* impie loqui; *ut obſervavimus ad* Bellerophont (159). Verſ. 8. i. e. " I wonder very much what it was " could make ſo great a man believe, that Euripides " had delivered his ſentiments craftily in the perſon of " Siſyphus; and that this ſhould be our tragic Poet's " opinion, ſince no man ever had a deeper ſenſe of " religion than Euripides, as is manifeſt from num- " berleſs paſſages in his Works: And it very juſtly " ſuited the character of Siſyphus to ſpeak impiouſly, " as I obſerved on Bellerophon." Grotius ſays judiciouſly (160). *Multa in tragœdiis ſunt non ex poëtæ ſenſu dicta, ſed congruenter perſonæ quæ loquens inducitur.* i. e. " There are many particulars in tragedies, " which the Poet does not deliver as his own thoughts, " but which ſuit the character of the perſon who is " brought upon the ſtage." See the *Chimere de la cabale de Rotterdam démontrée* (161); and what is ſaid in the Remark [*Q*] of the article ERASMUS.

[*CC*] *Two things . . . . are capable of a good or ill conſtruction.*] One evening the Athenians deſiring Euripides to ſuppreſs a certain paſſage in one of his Tragedies, he came upon the ſtage and ſaid to the audience, *I do not write in order to learn of you, but to be your maſter.* He one day complained to the Poet Alceſtis, that in the three laſt days, he had been able to write but three verſes, tho' he had laboured with all his might. The other anſwered with an air of the higheſt vanity, that he had wrote an hundred with the utmoſt eaſe. Says Euripides: *there is this difference between my verſes and yours: mine will ſurvive thro' the whole round of eternity, but yours will quite diſappear in three days.* Valerius Maximus has given a favourable interpretation to all this, he not perceiving the leaſt ſign of oſtentation in it, and only that juſt confidence which a great man ought to have in his own merit. He even aſſerts, that with regard to the firſt particular, the Athenians formed the ſame judgment of it as he did. *Nec Euripides quidem Athenis,* ſays he (162), *arrogans viſus eſt, cum poſtulante populo, ut ex tragœdia quandam ſententiam tolleret, progreſſus in ſcenam, dixit: Se, ut eum doceret, non ut ab eo diſceret, fabulas componere ſolere. Laudanda profecto fiducia eſt, quæ æſtimationem ſui certo pondere examinat, tantum ſibi arrogans, quantum à contemptu & inſolentia diſtare ſatis eſt. Itaque etiam quod Alceſtidi tragico poetæ reſpondit, probabile; apud quem cum quereretur, quòd eo triduo non ultra tres verſus maximo impenſo labore deducere potuiſſet, atque is ſe centum perfacilè ſcripſiſſe gloriaretur: Sed hoc, inquit, intereſt, quod tui in triduum tantummodo, mei verò in omne tempus ſufficient. Alterius enim fœcundi curſus ſcripta intra primas memoriæ metas corruerunt, alterius cunctante ſtylo elucubratum opus per omne ævi tempus plenis gloriæ velis feretur.* No man is obliged to ſubmit his own opinion to the judgment of this Latin Author, nor to believe on his ſingle affirmation, that the haughty and rude declaration of Euripides was favourably received by the Athenians. We are therefore not to wonder that Gyraldi, guided by his own judgment, looked upon theſe anſwers of the Greek Poet as expreſſive of too much ſelf-love and pride. He is only to blame for aſſerting, that the Latin Author cited them as a mark of pride. This at leaſt is the error with which Barnes has reproached him (163); after which he makes the following

(151) *Relig. Medici*, Sect. 46. See *Notas in eum locum*

(152) *Acts of the Apoſtles*, chap. 19. ver. 24, & *ſeq.*

(153) In *Theſmophoriaſ.* pag. m. 777.

(154) Clem. Alexandrin. *Admonit. ad Gentes*, pag. 50.

(155) *Methode de lire chrétiennement les Poetes*, tom. 1. pag. 173.

(156) *Quin etiam Euſeb. 14. Præpar. cap. 6. refert Anaxagoram ab Euripide Athen idcirco impugnatum.* Theoph. Raynaud. *Theol. Natur.* Diſtinct. 5. num. 155. pag. m. 525.

(157) Euſeb. *Præpar.* lib. 14. cap. 16. pag. 753.

(158) Barneſ. *Not. in Euripid. Siſyph. Fragm.* pag. 492.

(159) The fragments of this Tragedy contain the ſpeech of a man who expreſly denies a Providence, upon pretence that wicked men are richer than the good and virtuous.

(160) In Præfat. ad *Excerpt. apud Barneſ.* in *Vita Euripid.* pag. 22.

(161) In the Preface, pag. 110.

EURIPIDES compoſed verſes with difficulty.

(162) Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 7. *Ext.* num. 1.

(163) Lilius Gyraldus *incogitanter nimis dixit quod poetam noſtrum arrogantem & ſuperbum* Valerius Maximus *prodat, quum tamen nobilis is author in eo capite & loco quem* Gyraldus *deſignat, nihil omnino tale, imo plane contrarium ſtatuat.* Barn. *in Vita Euripid.* pag. 20.

of complaiſance for the Corinthians [*DD*]. It is not true that there was any tacit reproach in his Palamedes, with regard to the death of Socrates [*EE*]. I am ſurprized that ſo few Authors ſhould take notice of a particular mentioned by Euſebius [*FF*]. Moreri has committed ſome very groſs blunders [*GG*]. The beſt Edition of Euripides, is

lowing reflection on the latter part of the paſſage of Valerius Maximus: *Vere hæc quidem* Valerius, *nam quum hodie ne tres quidem verſus nedum unicus ullus ex innumeris jactabundi iſtius poetæ extemporanei verſibus ſupereſſe videatur, ſed neque ullum illorum veſtigium ad* Valerii *ætatem perduravit, ad quam tamen omnia* Euripidis *opera ſalva & integra permanſerunt, etiam poſt* Valerii *tempora jam mille & octingentos annos ſuperſunt plures iſtius fabulæ integræ quam omnes* Æſchyli, Sophoclis, & Ariſtophanis *tragœdiæ & comœdiæ ſimul ſumptæ.* i. e. "Valerius had cauſe to ſay this, ſince "there are not three verſes, nor ſo much as one of that "boaſting Poet, extant at this time; nor did the leaſt "traces of them deſcend to the age in which Valerius lived: tho' all the compoſitions of Euripides "were tranſmitted ſafe and entire to it; nay, eighteen hundred years ſince Valerius's time, there are "ſtill extant more entire Dramatic Pieces of this Poet, "than all the Tragedies and Comedies of Æſchylus, "Sophocles and Ariſtophanes put together." Methinks two things might be cenſured in the abovementioned paſſage. The one is, that as Valerius Maximus lived under Tiberius, it could not be ſaid in 1694, that he flouriſhed eighteen hundred years ago. The other is, that there are extant, ſeven of Æſchylus's Tragedies, as many of Sophocles's, and eleven Comedies of Ariſtophanes. Now all theſe added together amount to above twenty, the number of Euripides's Tragedies which have been tranſmitted to us.

[*DD*] *He is accuſed of ſlandering Medea, out of complaiſance for the Corinthians.*] We are told that Medea's children were killed by the Corinthians; and that theſe, a long time after, prevailed with Euripides to give out, that ſhe herſelf had killed them. It is added, that by means of the great reputation of this Poet, fiction got the better of truth (164; and that the city of Corinth diſcharged itſelf of the infamy of its crime, on the memory of innocent Medea. The Author I cite, aſſerts, that Euripides was prevailed upon to transfer this ſlander, merely at the requeſt of the Corinthians? but others affirm that it coſt them five talents. They gave this ſum to Euripides, if Parmeniſcus may be credited (165). Several Authors ſay, that Medea did not kill her children; but that, on the contrary, not having an opportunity to carry them with her when ſhe fled from Corinth, ſhe ſecured them in a temple, hoping they would there find an inviolable aſylum, but that the Corinthians murthered them in it (166). It is alledged (167), in juſtification of Euripides, that he was not the firſt who charged Medea with murthering her children, ſince Carcinus (168) introduces her pleading her cauſe againſt thoſe who reproached her with this crime; and that Apollodorus (169) ſays poſitively, that ſhe killed the two ſons ſhe had by Jaſon. Of theſe two witneſſes the firſt only can be of uſe; the laſt having lived 250 years after Euripides. As for Carcinus, he lived before our Poet, and had a ſon, Xenocles by name, who diſputed for the palm in Tragedy, againſt Euripides (170).

[*EE*] *It is not true, that there was any tacit reproach in his Palamedes, with regard to the death of Socrates.*] The moſt uniform opinion of Authors with regard to the age of Euripides is, that he was born the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad, and lived about 75 years. His death therefore muſt be fixed under the 93d Olympiad, as Suidas has done. Now it is certain, that Socrates did not die till the 95th Olympiad; and therefore Euripides could not reproach the Athenians with putting this Philoſopher to death. The Reader muſt obſerve, that Diodorus Siculus having ſaid that Apollodorus fixed Euripides's death to the ſame year with that of Sophocles, that is, the third year of the 93d Olympiad, adds, that according to others, Euripides had been tore to pieces by dogs in Macedonia, ſome time before (171). I alſo intreat the Reader to take notice of the following words of Tanaquil Faber (172); *I am very well aſſured that Ariſtophanes exhibited his Comedy intitled* the Frogs, *in this ſame Olympiad* 92; *and that he ſpeaks in that Play, of Eupides, as of a man who was dead.* Samuel Petit (173) pretends to prove that this play was exhibited the third year of the 93d Olpmpiad, which is ſufficient for my purpoſe. I add that the anonymous writer, who has given us the deſcription of the Olympiads, fixes to the 91ſt Olympiad, the conteſt between Euripides and Xenocles, on which occaſion the *Palamedes* was one of the four dramatick pieces given in by Euripides (174). Add to this, the authority of Philocorus, who had written a Life apart of Euripides (175). He ſays in expreſs terms, that Socrates's execution happened after the death of this great Poet (176); and yet writers have ventured to declare, and this many ages ſince, that Euripides drew tears from all the ſpectators, by introducing two verſes in his Palamedes, hinting at Socrates's death. Ὅθεν λοιπὸν ἐκέλευσαν μηδένα δημοσίᾳ, οἷον ἐν κοινῷ θεάτρῳ, λέγειν περὶ Σωκράτους. ἀμέλει λέγεταί τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς ὅτι Εὐριπίδου βουλομένου εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀναπλάσασθαι Παλαμήδην, ἵνα διὰ τούτου σχοίη καιρὸν καὶ αἰνίξασθαι εἰς τὸν Σωκράτην, καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκάνετε τὸν Ἕλληνων τὸν ἄριστον, ὃ ἐστιν, ἐφονεύσατε. καὶ νοῆσαν, τὸ θέατρον ἅπαν ἐδάκρυσε, διότι περὶ Σωκράτους ἡνίττετο (177). i. e. "Hence they commanded, that thenceforward, "no one ſhould ſpeak publickly, or on the ſtage, concerning Socrates, but yet it is related that this was "done; for Euripides, deſirous of ſaying ſomething "about him, and being afraid at the ſame time of "doing it, wrote his Palamedes, in order that under "this character, he might have an opportunity of "glancing at Socrates's death, and at the conduct of "the Athenians, in the following words. *Ye have "murthered, ye have murthered, the beſt man among "the Greeks.* The audience perceiving that theſe "words were meant of Socrates, burſt all into tears." Diogenes Laertius (178) has related in few words, the moſt conſiderable part of this falſe incident. Several of the moſt learned men among the Moderns (179) have received it as true.

By the true date of Euripides's death, Cœlius Rhodiginus may be convicted of a notorious falſhood. He ſays (180), that the Play of Cockals contained a number which roſe to forty, and was called Euripides; and gives this reaſon for it, viz. that Euripides was one of the forty Magiſtrates ſettled in Athens after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants. But how could he be one of thoſe forty, ſince he died before Lyſander had ſeized upon Athens. Charles Stephens, Lloyd and Hofman have adopted this whole error of Rhodiginus.

[*FF*] *I am ſurprized that ſo few Authors ſhould take notice of a particular mentioned by Euſebius.*] It muſt be imagined, one might conclude from thence, that Euripides had an apartment in the citadel of Athens, and a penſion from the publick. I will quote Oenomaus's words, on which the Learned may make what Commentary they pleaſe. Εἰ μὲν δὴ ὁ κρότος ἱκανὸς κριτὴς, καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τράπεζα, ἐδὲν ἔτι λέγω, βλέπων ἐν Ἀκροπόλει δειπνοῦντα τὸν Εὐριπίδην, καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἅμα καὶ τὸν Μακεδόνων δῆμον ἐπιψοφοῦντα. i. e. "If therefore theſe "applauſes, or his being allowed a table in the citadel are proper authorities on this occaſion, I have "nothing farther to add: for I my ſelf have known "Euripides to ſup in the citadel, and to have received "the applauſes both of the Athenians and Macedonians."

[*GG*] *Moreri has committed ſome very groſs blunders.*] I. He ſhould not have ſaid, that our Poet was called the *tragic Philoſopher*, but the *ſtage Philoſopher*. II. Inſtead of aſſuring that he was *born in Phlia* (182), he ſhould have ſaid *in the iſland of Salamis*. III. Since he was born the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad, it is abſurd to ſay, that he *lived in* that Olympiad: for ſuch an expreſſion is employed to denote the time in which a man is moſt eminent. IV. I have already obſerved (183) the error of thoſe who ſend him into Egypt with Plato. V. And who obſerve in particular, that he went thither after he had finiſhed his courſe of Rhetorick. VI. It would be very difficult to prove, that Decamnichus brought Euripides to his end. The Authors who have preſerved the names of thoſe who are accuſed of ſetting the dogs upon him, do not once name this Decamnichus, and I therefore wonder why

(164) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 5. cap. 21.

(165) *Apud* Scholiaſten Euripidis, *in Medeam*, ver. 9. Barnes aſſerts, pag. 15. that Plutarch, in the *Life of Alexander*, ſays the ſame thing, copying it from Parmeniſcus. I have not met with this in Plutarch.

(166) Parmeniſcus *and* Didymus, *apud* Scholiaſten. Euripid. ibid. ver. 273. Didymus quotes Creophylus. *See* Ælian, *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 5. cap. 21. *and* Apollodorus, *Bibliotth.* lib. 1.

(167) Barneſ. *in Vita Euripid.* pag. 15.

(168) *Apud* Ariſtotel. *Rhetor.* lib. 2. cap. 23. pag. 447.

(169) *Bibliotb.* lib. 1.

(170) Barneſ. *in Vita Euripid.* pag. 15.

(171) Diod. Sicul. lib. 13. cap. 103. pag. m. 554.

(172) *Vie des Poet. Grecs*, pag. 85.

173) *Miſcell.* b. 1. cap. 14.

(174) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 8. where we muſt read ἐννεκοσῶν and not ἕκτην, and then it will be found the 91ſt Olympiad. *See* Schefferus *in hunc locum Æliani.*

(175) Suidas *in* Φιλόκορος.

(176) *Apud* Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. in *Socrate*, num. 44.

(177) Anonymus *in Argumento* Orationis Iſocratis *cui titulus Buſiris*, pag. m. 322.

(178) Lib. 2. *in Socrate*, num. 44.

(179) Daniel Heinſius, among others, in *Dedicat. Tragœd.* Senecæ, *apud* Barneſ. pag. 15.

(180) *Antiq. Lection.* lib. 20. cap. 27. pag. m. 1135. Barnes, pag. 23. has cenſured this blunder, which he aſcribes, not only to Rhodiginus, but alſo to Euſtathius *in Homer*, folio 1289, lin. 61.

(181) Oenomaus, *apud* Euſebium, *de Præparat. Evangel.* lib. 5. cap. 23. pag. 228.

(182) See the remark [*A*].

(183) In the note [*S*].

is that of Joſhua Barnes of Cambridge, printed anno 1694, in folio [*HH*].

Tanaquil Faber fixed only on that name. VII. Be this as it will, the vengeance which Decamnichus took on Euripides ſhould not have been placed after Archelaus's death. Tanaquil Faber took care not to fall into this error; had Moreri been a faithful Copyiſt, he would have done the ſame thing; for it is certain that Euripides died ſome years before this Prince. VIII. To ſay that Euripides *died at about* 75 *years of age, in the* 93*d Olympiad, after having ſaid that he lived in the* 75*th Olympiad*, betrays an ignorance of even the rudiments of his Profeſſion and thoſe of Arithmetick. The worſt hiſtorians will never ſay that a man who lives in the 75th Olympiad, that is, who is then in his flouriſhing ſtate, and who dies in the 93d Olympiad, dies at about 75 years of age. Such a man muſt have lived a whole Century at leaſt. IX. He ought not to have ſaid, that this Poet retired, *after the year* 338 *of Rome, to the court of Archelaus King of Macedon:* for ſince he was obliged to ſay, that Euripides died *the year* 348 *of Rome*, he engaged himſelf to aſſert, that he ſpent about ten years in the Macedonian Court, a falſity which is condemned by all Authors, ſince they declare that Euripides reſided but about three years in Archelaus's court. And we have ſeen (184), that at 69 years of age he exhibited his Oreſtes at Athens. X. The citation of Diodorus Siculus *l.* 13, and that of Aulus Gellius *l.* 11. *c.* 4, are quite unneceſſary.

(184) The remark [*S*] citation (123), above.

[*HH*] *The beſt Edition of Euripides, is that of Joſhua Barnes of Cambridge, printed anno* 1694, *in folio.*] This Editor added Scholia to it, and all the fragments he could meet with. He has illuſtrated many things by very learned notes, and prefixed a Life of Euripides abounding with erudition.

(185) Geſner. *in Biblioth.* folio 229, *verſo.*

I muſt ſpeak a word or two of ſome of the preceding Editions. Geſner (185) obſerves, that the firſt Edition of eighteen Tragedies of Euripides is that of Aldus Manutius at Venice. It is in Greek only, and he does not ſpecify either the year or the ſize of it. I know from another hand, that Aldus printed this Poet without a Latin verſion, anno 1503, in 8°. Hervagius reprinted this edition at Baſil, anno 1537, in 8°; as alſo in 1544, and 1551 (186), A literal Latin verſion was added to it in the Edition at Baſil, printed by Robert Winter anno 1541 (187). The Tranſlator diſguiſed his true name under that of *Dorotheus Camillus* (188). John Oporinus printed an Edition of Euripides *in folio*, anno 1562, both in Greek and Latin, which includes the notes and prefaces of Gaſpar Stiblinus, the Prolegomena of James Micyllus, and ſome remarks of John Brodæus. Plantin's Edition in 16°, printed at Antwerp anno 1571, has one advantage which was wanting in the preceding ones; the verſes are diſtinguiſhed, and every one is placed in its proper line, according to its due length and meaſure. This diviſion was made by William Canterus. Paul Stephens publiſhed Euripides both in Greek and Latin, with the antient Scholiaſt, and the Commentaries of Brodæus, Canterus, Stiblinus and Portus, anno 1602, in 4to. The edition I make uſe of, was printed at Heidelberg; for Jerom Commelinus, 1597, 8vo. It is in Greek and Latin, and the verſes are ranged in the order in which Canterus placed them. The Tranſlation was reviſed by Æmilius Portus; and, to the nineteen Tragedies of Euripides, the beginning of the twentieth intitled *Danae* was added. Some Tragedies tranſlated by different hands, have been printed ſeparately. Four (189) were printed at Antwerp, in 1581, and tranſlated into Latin verſe by Ratallerus. Eraſmus tranſlated in Iambicks the Hecuba and Iphigenia *in Tauris*, and this verſion was printed at Venice, by Aldus, anno 1507, in 8vo. Florens Chriſtianus tranſlated the Andromache and the Cyclops in Latin verſe.

(186) See the *Catalogue of Nicholas Heinſius's Library*, Part. 2. pag. 118.

(187) Geſner. *Biblioth.* folio, 229, *verſo.*

(188) Idem, ibid.

(189) Viz. Phœniſſæ, Hippolytus, Coronatus, *and* Andromacha.

EUROPA, the daughter of Agenor (*a*) King of Tyre. The Poets have feigned, that Jupiter aſſumed the ſhape of a bull, in order to ſteal that Princeſs, and that he carried her into the iſland of Crete (*b*), where he had three ſons by her. Thoſe writers who endeavour to reduce as near as poſſible, the fables of Poets to hiſtorical truths, relate that Taurus, General of the forces of Aſterius King of Crete, having taken the city of Tyre, and plundered it, carried off a great number of female priſoners, and among the reſt Europa the King's daughter [*A*]. She married Aſterius, who having no children by her, adopted thoſe which ſhe had had by her Gallant [*B*]. It was pretended that Jupiter enjoyed her the firſt time, under a Plane-Tree [*C*], which from that time had a very

(*a*) According to others, ſhe was daughter of Phœnix. Apollodor. lib. 3. *init.*

(*b*) *See* Ovid's *Metam.* lib. 2. Fab. 13. ver. 835, *& ſeq.*

[*A*] *Taurus, General of the forces . . . carried off . . . Europa the King's daughter.*] I have followed Meurſius's ſentiment, although I have ſeen it corroborated only by the teſtimony of Tzetzes (1), and though a great number of Authors aſſert, that Taurus was King of Crete. This title is beſtowed upon him by the *Chronicum Alexandrinum*, Euſtathius and Cedrenus (2). Be this as it will, whether Taurus was King of Crete or General of the forces of that Monarch, he waged war with Agenor, diſpoſſeſſed him of the city of Tyre, of Europa his daughter &c. (3). He was born in Gnoſſus a city of Crete (4), and built the city of Gortys in this iſland (5). He called it by his mother's name.

(1) In Lycophronem, *apud* Meurſium *in Creta*, pag. 125.

(2) *Apud* Meurſium, ibid. pag. 251.

(3) Chro. Alexandrinum, Palæphatus, (cap. 16.) Euſtathius *ad* Dionyſ. Cedrenus, *apud* Meurſium, ibid.

(4) Palæphat. & Tzetzes, ibid.

(5) Chronic. Alexand. Euſtathius, Cedrenus, *apud* Meurſium, ibid.

[*B*] *Aſterius . . . . having no children by her, adopted thoſe which ſhe had had by her gallant.*] It is ſuſpected (6), and juſtly, that he was but a child when Europa was ſtole away by Jupiter. When he married her, ſhe was the mother of Minos, of Rhadamanthus, and of Sarpedon, three ſons whom ſhe had brought to Jupiter. Aſterius adopted them, and left his kingdom to Minos. This is what we find in Diodorus Siculus (7), and we meet with much the ſame in the third Book of Apollodorus. It is true indeed, that the Prince who married her is called Aſterion, and not Aſterius. In Euſebius's Chronicon, theſe three children are not the ſons of Jupiter and Europa, but of Aſterius and Europa; of Aſterius, I ſay, who married her after Jupiter had enjoyed her. According to St. Auſtin, Xanthus King of Crete carried off Europa, who brought him Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon and Minos. He owns that this Monarch was called by other names: *Per eos annos*, ſays he (8), *à Rege Xantho Cretenſium, cujus apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, & inde geniti Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon & Minos, quos magis ex eadem muliere filios Jovis eſſe vulgatum eſt.* Nonnus pretends that Jupiter, having got Europa with child, married her big as ſhe was, to a very rich man, viz. Aſterion.

(6) Meurſius, ibid. pag. 124.

(7) Diod. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 62.

(8) Auguſt. *de Civitat. Dei*, lib. 18. cap. 12.

Καὶ ζαθέης ὠδῖνος ἐὴν ἐγκύμονα νύμφην
Κάλλιπεν Ἀσιρίωνι βαθυπλήτῳ παρακοίτῃ
Ζεὺς πόσις (9).

That is,

" Great Jove reſigned the Fair by him compreſſed,
" And big with heavenly ſeed, to rich Aſterion.

(9) Nonnus, *Dionyſ.* lib. 1. ver. 353.

This is very frequently the conduct of Kings: they marry to very rich men the ladies whom they have enjoyed as much as they pleaſed. Lycophron (10) inſinuates, that Europa was carried off for Aſterion's ſake.

(10) *In Caſſandra*, ver. 1300.

[*C*] *It is pretended that Jupiter enjoyed her . . . under a Plane-Tree.*] I believe that Theophraſtus and Pliny are the only ancient authors that can be cited. *Eſt Gortynæ in inſula Creta*, ſays Pliny (11), *juxta fontem Platanus una, inſignis utriuſque linguæ monumentis, nunquam folia dimittens: ſtatimque ei Græciæ fabuloſitas ſuperfuit, Jovem ſub ea cum Europa concubuiſſe: ceu vero non alia ejuſdem generis eſſet in Cypro. Sed ex ea primum in ipſa Creta (ut eſt natura hominum novitatis avida) Platani ſatæ regeneravere vitium: quandoquidem commendatio arboris ejus non alia major eſt quam ſolem æſtate arcere, hyeme admittere.* One might conclude

(11) Plin. lib. 12 cap. 1.

very peculiar privilege, which was its preſerving its beautiful foliage all the year round. It is alſo related that Europa having loſt her virginity, went immediately and bathed in a certain water which had a marvelous property [*D*].

clude from the expreſſions of Theophraſtus, that Europa was on this tree when Jupiter dallied with her, the firſt time; and we are told that ſome medals favour this explication. Ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγεται Πλατάνου τινα εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτυναίᾳ πρὸς πηγῇ τινι ἣ ἐ φυλλοβολεῖ. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐμίγη τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὁ Ζεύς (12). But to wave this, let us conſider Pliny's words. I own I do not comprehend the whole force of them. He obſerves very ingeniouſly, that the fabulous Greeks did not go out of their character, when they ſaw a plane-tree of ſo very ſingular a nature, but immediately raiſed fictions on it; they ſuppoſing that the only reaſon why the tree in queſtion had been indulged this privilege was, becauſe it had bent its ſhade to the greateſt of the Gods, whilſt he was cropping a virgin flower. Pliny refutes this chimæra, by obſerving that here was another plane-tree in this iſland of Cyprus, which reſembled it exactly. So far every thing is very eaſy: but he adds, that people were deſirous of having ſlips from this plane tree, firſt, in various places of the iſland of Crete, and afterwards in Italy, and that the plane-trees which ſprung from the tree in queſtion, propagated the ill quality or defect; for the moſt valuable property of this tree is, its repelling the ſun-beams in ſummer, and admitting them in winter. Here is a thought in Pliny which appears very much confuſed to me. I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this is, becauſe I don't underſtand it; for it perhaps is very beautiful and witty. The moſt natural ſenſe I can find is this. All the plane-trees which ſprung from this had the ſame imperfection, viz. to never caſt their foliage: they were deprived of the chief perfection of which this ſort of trees boaſt, viz. that they had not the property to admit the rays of the ſun in winter, and to be impervious to them in the ſummer. But I find too great inconveniencies in ſuppoſing this to be the meaning of Pliny's words: firſt, that it is not probable there ever were in the iſland of Crete, and in Italy, ſeveral plane-trees which preſerved their verdure all the year round: ſecondly, that it does not ſeem to be a perfection in a plant, to ſhed its leaves in winter. Was not the laurel made the ſymbol of victory becauſe it does not enjoy this pretended perfection? Of what uſe can it be, for a tree not to be cloathed with leaves during the inclement ſeaſon of the year? Is it becauſe one may ſit under its branches without being deprived of the heat of the ſun? But what people are ſo ſtupid, as to go, in cold weather, and ſeat themſelves in the ſun, under a tree full of branches? Do we not look for a wall or a hedge which, on one ſide, may ſcreen us from the wind; and, on the other, may admit the ſolar beams? Doubtleſs du Pinet was ſenſible of this difficulty, but then, inſtead of attempting to clear it up, he paſſes it over. Here follows the Engliſh of his verſion. *In Gortina, a city in the iſland of Crete, is ſeen another plane-tree, ſtanding near a very fine fountain, on which account it is very much celebrated both by the Greeks and Romans. For this plane tree is always green, in winter as well as ſummer: ſo that the Poets, who never ſuffer any thing to eſcape them, ſay that this was the plane-tree under which Jupiter got Princeſs Europa's maidenhead: as tho' there were no other plane-trees, of the ſame nature with this, in the iſland of Cyprus. But as mankind are always fond of novelty, the Cretans, deſirous of having ſome ſhoots from this plane-tree, replanted ſcyons of it in ſeveral places. And finding that theſe tranſplanted plane-trees only kept off the ſun's heat in ſummer, but ſhed their foliage in winter, they were confirmed in their opinion concerning the deflowring of Europa.*

(12) Theophraſt. *Hiſtor. Plantar.* lib. 1. cap. 15. pag. m. 16. Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ. Here is father Hardouin's note, *Ubi ἐπὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ dictum: etſi arbori inſidere ipſi Europa videtur in numero* ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ *apud* Ant. Auguſt. *Dial.* 3. pag. 85. Harduin. in Plin. lib. 12. cap. 1. pag. 7. tom. 3.

[*D*] *It is related that Europa, . . . went and bath'd in a certain water which had a marvelous property.*] I have been forced to employ the word *Water*, becauſe the Authors who inform us of this incident, don't make uſe either of the word river, or that of fountain; and hence it is that the learned Meurſius ſpeaks of this water, at the end of the catalogue of rivers and fountains in the iſland of Crete. *Et hi quidem fontes pariter fluviique in hac inſula memorantur*, ſays he (13), *præter quos & aqua fuit, cui ſi qui pluviæ tempore inſiderent, illi ſicci permanebant. Solion, de Flum.* Ἐν Κρήτῃ ὀχετὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν, ὃν οἱ διαβαίνοντες, ὑοντος τοῦ Διὸς, ἄβροχοι διαβαίνουσιν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τῷ ὀχετῷ εἰσιν. In Creta aquæ rivus eſt, quem qui tranſeunt, pluente Jove, ſicci tranſeunt, quamdiu quidem ſunt in rivo. *Et Europa, poſt concubitum cum Jove, ea lota ferebatur.* Antigonus Caryſtius, *Hiſt. Mirab. cap.* 129. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὑδατίου, ᾧ οἱ ὑπερκαθίζοντες, ὅταν ὑετὸς ᾖ, διατελοῦσιν ἄβροχοι. παραδεδόαζι δὲ τοῖς Κρησὶν, ἀπ' ἐκείνου λελοῦσθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς μείξεως. Item de aqua in Creta, cui inſidentes, dum pluit, ſicci manent: ac tradi apud Cretenſes, eâ ſe Europam quondam abluiſſe, poſtquam cum Jove rem habuiſſet. As many of my readers do not underſtand Latin, I muſt inform ſuch of the privileges of this water, viz. that thoſe who went into it whilſt it rain'd, did not wet themſelves. The Authors cited by Meurſius do not ſay, that Jupiter granted this privilege in conſideration of the ſervice which this water had done Europa, or rather in conſideration of the honour which Europa had deigned to do this water; however, there is no doubt but that the inhabitants of Crete had recourſe to this cauſe. I am ſurprized that we are not told exactly the place where this water was; for ſince people knew where the plane-tree ſtood under which this amorous myſtery was ſolemnized (14), they ought to have known the place where Europa waſhed herſelf after the ſport was over. I conclude with obſerving, that Europa came into the iſland of Crete, by the mouth of the river which flowed to Gortys. *Gortynam amnis Lethæus præterfluit: quo Europam tauri dorſo Gortynii ferunt vectitatam.* i. e. "The river Lethe paſſes "by Gortyna, whither we are told Europa was car- "ried on a bull's back (15)."

(13) Meurſ. *in Creta*, pag. 92.

(14) *Eſt Gortynæ in inſula Creta* JUXTA FONTEM *platanus una, &c.* Plin. lib. 13. cap. 1. See above, the remark [*C*], citation (11).

(15) Solin. cap. 11.

☞EUSEBIUS, ſurnamed Pamphilus [*A*], Biſhop of Cæſarea in Paleſtine, and an eminent Chriſtian Writer in the fourth Century, was born in Paleſtine [*B*], about the latter end of the reign of Gallienus [*C*]. He was ordained Prieſt by Agapius, Biſhop of Cæſarea,

(1) Cave, *Hiſt. Literar.* pag. 111. edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1720. *See likewiſe* Suidas *in Voce* Εὐσέβιος, *and* Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiq.* tom. 2. pag. 11. edit. de Paris 1693, in 4to.

(2) Hen. Valeſius *de Vita & Scriptis Euſebii*, prefixed to his edition of Euſebius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt.*

(3) *De Vitâ Conſtantini*, lib. 1.

(4) Ibid. lib. 2.

[*A*] *Surnamed* Pamphilus.] He was called ſo from his intimate friendſhip with Pamphilus the Martyr. *Ab arctiſſimâ, quæ illi cum Pamphilo Martyre interceſſit, amicitiâ*, Pamphili *cognomen ſortitus eſt* (1).

[*B*] *Was born in Paleſtine.*] All the ancients call him *Euſebius of Paleſtine*. And tho' he might have been called ſo from his being Biſhop of Cæſarea; yet it ſeems more probable, that he had that ſurname from his country (2). He tells us himſelf (3), that he was educated in Paleſtine, and ſaw Conſtantine there, whilſt he travelled thro' Paleſtine in the retinue of Dioletianus Auguſtus. And in another place (4), where he mentions a law of Conſtantine's, which he wrote to the people of Paleſtine in favour of the Chriſtians, he plainly diſcovers himſelf to be of that Country; for after he has recited the contents of that law, he adds, *Theſe were the conſtitutions contained in the Emperor's firſt Edict to us.* Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ὡς ἡμᾶς καταπεμφθὲν βασιλέως γράμμα, ταῦτα διετάττετο. Dr. Cave (5) thinks it probable, that he was born at Cæſarea. We have no account who were his parents. Some have imagined, that he was related to Euſebius of Nicomedia, becauſe in a Letter of Arius to that Biſhop, Euſebius of Cæſarea is ſtiled his brother. We cannot tell likewiſe who were his maſters. In his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* (6) he tells us, that he had heard Dorotheus the Eunuch, a Preſbyter of Antioch, explaining the Scriptures. From which Trithemius and others conclude, that he was a ſcholar of Dorotheus.

(5) *Ubi ſupra.*

(6) Lib. 7.

[*C*] *About the latter end of the reign of Gallienus.*] In his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* (7) he tells us, that Dionyſius Biſhop of Alexandria lived in his time. Now ſince it is certain, that Dionyſius died in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, Euſebius muſt of neceſſity

(7) Lib. 3. cap. 28.

Cæſarea, where he contracted an intimate friendſhip with Pamphilus one of the eminent Preſbyters of that church, who having founded a ſchool at Cæſarea, our author ſeems to have been firſt Maſter of it (*a*). Monſieur Du Pin aſſerts (*b*), that it was Euſebius who eſtabliſhed this ſchool. During the perſecution under the Emperor Diocleſian, he exhorted the Chriſtians at Cæſarea to ſuffer reſolutely for the Faith of Chriſt, and particularly aſſiſted his friend Pamphilus, who ſuffered martyrdom after two years impriſonment (*c*). In the time of the ſame perſecution, on account of ſome urgent buſineſs of the church, as it is probable, he went to Tyre (*d*), where he tells us (*e*) that he was an eye-witneſs of the glorious combats of the five Egyptian Martyrs. He was likewiſe in Egypt and Thebais, where he ſaw the admirable conſtancy of many Martyrs of both ſexes (*f*). He has been reproached with having offered incenſe to idols in this perſecution, in order to free himſelf from priſon; but this imputation is groundleſs [*D*]. When the perſecution was abated, and peace reſtored to the Church, he was elected Biſhop of Cæſarea in the room of Agapius in the year 313 or 314 [*E*]. He had afterwards a conſiderable ſhare in the conteſt relating to Arius, Prieſt of Alexandria, whoſe cauſe he, as well as ſeveral other Biſhops of Paleſtine, defended at firſt, being perſuaded that Arius had been unjuſtly perſecuted by Alexander Biſhop of Alexandria. He not only wrote to that Biſhop in favour of Arius, but likewiſe not being able to procure him to be reſtored, he permitted him and his followers to preſerve their rank, and to hold in their churches, the ordinary Aſſemblies of the Faithful on condition that they ſhould ſubmit to their Biſhop, and intreat him to reſtore them to communion. He aſſiſted at the Council of Nice in Bithynia, held in the year 325, and made a ſpeech to the Emperor Conſtantine, when he came to the Council, and was placed next him on the right hand. He at firſt refuſed to admit of the term Ὁμοούσιος *Conſubſtantial* in the Creed; but at length conſented, and ſubſcribed the Nicene Creed [*F*]. About the year 330 he was preſent at the Council of

(*a*) Henr. Valeſius, *de Vitâ & Scriptis Euſebii*, prefixed to his edition of Euſebius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.

(*b*) *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 2. pag. 1. edit. de Paris 1693, in 4to.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Valeſius, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 8. cap. 7.

(*f*) Ibid. cap. 9.

ceſſity have been born then, if his age fell in thoſe times, in which Dionyſius lived. The ſame may likewiſe be proved from the Vth Book of that *Hiſtory*, about the end of it, where ſpeaking concerning Artemon's hereſy, he writes that Paulus Samoſatenus had revived that hereſy in his age. And in the VIIth Book *C.* 26. relating thoſe things, which happened during the reign of Gallienus, before he begins his diſcourſe concerning the Hereſy and Condemnation of Paulus Samoſatenus; he has theſe words: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη μετὰ τὴν περὶ τουτῶν ἱστορίαν, φέρε καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῖς μετέπειτα γνωρίζειν γενὰν οἵα τις ἦν, παραδῶμεν. i. e. "But now, after "an hiſtorical narration of theſe things, we will exhi- "bit to the knowledge of poſterity an account of our "own age." Dr. Cave (8) ſuppoſes, that he was born about the year 270; but Du Pin (9) is of opinion that it was about the year 264.

(8) *Ubi ſupra.*

(9) Tom. 2. pag. 371.

[*D*] *He has been reproached with having offered incenſe to idols in this perſecution, in order to free himſelf from priſon; but this imputation is groundleſs.*] This reproach was caſt upon him by Potamon, a Confeſſor, and Biſhop of Heraclea, at the Council of Tyre; for if we believe Epiphanius (10), that Biſhop ſeeing Euſebius ſitting in the Council, cried out, *Is it fit, Euſebius, that you ſhould ſit, and that the innocent Athanaſius ſhould ſtand to be judged by you? Who can bear ſuch things as theſe? Tell me, were not you in priſon with me during the time of the perſecution? I loſt an eye in defence of the truth; but you are maimed in no part of your body, nor did you ſuffer martyrdom, but are whole and alive. By what means did you eſcape out of priſon? Unleſs you promiſed our perſecutors, that you would do the deteſtable thing* (11), *and perhaps have done it?* Epiphanius adds, that Euſebius hearing this, roſe, and broke up the Aſſembly, ſaying, "If, when "you are out of your own country, you ſay ſuch "things againſt us, it is certain, that your accuſers "muſt be in the right; for if you exerciſe your tyran- "ny here, you will do it with much more aſſurance in "your own country." The Biſhops likewiſe of the Council of Alexandria affirm in their Letter, that *Euſebius of Cæſarea had been accuſed by their Confeſſors of having ſacrificed to idols.* Valeſius obſerves upon this (12), that it appears from the paſſage of Epiphanius above cited, that thoſe perſons are miſtaken, who relate that our Author had ſacrificed to idols, and that it was openly objected to him in the Council of Tyre; ſince Potamon did not charge him with ſacrificing to idols; but grounded his ſuſpicions on his being diſmiſſed out of priſon ſafe and whole. It is poſſible, that Euſebius might de diſcharged for ſome other reaſons than that mentioned by Potamon. And it would be judging very raſhly, as Du Pin obſerves (13), to accuſe a Biſhop of ſo great a crime upon a ſlight pretence. Beſides, ſays Dr. Cave (14), if he had actually ſacrificed, the diſcipline of the Church was then ſo rigid, that he would have been degraded from his orders, at leaſt he would never have been advanced to the Epiſcopal Dignity. *Quid? quod ſi immolâſſet, ex rigida iſtius temporis Diſciplinâ, omni clericali gradu excidiſſet, certe ad ſuperiorem ordinem neutiquam promovendus.*

(10) Hæreſ. 68.

(11) Τὸ ἀθέμιτον πρᾶξαι.

(12) *De Vita & Scriptis Euſebii.*

(13) Pag. 12.

(14) Pag. 112.

[*E*] *He was elected Biſhop of Cæſarea in the room of Agapius in the year* 313 *or* 314.] Baronius (15) and Blondel (16) place between Agapius and our Author, Agricolaus, whoſe name we read in the Subſcriptions of the Council of Ancyra held in the year 315. But theſe Subſcriptions appear to have but little authority and validity in them, ſince they do not occur in the Greek copies, or in the Latin Verſion of Dionyſius Exiguus (17). Beſides, Euſebius (18) reckoning up the Biſhops of the chief Sees, under whom the perſecution began and raged, concludes with Agapius Biſhop of Cæſarea, who, ſays he, took great pains in that perſecution for the good of his own Church. He muſt therefore neceſſarily have continued Biſhop till the end of that perſecution. Now Euſebius was elected Biſhop immediately after the perſecution; for he aſſiſted as Biſhop at the Dedication of the Church of Tyre, which was performed as ſoon as peace was reſtored to the Church, before Licinius had taken up arms againſt Conſtantine; which happened in the year 315. So that if there was one Agricolaus Biſhop of Cæſarea, he muſt have held the See a very ſhort time, and Euſebius muſt have been elected about the year 314.

(15) *Annal. ad ann.* 314.

(16) In *Apolog. pro ſententia B. Hieronymi*, cap. 19.

(17) Valeſius, *ubi ſupra.*

(18) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 7. cap. 32.

[*F*] *He at firſt refuſed to admit of the term* Ὁμοούσιος Conſubſtantial *in the Creed; but at length conſented, and ſubſcribed the Nicene Creed.*] Socrates (19) and Theodoret (20) inform us, that he long held out againſt the uſe of the word *Conſubſtantial*. He offered, as Monſr. le Clerc obſerves (21), another Confeſſion of Faith, wherein it was omitted, and the Son ſtiled only, *God born of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, Only Son, Firſt-born of all creatures, Begotten of his Father before all Worlds.* The Emperor approved of this Confeſſion of Faith, and exhorted the Fathers of the Council to follow it, only adding to it the word *Conſubſtantial*. Afterwards a Confeſſion was read, which had been drawn up with this word; and anathema's were added to it againſt thoſe, who ſhould uſe on this occaſion other terms than thoſe of the holy Scripture; *which muſt be underſtood*, ſays le Clerc, *with an exception of thoſe, which the Council thought fit to conſecrate.* This propoſition was particularly condemned, *That the Son exiſted not before he was begotten.* Euſebius and others requeſted (22), that the terms of the Creed and anathema's

(19) *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 1. cap. 8.

(20) Lib. 1. cap. 12.

(21) *Biblioth. Univerſelle & Hiſtorique*, tom. 10.

(22) *Vide Euſebij Epiſtol. ad Cæſarienſ. apud* Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8.

of Antioch, in which Euſtathius Biſhop of that city was depoſed [G]; but though our Author conſented to his depoſition, and was choſen by the Biſhops and people to the See of Antioch in his room, he abſolutely refuſed it; and when the Biſhops wrote to Conſtantine to deſire him to oblige Euſebius to conſent to the election, he wrote alſo to the Emperor to requeſt him, that he would not urge him to accept of it; which Conſtantine readily granted, and commended his moderation. Euſebius conſtantly adhered to the party of Euſebius of Nicomedia, and aſſiſted at the Council of Tyre held in 335 againſt Athanaſius, and at the Aſſembly of Biſhops at Jeruſalem at the time of the dedication of the Church there; and was ſent by theſe Biſhops to the Emperor Conſtantine to defend what they had done againſt Athanaſius. It was then that he pronounced his Panegyric upon that Emperor, during the public rejoicings in the beginning of the thirtieth year of his reign, which was the laſt of his life. He did not long ſurvive Conſtantine, who was honoured with very particular marks of his eſteem [H], for he died about the year 338, according to Du Pin (*g*), or 340, according to Valeſius (*b*). He wrote ſeveral works full of uſeful learning [I]. Photius tells us (*i*), that his ſtyle is not agreeable nor polite, but

(*g*) Pag. 2.
(*b*) *Ubi ſupra.*
(*i*) *Biblioth.* Cod. 13.

thema's might be explained. It was ſaid, 1. That the words, *Begotten, and not made*, were uſed, becauſe the laſt words expreſs the production of creatures, to which the Son has no likeneſs, being of a ſubſtance far more excellent than they, begotten of the Father in an incomprehenſible manner. 2. As for the word *Conſubſtantial*, it is proper to the Son, not in the ſenſe wherein it is taken, when we ſpeak of bodies or mortal creatures, the Son being *conſubſtantial* with the Father, neither by a diviſion of the divine ſubſtance, of which he poſſeſſes a part, nor by any change of this ſame ſubſtance. The meaning of it is only this, that the Son has no reſemblance with the creatures, which he has made; but that he is in all things like to his Father, by whom he has been begotten; or that he is not of another hypoſtaſis or ſubſtance, but of that of the Father. 3. Thoſe were condemned, who ſaid, that the Son was not before he was born, ſince he exiſted before his corporal Birth, and even before his divine Generation, according to Conſtantine's argument; *For before*, ſaid he, *that he was actually begotten, he was in power in his Father, in a manner unbegotten, the Father having been always Father, as he is always King and Saviour, and all things in power being eternally in the ſame condition* (23). Le Clerc remarks, that this will perhaps ſeem pure Arianiſm, and a denial of the eternity of the Son; but that in the ſtyle of that time, to exiſt before the world, and to be eternal, is the ſame thing, ſince to prove his Eternity (24) this paſſage is cited, *In the Beginning was the Word*; and it ſufficed to ſhew, that he was begotten before there was any time. Athanaſius (25), who openly treats Euſebius as an Arian, alludes to one part of this paſſage, and draws thence a conſequence, which Euſebius undoubtedly would not have owned, which is, that the Arians believed that the Divinity of Chriſt did not exiſt before his corporal Birth. After theſe explications Euſebius ſubſcribed, as he himſelf teſtifies in the Letter above cited, although he had refuſed it the day before. The long and formal oppoſition which he had made to the word *Conſubſtantial* occaſioned a ſuſpicion, that there was ſome inſincerity in this ſubſcription.

(23) Theſe words of Euſebius's Letter are to be found only in Theodorit, Socrates having retrenched them.

(24) Vide *Epiſt. Alexand. Epiſcopi Alexandrini* apud *Theodorit.* lib. 1. cap. 4.

(25) *Decret. Nicen.* tom. 1. pag. 251. *apud* Le Clerc, *ubi ſupra.*

[G] *In 330 he was preſent at the Council of Antioch in which Euſtathius Biſhop of that city was depoſed.*] Euſtathius accuſing Euſebius, Paulinus Biſhop of Tyre, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, of Arianiſm; and theſe Biſhops accuſing him on the other hand with Sabellianiſm; a Synod was aſſembled at Antioch, which conſiſted of Biſhops, who had ſigned the Nicene Creed only by force, among whom were Euſebius of Cæſarea, Euſebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, Theodotus of Laodicea in Syria, Narciſſus of Neronius, Aetius of Lydda, Alphæus of Apamea, and Theodorus of Sidon (26). As ſoon as they arrived at Antioch, a woman of ill fame preſented herſelf to them with a little child, which ſhe declared ſhe had by Euſtathius, and deſired them to do her juſtice againſt him, as refuſing to receive his child. Euſtathius made great proteſtations of his innocency; but the woman's oath being admitted, he was depoſed. Theodorit and Sozomen affirm, that the Arian Biſhops had ſuborned that woman, to have a pretence for depoſing of Euſtathius; but that the true cauſe of his being depoſed was his adherence to the Nicene Creed. Others ſay, that it was the pretended Sabellianiſm, of which he was accuſed; and ſome have contented themſelves with ſaying, that there were other accuſations, for which he was depoſed. Whereupon Socrates (27) makes this remarkable reflection: *The Biſhops are wont to deal thus with all thoſe, whom they depoſe, accuſing and declaring them impious, without ſhewing wherein.* Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων εἰώθασι τῶν καθαιρεμένων ποιεῖν οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι, κατηγορεῖν μὲν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς λέγοντες, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῆς ἀσεβείας οὐ προσιθέντες.

(26) Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 24. Theodorit. lib. 1. cap. 21. Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 19.

(27) *Ubi ſupra.*

[H] *Conſtantine honoured him with very particular marks of his eſteem.*] Euſebius frequently received Letters from him, ſeveral of which are inſerted in our Author's Books; and he was often invited to the palace, and entertained at the Emperor's table, and honoured with his private diſcourſe (28). When Conſtantine wanted copies of the Scriptures for the uſe of thoſe Churches, which he had built at Conſtantinople, he committed the care of tranſcribing them to Euſebius, whom he knew to be well ſkilled in thoſe affairs (29). And when the latter dedicated to him his Book *concerning Eaſter*, he ordered it immediately to be tranſlated into Latin, and in a Letter to our Author deſired him to communicate as ſoon as poſſible to thoſe, who were ſtudious in ſacred matters, the other works of that nature, which he had then in hand (30).

(28) Valeſius, *ubi ſupra.*

(29) Euſeb. *in Vitâ Conſtant.* lib. 4. cap. 36.

(30) Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 34, 35.

[I] *He wrote ſeveral works full of uſeful learning.*] The works, which are ſtill extant, are as follow: I, *Chronicon*. It is divided into two parts. The *firſt part*, which is at preſent extremely mutilated, contains an Hiſtory of the Chaldeans, Aſſyrians, Medes, Perſians, Lydians, Jews, Egyptians, &c. from the creation of the world. In this part he has been greatly obliged to Africanus's *Chronographia*. In the *ſecond part*, which is called *Canon Chronicus*, he digeſts the Hiſtory of the ſeveral Nations according to the order of time. Both parts are carried down to the *Vicennalia* of Conſtantine, i. e. to the year 325, in which, not long before the Council of Nice, Dr. Cave (31) ſuppoſes this work to have been finiſhed. St. Jerom tranſlated both parts into Latin (32); but we have remaining of the verſion of the *firſt part* only ſome extracts containing the names of the Kings, printed with the Tranſlation of *the ſecond part*. Dr. Cave tells us (33), that St. Jerom has interpolated his verſion in ſeveral places, eſpecially with regard to the Roman Hiſtory. It was printed at Baſil, and afterwards publiſh'd more accurately by Arnauld de Pontac Biſhop of Bazas at Bourdeaux 1604. But no perſon ever undertook to collect the Greek Fragments of the original till Joſeph Scaliger publiſh'd them at Leyden in 1606 in fol. under the following title, *Theſaurus Temporum, complectens Euſebii Pamphili Chronicon Latine, S. Hieronymo Interprete, cum ipſius Chronici Fragmentis Græcis ante hac non editis, & Autores omnes derelicta ab Euſebio continuantes. Edente Joſ. Juſto Scaligero, qui notas & caſtigationes in Euſebium, necnon Iſagogicorum Chronologiæ Canonum Libros tres adjecit.* There was another Edition, *in quâ Joſ. Scaligeri caſtigationes in Euſebium multo auctiores prodeunt*, printed at Amſterdam 1658 in two volumes in fol. publiſhed by Alexander Morus. Du Pin tells us (34), "that this work "of Euſebius diſplays a prodigious extent of reading, "and a conſummate erudition. It is neceſſary to "have read an infinite number of Books and ancient "monuments in order to compile an Univerſal Hiſto"ry, and to have been maſter of a very clear under"ſtanding at the ſame time, in order to collect ſuch "a mul-

(31) Pag. 212.

(32) Du Pin, pag. 4 and 12.

(33) Pag. 113.

(34) Pag. 4, 5.

(k) In *Auguſtinum de Civitate Dei*, lib. 18. cap. 8.

but that he was a man of extenſive learning; and Ludovicus Vives (*k*) gives him the character of a perſon of infinite reading, and vaſt erudition. Du Pin obſerves (*l*), that he was one of the moſt learned men of antiquity, as his friends and enemies have equally acknowledged; and that it may be juſtly ſaid, that there is none among our Greek Writers

(*l*) Pag. 9.

" a multitude of facts, and diſpoſe them in their " proper order. This is an immenſe labour, which " is a ſtrong proof of the vaſt reading and prodigi- " ous memory of Euſebius. It muſt be owned in- " deed, that Africanus's Chronicle was of great " ſervice to him, and that he has copied that " Author throughout his whole work. However " he has corrected ſeveral of Africanus's miſtakes, " though he has fallen into others himſelf (35). " But it is almoſt impoſſible not to err on a " work of ſuch vaſt extent and difficulty as an " univerſal Chronicle. Miſtakes are excuſable in " a treatiſe of that kind, and they cannot hinder " it from deſerving to be eſteemed one of the " moſt uſeful works of all antiquity." Suidas (36) obſerves from Theodorus Lector, that Diodorus Biſhop of Tarſus, who flouriſhed under Julian and Valens, compiled a Chronicle, in which he corrected the errors of Euſebius in point of Chronology. Χρονικὸν διορθώμενον τὸ σφάλμα Ευσεβίυ τῦ Παμφίλυ περὶ τῶν χρόνων. II. *Præparationis Evangelicæ Libri XV.* This work is addreſſed to Theodorus, who is ſuppoſed to be the Biſhop of Laodicea mentioned in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (37); and deſigned to diſpoſe men to receive the Chriſtian Religion. He endeavours in it to ſhew, that the Divinity of the Pagans is abſurd, and that of the Chriſtians agreeable to reaſon. He proves the firſt part of this propoſition in the firſt ſix Books, and the ſecond in the laſt nine. He begins with a general repreſentation of the Chriſtian Religion, and recommends it by ſhewing that it offers to mankind the higheſt happineſs, and leads them to virtue by teaching them to know and honour God. He urges then the prejudices in favour of this Religion, from the accompliſhment of Prophecies, the integrity of manners among Chriſtians, and the readineſs, with which the moſt uncultivated perſons comprehend the greateſt and moſt ſublime truths. Having thus diſpoſed the reader to be favourable to Chriſtianity, he proceeds to refute all other religions in the world, and to ſhew the falſhood of each of them, as well with regard to Hiſtory, as their pretended myſteries and profane morality. In the fourth Book he confutes the ſtrongeſt argument of the Pagans drawn from the predictions of their Oracles. He affirms that the Gods, whom they adore, are evil Genii or Dæmons, as the Philoſophers themſelves acknowledge. In the ſixth Book he attacks fate or neceſſity, and proves by a variety of arguments and teſtimonies, that man is entirely free. In the nine following Books he ſhews, that the Chriſtians were in the right to embrace the Theology of the Jews, ſince there was no other, which laid the ſolid foundations of real piety, and contained ſound and true notions. He proves this by an induction of the particular doctrines, as that it teaches the Immortality of the Soul, and the Worſhip of one God, the Author of the World; that it diſcovers to us the Word, the Son of God, and the Holy Ghoſt, who is to be honoured in the ſame manner as the Father and the Son; that there is no other ſcheme, which informs us that Angels are not to be adored as Deities, but honoured as the Miniſters of God, and gives us an account of the Fall of ſome of the Angels, and aſſures mankind that they are made in the image of God; in ſhort, that there is no other ſcheme, the doctrine of which is conformable to right reaſon. He cites then a long Fragment of a Treatiſe of Maximus, which ſhews that matter is not eternal. In the *eighth* Book he gives the Hiſtory of the Tranſlation of the Septuagint; and to evince the authority of the holy Scripture, he ſhews from the teſtimony of the Jews, that their law is myſtical and ſignificative. He afterwards recommends it from the ſanctity of the lives of thoſe, who embraced it; from the example of the Eſſenes, whoſe manner of life he deſcribes; and from the wiſdom of Philo. In the *ninth* Book he cites the teſtimonies of Pagans, who have ſpoken in favour of the Jewiſh Religion, and thoſe which prove the truth of the Hiſtory of Moſes. In the *tenth* he ſhews, that Plato and the Pagan Philoſophers took the greateſt part of what they have advanced, from the writings of Moſes. In the *eleventh* Book he ſhews in particular, that the doctrine of Plato is conformable to that of Moſes, and he compares ſeveral opinions of that Philoſopher with thoſe of the Jews. He continues this compariſon in the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* Books. But he obſerves likewiſe that this Philoſopher had errors, and that the Scripture only is exempt from error. In the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth* Books he cites the opinions of the Philoſophers; ſhews that they are contradictory; and often confutes them by one another; from whence he concludes, that the Chriſtians had reaſon to abandon the Theology of the Pagans, and embrace that of the Jews (38). Valeſius tells us (39), that this Book, as well as his Treatiſe *De Demonſtratione Evangelicâ*, was written before the Nicene Council, in regard they are expreſly cited in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which Valeſius affirms to have been written before that Council. But Dr. Cave is of opinion (40) that the Book *De Præparatione Evangelicâ* was written after that Council, undoubtedly after his *Chronicon*, ſince his *Canones Chronici* are expreſly cited in it. It was publiſhed with the Treatiſe *De Demonſtratione Evangelicâ* at Paris 1628 in 2 vol. in fol. with a new Verſion of the Book *De Præparatione* by the Jeſuit Francis Vigerus, and Donatus's Tranſlation of the Treatiſe *De Demonſtratione*. III. *De Demonſtratione Evangelicâ*. We have of this Work but ten Books extant of twenty, which he wrote. In the *firſt* Book he ſhews, that the Jewiſh Law was deſigned only for one nation, but the New Teſtament for all mankind; that the Patriarchs had no other Religion but that of the Chriſtians, ſince they adored the ſame God and the ſame Word, whom they honoured in the ſame manner as the Chriſtians, and lead the ſame life with them. In the *ſecond* he ſhews from the Prophecies, that the Meſſiah was to come into the world for the ſake of all men. In the *third* he proves that Chriſt is the Saviour of the world, and evinces againſt Unbelievers, that he was no Seducer, as his doctrine, miracles, and ſeveral other reaſons evidently prove. In the *fourth* he ſhews, that Chriſt is the ſon God; mentions the reaſons why he became man; explains the name of Chriſt, and cites ſeveral Prophecies, in which he was foretold under that name. In the following Books he introduces a great number of Prophecies to ſhew, that the coming of Chriſt, the time of his birth, the circumſtances of his life and paſſion, and in ſhort, every thing relating to him was foretold in the Books of the Old Teſtament. The Books which are ſtill extant, conclude with the words of Chriſt upon the croſs. In the ſubſequent Books he treated of the Prophecies relating to his death, burial, reſurrection, and aſcenſion, the eſtabliſhment of the church, and converſion of the Gentiles: but theſe Books are entirely loſt. This work was printed by Robert Stephens in Greek, in 1544, 1545, and publiſhed with the Treatiſe *de Præparatione Evangelicâ* by Vigerus at Paris 1628 in folio, two volumes. IV. *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ Libri X.* It contains the Hiſtory of the church from Chriſt to the death of Licinius the Elder, for a period of 324 years (41). Valeſius (42) tells us, that he wrote this after almoſt all his other works; and Dr. Cave obſerves (43), that it was written after the Nicene Council, ſince he mentions in it not only his *Chronicon*, but likewiſe his Treatiſe *De Demonſtratione Evangelicâ*. Nor is it any objection, that he makes no mention of that Council, ſince he declares that the laſt thing which he propoſed in writing that Hiſtory, was to ſhew how propitious our Saviour was at laſt in the ſettlement of his church; and he was unwilling to ſhew how much the happy ſtate of it, after its outward enemies were removed, was changed for the worſe by inteſtine conteſts among the Biſhops. *Nec obſtat, quod nullam Concilii Nicæni mentionem faciat, cum ipſe teſtetur eorum, quæ ſibi in condendâ hac hiſtoriâ propoſuerit, id ultimum fuiſſe, ut oſtenderet, quam propitium ac benignum ſervatoris noſtri præſidium Eccleſiæ ſuæ demum effulſerit, nec fælicem rerum exitum, deletis jam externis hoſtibus, internis Epiſcoporum rixis deformare voluit.* To this we may add the obſervation of Father Pagi (44), that the Writers of that age uſed to finiſh or publiſh

(35) *See* Scaliger's *Prolegomena* to his *Theſaurus Temporum.*

(36) *In Voce* Διόδωρος.

(37) Lib. 7. cap. 32.

(38) Du Pin, pag. 5, 6.

(39) *Ubi ſupra.*

(40) Pag. 113.

(41) Cave, pag. 113.

(42) *Not. in* lib. 1. cap. 2. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

(43) *Ubi ſupra.*

(44) *Prolegom. ad Diſſert. Hypat.* num. 33, 34, 35.

ters of ſo great an extent of reading. But the ſame Critic remarks, that he never applied himſelf to the poliſhing his works, and is very negligent in his ſtyle. Monſieur Le Clerc (*m*) repreſents him as an Arian, and obſerves, that he was always of the Arians ſide, and that St. Athanaſius and St. Jerom accuſe him of being of their opinion. "In "ſhort,

(*m*) *Bibliotheque Univerſelle & Hiſtorique*, tom. 10.

publiſh their Works at the *Vicennalia* of the Emperors, or other feſtivals of that kind; which remark he proves by many examples, and among the reſt by this *Hiſtory* and the *Chronicles of* Euſebius. In this Work our Author gives us an account of the ſucceſſions of Biſhops in the Sees of the chief cities of the world, and of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and their Works, with the Hiſtory of Hereſies. He deſcribes the perſecutions of the Martyrs; and mentions the conteſts relating to Church-Diſcipline, and in ſhort, every thing which regards the affairs of the Church. He does not write theſe things of himſelf and as an Hiſtorian, but almoſt every where cites the antient Authors or Monuments from whence he takes them, and makes long Extracts, which he inſerts in his Narration, in the ſame manner as is obſerved in Annals or Memoirs. This method of writing Hiſtory is indeed leſs agreeable but more uſeful than any other, and gives greater credit and weight to what is related. For when an Author mentions antient facts without citing the Authors from whom he takes them, we are not convinced as we are when he cites his Witneſſes; ſince in that caſe we cannot deny the truth of facts, which depend upon the authority of irreproachable evidences. But beſides this general reaſon, there is a particular one, which renders this method of writing obſerved by Euſebius of prodigious advantage, which is, that the greateſt part of the Authors and Monuments older than Euſebius having been loſt ſince his time; we are extremely obliged to him for preſerving in his Work the memory and conſiderable fragments of them. In ſhort, without this Work of Euſebius we ſhould ſcarce have any knowledge, either of the Hiſtory of the firſt ages of the church, or even of the Authors, who wrote at that time, or their Works, ſince he is the only Writer now extant, who gives an account of theſe particulars. For we may remark, that the Hiſtorians, who followed him, as Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit, began their Hiſtories where he concluded his, either ſuppoſing that he had collected every thing of importance, or knowing nothing of the Tranſlations of the firſt ages but through his means. Nicephorus Calliſtus, who undertook in the 14th Century to write a new Hiſtory, has introduced a great number of uncertain and fabulous ſtories, which are not taken from Euſebius, nor eſtabliſhed upon the authority of any antient Writer. "However, *ſays Du Pin* (44), it muſt be "owned that Euſebius's Hiſtory has not all the per- "fection which could be wiſhed; that it is not writ- "ten agreeably, nor always exact (45); that the Au- "thor is often too diffuſe upon things, which ought to "be ſlightly paſſed over; and on the other hand, too "conciſe in points which he ſhould have treated of "more fully: but notwithſtanding theſe defects it is a "very valuable Work." At the end of the 8th Book we find a ſmall Treatiſe *of the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, in which he deſcribes the martyrdom of thoſe, who ſuffered for the Faith of Chriſt in that Province. This has been erroneouſly confounded with the eighth Book of the Hiſtory; whereas it is a ſeparate Tract, which ſerves for a Supplement to that Book. Ruffinus was the firſt who tranſlated Euſebius's Hiſtory; but he took, according to his cuſtom, a great deal of liberty in the verſion of it. He entirely paſſed over the tenth Book, and added two others, which contain a Continuation of the Hiſtory to the death of Theodoſius. His Tranſlation is pure, neat, and even elegant, and repreſents the ſenſe of the Author in an agreeable manner, and ſometimes more faithfully than the Tranſlators who have followed him. It was of great advantage to the Latin Writers who have borrowed hence all that they have written or known of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the firſt ages. Muſculus undertook a new Tranſlation, in which he had pretty good ſucceſs. He has adhered very cloſely to the original, and tranſlated the text with great clearneſs and brevity; but he did not always underſtand his Author, and has committed many miſtakes in his verſion. Chriſtopherſon's Tranſlation is more elegant than that of Muſculus, and his ſtyle is more Ciceronian, but it is too diffuſe for an Hiſtory. He has corrected many errors of Muſculus, though his own performance is not exempt from miſtakes. At laſt the learned Henry Valeſius having remarked the defects of theſe Tranſlations, undertook a new one, which he has joined to the Greek Text, reviſed by four manuſcripts, and added notes full of erudition. His verſion has been highly approved of by the Learned, and has two qualities very rare, that it is literal and elegant at the ſame time. However the Critics have obſerved ſome faults in it. Robert Stephens publiſhed Euſebius's Hiſtory in Greek at Paris 1544. Muſculus's Tranſlation was printed at Baſil in 1554, and Chriſtopherſon's at Cologne and Baſil in 1570, at Paris in 1571, and with the corrections of Suffridus in 1581. The Original was likewiſe printed with Chriſtopherſon's Verſion at Geneva in 1612. Ruffinus's Tranſlation was printed at Rome in 1476 in folio, at Mantua in 1479, and at Haguenau in 1500. There is an old Edition printed without a date at Paris in 8vo by Renaut, and publiſhed by Godfrey Bouſſard Doctor of the Sorbonne, who has prefixed to it an excellent Preface addreſſed to Stephen Poncher, then Preſident of the Parliament at Paris. He obſerves in the Preface that Euſebius's Hiſtory tranſlated by Ruffinus had been printed before. Since that time there have been ſeveral Editions of Ruffinus's Verſion at different places in the years 1528, and 1544, at Lyons in 1523, and with all Euſebius's Works in 1542, 1559, and at Paris in 1541. Valeſius's Edition was printed at Paris in 1659 and 1671, and at Francfort in 1672. Monſieur Couſin tranſlated this Work into French, and Dr. Meredith Hanmer into Engliſh, and his Tranſlation was printed under this title, *The antient Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories of the firſt ſix hundred years after Chriſt, originally written by Euſebius, Socrates, and Evagrius*. London 1577, 1585, &c. in folio. The fifth Edition of this Tranſlation, to which were added Mr. Wye Saltonſtall's Verſion of *Euſebius's Life of Conſtantine*, and the *two Orations* ſubjoined thereto, was publiſhed in 1650. At laſt a new Tranſlation into Engliſh of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories of Euſebius, Socrates, and Evagrius, with the Life of Conſtantine, by Euſebius, and Conſtantine's Oration to the Convention of the Saints, and Euſebius's Speech in praiſe of Conſtantine, together with Valeſius's Annotations &c. was printed at London 1683 in fol. V. *Contra Hieroclem Liber*. This Treatiſe was written againſt a book, which Hierocles wrote under the name of Philalethes againſt the Chriſtian Religion, in which, to render it ridiculous, he had compared Apollonius Tyanæus with Chriſt, affirming that the former had worked miracles as well as the latter, and was aſcended to heaven as well as he (46). Euſebius in his anſwer ſhews, that Apollonius was ſo far from deſerving to be compared with Chriſt, that he ought not even to be put upon an equal rank with the Philoſophers; and that Philoſtratus, who wrote his Hiſtory, is a Writer unworthy of credit, who contradicts himſelf every moment, who doubts even of the miracles, which he relates, and mentions a great many things evidently fabulous. At the end of this Treatiſe there is an obſervation of Euſebius againſt fate and neceſſity. Valeſius (47) tells us, that this Book was written by our Author while he was in Egypt. But Dr. Cave (48) thinks, that this is uncertain. It was printed with the Treatiſe *De Præparatione Evangelicâ* at Paris 1628 in folio, and at the end of Philoſtratus *de Vitâ Apollonii*. VI. *Contra Marcellum Libri II.* and *De Eccleſiaſtica Theologiâ L. III.* This Work is deſigned to confute Marcellus Biſhop of Ancyra, who was condemned for Sabellianiſm in the Synod at Conſtantinople in 336; and it was written at the deſire of that Synod. It was tranſlated into Latin by Dr. Richard Montague Biſhop of Chicheſter, and illuſtrated with notes, and ſubjoined to the Treatiſe *De Præparatione Evangelica* at Paris 1628 in folio. VII. *Epiſtola ad Cæſarienſes de Fide Nicæna*. It is extant in Socrates *L. I. C.* 8. and Theodorit *L. I. C.* 12. VIII. *De Locis Hebraicis*. It contains a Geographical Explication of all the countries, cities, and places mentioned in the Old Teſtament. It

(44) Pag. 4.

(45) *See* Du Pin, pag. 12.

(46) *See* Lactant. *Inſtitut.* lib. 5. cap. 2, 3, 4.

(47) *De Vita & Scriptis Euſebii.*

(48) Pag. 114.

" ſhort, ſays that Writer, it is ſcarce credible, that if he had been orthodox, he would have " ſo much favoured Arianiſm, and given his conſent to the depoſing of St. Athanaſius. " Yet Socrates (*n*) hath undertaken to juſtify him, by citing ſome paſſages, in which he " ſpeaks as the Orthodox did. And ſeveral modern Authors have attempted the ſame, " particularly Dr. Cave in the Life of Euſebius, which he hath written in Latin (*o*) and " Engliſh (*p*). This latter ſeems to have thought himſelf obliged to it by Chriſtian " charity, but others are of opinion, that Chriſtian charity, that is, the love which " we ought to have for all Chriſtians, ſhould oblige all Hiſtorians to mention " ſuch truths, as make no alteration in the ſtate of the dead, and are of great " uſe to the living, who thereby learn to form a true judgment of things. That " pretended charity, which extends itſelf only to the Fathers, who are looked upon " as

(*n*) Lib. 2. cap. 21.

(*o*) In his *Hiſtoria Literaria.*

(*p*) In his *Lives of the Fathers.*

was tranſlated into Latin by St. Jerom, and enlarged and corrected by him. The Original with that Tranſlation and a new Verſion, and learned Notes was publiſhed by James Bonfrerius at Paris in 1631 and 1659. IX. *Oratio de Laudibus Conſtantini.* This Oration was pronounced in 335, in the *Tricennalia* of that Emperor. It is printed at the end of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.* X. *De Vita Conſtantini L. IV.* This does not contain an accurate account of the life of Conſtantine, but a panegyric upon the moſt remarkable of his actions: and it is written in a florid and oratorical ſtyle. Some perſons have denied this to be of Euſebius's writing; but Dr. Cave (49) thinks their arguments ſo inconſiderable as not to deſerve to be particularly anſwered. It is ſubjoined to the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.* XI. *Expoſitio in Canticum Canticorum.* It is publiſhed in Greek with Polychronius and Pſellus by Meurſius at Leyden 1617 in 4to; but it was not intirely written by Euſebius, but compiled partly out of his Writings, and partly out of thoſe of Athanaſius, Didymus, Nyſſen, Philo Carpathius, and others (50). XII. *Vitæ Prophetarum.* This is aſcribed to our Author in an antient Manuſcript, and publiſhed with the Commentaries of Procopius on Iſaiah in Greek and Latin by Curterius at Paris 1580 in folio. XIII. *Canones ſacrorum Evangeliorum X.* Theſe ten Tables exhibit an harmony of the Goſpels. The Tranſlation of them by St. Jerom is publiſhed among that Father's Works, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum.* XIV. *Apologiæ pro Origine Liber primus*, tranſlated by Ruffinus, is publiſhed in St. Jerom's Works. St. Jerom tells us, that Euſebius was the ſole Author of the *ſix Books* of the *Apology for Origen* aſcribed to his friend Pamphilus; but it is evident from the teſtimony of Euſebius himſelf (51) and that of (52) Photius that he wrote the firſt five Books in conjunction with Pamphilus, and added the ſixth after the death of that Martyr. The Latin Tranſlation of the firſt Book of this work, (which is all that we have remaining of it) begins with an invective againſt thoſe, who caſt imputations upon Origen and his Writings; and then cites for his juſtification a conſiderable number of paſſages from his Works relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, the puniſhment of the damned, and the nature and ſtate of ſouls. St. Jerom charges Ruffinus with having altered in his Verſion thoſe paſſages which ſeemed to favour the opinion of the Arians with regard to the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghoſt. Ruffinus does not defend himſelf from this reproach, but only pretends that theſe paſſages had been added. Some of the Books of this *Apology* contained the Life of Origen, and a Catalogue of his Writings, as appears from the teſtimony of St. Jerom and Photius (53). XV. *Sermo in illud, Sero Sabbatorum.* XVI. *Sermo de Angelis ad monumentum viſis.* Theſe two Sermons were publiſhed in Greek and Latin by Combefiſius *Auctor. Nov. Tom I. p.* 779. But theſe ſeem to be Extracts, rather than entire Diſcourſes (54). Beſides theſe Works there are ſeveral extant in Manuſcript, and not yet publiſhed; as, 1. *Eclogarum Propheticarum de Chriſto L. IV.* Lambecius tells us (55), that there is a Manuſcript of theſe *Eclogæ* in the Emperor's Library at Vienna. Dr. Cave (56) ſuppoſes them to be the ſame with the *Eclogæ* upon the *Minor Prophets*, which Alexander Barvoetius affirms to be extant *in Bibliothecâ Scorialenſi.* See Labbe's *Nov. Bibl. MSS.* (57). Lambecius, who promiſed to publiſh them in a Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in which he was engaged, but prevented by death, thinks them to be a part of our Author's Treatiſe *De Demonſtratione Evangelicâ.* For St. Jerom (58) aſſures us, that he wrote twenty Books upon that ſubject, of which ten only are publiſhed. 2. *Commentarii in Iſaiam*; which work Labbe tells us (59), is extant in ſeveral Libraries. 3. *De triduo Sepulturæ Domini* (60). 4. *Expoſitio in illud, valde mane orto, &c.* and *De Angelis ad Sepulchrum Domini* (61). In the Imperial Library at Vienna there is extant a Fragment of our Author's *De Cognatione B. Virginis Deiparæ & Elizabethæ*; his *Interpretaio Diapſalmatis in Pſalterio*; his Ὑποθέσεις εἰς τὰς ψαλμους, *ſive Argumenta generalia & ſpecialia in omnes & ſingulos Pſalmos*; and other pieces in *Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti Cantica ſacrâ.* The *Hypotheſes Pſalmorum* were publiſhed from an Alexandrian Manuſcript by Dr. Brian Walton in his *Biblioth. Polyglott* (62). Dr. Hody in his Preface to John Malela mentions a Chronology under the name of Euſebius, but obſerves it to be ſpurious. There is publiſhed likewiſe under his name a *Chronological Series of Emperors* at the end of Petavius's Edition of Nicephorus; but it appears to be only a ſhort Epitome collated from Euſebius, and continued down to the later Ages. The writings of Euſebius, which are loſt, are thus reckoned by Dr. Cave (63). 1. Several Books of his Treatiſe *De Præparatione Evangelicâ.* 2. *De Demonſtratione Evangelicâ* (64). 3. *Thirty Books*, according to Monſr. Le Clerc (65), or *Twenty Five Books*, according to Dr. Cave, *againſt Porphyry*; " which " in all probability, ſays le Clerc, are the greateſt loſs, " which we have ſuſtained with reſpect to the writings " of Euſebius; for we might have learned from them " the objections of the moſt learned Philoſophers of " his time, and the Anſwers of the moſt learned Bi- " ſhop of his Age." 4. *Ad Stephanum de Evangeliorum Diſſonantiâ.* 5. Five Books *concerning the Coming of Chriſt.* 6. *In Pſalmos CL. Commentarii.* Some Fragments of theſe Commentaries are extant in the *Catena* of the Fathers upon the Pſalms; and another Fragment is exhibited by Gelaſius (66). 7. *A Commentary upon the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians.* This is mentioned by St. Jerom in his Epiſtle to Pammachius. 8. *Eclogæ in totam Scripturam ſacram.* See Theodorit. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. L.* 1. *c.* 16. 9. *Of Topical Names*, the firſt Book. 10. *An Apology for Origen*, in ſix Books, the firſt five of which he wrote in conjunction with Pamphilus in priſon, and added the ſixth himſelf. 11. Three Books of the *Life of Pamphilus*; which he mentions in the 11th chapter of his Book of the *Martyrs of Paleſtine.* 12. *An Apology for himſelf*, in two Books. See Photius, *Cod. XIII.* who tells us, that Euſebius wrote two other Books, which were different in ſome aſſertions, tho' they generally agreed in the ſenſe and ſtyle with the two former. Dr. Cave thinks (67), that by this is meant the Apologetic, which he wrote to clear himſelf from the imputation of Arianiſm; for Gelaſius Cyzicenus (68) mentions ſuch an Apologetic, which was ſent to all the orthodox Biſhops every where. 13. *A Collection of ancient Martyrdoms.* This contained eleven Books, if we may credit the Writer of the *Acts of St. Sylveſter*, publiſhed by Combefiſius. Bevarius (69) tells us, that this work is extant in Greek in the Library of the Eſcurial. But Dr. Cave is apprehenſive, that this manuſcript conſiſts only of the fabulous accounts of Metaphraſtes. Archbiſhop Uſher (70) ſuppoſes, that the *Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Lucian*, publiſhed by Surius under the 7th of January, were tranſcribed by Metaphraſtes out of this work. 14. *A Deſcription of the Church of Jeruſalem.* 15. *Of the Feaſt of Eaſter.* 16. *Three Epiſtles*; the firſt to Conſtantia, ſiſter of the Emperor Conſtantine; a fragment of which is extant in *the ſixth Action* of the *ſecond Council of Nice.* The ſecond is to Alexander Biſhop of Alexandria. A Fragment of it is extant in the place above cited. The third is addreſſed to a Biſhop named Euphration. We have a fragment

(49) Pag. 114.

(50) Idem, ibid.

(51) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 6. cap. 33.

(52) *Biblioth.* Cod. 118.

(53) Cod. 118.

(54) Cave, pag. 114.

(55) *Comment. de Biblioth. Vindobonenſ.* lib. 1. pag. 139, &c.

(56) Pag. 114.

(57) Supplem. 3. pag. 185.

(58) *De Script.* cap. 81.

(59) Pag. 22, 79, 184.

(60) Idem, pag. 184.

(61) Idem, pag. 273.

(62) Tom. 6. pag. 137.

(63) Pag. 114, 115.

(64) *See* Photius, Cod. 11, 12.

(65) *Biblioth. Univerſelle*, tom. 10.

(66) *De Natur.* lib. 2.

(67) Pag. 115.

(68) *Hiſt. Conc. Nicæni*, lib. 2. cap. 1.

(69) *In Dextr. Chronic. ad ann.* 308.

(70) *Biblioth. Theol. MS.* pag. 159. *apud* Cave, pag. 115.

" as orthodox, hath been the cauſe why we have in a manner only *Panegyrics of the* " *Antients*, wherein their defects are always ſuppreſſed, when they cannot be covered " with the maſk of ſome virtues." This paſſage occaſioned Dr. Cave to ſubjoin to the ſecond volume of his *Hiſtoria Literaria* a *Diſſertation*, intitled, *De Euſebii Cæſarienſis Arianiſmo adverſus Joannem Clericum*, in which he maintains that Euſebius was not an Arian. But Monſieur Le Clerc replied to him in the *ſecond Letter* of his *Epiſtolæ Criticæ & Theologicæ* (*q*). In this *Letter* he examines Euſebius's Epiſtle to the people of Cæſarea to excuſe his ſigning the Nicene Creed, though he had formerly profeſſed himſelf of Arius's opinion; and he affirms, that Euſebius explains that Creed like an Arian. He quotes likewiſe long paſſages out of the ſecond Council of Nice, to prove that they juſtly accuſed him of Arianiſm.

(*q*) Printed at Amſterdam 1700, in 8vo.

fragment of it in the *Fifth Action of the ſecond Council of Nice*, p. 365. 17 Ἀρχαιολογία, *ſeu* ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἱστορία, i. e. "An ancient Hiſtory," two fragments of which are extant in Anaſtaſius Sinaita (71). But perhaps this work is the ſame with his *Chronicon* or παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία. Anaſtaſius likewiſe frequently cites our Author's Book addreſſed to Marinus. Hebed Jeſu informs us (72), that there are extant in the Chaldee language the following Books of Euſebius, *De ortu divino*, *De diſſonantiâ Evangeliorum*, *De figura mundi*, *Hiſtoria Martyrum Occidentalium ac eorum Panegyrica*, *Sermo de defectu Pluviæ*, and *Apologia pro Origine*. Father Sirmond the Jeſuit publiſhed at Paris in 1643 in 8vo ſeveral Latin Homilies, which are aſcribed in two manuſcripts to Euſebius of Cæſarea, and which Valeſius frequently cites as the genuine writings of our Author. But Dr. Cave rather believes them to have been written by Euſebius of Emeſa, who lived towards the middle of the fourth Century. However Du Pin (73) and Caſimir Oudin (74) are of opinion, that they are the genuine performances of our Euſebius. T.

(71) Quæſt. 41 and 65.

(72) *See* Cave, pag. 115.

(73) Pag. 9.

(74) *Commentar. de Script. & Scriptis Eccleſ.* tom. 1. col. 313, edit. Francofurti 1722.

EUSTACHE (DAVID) a native of Dauphiné (*a*), and a Miniſter of the Proteſtant Church in Montpellier, publiſhed ſome ſermons and controverſial pieces [*A*], which gained him reputation. He aſſiſted at the national Synod of Loudun, as Deputy of the Province of Lower Languedoc, anno 1659, and was nominated by the Aſſembly, to carry the Letter written by them to his Majeſty. He made a ſpeech to this Monarch, who was then at Toulouſe, to the Queen Mother, and to Cardinal Mazarin, and acquitted himſelf worthily on that occaſion. He died ſome days after, and left only two daughters.

(*a*) Allard, *Biblioth. de Dauphiné*, pag. 94.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome Sermons, and controverſial pieces.*] He publiſhed, *Les Remedes ſalutaires contre la ſeparation d'avec Dieu*, in 1645. *La victoire de la Foy. Une reponſe au pere Meynier Jeſuite, ſon Colloque avec Diſdier Barruel Curé d'Entraignes* (1). This is what the Bibliotheque of Dauphiné ſays of him. To this I add, that David Euſtache wrote a Book divided into two parts, as an anſwer to the queſtion made to Proteſtants, viz. *where was your Church before Luther?* He publiſhed in 1660 an anonymous little piece entitled *L'Orateur Tertulle convaincu*. It is an anſwer to the Speech which it is ſuppoſed, *the wiſe men of the pretended reformed* (Proteſtant) *Religion*, had made to Queen Maria Thereſa at her entrance into the Kingdom, wherein they declared, that hearing ſhe had ſhewn great uneaſineſs, upon hearing that part of the ſubjects of the King her huſband were hereticks; they were come to leſſen that concern, by embracing her Majeſty's Religion; and that they had done this, after having found, by the teſtimony of their moſt eminent Writers, that people may be ſaved in the Romiſh Communion. Every one was perſuaded that this ſpeech was writ by Meynier the Jeſuit. He took great delight in that common topic; and carried it much farther ſome time after, in a work entitled by him *Montauban juſtifié* (2).

(1) Allard, *Biblioth. de Dauphiné*, pag. 94.

(2) See the Article MONTAUBAN, in the remark.

EXPERIENS (PHILIP CALLIMACHUS) was one of thoſe learned Italians who founded an Academy in the fifteenth Century, and aſſumed new names. He changed that of Geminianus (*a*) for Callimachus. Paul II was perſuaded that ſome great myſtery was concealed under it; he looking upon this Aſſembly of Learned Men as a gang of Conſpirators, threw them into priſon, and had them put to the torture with very great ſeverity (*b*). It was on this occaſion that Platina was treated with ſo much cruelty, as will be ſhown in his Article. Callimachus was looked upon as the Head of this Conſpiracy. It was to no purpoſe that Platina inſiſted on the incapacity of this man for ſuch an attempt [*A*], and the enmity that reigned between him and Callimachus, for he was treated

(*a*) He had this ſirname, becauſe he was born in Sangemini in Tuſcany.

(*b*) *See* Platina, *in the Life of Paul II.*

[*A*] *It was to no purpoſe that Platina inſiſted on the incapacity of this man for ſuch an attempt.*] Platina ſpeaks very contemptuouſly of Callimachus; and repreſents him as a man, with regard to the body as well as mind, unendued with the qualities requiſite in a conſpirator. He is an unweildy fellow, *ſays he*, who can ſcarce move himſelf; and, beſides, has loſt his ſight. Now I can ſcarce reconcile this with the favour which Callimachus enjoyed in the King of Poland's court, or with the intrigues which made him ſo odious to the Poles. It is not improbable that Platina might ſpeak as a Rhetorician and an enemy; I mean, that he inveighed againſt Callimachus, in order to refute the charge that was brought againſt himſelf, and becauſe he hated him. *Reſpondeo me nunquam conſiliorum Callimachi participem fuiſſe, quippe cum inter nos ſimultas eſſet haud parva* (1). i. e. " I anſwer that I never " joined in any enterprize with Callimachus, we hat- " ing each other." Spondanus (2) does not think it probable that a man of the character of Platina's Callimachus, could poſſibly have ingratiated himſelf ſo much in the King of Poland's Court. This I ſhall leave to the determination of my readers; and here follow Platina's words. *Tum ego, cum viderem omnia armis & tumultu circumſonare, veritus ne quid gravius ob formidinem & iram in nos conſuleretur, rationes attuli quamobrem crederem Callimachum nil tale aliquid unquam moliturum nedum meditatum fuiſſe, qui cum conſilio, lingua, manu, ſolicitudine, opibus, copiis, clientelis, armis, pecuniis, oculis poſtremo careret. Cæculus enim & P. Lentulo ſomniculoſior, ac L. Craſſo ob adipem tardior* (3). i. e. " When I ſaw that every one was up " in arms, and that tumult reigned univerſally, fear- " ing leſt we ſhould meet with ſtill more ſevere treat- " ment from the rage of the people, I gave my rea- " ſons why I believed Callimachus had never meditat- " ed, nor ever would engage in any ſuch attempt, he " having neither conduct, elocution, bravery, fore- " ſight, wealth, troops, patrons nor money; in a " word, that he was blind, that he was more drou- " ſy than P. Lentulus, and more unweildy than M. " Craſſus." I am ſurprized at one thing, which is, that Platina who names ſeveral of thoſe that were put to the torture for this conſpiracy, does not ſay whether Callimachus was one of them. Paul Jovius declares that he was one of them: *Ipſe ante alios deſumpti Græci*

(1) Platina, *in Paulo II*, folio m. 357, *verſo*.

(2) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1496, *ſub fin.*

(3) Platina, *in Paulo II*, folio 356, *verſo*.

treated as one of the Conſpirators. When theſe unhappy perſons had been ſufficiently tortured, and the whole chimera of their pretended plot diſcovered, they were releaſed. Callimachus left Italy in the greateſt rage, and withdrew to Poland, the Court of which was extremely diſguſted at the Pope's conduct (*c*). King Caſimir gave him an honourable reception, and made him Preceptor to his ſon Albert. He alſo ſent him upon ſeveral Embaſſies (*d*). Callimachus inſinuated himſelf to ſo much advantage in the mind of his diſciple, that he was in prodigious favour in his reign, a circumſtance which diſguſted the Poles to a very great degree, eſpecially after the battle they loſt in Moldavia. They imagined that Callimachus was the cauſe of this bloody defeat; and that he had counſelled the King to expoſe the greateſt part of the nobility to ſlaughter [*B*]; that he had adviſed this, I ſay, as the moſt effectual method for eſtabliſhing a deſpotic government in Poland. Callimachus was ſo alarmed at the indignation they conceived againſt him on this account, that, being afraid of appearing any more in public, he hid himſelf at a friend's houſe in a village, and died there. His friends did not dare to divulge his death, but dried his body by the heat of a ſtove, and depoſited it in a cheſt. King Albert being informed of this, cauſed it to be carried to Cracow, and buried it in the Church of the Trinity, and erected a brazen tomb over it (*e*). This we are told by Paulus Jovius [*C*], but the Poliſh Hiſtorians don't mention any ſuch incident. They aſſert that Callimachus died in peace at Cracow, the firſt of November 1496 (*f*), and was there honourably interred. Konig (*g*) falſly ſuppoſed, that Philip Callimachus and Callimachus Experiens were two Authors. Callimachus wrote ſome tolerable good Hiſtories [*D*].

(*c*) Jovi, *Elogior.* cap. 41.

(*d*) Spondan. *Annal. ad ann.* 1496, num. 6.

(*e*) *Ex* Jovio, *Elogior.* cap. 41.

(*f*) Not 1490, as in Moreri.

(*g*) In *Biblioth. Vet. & Nova*, pag. 155.

There

(4) Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 41. *nominis reus tormentis & carcere pœnas daret* (4). i. e. "He was condemned more eſpecially becauſe he had "aſſumed a Greek name; was put on the rack, and "thrown into priſon." Octavius Ferrarius may incline us to believe, that Callimachus was not impriſoned, tho' he aſſures the contrary (5), he obſerving, that Callimachus was not in Rome, when the news of the pretended conſpiracy was carried to the Pope. *Nam cum falſo rumore delatus fuiſſet Callimachus umbraticus Vir, inermis & abdomine tardus, adverſus ſacrorum Regem conſpiraſſe, jamque multos aſſeclas habere, & ad urbem perdendam reſque immutandas feſtinare, iterum Platina in vincla conjectus eſt tanquam conjurationis conſcius* (6). i. e. "A falſe report having pre-"vailed, viz. that Callimachus, who was an inconſi-"derable, weak, unweildy man, had engaged in a "conſpiracy againſt his Holineſs; that he had already "aſſembled a great number of followers, and was ad-"vancing in all haſte to deſtroy the city and ſubvert "the government; Platina was again impriſoned, as "being an accomplice." I am afraid that Ferrari has here given us a falſe relation. The reaſon of my ſuſpicion is, Platina's mentioning two falſe alarms at the ſame time: the one was, the pretended conſpiracy of Callimachus; the other a pretended inſurrection near Rome. It was juſt before reported, that Luke Totius (7), who had been driven out of Rome, and was retired to Naples, was coming back with many other exiles, whence the Pope was afraid of being oppreſſed both within and without. It is plain that the man who was ſaid to be advancing with all diligence, in order to deſtroy Rome, was not Callimachus; and conſequently it is very probable that Ferrari was miſtaken. The reader will form a better judgment of this, if he conſiders the following words of Platina. *Nunciatur ei* (Paulo) *quoſdam adoleſcentes duce Callimacho in eum conſpiraſſe; cui præ timore vix reſpiranti, neſcio quo fato novus etiam terror additur. Advolat etiam quidam cognomento Philoſophus, homo facinoroſus & exul, qui vitam primo & reditum in patriam deprecatus nunciat, ac falſo quidem, Lucam Totium Romanum civem Neapoli exulantem, cum multis exulibus in nemoribus Veliterinis à ſe viſum, ac paulo poſt affuturum. Timere Paulus ac magis trepidare tum cœpit: veritus ne domi & foris opprimeretur* (8). i. e. "Pope Paul being "informed, that ſome young people, headed by Cal-"limachus, had conſpired againſt him, was almoſt "dead with fear; and by ſome ill fate or other his "terror was increaſed. There flew to him alſo one, "a notoriouſly wicked fellow, who had been baniſh-"ed, and was ſirnamed the Philopher; who having "firſt ſued for life, and the liberty of returning to his "country, falſely declared, that he had ſeen in the "woods of Velitræ Lucas Totius a Roman Citizen, "baniſhed to Naples, with ſeveral more exiles; and "that he would ſoon reach the city. The Pope be-"gan then to be much more terrified, he fearing that he "ſhould be attacked both within and without." This is to ſay evidently, that, according to the falſe alarm, the danger which was apprehended from Callimachus was already in the city, and that it was Totius who was advancing towards it. Logicians make too great uſe of the art of *diſtinguo*, and the Orators don't employ it enough.

(5) *Ea nominum novitate populorum paſtor offenſus, quaſi occultæ conſpirationis teſſera eſſet, Platinam & Callimachum tanquam impios & maleficos tormentis excruciavit.* Octav. Ferrar. *Proluſ.* pag. 88.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) In other editions it is *Tortius.*

(8) Platina, *in Paulo II*, fol. 356.

[*B*] *The* Poets . . . *imagined . . . that he had adviſed the King, to expoſe the greateſt part of the Nobility to ſlaughter.*] Paul Jovius ſpeaks of this as an undoubted fact. *Callimachus* ab Alberto . . *poſt Caſimiri patris interitum, ad ſummum familiaritatis atque potentiæ locum evectus eſt, tanta Polonorum conſternatione, odioque, ut eum tanquam impium, & Moldavicæ cladis authorem, tyrannidemque impotenti imperio exercendam Regi ſuaderet, aula extruſerint. Maligno enim judicio nobilitatem, quòd imperatæ pecuniæ, & ſuſcepto bello averſa eſſet, ſævo hoſti objectandam eſſe cenſuerat, ut nemo demum ſupereſſet, qui libertatis per manum traditæ jura tueretur* (9). i. e. "Callimachus, after the demiſe of Caſimir, was "received by his ſon Albert into his moſt intimate fa-"miliarity, and raiſed to the higheſt degree of "power; which aſtoniſhed and exaſperated the "Poles to ſuch a degree, that they drove him from "court, as a wicked man, who had been the "cauſe of the ſlaughter in Moldavia, and had coun-"ſelled the King to govern with deſpotic ſway. For "he had moſt villanouſly adviſed the expoſing of the "Nobility to the fury of the enemy, becauſe they "had oppoſed the levying of money, and the engag-"ing in this war; in order that no one might be "left, to defend liberty and the laws." This is drawing this perſon's picture in very black colours; and any man who had a ſoul baſe enough to adviſe ſuch wicked attempts, might have done all that Paul II ſuſpected.

(9) Jovius, *Elogior.* cap. 41. pag. m. 97.

[*C*] *This we are told by Paul Jovius.*] It has been juſtly obſerved, that this Author is not ſufficient to counterbalance the Poliſh Writers; and that he delighted too much in collecting popular Traditions (10). *Ejus obitum Jovius in Elogiis, ex vulgi fabulis, ut aſſolet, Vilnæ* (11) *in exilio contigiſſe refert: quem auctores Poloni, quibus magis credendum, placide Cracoviæ contigiſſe, & amplo funere honeſtatum eſſe aſſerunt.* Voſſius (12) forms the ſame judgment of Paul Jovius.

(10) Spondan. *ad annum*, 1496, num. 6.

(11) Paul. Freherus has alſo read *Vilnæ*, but my edition of Paula Jovius, of Baſil 1561, ſays, *ſemi-exul in villa Sarmatica apud veterem amicum occultatus fato ceſſit.*

[*D*] *He wrote ſome tolerable good Hiſtories.*] His principal works are, a Relation of what the Venetians did to engage the Perſians and Tartars to declare war againſt the Turks; the Life of Attila; and the Hiſtory of Ladiſlaus King of Hungary, ſlain in the battle of Varnes. In this laſt Hiſtory, he has ſurpaſſed all who have ſet up for Hiſtorians ſince Tacitus's time. I give this only as the opinion of Paulus Jovius. *Adeo eleganter ejus graviſſimi muneris leges impleviſſe exiſtimatur, ut omnes qui à Cornelio Tacito per tot ſecula id ſcribendi genus attigerint meo judicio ſuperarit* (13). This Hiſtory of Ladiſlaus was written at the deſire of Matthias Hunniades, King of Hungary, who

(12) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 620.

(13) Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 41.

(b) He was successively Palatine, and Castellan of Cracow, and great Marshal of Poland. Johan. Mich. Brutus, *vbi infra*.

There is extant a letter of his, in which he complains, that the Diet of Petricow had resolved to deliver him up to the Pope; and where he assures, that his enemies could not have used him so cruelly, had Andrew Sborow (*b*) been present at that Diet (*i*). He relates this in a letter to a Polish Nobleman. Those Writers who, with la Popeliniere, should declare that he lived about the year 1552, would be grosly mistaken (*k*).

(*i*) Jo. Michael Brutus, *Epist.* lib. 4. pag. 456, edit. 1698.

(*k*) La Popelin. *Hist. des Hist.* pag. 480.

(14) Vossius, *de Hist. Lat.* pag. 619.

(15) Volaterran. lib. 7. cap. *de Polonia*, pag. m. 257.

who gave the Author a noble recompence for it (14).

Callimachus managed his affairs successfully in those cold countries. He went thither poor, and grew very rich: *Ad hos Callimachus Geminianensis meus familiaris penetravit, ubi & literis & ingenii solertia ex paupere dives magnopere apud eos reges quibus erat dilectus ante hos annos decessit* (15). i. e. "Callimachus, my "very intimate friend, got to these people; and "there, by his wit and erudition, he amassed a large "fortune, tho' he before was poor; and died some years "since, greatly beloved by the Monarchs under whom "he had served." See Martin Cromerus's History of Poland, Book XXX.

EYSENGREYN (MARTIN) in Latin *Eisengreinius*, a Doctor of Divinity in the sixteenth Century, published a great many books, a Catalogue of which is to be found in the Epitome of Gesner's *Bibliotheque*. You may see in Moreri, that he was born at Stutgard in the Dutchy of Wittenberg, and that he was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstad, and died in the year 1578. I add to all this, that he was of a very good family (*a*), and the son of a very honest man, and that he had been of the Protestant Religion (*b*). He had even declared in a printed book, that he was resolved constantly and unchangeably to persevere in it; he had dedicated it to Vergerio, to wish him joy that he had acknowledged the true Church, and left the party of Antichrist. Yet soon after he returned to the Church of Rome about the year 1560 (*c*), and shewed a great animosity against the Protestants. He attacked them in several writings, in which he treated controverted subjects with all the fury, and according to all the common topics of those times. George Liebler Professor of Physic in the University of Tubingen refuted one of his books [*A*]. I do not know whether our Author was a relation of WILLIAM EYSENGREIN, whom I have mentioned in another place [*B*].

(*a*) Georg. Liebletus, *in Scholis ad Sermon. Mart. Eysengrenii de Puero Jesu.* pag. 43.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. pag. 1.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *George Liebler . . . . refuted one of his books.*] It is an Homily in High-Dutch upon the Gospel of the first Sunday after Epiphany. The subject is the Son of God's sitting in the midst of the Doctors in the Temple of Jerusalem. Liebler translated it into Latin, and published it with Scholiums in the year 1575 (1). He charges the Author with fatiguing the public with several indifferent pamphlets. *Tu spreta mea fideli admonitione, hactenus multos parvos & pravos edidisti libellos, quos an quisquam hactenus responso dignatus sit haud scio. Mihi quidem cùm initio aliqui veniissent in manus, eisque respondere vellem, ita visi sunt indocti & inepti, ut chartarum tam turpiter contaminatarum vehementer me misereret, & omnino eorum lectione postea abstinerem. Sed cum infelici parta adeo fis fecundus, ut subinde nova monstra per abortum edas, &c.* (2). i. e. "Despising my friendly admonition, you have pub"lished till this time a great many small but bad "books, which I do not know whether any person "yet vouchsafed to answer. As for me, when some "of them fell into my hands, and I designed to an"swer them, I found them so unlearned, and so silly, "that I thought it was a pity to waste paper so "shamefully, and I never read any of them since. "But since you are so fruitful in unlucky offsprings, "that you now and then miscarry of new monsters. "&c." He also charges him with writing a great many idle and insignificant words only with a design to render his works more voluminous. *Neque enim mihi libet tuam imitari loquacitatem, qua nihil aliud agis, quam ut multas paginas frustra expleas, & magnos facias libros, in quibus res paucas benè & rectè doceas* (3). He concludes with some observations upon an Homily, in which Eysengrein had explained Simeon's Prophecy concerning the child Jesus.

(1) At Tubingen in 4to; it contains 86 pages.

(2) Liebler, *in Schol. in Sermon. Mart. Eysengreinii*, pag. 1.

(3) Idem, ibid. pag. 7.

[*B*] *I do not know whether our Author was a relation of* WILLIAM EYSENGREIN, *whom I have mentioned in another place* (4). He was a Canon of Spire where he was born, and contemporary with our Martin. He published in 1566 at Ingolstad a Work intitled, *Centenarii XVI, continentes descriptionem rerum memorabilium in Ecclesia contra Matthiam Flacium Illyricum.* "An account of the memorable things which happened "in the church against Flacius Illyricus." He had published in the year 1564 at Dillingen a *Chronicon Spirense*, Chronicle of Spire, a Work that abounds with falsities, as Christopher Lehman has observed in the Preface to his Annals of Spire (5).

(4) In the Remark [*E*] of the Article ILLYRICUS.

(5) See the *Introductio ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam* of Gaspar. Sagittarius, pag. 519.

EZEKIEL, one of the four greater Prophets whose writings made a part of the Old Testament, was the son of Buzi the Priest (*a*), and was descended from a High-priest (*b*). He was carried away to Babylon with King Jehoiachin, and he began to prophesy five years after (*c*), and continued so to do for twenty years (*d*). He was put to death by the person who commanded the Jews in that quarter, and being a worshipper of idols, could not bear that the Prophet should censure him for it (*e*). Ezekiel was buried in the grave of Sem [*A*], and there used to be a very great concourse of people at that tomb out of a principle of devotion. The Chaldeans one day were determined to cut all that devout multitude in pieces; but were taught by experience that Ezekiel was another Moses [*B*]. This

(*a*) Ezekiel, i. 3.

(*b*) Epiphanius, *in Vita Ezechielis.*

(*c*) Ezek. i. 2.

(*d*) Epiphan. *in Vita Ezechielis.*

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(1) Epiphanius, (*aut qui sub nomine* Epiphanij *scripsit* Vitas Prophetarum) *in* Vita Ezechielis.

(2) *Scriptor Itinerarij Hierosolymitani, apud* Huet. *Demonstrat. Evang.* pag. 458, Ed. Lipsi. 1694.

(3) In *Itinerario*, pag. m. 78.

* Who was also called *Jehoiachin.*

[*A*] *Ezekiel was buried in the grave of Sem.*] The Author whom I cite (1) affirms that his tomb was yet to be seen, consisting of two caves; but an Author who lived in the reign of Constantine (2) relates that the sepulchre of Ezekiel was the same with that of Job, Jesse, and David, near Bethlehem. Benjamin the Jew (3) tells us that King Jechoniah * having been set at liberty, went with thirty five thousand Jews to build a magnificent dome over the tomb of Ezekiel, between the Chebar and the Euphrates. He pretends that Jechoniah and all those who had attended him were to be seen painted on the walls of the dome. The picture of Jechoniah was the first, and that of Ezekiel the last. We shall mention below what this Author reports concerning the pilgrimages and devotions which were performed at that monument.

[*B*] *The Chaldeans . . . were taught by experience that Ezekiel was another Moses.*] The Chaldeans were not without fear at the sight of such a concourse of Pilgrims; for which reason they resolved one day to put an end to the flocking of such numbers of devout people thither, by putting those to the sword who were then about the sepulchre. But the Prophet stayed the waters of the river, and when the Israelites had reached the opposite shore, he

This is what is to be found in the Life of this great Prophet aſcribed to S. Epiphanius, We there meet with ſome other miracles of the ſame Prophet. The Jews, fond of their ſuperſtitious and ridiculous whimſies, have told a hundred extraordinary things concerning his tomb [*C*]. Some of their Doctors have given out that in an Aſſembly of Rabbins, who were deliberating on the Book of his Prophecies, he was very near being excluded out

he ſo ordered matters, that all the Chaldeans who durſt purſue them were drowned. He obtained for the ſame devotees, who were dying for hunger, a great multitude of fiſh. It is pretended that he was in his lifetime tranſported from Chaldea to Judea, in order to convince the unbelievers (4). If Abrabanel went on this, he might have ſaid that Ezekiel propheſied both in the Land of Canaan and in Chaldea; I ſay, he might have maintained it without fearing to be refuted in the manner Monſieur Huet has refuted him. *Faceſſat etiam Abrabaniel qui Ezechielem & in terra Chanaan, & extra eam vaticinatum eſſe docet, cum quinto demum poſt deportationem ſuam anno futura prædicere agreſſus ſit* (5). i. e. "Away alſo with Abrabanel, who aſſerts "that Ezekiel propheſied both in the Land of Canaan, "and out of it; whereas he firſt began to propheſy in "the fifth year after he had been carried away captive."

(4) *Ex* Epiphanio, *in Vita Ezechielis.*

(5) Huet. *Demonſt. Evangel.* pag. 458.

[*C*] *The Jews have told a hundred extraordinary things concerning the tomb of Ezekiel.*] Benjamin the Jew, who lived in the twelfth Century, aſſures us (6) that till that time this Prophet's tomb had been looked on as a holy place; that people came thither from the moſt diſtant countries to pray at it; that thoſe journies of devotion began with the year, and laſted till the feaſt of Expiation; that the chiefs of the Jewiſh nation failed not to ſet out from Bagdad, to go to that ſanctuary, and to cauſe tents to be erected for twelve miles round; that the Arabian Merchants went thither to hold a fair; that on the day of Expiation a great Book was expoſed to view, written by Ezekiel's own hand, and was read; and that ſince the time the Prophet himſelf had lighted a lamp over his ſepulchre, it had never been ſuffered to go out, for great care had been taken to ſupply it with oil and cotton whenever there was occaſion; that there was a very fine library there, to which all thoſe who died without children left their books; that even the ſons of the Mahometan Lords went thither to pray, ſo great an affection had they entertained for Ezekiel; that all the Arabs did the ſame; and that this holy place was ſo highly reverenced, on account of the bleſſed Ezekiel, that even in time of war, neither the Mahometans nor the Jews did hurt to any one there.

(6) In *Itinerario*, pag. 78, *& ſeq.*

(7) *R. Petachias Ratisbonenſis.* He lived in the 12th Century. His Travels were publiſhed in Hebrew and Latin by *Wagenſeil*, in 1687.

(8) *Compare this with what is related of the Image of our Lady of Czeſtochow in Poland. Ladiſlaus, D. of Opolia, had a mind in the year 1328, to remove it into his Dutchy, but when it came to Clermont near Czeſtochow, it would not ſtir from that mountain, where it grew ſo heavy that he began to ſuſpect its will, which was afterwards revealed to him by a dream. He built a Church there. Le Laboureur, Voiage de la Reine de Pologne, Part 3. pag. 22. On Palm Sunday 1430, the Huſſites of Bohemia pillaged this temple . . . they carried the Image away towards Sileſia, but at 400 paces diſtance from the mountain, it fixed itſelf in ſuch a manner, that they could not draw it away tho' they did their utmoſt to do it by the help of freſh horſes. Ibid.*

(9) The number of Jews which go thither is 60 or 80 thouſand. Peregrin. R. Petachiæ, *apud* Joh. Chriſtoph. Wagenſeilium, *Exercitat.* 4. pag. 179.

Another Rabbin (7) is going to tell us yet more wonderful things. A King of Babylon having a deſire to ſee the relics of the Prophet Ezekiel, that great performer of miracles, they told him it was not poſſible: as he is a ſaint, ſaid they, you cannot take him out of his grave; and becauſe this anſwer did not abate his longing, they deſired him to make a trial on the ſepulchre of Baruch, Ezekiel's diſciple. He gave orders, therefore, that Baruch ſhould be taken up; but all thoſe who offered to ſet their hand to it, fell down dead. By the advice of an Iſraelite, he commanded the Jews to dig him up. They prepared themſelves for the work by a faſt of three days, and accompliſhed it without any damage. The King, thinking it was too much for one place to have both the ſepulchre of Ezekiel, and that of Baruch, ordered the coffin of the latter to be removed elſewhere. When they had carried it a mile, the bearers had not the ſtrength to move a ſtep; and the horſes and mules they tried to make uſe of were as unable to ſtir (8). Rabbi Solomon thus explained the prodigy: this, ſaid he, is the place which the prophet chuſes for his ſepulchre. His interpretation was approved; and they erected in that place a fine monument to Baruch. What follows relates to the tomb of Ezekiel. It is in a wood, a day's, or half a day's journey from Bagdad, ſurrounded by a wall, and has a fine building erected over it. There is but one very little door in the wall, of which the Jews have the key: when they have a mind to enter by this door, they muſt creep on all four, it is ſo low; but at the feaſt of Tabernacles, on which day a prodigious concourſe of people flock thither (9), this door of its own accord grows wider and higher, ſo that perſons mounted on camels may paſs through. So ſoon as the feſtival is over, the door returns to its former ſize, and this in the ſight of all the people who are there preſent to bring their offerings to the tomb of Ezekiel. There are no evils againſt which they recommend themſelves more devoutly, or more frequently, to the interceſſion of this Prophet, than againſt barenneſs. A man who finds himſelf unfit for procreation, and a woman who finds herſelf unfit for conception, have uſually recourſe to vows at the tomb of this Prophet. They alſo make uſe of the ſame means to remove the barrenneſs of their cattle (10). A Prince who had a barren mare, and lived four days journey from this ſepulchre, engaged himſelf by a vow to conſecrate to the Prophet the foal which his mare ſhould bring forth, if ſhe happened to breed. The mare had a foal, which the Prince liked ſo well, that he kept it for himſelf; but the foal ran away, and went of his own accord towards the ſepulchre of Ezekiel; and the door in the wall immediately opened of itſelf, to let him in. The Prince not being able to find this foal, though he had him every were ſought after with the utmoſt diligence, imagined that he might perhaps find him at the Prophet's tomb; which thought was occaſioned by his vow. He found the foal there, and could never get him out, becauſe the door was too narrow to let him paſs; then, by the advice of a Jew, he laid ſome pieces of money on the tomb, and when he had laid down the value of the foal, the door enlarged itſelf to a ſufficient width (11). All the Iſhmaelites, who go to the ſepulchre of Mahomet, take that of Ezekiel in their way, and leave offerings there, making this prayer to him: *My Lord Ezekiel, if I return in good health, I will give you ſuch or ſuch a thing* (12). Thoſe who undertake a long journey depoſite their moſt valuable effects at this tomb, and ſay, *My Lord Ezekiel, keep this precious depoſit for me till I return, and permit not any other than my heirs to touch it.* Several of theſe depoſits have lain long enough to rot in the place. They alſo leave Books there: a man who ſhould offer to ſteal one of them, would be immediately ſtruck blind. This place is very richly adorned; thirty lamps are kept lighted there night and day. The money ariſing from the vows is employed in repairing the Synagogue, in marrying orphans, and in educating a great many poor ſcholars. The preſents and votive offerings are ſo numerous, that there are two hundred perſons appointed to take care of them by turn. Formerly there was a pillar of fire over the tomb of this Prophet; but ſome prophane perſons having once mixed with the eighty thouſand devout pilgrims aſſembled at the feaſt of Tabernacles, were the cauſe of the pillars diſappearing (13).

(10) Compare this with what is to be read in the *Supplement to Dr. Burnet's Travels*, pag. 192, of the cattle which are brought to be bleſt at Rome on St. Antony's day.

(11) *Pauxillatim ſucceſſive eouſque argentum monumento ingeſſit quo ad pretium æquavit, & dilatata porta, pullus egreſſus eſt.* Petach. Peregrin. pag. 180.

(12) *Domine Ezechiel ſi* (ſanus ſalvuſque) *redivero, dabo tibi hoc aut illud.* Ibid. pag. 181.

(13) Extracted from the *Travels* of Rabbi *Petachias*, pag. 181.

Here are fables enough; but this truth may certainly be inferred from them: that the invocation of ſaints has been long practiſed by the Jews; for, not to inſiſt on the other proofs, we here ſee Rabbi Petachias, who makes offerings and prayers to Ezekiel, and pretends they wrought a great miracle. *Ipſe R. Petachias ad Ezechielis ſepulchrum ſe contulit, obryzum, ſive auri grana manibus ſecum afferens. Ea cum ex manibus forte fortuna excidiſſent, Domine Ezechiel, inquit, tui honoris cauſa excеſſi,* (& ceu facere me par erat, dona mea quæ tibi litarem, mecum attuli.) *Sed amiſi grana* (aurea, huic rei deſtinata, improvide) *& perierunt illa, nihilo minus ubicunque locorum jacent, tua ſunto.* (Dixerat hæc) *& mox conſpicit oculis ſuis, e longinquo, aliquid ſideris inſtar micare: cum gemmam eſſe ſuſpicaretur, eo ſe contulit, & rem ſcrutatus eſt, reperitque grana ſua aurea, ac proinde Ezechielis ſepulchro illa dedicavit* (14). i. e. "R Petachias himſelf repaired to Ezekiel's ſe-"pulchre, carrying ſome grains of pure gold in his "hands; and they accidentally falling out of his "hands, he ſaid, my Lord Ezekiel, I came forth to "ſhew honour to thee, *and, as was my duty, brought* "*my gifts with me, to preſent to thee.* But I have *care-*"*leſly* loſt the grains *of gold deſigned for this purpoſe,* "and they are not to be found: nevertheleſs, where-"ever they lie, they are thine. No ſooner *had he* "*ſaid this* than he perceived at a diſtance ſomething "ſhining

(14) Ibid. pag. 180, 181.

out of the Canon of Scripture [*D*]. It has been pretended that Pythagoras was his Diſciple [*E*]. The moſt learned and laborious Commentary on Ezekiel which has hitherto appeared is that of two Spaniſh Jeſuits (*f*), in three Volumes in folio. We muſt not confound this Prophet with EZEKIEL a Jewiſh Poet, of whoſe Writing we have a Greek Tragedy ſtill extant [*F*].

(*f*) Pradus and Villalpandus.

" ſhining like a ſtar; and thinking it to be a precious " ſtone, he went thither, and ſeeking for it found " his grains of gold, which he therefore dedicated to " the tomb of Ezekiel." Theſe fables would not be publiſhed among the Jews, if they thought the invocation of ſaints to be forbidden. The Proteſtants have reaſon to lament the ſhameful credulity of this people, and the impudence of their writers in publiſhing a hundred thouſand idle ſtories; but every one ought to learn, by what paſſes among his own party, that the declivity in this place is very ſlippery. How many things are there in the practice of Proteſtants at this day, which they would not have approved a hundred years ago? I am certain the Author of the Paſtoral Letters has publiſhed more falſe miracles than he ought to have done: but I am not leſs certain that accounts have been ſent him in writing of a great many more than are to be found in his Letters. Now conſider a little that excepting a very ſmall number of people, moſt of whom were Lay-men, no body has appeared to be ſhocked at this publiſhing of myſterious events. What a paſs ſhould we have been at by this time, if the predictions which the Author founded thereon had had any kind of ſucceſs? Generally ſpeaking, what a paſs ſhould we have now been at, if we were not kept in awe by the ſpirit of contradiction, on ſeeing how matters go in the Romiſh Communion?

REFLECTIONS on people's inclination to credulity.

[*D*] *It has been given out that in an Aſſembly of Rabbins . . . he was very near being excluded out of the Canon of Scripture.*] The Talmud contains a Treatiſe (15) wherein we read, that the Rabbins, conſidering there are in the Prophecies of Ezekiel ſome paſſages which ſeem contrary to the doctrine of Moſes, took it into deliberation whether it would not be proper to reject that Prophet's work. The votes being collected, ſentence of degradation was going to be pronounced, when one Ananias repreſented that he would undertake to reconcile the differences which were found between Moſes and Ezekiel: and as he furniſhed them on the ſpot with a method for reconciling thoſe differences which gave ſatisfaction, they let the Book of Ezekiel continue among the Canonical ones. See what anſwer Biſhop Huet (16) has given to this remark of Spinoza.

(15) It is that *de Sabbatho*. See Huetii, *Demonſtrat. Evangel.* pag. 462.

(16) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *It has been pretended that Pythagoras was his diſciple.*] They ground it on a paſſage of Clemens Alexandrinus; but this foundation is very weak, ſince that Father himſelf rejects what he mentions. Here are his words (17): Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων, Νασαράτῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ μαθητεῦσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν· ἰσχυρίζεται τοῦτον ἡγεῖταί τινες· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ, ὡς ὕστερα δηλωθήσεται. *Alexander autem in libro de ſymbolis Pythagoricis refert Pythagoram fuiſſe diſcipulum Nazarati Aſſyrii, quidam eum exiſtimant Ezekielem, ſed non eſt ut oſtendetur poſtea.* i. e. " Alexander, in his Book " of the Pythagoric Symbols, relates that Pytha- " goras was the diſciple of Nazaratus the Aſſyri- " an, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been Ezekiel; " but he was not, as will appear hereafter." We ſhould excuſe thoſe (18) who imagine Clemens Alexandrinus's meaning to be that Pythagoras was Ezekiel, according to the opinion of ſome; for if we conſult the rules of Grammar only, this explication is as good as the other. All the Greek and Latin Books are full of theſe equivocal expreſſions: we find ſome periods in them wherein two or three perſons are mentioned, and afterwards a pronoun which may be equally referred to all the three. A Reader muſt divine, by repeated meditations on what goes before or what follows, to which of them it ought to relate. I think I have ſaid more than once that the French tongue, when the rules are rightly obſerved, is not ſubject to theſe inconveniences. But though we may excuſe thoſe who miſunderſtand this paſſage of Clemens Alexandrinus, it is certain that when the thread of the diſcourſe is maturely weighed, one plainly perceives that the word τοῦτον relates to Nazaratus, and not to Pythagoras. *Sunt qui hæc Clementis verba ita interpretentur, quaſi Ezechielem non Zaratum, ſed Pythagoram haberi à quibuſdam voluerit, quod non ita eſſe cognoſcet, quiſquis locum totum attente luſtraverit* (19).

(17) Clemens Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. 1. pag. 304.

(18) *Father* Rapin *is one of them.* Clemens Alexandrinus, *ſays he, pag. m.* 287. *of the Compariſon of Plato and Ariſtotle*, pretends that Pythagoras paſſed in the opinion of ſome of the Learned in his time for the Prophet Ezekiel, but without any foundation.

[*F*] *There is an Ezekiel, a Jewiſh Poet, of whoſe writing we have a Greek Tragedy ſtill extant.*] The Tragedy we have of his is intitled Ἐξαγωγὴ; and the ſubject of it is the Departure out of Egypt. They ſay he was one of the Interpreters concerned in the Bible of the Septuagint. Chronology allows it; for he is quoted by Authors who lived before the Chriſtian Æra, and who take no notice of his having been lately dead. *Certe non Euſebium ſolum & Clementem Alexandrinum præceſſit ætate, ſed & Alexandrum Polyhiſtorem qui fuit L. Sullæ æqualis, & Demetrium Judæum qui ex ejus ſcriptis fragmenta depromit apud Euſebium. Vixiſſe autem Demetrium hunc inter Ptolemæos, Philopatora & Lathyrum, paulo poſt patefaciam* (20). i. e. " He was " certainly not only more ancient than Euſebius, and " Clemens Alexandrinus, but even more ancient than " Alexander Polyhiſtor, who was contemporary with " L. Sylla, and than Demetrius the Jew, who pro- " duces ſome paſſages out of his Writings in Euſebius. " I ſhall make it appear a little lower that this De- " metrius lived between the two Ptolemy's, Philopa- " tor, and Lathyrus." I have juſt now read a particular in the Hamburg Journal which perſuades me that the Prophet Ezekiel, and the Poet Ezekiel, are not always diſtinguiſhed from one another. Here are the words of the Journaliſt (91). *The example of the Greeks and Romans is not the only one by which this Author* (22) *pretends to ſhew the eſteem which the Ancients had for Dramatic Poems. He joins to it that of the Hebrews, who have not judged them contrary to the purity of God's worſhip, and who even thought they might make uſe of them to repreſent the moſt memorable events of their Hiſtory. To prove it he quotes the fragment of a Tragedy intitled,* The Departure out of Egypt, *which he attributes to Ezekiel. There are but few, in my opinion, who are acquainted with this fragment; and I own I had never heard it mentioned till now, not even by the late Mr. Fremond d'Ablancourt, who found Dramatic Poems every where throughout the Old Teſtament, and who had thence made himſelf a key for the explication of ſeveral difficult paſſages, and in particular of the Canticles and the Book of Pſalms* (23). As I have not the Book of which the Journaliſt is here giving an Extract, I cannot ſay whether the Author has therein expreſſed himſelf ſo as to juſtify charging him with having aſcribed this Tragedy to the Prophet Ezekiel.

(19) Huet. *Demonſtr. Evang.* pag. 459. He reads in this Father not Ναζάρατος *but* Ζάρατος. *See* Selden, *de Diis Syris*, lib. 2. cap. 1.

(20) Idem Huet. ibid. pag. m. 99. *He quotes* Euſeb. *de Præparat. Evangel.* lib. 9. cap. 21. *and* Clem. Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. 1.

(22) He is a French Miniſter named Mr. *Dartis*, a man of wit, and Author of ſome very good Books.

(23) That is, the Author of the *Diſſertation on the Condemnation of the Stage.*

(23) *Journal de Hambourg*, for Octob. 1694. pag. 68, 69.

F.

FABRETTI (RAPHAEL), a very learned Antiquary in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Urbino in Umbria of a noble family in 1619. After he had paſſed through his courſe of ſtudies at Cagli, a City in that Duchy, he returned to Urbino to accompliſh himſelf in the knowledge of the Law, in which he was admitted Doctor at eighteen years of age. At Rome he had an elder brother, named Stephen, who was an eminent Advocate, and whoſe example our Author following, went to Rome, and applied himſelf to the Bar, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf to ſuch advantage, that he was put in a way of advancing his fortune. Cardinal Imperiali entertained ſo great an eſteem for him, that he ſent him into Spain in order to negotiate ſeveral important and difficult affairs; which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that the office of Procurator Fiſcal of the Nunciature of that Kingdom falling vacant, the Cardinal procured it for him. Fabretti continued thirteen years in Spain, where he was for ſome time Auditor General of the Nunciature. Theſe employments did not engage him ſo much, but that he found time to read the Antients, and apply himſelf to polite Literature. He returned to Rome with Cardinal Charles Bonelli, who had been Nuncio in Spain, and from his domeſtic became his moſt intimate friend; and in his return he ſaw whatever was curious in Spain, France, and Italy. Upon his return to Rome he was appointed Judge of the Appeals to the Capitol, which poſt he afterwards quitted for that of Auditor of the Legation of Urbino under the Cardinal Legate Charles Cerri. His reſidence in his own country gave him an opportunity of ſettling his private affairs, which had been greatly diſordered during his abſence. He continued there three years, which appeared very long to him, becauſe his inclination to Study and Antiquities made him wiſh to ſettle at Rome, where he might eaſily gratify his deſires in that way. He readily accepted therefore of the invitation of Cardinal Carpegna, the Pope's Vicar, who employed him in drawing up the Apoſtolical briefs, and other diſpatches belonging to his office, and in aſſiſting at the examination of thoſe who preſented themſelves for Orders, and gave him the inſpection of the Relics found at Rome and the parts adjacent. This laſt employment furniſhed him with frequent opportunities of gratifying his inclination for Antiquities of all kinds [*A*]. Pope Alexander VIII, whom our Author had ſerved for ſome time as Auditor, when the former was Cardinal, made him Secretary of the Memorials, when he was advanced to the Pontificate; and had a great eſteem for him, taking great pleaſure in his converſation, and gave him a Canonry of St. Laurence *in Damaſo*; from which he was preferred to another in the Vatican. It is not doubted that this Pope would have raiſed him to higher dignities, if he had not been cut off by death after he had held the See of Rome ſixteen months. Fabretti upon this retired from buſineſs, and applied himſelf entirely to his ſtudies, the fruits of which are ſeveral excellent works [*B*]. To prevent

[*A*] *This laſt employment furniſhed him with frequent opportunities of gratifying his inclination for antiquities of all kinds.*] He went to ſearch antiquities in the country about Rome without any other companion than his horſe, and without any regard to the heat or inclemency of the weather. As he always made uſe of the ſame horſe, his friends gave that animal by way of jeſt the name of *Marco Polo*, the famous traveller, and ſaid that this horſe uſed to diſcover antient monuments by the ſmell, and ſtopp'd of himſelf immediately, when he came to any ruins of an old building. Fabretti was ſo well pleaſed with this name given to his horſe, that he made uſe of it to write a Letter to one of his friends in an ironical ſtrain, but full of learning, upon the ſtudy of Antiquity. This Letter was never printed (1).

(1) Dominico Riviera, *Vite degli Arcadi*, tom. 1.

[*B*] *His works.*] They are as follow: I. *De Aquis & Aquæ-ductibus veteris Romæ Diſſertationes tres.* Rome 1680 in 4to. There were in ancient Rome about twenty kinds of water, or rather rivulets, which were brought thither from diſtant places by means of aqueducts, and produced a great number of fountains. Theſe aqueducts were rank'd among the principal public ſtructures, on account not only of their uſefulneſs, but likewiſe their magnificence, and the ſtrength of their building. Fabretti's deſign in this work is to explain every thing which relates to theſe kinds of antiquity; and his Book may ſerve to give great light to Frontinus, who has treated of the Aqueducts of Rome as they were in his time, under the Emperor Trajan. Kuſter in his *Bibliotheca Librorum novorum* (2), publiſh'd under the name of *L. Neocorus*, tells us, that theſe *Diſſertations* of Fabretti contain a great many excellent obſervations, and a ſolid confutation of various miſtakes of learned men: *in quibus multa præclarè obſervantur, variique doctorum virorum errores ſolidè refelluntur.* They have been inſerted in the *fourth volume* of the *Theſaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum congeſtus à Joh. Georgio Grævio. Acceſſerunt variæ & accuratæ tabulæ æneæ:* printed at Utrecht 1697 in fol. II. *De Columna Trajana Syntagma. Acceſſerunt Explicatio veteris Tabellæ Anaglyphæ Homeri Iliadem, atque ex Steſichoro, Archino, & Leſche Ilii excidium continentis, & emiſſarii Lacus Fucini Deſcriptio.* Rome 1683 in fol. This Book contains ſeveral curious diſquiſitions concerning Antiquity. III. *Faſithei ad Gronovium Apologema, in ejuſque Titivilitia, ſive de Tito Livio ſomnia, Animadverſiones.* Naples 1686 in 4to. Our Author in this Book has diſguiſed himſelf under the name of *Faſitheus*, which is the Greek of his name *Raphael*, which in Hebrew is the ſame as ἴασις Θεοῦ, i. e. the *medicine of God* (3). This work is an anſwer to James Gronovius's *Reſponſio ad Cavillationes R. Fabretti*, printed at Leyden 1685 in 8vo. Fabretti had given occaſion to this diſpute by cenſuring in his Book *de Aquis & Aquæductibus* ſome corrections of Gronovius, and by that means drawn upon him an adverſary, who treated him without any ceremony in his anſwer. Fabretti replied to him in the ſame manner, tho' the point was of little importance, and turned only upon mere queſtions of Grammar. IV. *Inſcriptionum antiquarum, quæ in ædibus paternis*

(2) For April and May 1697, pag. 11. edit. *Trajecti ad Rhenum* 1697, in 12mo.

(3) Monſ. de la Monnoye, *Obſervat. ſur Baillet, Jugem. des Savans*, tom. 5. pag. 245. edit. Amſterd. 1725, in 4to.

prevent any interruption in these purſuits, he confined himſelf to a deſert part in the City of Rome; but foreigners did not fail to viſit him there, the greateſt part of whom contracted a friendſhip with him, which they afterwards preſerved by a correſpondence of Letters. Pope Innocent XII obliged him to quit his retirement, and made him Keeper of the Archives in the Caſtle of St. Angelo; a poſt, which is never given but to men of approved integrity, ſince he, who enjoys that place, is maſter of all the ſecrets of the Pope's temporal eſtate. All theſe different employments which he poſſeſſed, never interrupted his reſearches into Antiquity; and he collected enough to adorn his paternal houſe at Urbino, as well as that which he had built at Rome after the death of Pope Alexander VIII. Old age likewiſe and the infirmities incident to it could not divert him from his ſtudies, nor hinder him from labouring at the edition of his works, which he printed at his own houſe. He died January the 7th 1700, in the 80th year of his age. He had a lively genius, an eaſy conception, and an excellent memory; and having a ſtrong inclination for learning, he ſpared no pains to make himſelf a thorough maſter of it. His conſtitution was very weak in his youth; but it was confirmed afterwards, and from thirty years of age he enjoyed a perfect ſtate of health. He was a Member of the Academy of the *Aſſorditi* at Urbino, and the *Arcadi* at Rome (*a*).

(*a*) See his *Elogium* by Dominico Riviera *in Vite degli Arcadi*, tom. I.

paternis aſſervantur, Explicatio & Additamentum. Rome 1699 in fol. This work is divided into eight chapters. The *firſt* chapter treats *de Titulis & Columbariis.* For the better underſtanding of theſe terms, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the ancients, eſpecially thoſe of quality, had great monuments, which ſerved all thoſe, who were of the ſame family. Thoſe monuments or ſepulchres were divided into ſeveral niches like thoſe of a dove-houſe, whence the Latins took occaſion to call them *Columbaria.* In each nich were placed veſſels or urns, which contained the aſhes or bones of each particular perſon, whoſe name was written over them; and thoſe inſcriptions they called *Tituli.* Fabretti ſhews, that there never was any Decree among the Romans to burn the corps; and that ſince the time of the Dictator Sylla, who was the firſt whoſe body was burnt, the ancient practice of interring the dead was never totally diſuſed. The aſhes were put into veſſels which were called *Ollæ*; but before the aſhes were put into them, they were called *Virgines.* In this chapter our Author likewiſe proves, that the ancients by the words *Livia Auguſti* in their inſcriptions underſtood Auguſtus's wife, and not his daughter; and that all the Gladiators were not of a ſervile condition, but ſome of them of Equeſtrian Families. In the *ſecond* chapter he ſhews, that the name of *Genii* was ſometimes given to the *Dii Manes*, ſometimes to the ſouls of men, and ſometimes to thoſe middle powers, which were betwixt Gods and men. He proves alſo, that the city of Parma was antiently called *Julia Chryſopolis.* In the *third* chapter he obſerves, that the ancients in their inſcriptions put a point at the end of every word, but almoſt always at the end of every line, and ſometimes after each ſyllable. He inquires into the meaning of the word *Aſcia* in the ancient Inſcriptions, a term which, he ſays, he meets with ſcarce any where but in the Inſcriptions of the Gauls. In the *fourth* chapter he remarks, that the word *Alumnus* is never taken in an *active*, but in a *paſſive* ſenſe, in good Authors. In the *ſeventh* he obſerves, that the weights of the ancients were greater than thoſe of the moderns. In the *eighth* he affirms, that the veſſels of glaſs found near the tombs of the ancient Chriſtians were a ſign of their martyrdom; and that the red ſtains perceived upon them are ſome remains of the blood, which the faithful put into them. At the end of this Collection, he gives us an account of the corrections, which he had made in the Inſcriptions collected by Gruter, in two volumes; beſides an infinite number of other emendations ſcattered every where in this Book, upon divers Compilers of ancient Inſcriptions. Our Author had an admirable talent in decyphering the moſt difficult Inſcriptions, and diſcovered a method of making ſomething out of thoſe ancient Inſcriptions, which ſeemed entirely diſfigured, and the letters of which were effaced in ſuch a manner, as not to be diſcernible. He cleanſed the ſurface of the ſtone without touching thoſe places, where the letters had been engraved. He then laid upon it a piece of thick paper well moiſtened, and preſſed it with a ſpunge or wooden pin covered with linnen; by which means the paper enter'd into the cavity of the letters, and took up the duſt there, the traces of which diſcovered the letters, which had been formerly engraven there. Monſr. Baudelot (4) informs us of a ſecret very like this, in order to read upon medals thoſe letters, which are difficult to be decypher'd. V. *A Letter to the Abbé Nicaiſe*, containing an Inſcription remarkable for the elegance of its ſtyle, inſerted in the *Journal des Savans* of Decemb. 17th 1691. T.

(4) In his book *De l'Utilite des Voyages.*

FABRICIUS LUSCINUS (CAIUS) a Roman General, was as commendable for his honeſty and frugality [*A*] as for his courage, and gave remarkable proofs of all thoſe eminent qualities during the war with Pyrrhus. He was Conſul for the firſt time in the year 471 ſince the building of Rome, and gained (*a*) ſignal victories over the Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians [*B*]. He cauſed the ſiege of Thurium to be raiſed, and got ſo conſiderable a booty, that after he had given the ſoldiers a very large ſhare of it, and had

(*a*) Dion. Hal. *Excerpt. de Legat.*

[*A*] *He was commendable for his . . frugality.*] He refuſed not only Pyrrhus's preſents, but alſo thoſe of the Samnites. The fact deſerves to be related at length (1). The Embaſſadors they ſent him having expatiated on the ſervices he had done their nation ſince the peace, deſired him to accept a large ſum of money, which they were order'd to offer him; eſpecially ſince he wanted a great many things neceſſary for the ornament of his houſe and table, and had not the attendants which his dignity and merit required. Hereupon Fabricius extended his hands from his ears to his eyes, then over his noſe, his mouth, his breaſt and ſo down to the lower part of his belly, and ſaid to the Embaſſadors, *As long as I ſhall be able to command over all thoſe parts which I have touched, I ſhall want nothing. Since therefore I have not the leaſt occaſion for money, I will never accept it from them who I know do want it.* All the plate he had was a ſilver cup and ſalt-ſeller, nor would he ſuffer that the Generals ſhould have more. *Bellicoſos Imperatores plus quam pateram & ſalinum ex argento habere vetabat* (2). He lived upon herbs which he cultivated and gathered himſelf (3).

(1) Julius Higinus, *de vita rebuſque illuſtr. Virorum*, lib. 6. *apud* A. Gellium, lib. 1. cap. 14. *See alſo* Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 3.

(2) Plinius, lib. 33. cap. 12. *See alſo* Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

(3) Seneca, *de Provid.* cap. 3.

[*B*] *He gained ſignal victories over the Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians.*] Sigonius (4) would not have groped in the dark as he has done upon this Conſulſhip, nor would he have aſſerted that Fabricius triumphed over the Tuſcans and the Gauls, if he had known what I have quoted from Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. He ought not to have placed under Fabricius's ſecond Conſulſhip what Valerius Maximus relates concerning the raiſing of the ſiege of Thurium (5), a circumſtance in which the Romans pretended that their God Mars fought viſibly for them (6). Compare this with the St. George of our Cruſades or Holy-Wars. This ſiege was raiſed under Fabricius's firſt Conſulſhip (7). The Citizens of Thurium erected a monument to their deliverer (8).

(4) *Comment. in Faſt. ad ann.* 471.

(5) Valer. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. num. 6.

(6) Idem, ibid. Amm. Marcell. lib. 24. cap. 4.

(7) *Ex* Dionyſ. Halicarn.

(8) Plin. lib. 34. cap. 6. *ſub fin.*

had reſtored to the Citizens of Rome all that they had contributed towards the expence of the war, there were ſtill four hundred talents left, which were carried into the Exchequer the day of his triumph: he was the only perſon who kept nothing of thoſe rich ſpoils for himſelf. His Collegue in the Conſulſhip was Quintus Æmilius Papus, with whom he was again Conſul in the year 475 (*b*). But between theſe two Conſulſhips muſt be placed his Embaſſy to Pyrrhus [*C*]. He was ſent to that Prince with a commiſſion to treat concerning the ranſom of thoſe who had been made priſoners in the battle which the Conſul Lævinus loſt in the year 473. Pyrrhus being told that Fabricius was very poor offered him money (*c*), but Fabricius would not accept of it, though the King proteſted that he would not require of him any thing that was diſhoneſt, and had no other deſign than to give him a pledge of his friendſhip. Fabricius being once at that Prince's table, Cineas ſpeaking of the Epicureans ſaid, that they placed the *ſummum bonum* or higheſt happineſs in a voluptuous life, entirely free from all public buſineſs, and that they did not believe that the Gods minded the government of this world; whereupon Fabricius cried out, *Heaven grant that Pyrrhus and the Samnites take a great delight in this Philoſophy as long as they wage war againſt us* (*d*). This reflection was not one of the leaſt reaſons which gave Pyrrhus a very good opinion of the Romans. He was ſo well pleaſed with Fabricius's behaviour, that he offered him the firſt place in his Council and in his Armies, if he would go over to him after the peace ſhould be concluded (*e*). But this Roman anſwered with his wonted ſincerity, *It is not your intereſt to have me with you, for they, who at preſent honour and admire you, would chooſe rather to have me for their King, if they ſhould once know what I can do.* This diſcourſe, tho' not very obliging, yet did not ſeem to offend Pyrrhus, and did not prevent the good ſucceſs of Fabricius's embaſſy. During his Conſulſhip in the year 475 he ſhewed Pyrrhus a noble example of honeſty, for he let him know that his own Phyſician offered to poiſon him [*D*], if he was but ſure of a reward. We muſt place under this year the battle of Aſculum, which was the ſecond againſt Pyrrhus [*E*]. The moſt probable opinion is that the Romans loſt

(*b*) Cicero, *de Amicit.* cap. 11.

(*c*) Plut. *in Pyrrho.* Dion. Hal. *Excerpt. de Legat.*

(*d*) Plut. *in Pyrrho.* Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 3. *See alſo* Cicero, *de Senect.* cap. 12.

(*e*) Idem, Plut. *in Pyrrho.* Eutropius ſays, that Pyrrhus offered Fabricius the fourth part of his Kingdom.

[*C*] *Between theſe two Conſulſhips muſt be placed his Embaſſy to Pyrrhus.*] The Authors do not agree concerning the time of this embaſſy. Some pretend that Fabricius was ſent to Pyrrhus before Cineas came to Rome (9); others aſſert it was after Cineas was returned to his maſter. Plutarch is of this laſt opinion (10). However it is certain that Pyrrhus did nothing conſiderable in his ſecond campaign. The two firſt battles were fought the former during the firſt campaign, the latter during the third: the intermediate year was ſpent in negotiations for a peace. Now it was during this interval that Fabricius went to Pyrrhus, and that Cineas was ſent to the Romans. But whether of them ſet out firſt cannot be eaſily determined with any certainty. *Adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.* It is ſtill a matter of diſpute.

(9) *Vide* Sigonium *in Faſt. ad ann.* 473. *and* Eutropium, lib. 2.

(10) In *Pyrrho*, pag. 395.

[*D*] *He let Pyrrhus know, that his own Phyſician offered to poiſon him.*] This fact is attended with a thouſand difficulties in the Authors that mention it. Some ſay (11) that an unknown perſon brought Fabricius a letter from Pyrrhus's Phyſician, by which he promiſed, that he would poiſon his maſter, if they would abundantly reward him for it, and that Fabricius deteſting ſuch an offer wrote together with his collegue to Pyrrhus, and ſent him his Phyſician's letter. Plutarch tranſcribes the letter which the two Conſuls wrote, and gives us afterwards an account of the battle of Aſculum as being a fact which happened after the Phyſician's offer. Others (12) aſſert, that after Pyrrhus had gained the two firſt battles, one Timocharis came ſecretly to the Conſul Fabricius, and promiſed that if they could agree about a reward, he would poiſon Pyrrhus, which he could eaſily do, becauſe his ſons were the King's Cup-bearers. Fabricius wrote to the Senate about this: the Senate ſent Embaſſadors to Pyrrhus, who adviſed him in general words to beware of his ſervants, but were not to mention Timochares: They would have ſome regard for a man, who deſigned to do them a piece of ſervice; and they would alſo be juſt towards Pyrrhus. *Timocharis nomen ſuppreſſit, utroque modo æquitatem amplexus, qui nec hoſtem malo exemplo tollere, neque eum qui bene mereri paratus fuerat prodere voluit* (13). Others (14) maintain that the perſon, who came to meet Fabricius, was called Nicias, and that it was not the Senate but the Conſuls who ſent to Pyrrhus. They tranſcribe the Conſul's Letter word for word, but it is not the ſame we read in Plutarch. Some (15) ſay, that Pyrrhus's Phyſician was called Cineas, and that he wrote to the Senate, and that the Senate rejected his offer, and gave Pyrrhus notice of it. Others again (16) pretend, that Fabricius ſent back to Pyrrhus the deſerter who offered to poiſon him, and that the Senate approved the Conſul's action. According to ſome (17), Pyrrhus's Phyſician came himſelf to Fabricius, who ſent him back bound and fettered to his maſter. Florus (18) does not aſcribe this action to Fabricius but to Curius. *Medicum venale Regis Pyrrhi caput afferentem Curius remiſit.* i. e. "Curius ſent back to Pyrrhus his Phyſician, "who offered to ſell that Prince's life." In this Florus ſhewed himſelf a leſs ſkilful Judge than Pyrrhus, who by this action knew his Fabricius, and cried out that he alone and no other perſon could with more difficulty be put out of his cuſtomary path of virtue, than the ſun could be drawn from his uſual courſe (19). I do not wonder, that conſidering theſe different accounts of the ancients, their tranſcribers ſhould miſtake one thing for another. See Freinſhemius upon Florus; you will find that he entirely miſrepreſents what Aulus Gellius had borrowed from Valerius Antias and Quadrigarius. I ſhall make no reflections upon this great difference of accounts; I leave them to my readers: I ſhall only obſerve, that we ſhould not find facts related with ſo many incoherent circumſtances, if the Authors could be cured of the two following defects; the firſt is their truſting too much to their memory; the ſecond is their exceſſive boldneſs in giving the ancient examples they alledge, ſuch a turn as ſuits beſt with the ſubject they have in hand. As for the moral reflections upon the honeſty of the ancient Romans, which excels ſo much that of our age, they are ſo obvious to every reader, that I need not mention them. See Seneca's CXXth Epiſtle.

(11) Plut. *in Pyrrho*, pag. 396.

(12) Valerius Antias *apud* Gellium, lib. 3. cap. 8. *See alſo* Val. Maxim. lib. 6. cap. 5.

(13) Valerius Maximus, ibid.

(14) Quadrigarius, *apud* Gellium, lib. 3. cap. 8.

(15) Ælian. *Div. Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 33. It ſhould, it ſeems, be read, *Nicias*, inſtead of *Cineas*, as Andrew Schottus has obſerved, lib. 3. *Obſerv. Hiſt.* cap. 34. Schefferus, upon this paſſage of Ælian is miſtaken, when he ſays that Valerius Antias calls this Phyſician *Nicias*.

(16) Cic. *de Offic.* lib. 3. cap. 22.

(17) Eutropius, lib. 2. Aurel. Victor, *de Viris Illuſtr.*

(18) Lib. 1. cap. 18.

(19) Suidas, *in* Ἀποσυγχοῦντες, and in Φαβρίκιος. *See alſo* Eutropius, lib. 2. *and* Aurelius Victor, *de Viris Illuſtribus.*

[*E*] *The battle of Aſculum . . . was the ſecond againſt Pyrrhus.*] The Authors reckon generally but three battles between this Prince and the Romans, the two firſt of which were fought before his voyage into Sicily, and the third after his return into Italy. But they who have aſſerted that the Conſul P. Decius was killed in a battle againſt Pyrrhus (20) muſt either acknowledge that there were four battles fought (21), or they muſt deny that Pyrrhus fought with Fabricius: For it is certain that Decius's Conſulſhip happened before Fabricius was Conſul the ſecond time, and after Lævinus's Conſulſhip, during which the firſt battle was fought. Eutropius, who places the ſecond battle under Decius's Conſulſhip, ſays that Pyrrhus went the next year into Sicily, and that Fabricius made war only againſt the Samnites and the Lucanians, over whom he triumphed. Plutarch and Florus aſſert poſitively that the ſecond battle was fought between Pyrrhus and Fabricius. How can we truſt to the ancient Hiſtorians

(20) *Quod quidem ejus factum niſi eſſet jure laudatum non eſſet imitatus quarto ſuo conſulatu filius; neque porro ex eo natus cum Pyrrho bellum gerens Conſul cecidiſſet in prælio, ſeque è continenti genere tertiam victimam reipublicæ præbuiſſet.* Cic. lib. 2. *de Finib.* cap. 19.

(21) Father Labbe, *Chronol. Franc. and* La Faiole, *Hiſt. de la Répub. Rom.* admit four battles, but the former places that in which Decius was killed, before Fabricius's Conſulſhip, and the latter places it after it.

loſt it [*F*], but that it coſt the conqueror ſo many brave men, that he did no longer hope to gain any advantage by continuing the war, ſo that it happened very luckily for him that he was called to aſſiſt the Sicilians. Fabricius was Cenſor in the year 478, and had for his Collegue (*f*) the ſame Æmilius Papus with whom he had been twice Conſul. They gave an inſtance of great ſtrictneſs and ſeverity; for they (*g*) degraded a Senator called Cornelius Rufinus, who had been a Dictator, and twice a Conſul; and the only reaſon they had for doing it was, that they had found at his houſe ten pound weight of ſilver plate for the uſe of his table. Fabricius had hated this man a long while, and yet he laboured to make him obtain the Conſulſhip at a time when he thought that he was more capable than his competitors to acquit himſelf of that employment for the good of the Commonwealth; on which occaſion he ſaid a good thing which Tully relates [*G*]. Who would wonder that ſuch a man died ſo poor, that they were obliged to marry his daughter at the expence of the Public [*H*]? I read in no Author what Moreri relates, namely, that *the Senate was obliged to bear the charges of his funeral.* I only know that in order to honour his great virtues, they (*h*) broke in his behalf through the Law of the Twelve Tables, by which it was prohibited to bury any perſon in the City.

(*f*) Cicero, *de Amicitia*, cap. 11.

(*g*) Gellius, lib. 4. cap. 8. *and* lib. 18. cap. *ult.*

(*b*) Cicero, *de Legibus*, lib. 3.

Hiſtorians in things of little importance, ſince it cannot be known with any certainty in what years the moſt remarkable battles happened?

[*F*] . . *The moſt probable opinion is that the Romans loſt it.*] The ancients have alſo had their battles of Seneff; in which each party claimed the victory, and returned ſolemn thanks to God for it in the moſt pompous manner. See what has been obſerved upon this battle of Aſculum in the remark [*M*] of the article PYRRHUS. In ſome reſpects nothing is eaſier than for Providence to pleaſe all parties. Men do ſeldom own that fortune was favourable to their enemy in the war; they almoſt always publiſh that he was beaten, and has a thouſand reaſons to be vexed. If he happened to have ſome ſucceſs, they abuſe him for doing but little, and for not knowing how to improve the opportunity he had: they ſuppoſe that he had formed a thouſand great deſigns, and deſerves to be expoſed to public laughter ſince they all miſcarried. There are few perſons that want leſs than the News-Writers, to be encouraged to ſing and praiſe God's favours and bleſſings: Theſe Writers might be left out of a Canticle, that ſhould be written after the manner of that which the Hebrew boys ſung *. For they practiſe wonderfully well the commandment, *Rejoice evermore* (22).

* See that ſong in the *Apocrypha*.

(22) St. Paul's 1ſt Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, chap. 5. ver. 16.

[*G*] *He ſaid a good thing, which Tully relates.*] This P. Cornelius Rufinus was a brave and great Captain, but prodigiouſly covetous and rapacious (23). He petitioned for the Conſulſhip at a time when the Commonwealth was in danger. His competitors were men of no merit, and who did not underſtand the art of war. Fabricius, tho' he hated Rufinus, yet he made great intereſt for him: Men wondered at it, and aſked him the reaſon of his conduct. *It is*, ſaid he, *becauſe I chooſe rather to be plundered than to be ſold. Nihil eſt quod miremini, ſi malui compilari quam vænire* (24). Cicero pretends that Fabricius made this anſwer to Rufinus himſelf, who gave him thanks for his kind ſervices. *Nihil eſt quod mihi gratias agas, inquit, ſi malui compilari, quam vænire* (25). i. e. "You need "not return me thanks, ſaid he, if I choſe rather, &c."

(23) Aulus Gellius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

(24) Idem, ibid. *See alſo* Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 1. pag. m. 558.

(25) Cicero, lib. 2. *de Oratore*, cap. 67.

[*H*] *They were obliged to marry his daughter at the expence of the public.*] I ſhall quote two Authors. *Senatus Fabricii Luſcini Scipioniſque filias ab indotatis nuptiis liberalitate ſua vindicavit, quoniam paternæ hæreditati præter opimam gloriam nihil erat quod acceptum referrent* (26). "The Senate generouſly gave a portion "to the daughters of Fabricius Luſcinus and Scipio, "when they married; becauſe they had inherited "nothing from their father, but glory of their name." This is the firſt paſſage I promiſed to quote; the ſecond is taken from Apulejus. *Quod ſi modo judices de cauſa iſta ſederent C. Fabricius, Cor. Scipio, Manius Curius, quorum Filiæ ob paupertatem de publico dotibus donatæ ad maritos iverunt, portantes gloriam domeſticam pecuniam publicam* (27). i. e. "If C. Fabricius, Cn. "Scipio and Manius Curius were but judges in this "cauſe whoſe daughters becauſe they were poor receiv-"ed a portion from the Treaſury, and brought thus "to their huſbands with the money of the public the "glory of their own families."

(26) Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

(27) Apuleius, *Apolog.* 1. pag. m. 286.

FABRICIUS (VINCENT) a native of Hamburg in the ſeventeenth Century, was eminent for his wit and learning, and for the civil employments with which he was intruſted. He was a good Poet, an able Phyſician, a great Orator, and a learned Civilian. He gained the eſteem of all the learned men in Holland whilſt he ſtudied at Leyden, and they liked his Latin Poems ſo well, that they adviſed him to print them. He publiſhed them in the year 1632. This edition has been followed by ſome others [*A*]. He

[*A*] *The* firſt *Edition* of his Poems *has been followed by ſome others.*] I muſt not forget to obſerve that it was Daniel Heinſius, at whoſe houſe he lodged, who chiefly encouraged him to publiſh his Latin Poems. He was not much pleaſed with this firſt Edition; wherefore he publiſhed another with corrections and additions in the year 1638. He added it to a Satyr in proſe, which he dedicated to Salmaſius, and which is entitled *Pranſus paratus*. The Poets who ſpend their time in making anagrams, thoſe that write ſmutty verſes, and they who deſpiſe the Poets, are all ſoundly ridiculed in that piece. Obſerve that he wrote a Latin Poem, which a Phyſician of Geneva (1) inſerted into the ſecond part of his *Medecina ſeptentrionalis collatitia*. Here follows what the Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* ſaid, when he gave an account of that Phyſician's Book. "This is "perhaps leſs ſurprizing than the ſtory of a Dutch "maid-ſervant, who had been ſhut up in a garden, "when three large carbuncles or plague-ſores had been "obſerved upon her during the plague which raged in "the year 1636. She thought of nothing but her "long home, when a young man, who was in love "with her, gave her no other remedy but the moſt "tender embraces he was capable of; and as he per-"ceived that they were of ſome effect, he took care, "in order to adminiſter the remedy oftener, to go "and lie every night with this infected maid. She "recovered her health perfectly well, and as for him, he "did not get the leaſt diſtemper from her. This gave "Vincent Fabricius an opportunity to write a pretty "Poem in Latin, which he dedicated to Salmaſius, "and which was ſoon after printed at Hamburg. It "is inſerted at length in this work, page 210 (2)." This was as happy a ſubject as a Poet could wiſh to write upon, and La Fontaine could have made a very merry tale of it, which might have been intitled, *Love the Phyſician*. Let the diſciples of Hippocrates and Galen inquire into the natural cauſes of this little miracle. What a triumph of love do we not ſee here? If this paſſion gives wit to the moſt ſtupid, it alſo inſpires the moſt cowardly with courage and boldneſs: for in all likelihood this maid's lover would have run away like an hare had he met a footman infected with the plague: but becauſe he was in love with this maid, and had a favourable opportunity to ſatisfy his paſſion, he ventured to expoſe himſelf to the danger, laughed at it, and was happy enough to find, by his own experience,

(1) Theophilus Bonnet.

(2) *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, Fevrier 1687, pag. 176.

He was for ſome time Counſellor to the Biſhop of Lubec, and afterwards Syndic of the City of Dantzic. This City alſo honoured him with the dignity of Burgomaſter, and ſent him thirteen times Deputy into Poland. He died at Warſaw during the Diet of the Kingdom April the 11th 1667, aged fifty four years. A Collection of his works was publiſhed in the year 1685, by the care of his ſon Frederic Fabricius (*a*). See the Remark.

perience, that fortune aſſiſts the bold (3).

(3) *Audaces Fortuna juvat.*

The moſt complete edition of our Fabricius's Poems is that of Leipſic in the year 1685; for beſides the Poems printed in the firſt Edition, it contains ſeveral others, which had never been publiſhed. I add that it contains alſo ſeveral adoptive pieces, and the Orations which the Author made to the Kings of Poland, and that which he delivered at Leiden in the year 1032 *De Obſidione & Liberatione Urbis Leidenſis*, (of the Siege and Deliverance of the City of Leiden) and the Theſes of Phyſick which were the ſubject of his publick diſputation at Leyden in the year 1634, &c (4).

(4) Taken from the *Acta Eruditorum*, printed at Leipſic for June 1686, pag. 278, 279.

FAKREDDIN (*a*), Prince of the Druſes in Syria, *was expelled his dominions by the Turks, and took refuge at Malta, then at Florence, and afterwards at Rome, towards the year* 1620 (*b*). He pretended to be related to the Duke of Lorrain. "The deſire of "reigning made him return to Mount Libanus. He again gave jealouſy to the Turks, "who made war upon him. He was perſuaded to go to Conſtantinople to juſtify him- "ſelf, and he had there his head ſtruck off. Mir Ali, his ſon, ſucceeded him, and had "for his ſucceſſor Mir Ahmed bin Mahan, and it is the ſon of this laſt who reigns at "preſent (*c*)." Thoſe people *had formerly many Emirs, but Ibrahim Baſha of Cairo ſubdued them all in the year* 1584, *under Amurat III. Thirty or forty years after, Fakreddin made himſelf maſter of ſeveral Fortreſſes* (*d*). The *Mercure François* (*e*) ſpeaks of his arrival at Florence under the year 1613, and relates ſome circumſtances of it; but if we would know his Hiſtory more exactly, and without engaging ourſelves in tedious reading, we muſt reſort to a Work of Mr. de la Croix (*f*). We ſhall there ſee that this Prince, *whom the Arabs called ſimply* Eben Maan, *the ſon of Mana, took the name of* Feccred-din, which ſignifies the *flambeau* or *light of the Faith* *; that he ſet up for a Conqueror; that he oppreſſed the people whom he had conquered; that having continued five years in Italy, he returned to his native country in the year 1618 with vaſt deſigns; but that not being able to execute them, he was obliged to ſubmit to Sultan Amurat, who cauſed him to be ſtrangled in his preſence the 14th of March 1633.

(*a*) He is named *Fackraddin* in a paſſage which I have quoted above, in Remark [*B*] of the Article ECCHELLENSIS.

(*b*) *Journal des Savans*, of the 12th of March 1703, pag. 170. of the Paris Edition.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 174.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Pag. 243. of the 3d Volume.

(*f*) Intitled, *Etat preſent des Nations & Egliſes Greque, Armenienne, & Maronite, en Turquie.* i. e. "The preſent State of the Greek, Armenian, and Maronite Nations and Churches in Turky." See the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Chapters of the 3d Book. pag. 174, & *ſeq.* of the Dutch Edition, 1693.

* It properly ſignifies the *Boaſt* or *Glory of the* true *Religion*. ADD. REM.

☞FALKLAND (LUCIUS CARY), Lord Viſcount), ſon of Sir Henry Cary, Lord Viſcount Falkland in the Kingdom of Scotland [*A*], by Elizabeth, ſole daughter and heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer (*a*). He was born in the year 1610 [*B*]; and in 1622 went with his father, who was Lord Deputy of Ireland, to that Kingdom, and was educated at Trinity-College in Dublin. In the earlier part of his life he indulged himſelf in ſome youthful ſallies, but travelling under the care of a diſcreet Tutor, he ſoon returned to the greateſt ſtrictneſs and decency of manners (*b*). Before he came to the age of twenty years he was maſter of a noble fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without paſſing through his father or mother, who were then both alive (*c*); and ſhortly after he came to this fortune, and before he was of age, he went into the Low-countries, with a reſolution of procuring a command, and to give himſelf up to it, from which he was diverted by the compleat inactivity of that Summer, ſo that he returned to England, and ſhortly after entered upon a ſevere courſe of ſtudy (*d*). For this purpoſe he retired frequently to his ſeat at Great Tew, about ten miles from Oxford, and to that Univerſity, where he applied himſelf to the more ſolid parts of Learning, as he had done before with great ſucceſs to the ſtudy of Poetry and polite Literature [*C*]. About the time of his father's death, which happened in

(*a*) Lloyd's *State Worthies*, pag. 939. 2d edit. London 1670 in 8vo, *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 586. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*c*) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, begun in the year* 1641. *Written by Edward Earl of Clarendon*, vol. 2. Part 1. B. 7. pag. 351. edit. Oxon 1707, in 8vo.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. pag. 357.

[*A*] *Son of Sir Henry Cary, Lord Viſcount* Falkland *in the Kingdom of Scotland.*] This Sir *Henry* was ſon of Sir *Edward Cary* of Aldenham and Berchamſted in Hertfordſhire, Knight, Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe to Q. Elizabeth and K. James I, and deſcended from the family of the Carys in Devonſhire, and of the Beauforts Dukes of Somerſet. Sir Henry's Mother was Katherine, Daughter of Sir Henry Knevet Knight (1). He was born in Hertfordſhire, and at about ſixteen years of age was ſent to Exeter College in Oxford, and upon leaving the Univerſity was brought to Court, and made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Prince of Wales. He was appointed Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold in 1617, one of the Privy Council, and Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1622, and about the ſame time created Viſcount Falkland in the Kingdom of Scotland, being then in high eſteem with the King for his great abilities and experience in affairs of ſtate (2). The accident of breaking his leg in Theobald's Park proved fatal to him (3) in September or October 1633 (4), and not in 1620, as Mr. Lloyd affirms (5). He wrote ſeveral things, but not printed and is ſuppoſed to be the Author of *The Hiſtory of the moſt unfortunate Prince*, K. Edward II, *with choice political obſervations on him and his unhappy Favourites*, Gaveſton *and* Spencer; *containing ſeveral paſſages of thoſe times not found in other Hiſtorians*. London 1680 in 8vo. Mr. Wood obſerves (6), that this Book being found among the papers of the ſaid Henry Lord Viſcount Falkland, "was therefore publiſhed as his, when "the Preſs was open for all ſuch Books that could "make any thing againſt the then Government, with a "Preface to the Reader patched up from very inconſi- "derable Authors by Sir *Ja. H.* as is ſuppoſed."

(1) Lloyd's *State Worthies*, pag. 938. 2d edit. London 1670, *and* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 585. 2d edit. London 1721.

(2) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 585, 586.

(3) Lloyd, pag. 939.

(4) Wood, col. 586.

(5) Pag. 939.

(6) Col. 586.

[*B*] *He was born in the year* 1610.] Some are of opinion that he was born at Burford in Oxfordſhire; but this does not appear from the Regiſter of that place, which commences about the beginning of the reign of King James I (7). We have aſſerted that he was born in 1610 upon the authority of the Earl of Clarendon, who tells us (8) that he was in the thirty fourth year of his age, when he was killed September the 20th 1643.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, vol. 2. Part 1 B. 7. pag. 359.

[*C*] *As he had done before with great ſucceſs to the ſtudy of Poetry and polite Literature.*] His admirable taſte for Poetry gained him the admiration of all the

in 1633, he was appointed one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber (*e*). He continued his ſtudies with the utmoſt vigour [*D*], enjoying the converſation of the moſt eminent genius's and ſcholars of that age, who reſorted to his houſe at Great Tew [*E*], till the expedition againſt the Scots in 1639, in which, though he received ſome repulſe in the command of a Troop of Horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Eſſex (*f*). Mr. Cowley wrote a beautiful copy of verſes upon his going to that expedition [*F*]. In the beginning of the year 1640, he was choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons for Newport in the Iſle of Wight to ſerve in that Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter on the 13th of April the ſame year; and "from the debates which were there managed, *ſays the Earl of Clarendon* (*g*), with all "imaginable gravity and ſobriety, he contracted ſuch a reverence to Parliaments, that "he thought it really impoſſible they could ever produce miſchief or inconvenience to the "Kingdom, or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermiſſion of them. "And from the unhappy and unſeaſonable diſſolution of that Convention, he harboured, "it may be, ſome jealouſy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before "immoderately inclined, his father having waſted a full fortune there in thoſe offices "and employments, by which other men uſe to obtain a greater." He was choſen again for the ſame place in the Parliament which began November the third following; and exerted himſelf with great vigour againſt *thoſe exorbitances which had been moſt grievous to the State* (*h*), and declared himſelf warmly in oppoſition to the Court [*G*]. He made likewiſe a ſevere ſpeech againſt the Biſhops [*H*]. However, diſliking the exceſſes which

(*e*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Clarendon, pag. 357.

(*g*) Pag. 352, 353.

(*h*) Idem, pag. 353.

the beſt Poets of that age. Ben Johnſon has an Epigram on him in his *Underwoods*; and Mr. Waller (9) highly extols his wit. Sir John Suckling likewiſe has introduced him into his *Seſſion of the Poets* (10), where he writes of him:

But he was of late ſo gone with Divinity,
That he had almoſt forgot his Poetry;
Tho' to ſay the truth, (and Apollo *did know it,)*
He might have been both his Prieſt and his Poet.

(9) Poems, pag. 81. edit. 1668.

(10) *See* Suckling's *Fragmenta Aurea*, pag. 19. edit. London 1648, in 8vo.

Mr. Wood (11) and Dr. Hyde (12) aſcribe to him a Comedy called *The Marriage Night*, printed at London 1664 in 4to. But Mr. Gerard Langbaine (13) calls this Play a *Tragedy*, and aſſures it was written by Henry Lord Viſcount Falkland, ſon to our Lucius Lord Viſcount Falkland.

(11) Col. 588.

(12) *Catalog. impreſſor. Libror. Biblioth. Bodleianæ*, pag. 244.

(13) *Account of the Dramatic Poets*, pag. 197. edit. Oxon. 1691.

[*D*] *He continued his ſtudies with the utmoſt vigour.*] Having once reſolved not to ſee London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue; he went to his houſe in the country, and purſued it with ſuch indefatigable induſtry, that it will not be believed in how ſhort a time he was maſter of it, and accurately read all the Greek Hiſtorians (14). Before the year 1633 he had peruſed and read over all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and was indefatigable in looking over all Books, which with great expence he cauſed to be tranſmitted to him from all parts (15).

(14) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 351.

(15) *Idem*, Animadverſions upon a book, intitled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr.* Stillingfleet, and *Imputation refuted and retorted by S. C.* By a perſon of Honour, pag. 185. edit. London 1674.

[*E*] *Enjoying the converſation of the moſt eminent genius's and ſcholars of that age, who reſorted to his houſe at Great Tew.*] Among thoſe were Mr. Chillingworth, Mr. John Earle, and Mr. Hugh Creſſy of Merton College, George Aglionby of Chriſt Church, Charles Gataker of Pembroke College, (ſon of Thomas Gataker B. D.) who was afterwards his Chaplain, Mr. Thomas Triplet, afterwards Doctor of Divinity, and Prebendary of Weſtminſter, and Mr. George Sandys the Poet (16).

(16) Wood, col. 586, 587.

[*F*] *Mr. Cowley wrote a beautiful Copy of Verſes upon his going to that expedition.*] They were printed in the third Edition of his *Works* (17) under this title, *To the Lord* Falkland; *for his ſafe return from the Northern Expedition againſt the Scots.* Mr. Cowley begins thus:

(17) London 1672, in fol. pag. 4, 5.

"Great is thy charge, O North; be wiſe and juſt;
"England commits her *Falkland* to thy truſt:
"Return him ſafe: Learning would rather chooſe
"Her *Bodley*, or her *Vatican* to loſe.
"All things that are but writ or printed there,
"In his unbounded breaſt engraven are.
"There all the Sciences together meet;
"And every Art does all her kindred greet,
"Yet juſtle not, nor quarrel; but as well
"Agree, as in ſome common Principle."

[*G*] *Declared himſelf warmly in oppoſition to the Court.*] The Earl of Clarendon tells us (18), that he was ſo rigid an obſerver of eſtabliſhed laws and rules, that he could not endure the laſt breach or deviation from them; and thought no miſchief ſo intolerable as the preſumption of Miniſters of State to break poſitive rules for reaſons of State; or Judges to tranſgreſs known laws upon the title of conveniency or neceſſity, which made him ſo ſevere againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his natural gentleneſs and temper; inſomuch that they, who did not know his compoſition to be as free from revenge, as it was from pride, thought that the ſharpneſs to the former might proceed from the memory of ſome unkindneſſes, not without a mixture of injuſtice, from him towards his father. *But without doubt*, continues the Earl, *he was free from thoſe temptations; and in both caſes was only miſled by the authority of thoſe, who, he believed, underſtood the laws perfectly, of which himſelf was utterly ignorant. And if the aſſumption which was then ſcarce underſtood, had been true, that* an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the Kingdom was treaſon, *a ſtrict underſtanding might make reaſonable concluſions to ſatisfy his own judgment from the exorbitant parts of their ſeveral charges. The great opinion he had of the uprightneſs and integrity of thoſe perſons who appeared moſt active, eſpecially of Mr.* Hampden, *kept him longer from ſuſpecting any deſign againſt the peace of the Kingdom. And though he differed from them commonly in concluſions, he believed long their purpoſes were honeſt. When he grew better informed what was law, and diſcerned in them a deſire to controul that law by a vote of one or both Houſes, no man more oppoſed thoſe attempts, and gave the adverſe party more trouble by reaſon and argumentation; inſomuch as he was by degrees looked upon as an advocate for the court, to which he contributed ſo little, that he declined thoſe addreſſes, and even thoſe invitations, which he was obliged almoſt by civility to entertain.* He made ſeveral Speeches in the Parliament, which were afterwards printed; as I. *A Speech concerning Uniformity.* II. *A Speech concerning ill Counſellors*, both ſpoken in 1640. III. *A Speech about Ship-Money*, December the 5th 1640. IV. *A Speech concerning* John *Lord* Finch, *lately Lord Keeper, and the Judges.* V. *A Speech to the Lords of the Upper Houſe, after the reading of the Articles againſt* John *Lord* Finch, January the 14th 1640. VI. *A Speech concerning Epiſcopacy*, February the 9th, 1640; which we ſhall mention in the following Note.

(18) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, pag. 353.

[*H*] *He made likewiſe a ſevere ſpeech againſt the Biſhops.*] The Speech begins thus: *Mr. Speaker, he is a great ſtranger in Iſrael, who knows not, that this Kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppreſſions both in Religion and Liberty; and his acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity leſs, who doth not know and acknowledge, that a great, if not a principal cauſe of both theſe, hath been ſome Biſhops and their Adherents. Mr. Speaker, a little ſearch will ſerve to find them to have been the deſtruction of unity under the pretence of Uniformity; to have brought in ſuperſti-*

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which the Parliament ſeemed to be hurrying into, he went over to his Majeſty, and was made a Privy Counſellor and Secretary of State [*I*], conſtantly attending the King. From the breaking out of the civil wars his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded; but when there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and

tion and ſcandal under the titles of reverence and decency; to have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches; to have ſlackened the ſtrictneſs of that union, which was formerly between us, and thoſe of our Religion beyond the ſea, an action as unpolitic as ungodly. He proceeds with great ſeverity to repreſent the ill conduct and views of the Biſhops; " but I wiſh, *ſays he*, " that we may diſtinguiſh between thoſe, who have " been carried away with the ſtream, and thoſe, who " have been the ſtream, that carryed them; between " thoſe, whoſe proper and natural motion was towards " our ruin and deſtruction, and thoſe who have been " whirled about to it contrary to their natural motion, " by the force and ſwinge of ſuperior orbs. And " as I wiſh we may diſtinguiſh between the more and " leſs guilty, ſo I yet more wiſh we may diſtinguiſh " between the guilty and the innocent. Mr. Speaker, " I doubt not, if we conſider, that if not the firſt " planters, yet the firſt ſpreaders of Chriſtianity, and " the firſt and chief defenders of Chriſtianity againſt " Hereſies within, and Paganiſm without, both with " their ink and with their blood, and the main con- " ducers to the reſurrection of Chriſtianity, at leaſt " here, in the Reformation (and we owe the Light of " the Goſpel we now enjoy to the fire they then en- " dured for it) were all Biſhops. And that even now " in the greateſt perverſion of that order, there are " yet ſome, who have conduced in nothing to our late " innovations, but in their ſilence; ſome, who in an " unexpected and mighty place and power have ex- " preſſed an equal moderation and humility, being " neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of " the Croſier's ſtaff, or white ſtaff; ſome, who have " been learned oppoſers of Popery, and zealous oppo- " ſers of Arminianiſm; between whom and their in- " ferior Clergy in frequency of preaching hath been " no diſtinction; whoſe lives are untouched, not only " by guilt, but by malice, ſcarce to be equalled by " thoſe of any condition, or to be excelled in any Ca- " lendar. I doubt not, I ſay, but if we conſider this, " this conſideration will bring forth this concluſion, " that Biſhops may be good men; and let us give but " good men good rules, we ſhall have both good Gover- " nors and good Times. Mr. Speaker, I am content " to take away all thoſe things from them, which to " any conſiderable degree of probability may again beget " the like miſchiefs, if they be not taken away. If " their temporal titles, power, and employment ap- " pear likely to diſtract them from the care of, or " make them look down with contempt upon their " ſpiritual duty, and that the too great diſtance be- " tween them and thoſe they govern, will hinder the " free and fit recourſe of their inferiors to them, and " occaſion inſolence from them to their inferiors; let " that be conſidered and cared for. I am ſure, neither " their Lordſhips, their judging of Tythes, Wills, " and Marriages, no, nor their Voices in Parliaments " are *Jure divino*; and I am ſure, that theſe titles " and this power are not neceſſary to their authori- " ty, as appears by the little they have had with " us by them, and the much that others have had " without them. If their revenue ſhall appear likely to " produce the ſame effects (for it hath been antiently " obſerved that *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devora- " vit matrem*) let ſo much of that as was in all pro- " bability intended for an attendant upon their Tem- " poral Dignities, wait upon them out of doors. Let " us only take care to leave them ſuch proportions as " may ſerve in ſome good degree to the dignity of " Learning and the encouragement of Students; and " let us not invert that of Jeroboam; and as he made " the meaneſt of the people Prieſts, make the higheſt " of the Prieſts the meaneſt of the people." *If it be feared, that they will again employ ſome of our laws with a ſeverity beyond the intention of thoſe laws againſt ſome of the weaker brethren, that we may be ſure to take away that power, let us take away thoſe laws; and let no ceremonies, which any number counts unlawful, and no man counts neceſſary (againſt the rules of policy and St. Paul) be impoſed upon them. Let us conſider their part of the rule, they have hitherto gone by, that is, ſuch Canons of their own making as are not confirmed by Parliament, have been, or no doubt ſhortly will be by Parliament taken away; that the other part of the rule, (ſuch Canons as were received before the Reformation, and not contrary to any law,) is too doubtful to be a fit rule, exacting an exact knowledge of the Canon Law, of the Common Law, of the Statute Law, knowledges, which thoſe, who are thus to govern, have not, and it is ſcarce fit they ſhould have. Since therefore we are to make new rules, and ſhall no doubt make thoſe new rules ſtrict rules, and be infallibly certain of a Triennial Parliament to ſee thoſe rules obſerved as ſtrictly as they are made, and to encreaſe or change them upon all occaſions, we ſhall have no reaſon to fear any innovation from their tyranny, or to doubt any defect in the diſcharge of their duty. I am confident, they will not dare either to ordain, ſuſpend, ſilence, excommunicate, or deprive otherwiſe, than we would have them. And if this be believed, I am as confident, we ſhall not think it fit to aboliſh upon a few days debate an order, which hath laſted (as appears by ſtory) in moſt Churches theſe ſixteen hundred years, and in all from* Chriſt *to* Calvin; *or in an inſtant change the whole face of the Church, like the ſcene of a maſke.*

" Mr. Speaker, I do not believe them to be *Jure di- " vino*; nay I believe them not to be *Jure divino*; " but neither do I believe them to be *Injuria humana*. " I neither conſider them as neceſſary, nor as unlaw- " ful, but as convenient or inconvenient. But ſince all " great mutations in Government are dangerous, even " where what is introduced by ſuch mutation is ſuch " as would have been very profitable upon a primary " foundation; and ſince the greateſt danger of muta- " tion is, that all the dangers and inconveniences they " may bring are not to be foreſeen; and ſince no wiſe " man will undergo great danger but for great neceſſi- " ty; my opinion is, that we ſhould not root up this an- " cient tree as dead as it appears, till we have tried whe- " ther by this or the like lopping of the branches the " ſap, which was unable to feed the whole, may not " ſerve to make what is left both grow and flouriſh. " And certainly if we may at once take away both " the inconveniences of Biſhops, and the inconve- " nience of no Biſhops, that is of an almoſt univerſal " mutation; this courſe can only be oppoſed by thoſe, " who love mutation for mutation's ſake. Mr. Speaker, " to be ſhort, (as I have reaſon to be after having " been ſo long) this tryal may be ſuddenly made. Let " us commit as much of the *Miniſters Remonſtrance* as " we have read, that thoſe heads both of abuſes and " grievances which are there fully collected, may be " marſhalled and ordered for our debate. If upon " that debate it ſhall appear, that thoſe may be taken " away, and yet the order ſtand, we ſhall not ſo " commit the *London Petition* at all; for the cauſe of " it will be ended: if it ſhall appear, that the aboli- " tion of the one cannot be but by the deſtruction of " the other, then let us not commit the *London Petition*, " but let us grant it."

[*I*] *Made . . . Secretary of State.*] Two things he could never bring himſelf to, whilſt he continued in that office, that is, to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omiſſions in a moſt neceſſary part of his place. The one, employing of ſpies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean ſuch emiſſaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemies camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars, that ſuch an obſervation can comprehend; but thoſe, who by communication of guilt or diſſimulation of manners wind themſelves into ſuch truſts and ſecrets as enable them to make diſcoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a ſuſpicion that they might contain matter of dangerous conſequence. For the firſt, he would ſay, that " ſuch inſtruments muſt " be void of all ingenuity and common honeſty, before " they could be of uſe; and afterwards they could " never be fit to be credited; and that no ſingle pre-

and exceedingly ſollicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it. And ſitting among his friends, often, after a deep ſilence and frequent ſighs, would with a ſhrill and ſad accent, ingeminate the word *peace, peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and deſolation which the Kingdom did and muſt endure, took his ſleep from him, and would ſhortly break his heart (*i*). The morning before the battle at Newbury in Berkſhire, he called for a clean ſhirt, and being aſked the reaſon of it, anſwered, that *if he were ſlain in the battle, they ſhould not find his body in foul linnen.* His friends endeavouring to diſſuade him from going into the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer; he ſaid, that "he was weary of the times, and foreſaw much miſery to his own country, and "did believe he ſhould be out of it before night (*k*)." He put himſelf in the firſt rank of Lord Biron's regiment, and was killed by a muſquet ſhot in the lower part of his belly, in the thirty fourth year of his age (*l*), on the 20th of September 1643 (*m*). He wrote ſeveral pieces [*K*]. Whitelock tells us (*n*), "that his death was lamented "by all that knew or heard of him, being a Gentleman of great parts, ingenuity, and "honour,

(*i*) Idem, pag. 357, 358, 359.

(*k*) *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs. By Bulſtrode Whitelocke Eſq*; pag. 73, 74. edit. London 1732, in fol.

(*l*) Clarendon, pag. 359.

(*m*) Wood, col. 588.

(*n*) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 74.

"ſervation could be worth ſo general a wound and cor- "ruption of human ſociety, as the cheriſhing ſuch perſons "would carry with it," The laſt he thought "ſuch a "violation of the Law of Nature, that no qualification "by office could juſtify him in the treſpaſs." And though he was convinced by the neceſſity and iniquity of the time, that thoſe advantages of information were not to be declined, and were neceſſarily to be practiſed, he found means to put it off from himſelf, whilſt he confeſſed he needed excuſe and pardon for the omiſſion; ſo unwilling was he to reſign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office. In all other particulars he filled his place with great ſufficiency, being well verſed in Languages, to underſtand any that are uſed in buſineſs, and to make himſelf again underſtood (19).

(19) Clarendon, *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, pag. 355, 356.

[*K*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] Beſides his Poems he wrote *A Draught of a Speech concerning Epiſcopacy, found among the Lord Falkland's Papers ſince his Death, written with his own hand.* Oxon. 1644 in 4to, and *A Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome.* Oxford 1645 in 4to; and *A View of ſome Exceptions made againſt the* Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome. Oxford 1646 in 4to. Theſe two Tracts were reprinted at London 1651 in 4to with this title: *Sir* Lucius Cary, *late Lord Viſcount of* Falkland, *his Diſcourſe of Infallibility, with an* Anſwer *to it; and his Lordſhip's* Reply. *Never before publiſhed; together with Mr.* Walter Montague's *Letter concerning the changing his Religion. Anſwered by my Lord of* Falkland. This volume is dedicated by Dr. Thomas Triplet, afterwards Prebendary of Weſtminſter, to the Right Honourable *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, ſon of our Author. In the Epiſtle Dedicatory Dr. Triplet obſerves, that the Lady Falkland, widow of Lucius Lord Falkland, not long before her death (20), committed to him ſome excellent monuments of her deceaſed Lord's reaſon, wit, and induſtry, "in the ſearch of that, which he "would have as gladly found, as he hath rationally "rejected, an *infallible Judge* here on earth in all "our controverſies in point of Religion." He afterwards remarks, that in this Diſcourſe my Lord *Falkland excels his antagoniſt in civility as well as in reaſon, and ſhews that a Gentleman wrote with a Scholar's pen.* Mr. Wood tells us (21), that "before *Triplet's* Edition, another was put out by Anony- "mous, to which *J. P.* put a Preface, which is o- "mitted in that of *Triplet*." But in the Edition by Triplet mentioned above, which we have now before us, there is a *Preface to the Reader* ſigned *J. P.* (22); in which the Writer refers to Dr. Triplet's Dedication. Mr. *Walter Montague*'s Letter printed in this Edition is dated from Paris 21ſt of November 1635. His *Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome* begins with this remark, that "to him that doubteth "whether the Church of Rome hath any errors; "they anſwer, that ſhe hath none, for ſhe never can "have any. This being ſo much harder to believe "than the firſt, had need be proved by ſome certain "arguments, if they expect that the belief of this "one ſhould draw on whatſoever they pleaſe to pro- "poſe. Yet this is offered to be proved by, no better "ways than we offer to prove by that ſhe hath erred, "which are arguments from Scripture and ancient "Writers, all which they ſay are fallible, for nothing "is not ſo but the Church; which if it be the only "infallible determination, and that can never be be- "lieved upon its own authority, we can never infalli- "bly know that the Church is infallible; for theſe "other ways of proof may deceive both them and us, "and ſo neither ſide is bound to believe them. If "they ſay that an argument out of Scripture is ſuf- "ficient ground of divine Faith, why are they of- "fended with the Proteſtants for believing every part "of their Religion upon that ground, upon which "they build all theirs at once? And if following the "ſame rule with equal deſire of finding the truth by "it (having neither of thoſe qualities, which *Iſidorus "Peluſiota* ſaith are the cauſe of all hereſy, ἀνθαδίαν "καὶ πρόπτωσιν, *pride and prejudication*) why ſhould God "be more offended with the one than with the other, "tho' they chance to err?" The *Anſwer* to this *Diſcourſe of Infallibility* is ſaid to have been written by *G. Holland*, ſometime a Student in the Univerſity at Cambridge, but afterwards a Prieſt of the Church of Rome (23). Our Author likewiſe wrote *a Letter to Mr.* Fr. M. *an.* 1636, printed at the end of Mr. Charles Gataker's *Anſwer to five captious Queſtions propounded by a Factor for the Papacy, by parallel queſtions and poſitive reſolutions.* London 1673 in 4to. This *Factor for the Papacy* is the ſame *Fr. M.* to whom the Lord Falkland's Letter is addreſſed. Mr. Tho. Smith. B. D. Fellow of Chriſt-College in Cambridge in his *Advertiſement* prefixed to the Engliſh Tranſlation of Monſr. Daillé's *Treatiſe concerning the right Uſe of the Fathers* (24) informs us, that "the Tranſlation of this Tract "hath been often attempted, and oftner deſired by "many noble perſonages of this and other Nations; "among others by Sir *Lucius Cary*, late Lord Viſ- "count *Falkland*, who with his dear friend Mr. *Chil- "lingworth* made very much uſe of it in all their "writings againſt the Romaniſts. But the papers of "that learned Nobleman, wherein this Tranſlation "was half finiſht, were long ſince involved in the "common loſs. Thoſe few, which have eſcaped it "and the preſs, make a very honourable mention of "this Monſieur, whoſe acquaintance the ſaid Lord "was wont to ſay was worth a voyage to Paris." Mr. Smith immediately after mentions a Treatiſe of the ſame Nobleman, which was ſhortly to be publiſhed, wherein he had this paſſage concerning Cardinal *Perron: Him I can ſcarce ever* laudare *in one ſenſe, this is quote, but I muſt* laudare *in the other, that is praiſe, who hath helpt the Church to all the advantages, which wit, learning, induſtry, judgment and eloquence could add unto her.* But what this Treatiſe of our Author's was, and whether it was ever publiſh'd, we cannot yet learn. Sir Peter Pett, as we are informed in Biſhop *Barlow's Genuine Remains* (25), judging that it might tend to the public benefit of mankind, to have my Lord *Falkland*'s works publiſh'd together in one volume in folio, wrote a long Letter to Dr. Thomas Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, acquainting the Biſhop with his deſign, and that he intended to prefix to the Edition the Life of that Nobleman, from materials communicated to him in converſation by the Lord Chief Juſtice Vaughan, Mr. Robert Boyle, the Lady Ranelagh, Mr. Abraham Cowley, and Mr. Edmund Waller, who had all an intimate friendſhip and frequent converſation with his Lordſhip. Sir Peter Pett requeſted the Biſhop to furniſh him with ſome Memoirs relating to that Nobleman. The Biſhop in his Anſwer obſerved, that he had none of the Lord Falkland's writings, except what are publiſh'd; but that he had the honour to be acquainted with his Lordſhip at Oxford, when he

(20) She died in February 1646. Wood, col. 589.

(21) Col. 588.

(22) Probably *John Pearſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*.

(23) Wood, ibid.

(24) Printed at London 1651, in 4to.

(25) *The Genuine Remains of the learned Prelate Dr. Thomas Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of Lincoln. Publiſhed from his Lordſhip's original Papers*, pag. 324, & *ſeqq.* edit. London 1693.

" honour, courteous and juſt to all, and a paſſionate promoter of all endeavours of " peace betwixt the King and Parliament." The Earl of Clarendon has given an admirable character of him in his *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* (*o*), and in another work of his (*p*), where he ſtyles him *a Nobleman of moſt prodigious learning, of the moſt exemplary manners, and ſingular good nature, of the moſt unblemiſhed integrity, and the greateſt ornament of the nation, that any age hath produced.* Dr. Thomas Triplet likewiſe in his Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Lord Falkland's *Diſcourſe of Infallibility* &c. gives him the higheſt commendations [*L*]. While he lived, and eſpecially after his death, he was eſteemed by many to have been a Socinian [*M*]. His perſon was little and of no great ſtrength, and his eye black and lively (*q*). His body lies interred at Great Tew (*r*). By his Lady Letice [*N*], the daughter of Sir Richard Moriſon of Tooley Park in Leiceſterſhire, Knight, he had ſeveral children [*O*].

(o) B. 7. pag. 350, & ſeqq.

(p) Animadverſions upon a book intitled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refuted and retorted by S. C.* By a Perſon of Honour. London 1674 in 8vo, pag. 185.

(q) Wood, col. 588.

(r) Idem, ibid.

FALLOPIUS

he was Secretary of State, and knew his *natural and acquired parts to be exceeding great; and that he was a loyal ſubject and faithful ſervant to his Prince, and a true ſon of the Church of England.* The Biſhop likewiſe remarks, that when Mr. Chillingworth undertook the Defence of Dr. Potter's Book againſt the Jeſuits he was almoſt continually at Tew with my Lord, examining the reaſons of both parties *pro* and *con*, and their invalidity or conſequence, where Mr. Chillingworth had the benefit of my Lord's company and his good Library. " The benefit he had, *ſays the Biſhop* " (26), by my Lord's company was very great, as " Mr. *Chillingworth* would modeſtly and truly con- " feſs. But his Library, which was well furniſhed " with choice Books (I have ſeveral times been in it, " and ſeen them) ſuch as Mr. Chillingworth neither " had, nor ever heard of many of them, till my " Lord ſhewed him the Books and the paſſages " in them, which were ſignificant and pertinent to " the purpoſe. So that it is certain, that moſt of thoſe " antient authorities, which Mr. *Chillingworth* makes " uſe of, he owes, firſt to my Lord Falkland's learn- " ing, that he could give him ſo good directions, and " next to his civility and kindneſs, that he would " direct him."

(26) Ibid. pag. 329.

[*L*] *Dr.* Thomas Triplet *likewiſe . . . . gives him the higheſt commendations.*] He tells us, that my Lord Falkland's Religion was the more eminent, becauſe the more early, at that age, when young gallants think leaſt of it. That his natural parts were very great. " *Dixit ex tempore*, ſaith Pliny of Iſæus, *ſed tan-* " *quam diu ſcripſerit:* and I may truly, ſays " Dr. Triplet, apply it to him; his anſwers were " quick and ſuddain, but ſuch as might very well " ſeem to have been meditated. In ſhort, his abili- " ties were ſuch, as though he needed no ſupplies of " induſtry, yet his induſtry ſuch as though he had no " parts at all. . . . While others ſtudied the Heraldry " of horſes, of dogs, or at the beſt their own; he, " though not inferior to his neighbours in deſcent and " honour, knowing well how much more glorious it " is to be the firſt than the laſt of a noble family, " (blood without virtue making vice but more con- " ſpicuous) was ſo far from relying upon that emp- " ty title, that he ſeemed *ipſe ſuos genuiſſe parentes*, to " have begotten his anceſtors, and to have given them " a more illuſtrious life, than he received from them." Dr. Triplet then obſerves, that though there were as much true worth cloſely treaſured up in him, as well divided had been able to have ſet up an hundred pretenders; yet ſo much modeſty withal, that the hearing of any thing was more pleaſing to him, than one tittle of his own praiſe. This virtue was indeed in an high degree in him, and ſhewed itſelf upon all occaſions. If any thing though never ſo little unhandſomly had been ſpoken or done where he was, he was the greateſt ſufferer in the company, and much more out of countenance than he, that gave the offence. *And ſurely he that was ſo tender of another man's civility, may very juſtly be preſumed to have had a great regard to his own. And ſo he had indeed. For though his courage were as great as his wit and his learning, (and that is expreſſion high enough,) his valour ſo undaunted and dreadleſs, as his great fall witneſt,* ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Διὸς ὄμβρῳ καὶ χαλαζαίνῃ φόνῳ *in that fatal Hail, that made more orphans than his children; yet to do an ill or uncivil thing he was an arrant coward. Though he was of David's ſtature, of his courage too,* μορφὰν βραχὺς, ψυχὰν δὲ ἄκαμπτος· *; and in this moſt like him, afraid of nothing but to offend.* Dr. Triplet afterwards tells us, that his Lordſhip was eminent for the virtue of friendſhip: " If it be, *ſays he*, a kind of pleaſure to read diſ- " courſes of friends and friendſhip; what is it to en- " joy ſuch a friend, in whom really was, what excel- " lency either Hiſtory can record, or almoſt Poetry " fain? Nothing ſo hard in *Lucian's Toxaris*, that he " durſt not do; and nothing ſo handſome in all *Sene-* " *ca's* Laws of *Benefits*, that he knew not how to " do, and to out-do for his friend."

[*M*] *While he lived, and eſpecially after his death, he was eſteemed by many to have been a Socinian.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (27), who tells us, that he was ſaid to have been *ſtrengthned in that opinion by* Chillingworth; but *that all who knew him were fully poſſeſſed with opinions to the contrary.* The Earl of Clarendon having ſuggeſted (28), that Mr. Creſſy in his *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr.* Stillingfleet, had aſperſed the memory of my Lord Falkland with the character of a *Socinian*; Mr. Creſſy in his *Epiſtle Apologetical* (29) profeſſes that he never intended ſuch a thing.

(27) Col. 587.

(28) *Animadverſions upon a book intitled, Fanaticiſm &c.* pag. 184, 193.

(29) Pag. 81, 82, 83. edit. 1674.

[*N*] *His Lady* Letice.] She died about the 35th year of her age, and was interred by her deceaſed huſband in February 1646 (30). In 1648 there was publiſhed at London in 8vo a Book by Mr. John Duncan, a ſequeſter'd Divine, intitled, *The returns of ſpiritual comfort and grief in a devout ſoul. Repreſented (by intercourſe of Letters) to the right honourable the Lady* Letice *Viſcounteſs* Falkland, *in her life-time; and exemplified in the holy life and death of the ſaid honourable Lady &c.*

(30) Wood, col. 589.

[*O*] *He had ſeveral children.*] The eldeſt named *Lucius*, became a Nobleman of Chriſt Church in the latter end of the year 1646, being then a young man of great hopes, but died ſoon after at Paris (31). The next ſon was *Henry*, who had not the advantage of academical education, being in his younger years ſo wild and extravagant, that he ſold his father's incomparable Library for an horſe and a mare. But he afterwards reformed, and proved a man of excellent parts, and was elected one of the Knights for Oxfordſhire to ſerve in that Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter Jan. 27, 1658. Upon which occaſion ſome of the houſe oppoſing his admiſſion, and urging, *that he had not ſowed his wild-oats*; he replied, *If I have not, I may ſow them in the houſe, where there are geeſe enough to pick them up.* And when Sir F. N. told him, that he *was a little too wild for ſo grave a ſervice*; he replied, *Alas! I am too wild, and my father was ſo before me, and I am no baſtard, as &c* (32). He was afterwards elected Burgeſs for the City of Oxford in the Parliament, which began on the 25th of April 1660, and a Knight of the Shire for the ſame County in the Parliament, which began in May the year following. He was appointed by King Charles II Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordſhire. He died April 2d 1663, aged about 29 years, and was interred near his father and mother at Great Tew. By his Lady Rachel, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford of Blackbourton in Oxfordſhire Knt. he left a ſon, Anthony, Lord Viſcount Falkland, Treaſurer of the Navy during the reign of King James II, and ſworn one of the Privy Council to King William III on the 17th of March 1691, and appointed one of the five Commiſſioners of the Admiralty in 169$\frac{2}{3}$. He died the year following, being then Burgeſs for Bedwin in Wiltſhire (33).

(31) Idem, col. ibid.

(32) Lloyd's *State Worthies*, pag. 941, 942. *and* Langbaine, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 197.

(33) Wood, col. 589.

T.

☞FALLOPIUS or FALLOPIO (GABRIEL), one of the moſt celebrated Phyſicians and Anatomiſts of the ſixteenth Century, and famous for his diſcovery of the *Fallopian Tubes*, by which the *Ova* deſcend from the *Ovarium*, was born at Modena in the year 1523. Tomaſini and Ghilini are miſtaken in placing his birth higher. Andrew Marcolini, the ſcholar of Fallopius, publiſhed in 1564 a Treatiſe *De chermalibus Aquis atque Foſſilibus*, to which are prefixed ſeveral letters, by which it appears that this famous Phyſician died immaturely; which could not be, if he lived ſeventy three years, as Tomaſini and Ghilini, who has copied the former, pretend, by fixing his birth in 1490, and his death in 1563. He was deſcended of a noble family, and enjoyed a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution, with vaſt abilities of mind, which he cultivated by an intenſe application to his ſtudies in Philoſophy, Phyſic, Botany, and eſpecially Anatomy, in which he made ſome new diſcoveries. He travelled through the greateſt part of Europe, and penetrated by his labour into the moſt abſtruſe myſteries of nature. He practiſed Phyſic with prodigious ſucceſs, and gained the character of one of the ableſt Phyſicians of his age, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his writings [*A*]. He was made Profeſſor of Anatomy at Piſa in 1548, and at Padua in 1551. He died at Padua October the 9th 1562, aged thirty nine years (*a*). Dr. Freind (*b*) tells us, that he was *a great maſter in his Profeſſion*, and that he was a ſcholar of Braſſavolus, and read his Lectures upon the *Morbus Gallicus* about the year 1555, much later than Daniel le Clerc (*c*) places him; but that, "though "he treats of every branch of the diſeaſe very exactly, he ſays little or nothing but "what may be found in Maſſa (*d*)."

(*a*) *Vide* Caſtellani, *Vitæ medicorum*; Teiſſier, *Eloges des Savans*; *and* Merklin's *Lindenius renovatus.*

(*b*) *Hiſtory of Phyſic*, Part 2. pag. 374. 2d edit. London 1727.

(*c*) In his *Hiſtoire de la Medicine.*

(*d*) Nicholas Maſſa in his book *de Morbo Gallico.* Dr. Freind, pag. 373, ſays *that he wrote in* 1536, *about forty years after the firſt appearance of the Diſeaſe.*

[*A*] *Diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his writings.*] They are as follows: *Opera genuina omnia, tam practica, quàm theorica in tres tomos diſtributa.* Venice 1584 in fol. 1606 in fol. Francfort 1600 in fol. *cum Operum Appendice. Ibidem* 1606. The *firſt* volume contains, 1. *Inſtitutiones Anatomicæ.* This work was publiſhed under this title: *De humani Corporis Anatome Compendium.* Padua 1585 in 8vo. 2. *Obſervationes Anatomicæ*, printed ſeparately at Venice in 1562 in 8vo, Paris 1562 in 8vo. Helmſtad 1588 in 8vo. This laſt Edition is enlarged. 3. *Obſervationes de Venis.* 4. *De partibus ſimilaribus humani Corporis*, printed at Nuremberg 1575 in fol. 5. *De Medicamentis ſimplicibus*, printed ſeparately by Andrew Marcolini at Venice 1566 in 4to. 6. *De Materia medicinali in Librum primum Dioſcoridis.* 7. *De thermalibus Aquis Libri VII.* 8. *De Metallis atque Foſſilibus, Libri duo.* Theſe two laſt works were printed at firſt by Marcolini at Venice in 1564 in 4to. 9. *De Medicamentis purgantibus ſimplicibus.* 10. *Epiſtola ad Mercurialem de Aſparagis*, printed at Venice in 1566 with the Treatiſe *de Medicamentis purgantibus.* The *ſecond* volume contains, 1. *De Ulceribus & eorum Speciebus: De Morbo Gallico: De Ulceribus ſingularum Partium.* Theſe Treatiſes had been printed before at different times. 2. *De Vulneribus in genere & Specie.* 3. *Commentarius in Hippocratis Coi Librum de Vulneribus Capitis*; printed at Venice 1571 in 4to. 4. *De Cauteriis*; printed at Venice 1570 in 4to. The *third* volume contains, 1. *De Tumoribus præter Naturam*; printed at Venice 1563 in 4to. 2. *Expoſitio in Librum Galeni de Oſſibus*; printed at Venice 1570 in 4to. 3. *De luxatis & fractis Oſſibus.* 4. *Methodus conſultandi.* 5. *De Compoſitione Medicamentorum*; printed at Venice 1570 in 4to. His *Opuſcula*, printed at Padua 1566 contain the following pieces: 1. *De Morbo Gallico Liber.* This is the third Edition of that Treatiſe, which was printed firſt at Padua in 1564 in 4to, and afterwards at Venice in 1565 in 8vo. It was inſerted in a Collection of Works on the ſame ſubject, intitled, *Aphrodiſiacus, ſive de Lue Venereâ*, printed at firſt at Venice in 1616 in two volumes in fol. and afterwards at Leyden in 1728 in two volumes in fol. 2. *De Bubone peſtilenti Tractatus.* 3. *Quæſtio de Principio Venarum.* 4. *De Balſamo.* 5. *De Aſpalatho.* 6. *De Sandalis.* 7. *De Muſco.* 8. *De Moſcho.* 9. *De Ambrâ.* 10. *De Zibetto.* 11. *De Decoratione.* 12. *De Caloribus Tractatus, in quo agitur de Concoctione.* With theſe twelve Treatiſes of our Author we find in the ſame volume the two following: *Gulielmi Rondeletii tractatus de Fucis*; and *Petri Angeli Agathi Arcanorum Liber primus.* This laſt Writer publiſhed this Collection, which is in 4to, and has added Notes on ſeveral paſſages of Fallopius. H.

☞FALSTAF (Sir JOHN). See FASTOLF.

FANNIA, wife of Caius Titinius (*a*) a Citizen of Minturnæ, behaved very generouſly towards Marius, though ſhe was not very well pleaſed with the ſentence he paſſed in a cauſe in which ſhe was very nearly concerned. This woman had loſt her reputation by her diſſolute life; and yet Titinius married her; nay this was the very reaſon for which he married her; for he deſigned to divorce her in time, and not to return her dowry, for which purpoſe it was neceſſary that his wife were found guilty of adultery. He did not fail to perform his deſign as ſoon as he thought it convenient; but Fannia would defend herſelf, and went to law with him. Marius was the judge in this cauſe. As ſoon as he was acquainted with the whole matter, he called Titinius aſide, and adviſed him to return Fannia her dowry. But as he could not perſuade him to it, he gave his peremptory ſentence, by which Titinius was obliged to return the dowry [*A*], and Fannia was

(*a*) Plutarch, *in Mario*, pag. 427 E, calls him *Tinius.*

[*A*] *Marius gave his ſentence, by which Titinius was obliged to return her her dowry.*] Nothing was more juſt than to force him to it, ſince he was not ignorant of Fannia's diſſolute life when he married her. If he had married her for a woman of honour, and had ſincerely deſired that ſhe ſhould live honeſtly with him, it would have altered the caſe: but he was content to be her cuckold for ſome time in order to make himſelf maſter of her large eſtate (1): It was not juſt therefore that he ſhould ceaſe to be ſo, and yet enjoy the advantage of it. Nothing then was more reaſonable than Marius's ſentence. *Mulierem impudicitiæ ream ſeſtercio nummo, Titinium ſumma totius dotis damnavit, præfatus idcirco ſe hunc judicandi modum ſecutum, quod liqueret ſibi Titinium patrimonio Fanniæ inſidias ſtruentem impudicæ conjugium expetiſſe* (2). i. e. "The wo- "man, who was found guilty of diſſoluteneſs, he "condemned to pay a fine of four pence, and Titi- "nius he ſentenced to reſtore her whole dowry: ſay- "ing, that he paſſed this ſentence, becauſe it appeared "to him, that Titinius had laid a ſnare to invade "Fannia's eſtate by marrying her, tho' he knew ſhe "was a diſſolute woman." Plutarch hints that this was the reaſon of Marius's ſentence. Ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὴν Φαννίαν ἀκόλαστον γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοιαύτην εἰδότα λαβεῖν, καὶ συμβιῶσαι πολὺν χρόνον (3). i. e. "It appear- "ed that Fannia had been a diſſolute woman; and "that the man married her tho' he knew her to "be ſuch, and lived a great while with her."

(1) Τούτου διαστάσα τὴν φερνὴν ἀπήτει λαμπρὰν οὖσαν. i. e. "Having di- "vorced her he "would have "her dowry, "which was "conſiderable." Plut. *in Mario*, pag. 427, E.

(2) Valerius Maximus, lib. 8. cap. 2. num. 3.

(3) Plut. *in Mario*, pag. 427 E.

was declared well and duly convicted of diſſoluteneſs, and condemned to pay a fine of four pence (*b*). Some time after Marius was obliged to fly from Rome, and was declared an enemy to the Commonwealth. He hid himſelf a while in the Fens of Minturnæ, whence he was afterwards taken, and committed to the cuſtody of the Magiſtrates, who lodged him in Fannia's houſe, thinking that ſhe would reſent the diſgraceful ſentence which he had pronounced againſt her: but Fannia was ſenſible that ſhe had been juſtly dealt with [*B*], and took all poſſible care of the gueſt who had been ſent to her (*c*).

(*b*) Plutarch. ibid. Valerius Max. lib. 8. cap. 2. num. 3. ſays, that ſhe was condemned *ſeſtertio nummo.*

(*c*) Taken from Valerius Maximus, lib. 8. ch. 2. num. 3.

[*B*] *Fannia was ſenſible that ſhe had been juſtly dealt with.*] She knew in her conſcience that ſhe deſerved all the infamy with which Marius had loaded her, and conſequently that he deſerved all the eſteem we ought to have for an upright judge. She had recovered her eſtate by Marius's ſentence. This was a greater advantage for a woman of her character, than if Marius had declared in a full Court that ſhe was honeſt: this would not have retrieved the reputation ſhe had loſt by her lewdneſs. Her neighbours, and in general all her acquaintances would not have had a better opinion of her than they had before; ſo that Marius did her a more effectual ſervice by declaring her a proſtitute, and reſtoring her eſtate to her, than if he had pronounced her an honeſt woman, without cauſing her dowry to be returned to her. When a woman's diſſoluteneſs is publickly known, ſhe does not mind detraction any longer; but then ſhe deſires more than ever to have money, and to enjoy her own eſtate. Let us not wonder therefore, that Fannia behaved towards Marius as towards an upright judge. See Valerius Maximus, I quote his words in the margin (4). But alſo let us not doubt but that a great many perſons would have abuſed Marius, had they been in Fannia's caſe.

(4) *Fannia autem hæc eſt, quæ poſtea Marium, hoſtem à ſenatu judicatum, cœnoque paludis, qua extractus erat, oblitum, etiam in domum ſuam cuſtodiendum Minturnis deductum, ope quantacunque potuit, adjuvit: memor, quòd impudica judicata eſſet, ſuis moribus; quod dotum ſervaſſet, illius religioni acceptum ferri debere.* Val. Maxim. lib. 8. cap. 2. num. 3.

FANNIA, an illuſtrious Roman Lady, the worthy daughter of the celebrated Petus Thraſea, and the worthy grand-daughter of Arria, had ſuch a generous ſoul, and was ſo eminently virtuous, that ſhe might be not only an example for other women, but alſo a pattern of courage and conſtancy to men. She twice attended her huſband Helvidius into baniſhment, and was herſelf afterwards baniſhed for his ſake, that is, becauſe ſhe had deſired Senecio to write Helvidius's life, and had furniſhed him with materials for it. She confeſſed it boldly before the judges [*A*], and only denied that her mother was privy to it (*a*). This happened under the Emperor Domitian. This greatneſs of ſoul was attended in her with ſuch a ſweet and agreeable temper, that ſhe was as much beloved as ſhe was reſpected (*b*).

(*a*) Taken from Pliny the Younger, Epiſt. 19. lib. 7.

(*b Eadem quam jucunda, quam comis, quam denique (quod paucis datum eſt) non minus amabilis, quam veneranda.* Plin. Epiſt. 19. lib. 7.

[*A*] *She had furniſhed materials for the Life of Helvidius, and confeſſed it boldly before the Judges.*] Metius Carus a noted informer accuſed Senecio with having wrote the Life of Helvidius. Senecio ſaid in his defence that he could not refuſe this ſmall favour to Fannia's entreaties. Fannia being aſked in a threatning manner whether Senecio ſpoke the truth, anſwered, that he did. But it will be better to hear Pliny himſelf. *Bis maritum ſecuta in exilium eſt, tertio ipſa propter maritum relegata. Nam cum Senecio reus eſſet quod de vita Helvedii libros compoſuiſſet, rogatumque ſe à Fannia in defenſione dixiſſet, quærente minaciter Metio Caro, an rogaſſet, reſpondit; Rogavi; an commentarios ſcripturo dediſſet; Dedi; an ſciente matre; Neſciente: Poſtremo nullam vocem, cedentem periculo, emiſit. Quin etiam illos ipſos libros, quamquam ex neceſſitate & metu temporum abolitos, SC. publicatis bonis, ſervavit, habuit, tulit que in exilium, exilii cauſam* (1) (The ſenſe of part of this paſſage has been given above; the reſt ſignifies;) "The danger ſhe was in did not draw the leaſt "complaint from her. Nay, her eſtate having been "forfeited by a Decree of the Senate, ſhe took with "her in her baniſhment thoſe very Books, which "were the occaſion of it, though afterwards they "have been deſtroyed, becauſe it was dangerous to "keep them." If on the one hand it raiſes our indignation to ſee the baſe flatteries of a vaſt number of Romans, who would get preferments under the firſt Emperors, we are on the other hand ſtruck with admiration when we ſee a conſiderable number of generous perſons, who kept up the Roman dignity amidſt the public depravation. The Author, whom I have quoted, cannot ſufficiently commend Fannia. He tells us a circumſtance, with which the curious will not be diſpleaſed; it is, that the Prieſts appointed ſome Ladies to take care of the Veſtal Virgins, who by ſickneſs were obliged to leave their Convent. Fannia took ſo much care of one of theſe Virgins, that ſhe fell ſick herſelf. *Angit me Fanniæ valetudo. Contraxit hanc dum aſſidet Juniæ virgini Veſtali, ſponte primum, (eſt enim affinis) deinde etiam ex auctoritate Pontificum. Nam Virgines, cum vi morbi atrio Veſtæ coguntur excedere, matronarum curæ cuſtodiæque mandantur. Quo munere Fannia dum ſedulo fungitur, hoc diſcrimine implicata eſt* (4). i. e. "I am grieved at Fannia's ſickneſs: ſhe got it whilſt "ſhe took care of Junia a Veſtal Virgin; ſhe did it firſt "of her own accord (for ſhe is related to her) and afterwards by the order of the Prieſts. For when "theſe virgins are obliged by ſickneſs to retire out of "the Temple of Veſta, they are committed to the "care of ſome matrons. Whilſt Fannia acquitted "herſelf carefully of this taſk, ſhe fell ſick."

(1) Plin. Epiſt. 19. lib. 7.

(2) Plin. Epiſt. 19. lib. 7.

FANNIUS a Roman Family. We ſhall mention ſome perſons who were of that family; nor ſhall we omit Moreri's blunders [*A*].

FANNIUS

[*A*] *Nor ſhall we omit Moreri's blunders.*] I. He places Caius Fannius's Quæſtorſhip under the Conſuls *C. Calpurnius* (1) *Piſo* and *M. Popilius Lænas*, and under the year 611 ſince the building of Rome. There are two blunders here; for Fannius was Quæſtor in the year 614; and that Conſulſhip muſt not be placed under the year 611 but under the year 614 of Rome. II, Fannius Strabo had not been twice Conſul, but once only: the Conſulſhip of the year 632, which Moreri aſcribes to him, belongs to Caius Fannius his ſon. III. Theſe words, *this Fannius*, who was Conſul in the year 632, *was perhaps the ſon of the former*, are abſurd. For who would not underſtand them thus; *He was perhaps the ſon of the firſt Fannius, whom I Moreri have mentioned?* Now this firſt Fannius is the Annaliſt, who far from being Fannius Strabo's father, was his nephew. If, in order to excuſe Moreri, it be ſuppoſed that his firſt Fannius is Fannius Strabo, he will lie open to three exceptions; the firſt, that he expreſſed himſelf in the moſt wretched manner; the ſecond, that he aſſerted a thing of which a few lines lower he muſt have doubted; the third, that he was ignorant of a notorious fact. There is no reaſon to doubt, but Domitius Ænobarbus's collegue in the Conſulſhip in the year 1632 was the ſon of him who was Conſul in the year 592 (2). Let us proceed to other blunders. IV. Fannius Pliny the younger's friend did not write *a Hiſtory which was loſt:* It was loſt indeed in time with an infinite number of other Books; but it is moſt probable that it was extant for a long while. However it is not true that Pliny mentions the loſs of this Hiſtory. Moreri, who aſſerts it, ſhews by this that he did not underſtand Voſſius's Latin. He had ſeen, that Voſſius, after having quoted Pliny's words, who laments (3) the

(1) He ſhould have ſaid *Cn. Calpurnius.*

(2) I follow Sigonius; Moreri ſays 593.

(3) *Quod me recordantem miſeratio ſubit quantum vigiliarum quantum laboris exhauſerit fruſtra.* Plinius, Epiſt. 5. lib. 5.

FANNIUS STRABO (CAIUS) was Conſul at Rome with Valerius Meſſala in the year 592 from the building of Rome. This Conſulſhip was remarkable upon two accounts: firſt, by the regulation which the Senate made concerning the money ſpent in entertainments; ſecondly by a decree of the Senate by which the Prætor (*a*) was empowered to drive the Rhetoricians and Philoſophers from Rome [*A*]. The Romans were not ſatisfied with the Senate's regulation concerning the expence of entertainments, but they made a Law upon this ſubject, which from the Conſul Fannius's name was called *Lex Fannia* [*B*]. We ſhall mention in another plea (*b*) the extravagancies which occaſioned this

(*a*) His name was *Marcus Pomponius.*

(*b*) In the Remark [*B*] of the Article TITIUS (CAIUS).

the death of Fannius, by which the preparations he had made for a large work had all been loſt, adds the following ſad reflection (4): *Ita profecto eſt, nam ut alibi de alio loquitur Plinius* (5) omnia illa cum ipſo ſine fructu poſteritatis obierunt. i. e. "Thus it is, indeed; "for as Pliny ſays of another in another place, *all "theſe writings periſhed with him without any advan- "tage to poſterity.*" Moreri did not underſtand, that this paſſage of Pliny does not relate to Fannius's works, but to thoſe of another man, as Voſſius expreſly obſerves it. It is true Voſſius makes uſe of Pliny's words to repreſent the condition to which this Fannius's works were reduced in time. But this is one of the leaſt privileges of the method of applications: the ſame words, which would expreſs a downright falſity in the Book of the firſt Author, are very true when they are applied a thouſand years after to other ſubjects. Moreri was ſo well perſuaded, that Pliny ſpoke of his Fannius in the ninth Letter of the firſt Book, that he has quoted it at the end of the article. V. He ought not to have ſaid, that Fannius's Poems were placed with his picture in the Temple of Apollo and the Muſes, and in a public Library. This is more than hyperbolical; it is not exaggerating an object, it is giving a quite different notion of it: for it is almoſt ſaying, that Fannius's picture became an idol, and the object of people's devotion in the Temple of the falſe Gods. How far is this from truth! for the utmoſt that could be ſaid was, that this man's Poems and picture were lodged in Auguſtus's Library. I own that this Library was placed in Apollo's Temple (6), but this muſt be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe as when we ſay, that there is a fine Library in the Cathedral Church of ſuch a place; and it is as abſurd to miſtake the two following phraſes for each other, *to put up a picture in a Cathedral Church*, and *to put a picture in the Library of a Cathedral Church*, as it is to take in the ſame ſenſe theſe two phraſes; *to place a Poet's picture in Apollo's Temple*, and *to place a Poet's picture in the Library of Apollo's Temple.* Let us confeſs therefore that Voſſius did not expreſs himſelf accurately when he mentioned Fannius (7); his careleſsneſs miſled Moreri; but the latter ought at leaſt to have taken notice of the disjunctive particle *aliamve* (or in another): If he had obſerved it, he would not have ſaid that Fannius's Poems *were placed with his picture in the Temple of Apollo and the Muſes, and in a public Library.* The copulative particle *and* inſtead of the disjunctive *or*, and the omiſſion of *aliam*, are here a prodigious blunder: for it does not only multiply things without any neceſſity, but it alſo hints, that the honour done to Fannius when his picture was placed in a public Library, was of another kind than that he received, when his image was put up in the Temple of Apollo. And if it was of another kind, what could it be but a ſort of a conſecration, and idolatry? It cannot be ſaid in Moreri's defence that by the Temple of Apollo he underſtood the Library of that Temple; the particle *and* which he made uſe of deprives him of that excuſe. Was not this Library a public one?

(4) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 161.

(5) Lib. 5. Epiſt. 9.

(6) Suet. *in Auguſto*, cap. 29.

(7) *Cujus poëmata in ædem Apollinis & Muſarum aliamve Bibliothecam publicam cum imagine fuerunt delata.* Voſſ. *de Poët. Latin.* pag. 34. i. e. "Whoſe Poems "were placed "with his pic- "ture in the "Temple of "Apollo and "the Muſes, or "in another "public Library.

[*A*] *To drive the Rhetoricians and Philoſophers from Rome.*] Suetonius (1) and Aulus Gellius acquaint us with this: Here follow the words of the latter. *C. Fannio Strabone, M. Valerio Meſſala* Coss. *Senatus-conſultum de Philoſophis & Rhetoribus Latinis factum eſt. M. Pomponius Prætor Senatum conſuluit. Quod verba facta ſunt de Philoſophis & Rhetoribus, de ea re ita cenſuerunt: Uti M. Pomponius Prætor animadverteret coëaretque, uti ei è Republica ſideque ſua videretur, uti Romæ ne eſſent* (2). i. e. "Under the Conſuls C. "Fannius Strabo and M. Valerius Meſſala the Senate "made a Decree concerning the Philoſophers and the "Rhetoricians. M. Pomponius the Prætor conſulted "the Senate. The affair concerning the Philoſophers "and the Rhetoricians having been brought before the "Senate, they have ordered, that M. Pomponius the "Prætor ſhould take care, as it ſhould appear to him "to be his duty and the advantage of the Common- "wealth, that they ſhould not continue at Rome."

(1) Suet. *De claris Rhetorib.* cap. 1.

(2) Aul. Gell. lib. 15. cap. 11.

[*B*] *They made a law . . . . which . . . was called* Lex Fannia.] Aulus Gellius ſpeaks diſtinctly of this law, and of the *Senatus-conſultum* or Senate's Decree, as of two things which came the one after the other. The *Senatus-conſultum* was made firſt, and afterwards the Law. *Legi adhuc nuper in Capitonis Atei conjectaneis Senatus decretum vetus C. Fannio & M. Valerio Meſſala* Coss. *factum; in quo jubentur Principes civitatis qui ludis Megalenſibus antiquo ritu mutitarent, id eſt, mutua inter ſe convivia agitarent, jurare apud Conſules verbis conceptis, non amplius in ſingulas cœnas ſumptus eſſe facturos, quam centenos vicenoſque æris, præter olus & far & vinum; neque vino alienigena, ſed patrio, uſuros; neque argenti in convivio plus pondo, quam libras centum illaturos. Sed poſt id Senatus conſultum Lex Fannia lata eſt, quæ ludis Romanis, item ludis plebejis & ſaturnalibus & aliis quibuſdam diebus, in ſingulos dies centenos æris inſumi conceſſit, decemque aliis diebus in ſingulis menſibus tricenos; cæteris autem omnibus diebus denos* (3). i. e. "I have read but lately in Capito Ateus's "Collections an old Decree of the Senate made un- "der the Conſuls C. Fannius and M. Valerius Meſ- "ſala, in which it is ordered, that the chief perſons "of the Commonwealth, who during the feſtivals of "the Goddeſs Cybele ſhould treat one another accord- "ing to the ancient cuſtom, ſhould ſwear before the "Conſuls after a certain form, that they would not "ſpend for every entertainment above ſeven ſhillings "and ſix pence *, beſides herbs, bread and wine; "and that they ſhould not make uſe of any foreign "wine, but only of that of their own country; and "that they ſhould not uſe at table above an hundred "pound weight in ſilver plate. But after this De- "cree of the Senate the Fannian Law was paſſed, by "which it was permitted to ſpend every day about "ſix ſhillings and three pence in every entertainment "during the Roman Games, the Plebeian Games, "and the *Saturnalia* or Feſtivals of Saturnus, and in "ſome other days: and ten other days in every month "it was permitted to ſpend in an entertainment (about) "two ſhillings; and every day beſides but ſeven pence "half penny." This was a wonderful frugality: it was confining men extremely: where are now a days the rich Nations that would ſubmit to ſuch a yoke? But waving all reflections upon men's morals, let us apply ourſelves to another kind of criticiſm, and examine under which Fannius the Fannian law was made; for there are ſome, who think it was not made under the perſon whom Aulus Gellius mentions.

(3) Idem, lib. 2. cap. 24.

* This we take to be very near the value of the Roman money mentioned in the original.

Glandorpius (4) obſerving how Aulus Gellius diſtinguiſhes the *Senatus-conſultum* from the Law, thinks that the Law was made a great while after the Senate's Decree; that is to ſay, under the Conſulſhip of Caïus Fannius, the ſon of our Caïus Fannius Strabo, in the year 632 ſince the building of Rome. But this opinion cannot be reconciled with what we read in Pliny, that the Fannian Law was made eleven years before the third Punic War. I ſhall quote the paſſage at length, becauſe it contains ſome curious particulars. The Reader will find in it, that the inhabitants of Delos were the firſt that fattened hens, whence it ſoon happened that men would not eat any poultry, but what had been fattened. In order to put a ſtop to this luxury, it was ordered by the Fannian Law that no poultry whatſoever ſhould be ſerved on the table except hens, that had not been fattened. But men found means ſoon after to evade this Law, for it was pretended that it did not prohibit to eat chickens that had been fattened. *Gallinas ſaginare Deliaci cœpere; unde peſtis exorta opimas aves & ſuopte corpore unctas devorandi. Hoc primum antiquis cœnarum interdictis exceptum invenio*

(4) Gland. *Onomaſtic.* pag. 333.

this Law. I do not find any thing remarkable concerning MARIUS FANNIUS, the brother of him who is the ſubject of this Article. Each of them left a ſon both named Caius, as will appear by the two following Articles.

jam lege C. Fannii, Coſſ. XI annis ante tertium Punicum bellum, ne quid volucre poneretur præter unam gallinam, quæ non eſſet altilis: quod deinde caput tranſlatum per omnes leges ambulavit. Inventumque diverticulum eſt, in fraude earum gallinaceos quoque paſcendi lacte madidis cibis: multo ita gratiores approbantur (5). Macrobius would furniſh us with very good arguments againſt Glandorpius, if his accounts were not ſomewhat intricate. He quotes one after another the Laws of the ancient Romans againſt Table-expences, and mentions them in the following order. The firſt Law was made at the requeſt of C. Orchias a Tribune of the people; the ſecond, which was the *Lex Fannia* was made twenty two years after the firſt (6). Now the firſt was paſſed three years before Cato obtained the Cenſorſhip; ſo that the Fannian Law muſt have been made nineteen years after Cato obtained that employment. But he was created Cenſor in the year of Rome 569, and therefore the Fannian Law was made in the year 588. This conſequence, which is rightly drawn from Macrobius's words compared with the *Faſti Conſulares*, does alſo agree with his very expreſſions. *Poſt annum viceſimum ſecundum Legis Orchiæ Fannia Lex lata eſt anno poſt Romam conditam, ſecundum Gellii opinionem, quingenteſimo octogeſimo octavo* (7). But the difficulty is, that he ſays the Fannian Law was made in the year 588 ſince the building of Rome *according to Aulus Gellius's opinion*. Conſult Aulus Gellius as much as you pleaſe, you will never find in his work this point of Chronology; you will only find, that after the Decree made by the Senate when C. Fannius and Valerius Meſſala were Conſuls, that after this Decree, I ſay, the Fannian Law was made. Macrobius could not ſay, that according to Aulus Gellius's opinion this Law was made in the year 588, unleſs he ſuppoſed, that Aulus Gellius aſſerts the Fannian Law was made under the Conſuls Fannius and Meſſala, and that they were Conſuls in the year 588. But it is certain that Aulus Gellius aſſerts neither of theſe facts, and that he expreſſes himſelf rather as a perſon who rejected the former, than as one who would admit it. POST *id Senatusconſultum Lex Fannia lata eſt* (8). i. e. "This Law "was made AFTER this Decree of the Senate." I know very well that it cannot be concluded from this "Latin paſſage, that the Decree of the Senate and "the Law were not made the ſame year; which is what I object againſt Glandorpius's argument: a year is long enough for the Senate to make a Decree, and afterwards for the people to confirm, amend or extend the Senate's Decree by an authentick Law: Aulus Gellius might therefore expreſs himſelf as he has done, tho' it had been certain that the Decree and the Law were paſſed the ſame year. But it is alſo true that his words offer another ſenſe; and that Macrobius therefore offended againſt the rules of accuracy, if he pretended that Aulus Gellius placed the Law and the Senate's Decree under the ſame Conſulſhip. Macrobius is ſtill more to be blamed with regard to the other circumſtance; for Aulus Gellius would have committed a very groſs blunder, had he placed the Conſulſhip of Fannius and Meſſala under the year 588. This confuſed and unaccurate account of Macrobius prevents us from making uſe of his authority to ground any thing certain upon it, with regard to Chronology. Here follows ſomething more confuſed, which will ſuffer us ſtill leſs to depend upon this Author.

According to his ſuppoſition it is very certain that the Fannian Law was made in the year 588 ſince the building of Rome: for he puts an interval of twenty two years between this Law, and that which was called *Lex Orchia*; and he aſſerts that the latter was made three years before Cato was Cenſor. Now the Cenſorſhip was conferred upon him in the year of Rome 569 (9). The Orchian Law was then paſſed in the year 566; add twenty two years to this number, and you will find the year 588 ſince the building of Rome. It is not therefore neceſſary to make any corruction in Macrobius's words (10). If they are not right, it is the fault of the Author and not of the Tranſcribers. F. Hardouin ſuppoſing that they have altered the numbers in the text of Macrobius, propoſes a very probable manner in which the text might have been corrupted. *Hinc Macrobium emendamus, lib. 2. Saturn. cap. 13. pag. 367. apud quem corruptus annorum numerus legitur.* Fannia lex, *inquit*, lata eſt anno poſt Romam conditam, ſecundum Gellii opinionem, quingenteſimo octogeſimo octavo. *Scriptum erat per literarum compendium, DLXXXXIII. Librarii deinde, ut alias ſæpe advertimus, denarii nota poſtrema in quinarium verſa, DLXXXVIII. perperam reſcripſerunt* (11). i. e. "Hence we may correct a paſſage in "Macrobius, Saturn. B. 2. chap. 13. pag. 367, where "the number of years has been corrupted. *The Fannian "Law*, ſays he, *was made in the year five hundred eighty eight ſince the building of Rome according to "Aulus Gellius's opinion*. It was written in numbers "thus DLXXXXIII. But the Tranſcribers, as I have "often obſerved elſewhere, altered the laſt X into "an V, and put erroneouſly DLXXXVIII." The misfortune is, that this ſuppoſition is falſe: for if Macrobius had not ſet down the year 588, but the year 592, or 593, he would have refuted himſelf by his own calculations. Give his words what turn you pleaſe, you will never find him accurate: and if one ſhould ſuppoſe that according to him the *Lex Orchia* was made when Cato had been three years Cenſor (12), it would only increaſe the confuſion. See the Article TITIUS (13), where I examine whether what Macrobius ſays of this man may ſerve to ſupport Glandorpius's opinion.

(5) Plin. lib. 10. cap. 50.

(6) *Prima omnium de cœnis lex ad populum Orchia pervenit, quam tulit C. Orchius Tribunus plebis de Senatus ſententia, tertio anno quam Cato Cenſor fuerat. Cujus verba, quia prolixa ſunt prætereo. Summa autem ejus præſcribebat numerum convivarum. Et hæc eſt Lex Orchia, de qua Cato in orationibus ſuis vociferabatur, quod plures quam præcepto ejus cavebatur ad cœnam vocarentur. Cumque auctoritatem novæ legis aucta neceſſitas imploraret: poſt annum viceſimum ſecundum legis Orchiæ Fannia lex lata eſt, anno poſt Romam conditam, ſecundum Gellii opinionem, quingenteſimo octogeſimo octavo.* Macrob. *Saturnal.* lib. 2. cap. 13.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Aul. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 24.

(9) *See* Sigonius *in Faſtis.*

(10) Pighius would have us read *quingenteſimo nonageſimo ſecundo* (592) inſtead of *quingenteſimo octogeſimo octavo*. And F. Hardouin will have us read *quingenteſimo nonageſimo tertio* (593). See the following quotation.

(11) Harduin. *in Plinium*, lib. 10. pag. 482. tom. 2.

(12) It might only be ſuppoſed that the word to be underſtood in this paſſage of Macrobius *tertio anno quam Cato Cenſor fuerat*, is not *ante* before, but *poſt* after.

(13) Remark [*B*].

FANNIUS (CAIUS) the ſon of the preceding, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Eloquence [*A*]. He was Conſul with Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus in the year 632 ſince the building of Rome, and though he was indebted to Caius Gracchus for the Conſulſhip, yet he reſiſted this Tribune's factious deſigns (*a*), and publiſhed an Oration againſt him, which Cicero has commended [*B*].

(*a*) Plutarch. *in Vita Gracch.*

FANNIUS

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his eloquence.*] Leſt the imagination of my Readers ſhould go too far, I muſt obſerve to them, that the perſon I ſpeak of was never an Orator of the firſt rank. He always paſſed for an indifferent one: *Fannius in mediocribus oratoribus habitus eſſet*: But the following Remark will ſhew that I might expreſs my ſelf as I have done without any exaggeration. Does not Velleius Paterculus place him amongſt the moſt famous Orators (2)?

(1) Cicero, *in Bruto*, cap. 26.

(2) Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 9.

[*B*] *He publiſhed an Oration againſt C. Gracchus, which Cicero has commended.*] Here follow his words. *Horum ætatibus adjuncti duo C. Fannii, Caii & Marci filii, fuerunt, quorum Caii filius qui Conſul cum Domitio fuit unam Orationem de ſociis, & nomine Latino contra Gracchum reliquit, ſane & bonam & nobilem* (3). i. e. "In their time lived the two Caii Fannii, the ſons of "Caius and Marcus; one of whom, namely the ſon "of Caius, who was Conſul with Domitius, left an "Oration againſt Gracchus concerning the allies and "the people of Latium, which is indeed a good and "noble piece." This Oration was ſo well liked by the ſkilful judges, that ſome pretended that Perſius (4) had wrote it, others that ſeveral perſons of quality had had a hand in it. They thought it too good to come from an indifferent Orator, ſuch as Fannius was reckoned to be. Cicero confutes this by obſerving amongſt other arguments, that Fannius had always been uſed to ſpeak in public, and had gained ſome reputation when he was a Tribune. *Eam ſuſpicionem propter hanc cauſam credo fuiſſe, quod Fannius in mediocribus oratoribus habitus eſſet, oratio autem vel optima eſſet illo quidem tempore orationum omnium: ſed nec ejuſmodi eſt, ut*

(3) Cicero *in Bruto*, cap. 26.

(4) He was one of the moſt learned men of that time. See the Article PERSIUS (CAIUS).

FANNIUS (CAIUS) the ſon of Marcus, and firſt couſin to the foregoing, was Quæſtor in the year of Rome 614, and Prætor two years after. He bore arms in Africa under Scipio Africanus the Younger (*a*), and in Spain under Fabius Maximus Servilianus (*b*). He was a diſciple of Panætius (*c*) a great Philoſopher of the Stoic Sect, and married Lælius's ſecond daughter. He wrote Annals which were eſteemed [*A*]. He took it ill that Lælius conferred the dignity of an Augur on Quintus Mutius Scævola his other ſon-in-law, nor was he ſatisfied with Lælius's excuſes [*B*]. It will be of ſome uſe to obſerve, that Cicero having aſſerted that Fannius the Hiſtorian was Lælius's ſon-in-law, was demonſtratively refuted [*C*] by Pomponius Atticus; and yet he was not miſtaken. You will find in one ſingle remark the blunders of ſome Authors concerning the Fannii [*D*].

(*a*) *Ipſe* Fannius *apud* Plutarchum *in Vita Gracch.* pag. 826, A.

(*b*) Appian. *in Iberic.* pag. m. 476.

(*c*) Cicero, *in Bruto*, cap. 26.

FANNIUS

ut à pluribus confuſa videatur: unus enim ſonus eſt totius orationis, & idem ſtylus, nec de Perſio reticuiſſet Gracchus, quum & Fannius de Menelao Marathenio, & de ceteris objeciſſet, præſertim quum Fannius nunquam ſit habitus eloquis: nam & cauſas defenſitavit, & tribunatus ejus, arbitrio & auctoritate Publii Africani geſtus, non obſcurus fuit (5). i. e. "I believe that this was "ſuſpected becauſe Fannius always paſſed for an indif- "ferent Orator, and that this Oration was one of the "beſt that had been made at that time. But it does "not appear to have been compoſed by ſeveral hands, "for the ſtyle and language is the ſame through the "whole: nor would Gracchus have been ſilent with "regard to Perſius (if he had compoſed that Oration) "ſince Fannius had reproached him with regard to "Menelaus Marathenus and others; eſpecially ſince "Fannius was never thought to want a tongue; for "he pleaded at the bar, and gained ſome re- "putation when he was a Tribune, in which poſt he "acted according to Publius Africanus's directions, and "under his patronage." This paſſage acquaints us that Fannius was of a plebeian family. Cicero is charged with aſcribing in another place to Fannius the ſon of Marcus, the office of a Tribune which he here aſcribes to Fannius the ſon of Caius. *In præſentia mihi velim ſcribas quibus* CENSS. C. *Fannius M. F. Tribunus pl. fuerit. Videor mihi audiſſe P. Africano, & L. Mummio* (6). i. e. "I wiſh at preſent you would "write to me under what *Cenſors* C. Fannius the ſon "of Marcus was a Tribune. I think I have heard "it was under P. Africanus and L. Mummius." But I cannot find that this cenſure (7) is well grounded: for it may very well be that Fannius the ſon of Marcus was a Tribune during the Cenſorſhip of Scipio Africanus, and that Fannius the ſon of Caius followed, when he was a Tribune, the directions of the ſame Scipio Africanus. Now if theſe two things be very poſſible, why ſhould we not ſay that Cicero ſpeaks of the one in this place, and of the other in his letters to Atticus? I find more difficulty in the word *Cenſoribus* (Cenſors), which has been put inſtead of *Conſulibus* (Conſuls) in the paſſage from the letter to Atticus; for as Cicero wanted chiefly to know in what year ſuch or ſuch perſons had been Tribunes of the people, or Prætors, &c. (8), he aſked, no doubt, under what Conſuls they bore thoſe offices. The Cenſors were changed but every five year; ſo that Cicero could not have known in what year a perſon had been a Tribune, if he had known only under what Cenſor it was.

(5) Cicero, *in Bruto*, cap. 26.

(6) Cicero, Epiſt. 13. *ad Attic.* lib. 16.

(7) Corradus is the Author of it: Here follow his words in *Brutum Ciceronis*, pag. 187. *Videbatur Cicero audiviſſe tunc Fannium Tribunum plebis fuiſſe; quanquam libro decimo ſexto ad Atticum de C. Fannio M. F. hoc ipſum ſcribit: ſed quum poſtea nihil infrà ſuo loco ea de re dicat, videtur errorem, ſuo Attico fortaſſe monente, cognoviſſe, & hunc pro illo repoſuiſſe.*

(8) See the 5th Letter of the 2d Book to *Atticus*.

[*A*] *He wrote Annals, which were eſteemed.*] Cicero mentions them in honorable terms (1). *Ejus omnis in dicendo facultas ex hiſtoria ipſius non ineleganter ſcripta perſpici poteſt, quæ neque nimis eſt infans, neque perfecte diſerta.* i. e. "His ſkill in writing appears from his Hiſtory, "which is not without elegancy: it is written with "ſome eloquence, though it be not abſolutely perfect "that way." Brutus made an Abridgment of this Hiſtory, as appears from one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (2), where we read the following words; *Conturbat me Epitome Bruti Fanniana, in Bruti Epitoma Fannianorum.* i. e. "I am puzzled with Brutus's "Abridgment of Fannius's Hiſtory." Voſſius (3) obſerves, that Manucius did not well interpret this Latin paſſage in his Commentary; he thought, ſays he, that this work of Brutus was a ſhort Hiſtory of the family of the Fannii, or of the remarkable actions which the Fannii had done. But Manutius ſaid no ſuch thing in his Commentary: he underſtood this paſſage as he ought to have done. *In Bruti epitoma Fannianorum*, ſignifies according to him, *quam confecit Brutus annalium Fannianorum, id eſt hiſtoriæ à Fannio conſcriptæ* (4).

(1) *In Bruto*, cap. 26.

(2) The 5th of the 12th Book.

(3) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 28.

(4) *See* Grævius's Edition, tom. 2. pag. 75, 76. of Manucius's *Commentary*.

i. e. "The Abridgment which Brutus made of Fannius's "Annals, that is to ſay, of the Hiſtory which Fan- "nius wrote." If inſtead of charging Manucius with this blunder, Corradus (5) had been accuſed of it, there would have been no miſtake. If Fannius's Annals were far from being a maſter-piece of eloquence, yet they had a perfection much more valuable than an elaborate ſtyle, for they were ſincere. This is what Salluſtius ſaid of Fannius (6).

(5) *See* Grævius's edition, tom. 2. pag. 296. col. 1.

[*B*] *He was not ſatisfied with Lælius's excuſes.*] He had married Lælius's youngeſt daughter; the eldeſt was Scævola's wife, but Scævola was younger than Fannius. The latter pretended that as he was the eldeſt, Lælius ought to have preferred him before Scævola for the dignity of an Augur. Lælius ſaid in his own defence, that he had not preferred his youngeſt ſon-in-law before the eldeſt, but his eldeſt daughter before the youngeſt. But this diſtinction did not ſatisfy Fannius, who for that reaſon did not much love his father-in-law. *Is* ſocerum, *quia cooptatus in Augurum Collegium non erat, non admodum diligebat, præſertim cum ille Q. Scævolam ſibi minorem natu generum prætuliſſet, cui tamen Lælius ſe excuſans non genere minori dixit ſe illud, ſed majori filiæ detuliſſe* (7). This paſſage of Cicero does not agree very well with his Dialogue on Friendſhip; in which he introduces Fannius talking with his father-in-law as a ſon-in-law very well pleaſed, and even as his Collegue in the dignity of an Augur.

(6) *Cum aliis Hiſtoriographis fingula tradidiſſet* (Salluſtius) *in libro primo hiſtoriarum, Catoni brevitatem, Romani generis diſertiſſimus paucis abſolvit: Fannio vero veritatem.* Marius Victorinus *in primum Ciceronis de Inventione, apud* Voſſium, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 28, 29.

(7) Cicero, *in Bruto*, cap. 26.

[*C*] *Cicero was demonſtratively refuted.*] I only tranſlate Cicero's own words; *Sed tu me γεωμετρικῶς refelleras* (8). I am very much miſtaken if there is not ſomething ironical here. Cicero hints to his friend, who of all men was beſt acquainted with the different families, that we ought ſometimes to miſtruſt our memory, and that we may happen to take for unanſwerable arguments what is only a mere fancy. You proved demonſtratively to me (ſays he) that I was miſtaken, when I aſſerted that Fannius was Lælius's ſon-in-law; I had it from Hortenſius, who deſerves to be credited in ſuch things: yet I was obliged to ſubmit to your geometrical arguments: but here comes Brutus who refutes you in the Abridgment he made of Fannius's Hiſtory; get off, if you can (9). Thus Cicero ſpeaks to his friend: it is plain that he jeſts when he calls Atticus's pretended arguments geometrical demonſtrations. Obſerve that Cicero's expreſſions prove firſt, that Fannius had ſaid in Hiſtory, that he was Lælius's ſon-in-law. Secondly, that it was only by the Abridgment of this Hiſtory publiſhed by Brutus that Cicero knew Fannius had ſaid this. For if he had known it before, he would not have mentioned Hortenſius as his only voucher. If Mezeray had ſaid in his Hiſtory that he had been married with the daughter of ſuch an one, they who ſhould mention this marriage remembring what the Hiſtorian himſelf had ſaid of it, would not alledge a bare hear-ſay to prove it; or if they did, they would deſerve to be laughed at.

(8) Idem, *Epiſt.* 5. lib. 12. *ad Atticum.*

(9) *Scripſi quod erat in extremo: idque ego ſecutus hunc Fannium qui ſcripſit hiſtoriam, generum eſſe ſcripſeram Lælii: ſed tu me γεωμετρικῶς refelleras: te autem nunc Brutus & Fannius. Ego tamen de bono auctore Hortenſio ſic acceperam, ut apud Brutum eſt. Hunc igitur locum expedies.* Cicero, *Epiſt.* 5. *ad Atticum*, lib. 12.

[*D*] *Here follow the blunders of ſome Authors concerning the Fannii.*] Let us begin with Mr. LLOYD. I. He places the making of the Fannian Law under the year 508 ſince the building of Rome, and he quotes the fourteenth chapter inſtead of the twenty fourth of the ſecond Book of Aulus Gellius. He alſo quotes the ſeventeenth chapter of the third Book of Macrobius's Saturnalia *, inſtead of quoting the twelfth chapter of the ſecond Book. II. He ſays that Caïus Fannius the ſon of Marcus, and ſon-in-law of Lælius, was more illuſtrious than his couſin Fannius both with regard to his eloquence and to his morals, *moribus & ipſo dicendi genere clarior*. This is a downright falſity. Cicero to whom he refers us, is very far from ſaying this (10).

* But this is right according to ſome Editions, particularly that of Paris, 1585, 8vo. CRIT. REM.

(10) He ſays, *moribus & ipſo genere dicendi dixerior.* Idem, *in Bruto*, cap. 26. i. e. "More un- "polite both "with regard to "his manners "and to his elo- "quence."

FANNIUS QUADRATUS a Latin Poet, whose Poems, though they were ridiculous, were put with his picture in the Library, which Auguſtus had cauſed to be collected [A]. Horace who was contemporary with this Fannius has mentioned him with a great deal of contempt, and called him a Paraſite (a), which is a fault common to bad Poets.

(a) *Aut erucier quid Vellicet abſentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus Fannius Hermogenis laudet convivia Tigelli.* Hor. Sat. 10. lib. 1. ver. 78.

III. He ſays with regard to the Poet Fannius, that his Poems were carried with his picture into the Temple of Apollo and the Muſes, or into ſome other Library. He tranſcribed this blunder from Voſſius (11). IV. He applies to Fannius Cepio an epigram of Martial (12) and does not tranſcribe it well, for he gives it thus,

(11) *See* Moreri's blunders in the remark [A] of the Article FANNIUS *a Family*, num. 5.

Hoſtem cum peteret (13), *ſe Fannius ipſe peremit:*
Hic rogo non furor eſt ne moriare mori?

(12) The 80th of the 2d book.

i. e. "Fannius attacking (*it ſhould be*, flying from) "the enemy killed himſelf. I aſk was it not a mad- "neſs in you to die leſt you ſhould dye?

(13) It ſhould be *fugeret*.

Theſe two verſes have no meaning as he gives them, the word *peteret* (*attacked*) inſtead of *fugeret* (*run away*) renders the whole epigram inſipid and flat. But if you leave *fugeret*, the epigram cannot be applied to Fannius Cepio, who was at the head of a conſpiracy againſt Auguſtus. I do not quote Macrobius (14), who mentions the great faithfulneſs which one of this Fannius's ſlaves had for his maſter, and by which it appears that Fannius avoided death with all imaginable care; I do not, I ſay, quote Macrobius, who does not ſay that Fannius was tired at laſt with ſhunning death ſo much. But I quote Dion Caſſius, who aſſerts poſitively that Fannius was killed (15), and that one of his ſervants betrayed him (16). Is not this a proof that he did not kill himſelf? Let us paſs to HOFMAN. He has committed Mr. Lloyd's four blunders, and part of Moreri's. He has quoted the ninth letter of Pliny's fifth Book, which relates to none of the Fannii. He ſays that Fannius Strabo was twice Conſul, firſt with Valerius Meſſala, and then with Domitius Ænobarbus. He adds that the Fannian Law was made during Fannius's firſt Conſulſhip, upon which he refers us to his article *Fannia*, where we find that this Law was made in the year 508: he places therefore Fannius Strabo's firſt Conſulſhip under the year 508, inſtead of placing it under the year 592, or 593. Before he mentioned Fannius Strabo he had made an article of Caius Fannius, who was Conſul with Domitius; ſo that he makes two perſons of one.

(14) Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 11.

(15) Καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν τὸ δικαστήριον) ἐρήμην μὲν ὡς καὶ φεύγοντες ἥλωσαν, ἀπισφάγησαν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῷ ὕστερον. i. e. "As they "did not appear "before the "Court, were "condemned to "baniſhment in "their abſence, "and ſoon after "killed." Dion. lib. 54. pag. m. 598. *ad ann.* 732.

(16) Τινὰ δὲ ἕτερον (τῶν δούλων) τὸν προδόντα αὐτόν. i. e. "An- "other ſlave, "who betrayed "him." Idem, ibid.

[A] *His Poems .... were put ... in the Library, which Auguſtus had cauſed to be collected.*] It was lodged in the Temple of Apollo Palatinus See what Horace ſays of Fannius.

Beatus Fannius ultro
Delatis capſis & imagine: quum mea nemo
Scripta legat, vulgo recitare timentis (1).

(1) Horat. Sat. 4. lib. 1. ver. 21.

Monſieur Dacier underſtands theſe words in the following manner. *This Fannius*, ſays he, *though a bad Poet, yet by his intrigues, and by a kind of a party, which he had raiſed in his favour by reading his Poems in all places and to all comers, got leave againſt every one's expectation, and againſt all juſtice to carry his writings and his picture into the Library*, which Auguſtus had conſecrated, *and it is for this that Horace very wittily banters him .... Fannius by gathering together every day a great many perſons, to read his Poems before them, had got an infinite number of friends, who cried up his Poems every where, and ſpread copies of them in all places: whereas the Poems of Horace who would not be indebted for his reputation to any one but himſelf, and who ſhewed his Poems but ſeldom, and to very few perſons, were almoſt unknown, and made not half the noiſe in the world, that Fannius's ſilly Works did. For at that time, as well as now, a cabal had often much more power than true merit. This is the ſenſe of this paſſage, which had not been well underſtood before. For as to what Acron ſays, that the Senate did Fannius this honour in order to get rid of his importunity; or that ſome perſons, who coveted Fannius's eſtate, for he had no children, carried his books and his picture into the Library, with a deſign to court his friendſhip and to become his heirs; all this, I ſay, is a mere fancy, which cannot have the leaſt foundation.* I quote in the margin (2) the Latin words of the antient interpreter, whom Mr. Dacier condemns. I have obſerved ſomewhere (3) that ſatyres ſhould be commented upon either by the author himſelf, or by ſome contemporary Writer. This paſſage of Horace confirms my opinion. We do not exactly know the meaning of it; we muſt gueſs at its ſenſe: and though our conjectures be never ſo happy, there will ſtill remain ſome doubts. We ſhould not be thus puzzled, if Horace himſelf or ſome Author of the age of Auguſtus, had wrote a commentary upon his ſatyrs; but as one of the chief perfections of that kind of writing is, that they contain a thouſand ſtrokes of raillery, expreſſed with ſome darkneſs, and which hint at ſome ſtories that are not generally known, I ſhould think that a ſatyric Author does not much care for a commentary. The modern Theophraſtus (4) was not well pleaſed, when men raiſed him enemies by applying the characters he deſcribed, to ſuch or ſuch particular perſons.

(2) *Fannius Quadratus poëta loquaciſſimus & ineptiſſimus fuit, cui Senatus audiendi faſtidio ultro capſas & imaginem obtulit, ut libros ſuos mitteret, & in auctoritatem reciperetur, tanquam optimus Poëta: vel, ut alii referunt, Fannius Poeta malus cum liberos non haberet, hæredipetæ fine ejus cura & ſtudio libros ejus & imaginem in publicas bibliothecas referebant, nulla tamen meritò ſcriptoris.*

(3) See upon this the Remark [A] of ABELLI, and the Remark [C] of ASSOUCI, towards the end.

(4) La Bruyere.

FANNIUS (CAIUS) a Latin Author who lived in the time of Trajan, and had a great ſhare in Pliny the Younger's eſteem and friendſhip. Though he was very much taken up with the pleading of cauſes, yet he wrote a Collection of Nero's cruelties; I mean that he gave an account of the laſt moments of thoſe, whom Nero had put to death, or baniſhed. He had publiſhed three books upon that ſubject, written with a great deal of accuracy [A] and politeneſs, and he laboured the Continuation with ſo much the more care, as he ſaw the firſt parts were very much read. But death prevented him from compleating his work. He had it in his thoughts that he ſhould dye before he had publiſhed his fourth book, becauſe of a certain dream (a).

(a) Taken from Pliny the younger, Epiſt. 5. lib. 5.

☞FANSHAW

[A] *He had publiſhed three Books written with a great deal of accuracy* upon Nero's cruelties.] Nothing was more proper than ſuch a work to render Nero's name odious. It was a kind of a Martyrology. It is well known that the ſatyrs written with the utmoſt wit are infinitely leſs prejudicial to a Tyrant, than a Martyrology unſkilfully compiled. The dying hours of them that are perſecuted, recommend them on two accounts: firſt by the miſerable condition to which they are generally reduced; ſecondly by the patience and fine ſpeeches with which their laſt hours are generally attended, at leaſt in the account of them. This makes men forget the paſſages in their life, which might otherwiſe prevent the effects of compaſſion and veneration. Judge how many coals of fire this heaps on the head of a Perſecutor and a Tyrant. You may think then whether this work of Fannius was not very proper to inſpire men with horror againſt Nero's memory: for it contained an account of the dying hours of a vaſt number of illuſtrious perſons, who had been perſecuted; the whole written with a great deal of accuracy. Let us hear Pliny. *Pulcherrimum opus imperfectum reliquit. Quamvis enim agendis cauſſis diſtringeretur, ſcribebat tamen exitus occiſorum aut relegatorum à Nerone: & jam tres libros abſolverat, ſubtiles, & diligentes, & Latinos, atque inter ſermonem hiſtoriamque medios. Ac tanto magis reliquos perficere cupiebat, quanto frequentius hi lectitabantur* (1).

(1) Plinius, Epiſt. 5. lib. 5.

☞FANSHAW (Sir RICHARD), famous for his Embaſſies and Writings, was deſcended of an ancient family [*A*], and youngeſt ſon of Sir Henry Fanſhaw of Ware-Park in Hertfordſhire, the King's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer, which Office was held by that family for ſeveral generations. He was brother likewiſe to Thomas Viſcount Fanſhaw of Dromore in Ireland, and to Sir Simon Fanſhaw Bart. (*a*). He was born about the year 1608 [*B*], and received the firſt rudiments of his education under the famous Mr. Thomas Farnaby, and afterwards compleated his ſtudies in the Univerſity of Cambridge, from whence he went to travel in foreign countries (*b*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo early by his abilities, that in 1635 he was taken into the employments of State by King Charles I, and then ſent Reſident to the Court of Spain; whence being recalled in the beginning of the troubles in 1641, he adhered to the Royal Intereſt, and was employed in ſeveral important matters of State (*c*). In 1644 he was appointed Secretary at War to Charles Prince of Wales, whom he attended into the weſtern parts of England, and thence into the Iſlands of Scilly and Guernſey. In 1648 he was made Treaſurer of the Navy under the command of Prince Rupert, which he managed till the year 1650, when he was advanced to the dignity of a Baronet; and being ſent Envoy extraordinary to the Court of Spain, and thence recalled into Scotland, he there ſerved in the quality of Secretary of State. This employment he diſcharged in this conjuncture to the great ſatisfaction of all parties, though he never took the covenant or engagement. Thence he attended his Majeſty to Worceſter, and was taken priſoner in the battle there, and conveyed to London, where continuing in cloſe cuſtody till he contracted a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, he had the liberty allowed him, upon bail given, to go for the recovery of his health to any place which he ſhould chooſe, on condition that he ſtirred not five miles from the place without leave of Parliament (*d*). During theſe and other vacant hours he wrote divers Poems, and made ſeveral Tranſlations [*C*]. In February $16\frac{59}{60}$ he repaired to

(*a*) *Short Account of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanſhaw and his Writings*, prefixed to the *Original Letters of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanſhaw during his Embaſſies in Spain and Portugal*, edit. London 1702 in 8vo.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 43, 44. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *Deſcended of an antient family.*] This family was ſeated at Fanſhaw in Derbyſhire. Our Author's great grandfather was John Fanſhaw of that place, brother of Henry Fanſhaw, and father of Thomas Fanſhaw Eſquires, who were ſucceſſively Remembrancers of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth. This Thomas was father of Sir Henry Fanſhaw, Knt.; which Gentleman was our Author's father, and died of an apoplexy at Hertford aſſizes March 10th 1615 (1).

(1) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 43. 2d edit. London 1721.

[*B*] *He was born about the year* 1608.] This appears from the Author of the *Short Account of Sir* Richard Fanſhaw (2), who informs us, that he was in the fifty ninth year of his age when he died in 1666. Mr. Wood ſays (3), that he was then fifty nine years of age.

(2) Prefix'd to *Original Letters of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanſhaw during his Embaſſies in Spain and Portugal*, edit. London 1702 in 8vo.

(3) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *During theſe and other vacant hours he wrote divers Poems, and made ſeveral Tranſlations.*] His works are as follow. He wrote, I. *Divers Poems*, printed at London 1646 in 4to, and 1664 in 8vo with his Tranſlation of *Il Paſtor fido*. The firſt of thoſe Poems is *An Ode upon occaſion of his Majeſty's Proclamation* an. 1630, *commanding the Gentry to reſide upon their eſtates in the country*. II. *A ſummary Diſcourſe of the civil wars of Rome*. London 1664 in 8vo. He hath tranſlated from Engliſh into Latin Verſe, I. *The faithful Sheperdeſs, a Paſtoral*, written originally by John Fletcher Gent. This tranſlation was printed at London 1658 (4). II. *Spencer's Shepherd's Calender* (5). But Mr. Gerard Langbaine (6) thinks it a miſtake to aſcribe ſuch a Tranſlation to our Author, ſince he had not heard of any other than that done by Mr. Theodore Bathurſt, ſometime Fellow of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, and printed at the end of Spencer's Works in fol. London 1679. Sir Richard Fanſhaw tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh, 1. *The fourth Book of* Virgil's Æneis *on the Loves of Dido and Æneas*. 2. *Two Odes out of* Horace *relating to the civil wars of Rome, againſt covetous rich men*. Theſe are printed among his Poems at London 1664 in 8vo. He tranſlated from Italian into Engliſh *Il Paſtor fido*: *The faithful Shepherd, a Paſtoral*. London 1646 in 4to and 1664 in 8vo. This *Paſtoral* was written originally by Guarini, a native of Ferrara in Italy, and Secretary to Alfonſus the ſecond, Duke of that Principality. The Tranſlation is dedicated to *the Hope and Luſtre of three Kingdoms*, Charles *Prince of Wales*. In this Dedication our Author ſpeaks modeſtly of his performance, as if the Poem "had loſt "much of the life and quickneſs by being poured out "of one veſſel (that is one language) into another; "beſides the unſteadineſs of the hand, that pours; "and that a Tranſlation at the beſt is but a mock-"rainbow in the clouds, faintly imitating the true "one, into which Apollo himſelf had a full and im-"mediate influence." But Sir John Denham in his Verſes upon this Tranſlation highly commends it, and after having cenſured ſervile Tranſlators proceeds thus:

(4) Wood, col. 44.

(5) Edward Philips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, Modern Poets, pag. 159. edit. London 1675.

(6) *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, pag. 196, 197. edit. Oxon. 1691.

A new and nobler way thou doſt purſue
To make Tranſlations and Tranſlators too.
They but preſerve the aſhes, thou the flame,
True to his ſenſe, but truer to his fame.
Fording his current where thou findſt it low,
Let'ſt in thine own to make it riſe and flow;
Wiſely reſtoring whatſoever grace
Is loſt by change of times, or tongues, or place.
Nor fetter'd to his numbers and his times,
Betray'ſt his Muſic to unhappy rimes:
Nor are the nerves of his compacted ſtrength
Stretch'd and diſſolv'd unto unfinew'd length.
Yet after all (leſt we ſhould think it thine)
Thy ſpirit to his circle doſt confine.

Sir Richard tranſlated from Spaniſh into Engliſh, *Querer per ſolo querer: To love only for love's ſake*, a dramatic romance repreſented at Aranjuez before the King and Queen of Spain, to celebrate the birth-day of that King, Philip IV. It was written originally by Antonio de Mendoza in 1623. It was tranſlated and paraphraſed by our Author in 1654 during his confinement at Tankerley Park in Yorkſhire (7). At that time he wrote on this work three Stanza's in Latin and Engliſh, which are as follow:

(7) Langbaine, pag. 194.

"Ille ego, qui (dubiis quondam jactatus in undis,
"Qui dum nunc aulæ, nunc mihi caſtra ſtrepunt,)
"Leni importunas mulcebam carmine curas,
"In quo *Paſtoris* flamma *Fidelis* erat.

"At nunc & caſtris, auliſque ejectus & undis,
"(Nam mihi naufragium portus, & ira quies,)
"Altius inſurgens Regum haud intactus amores,
"Et Reginarum fervidus arma cano:

"Quæ (vinc'lis, Hymenæe tuis, ſpretiſque coronis)
"Nec juga ferre virûm, nec dare jura velint.
"Dulce procelloſos audire ex littore fluctus!
"Eque truci terram dulce videre mari."

Time was, when I, a pilgrim of the ſeas,
When I 'midſt noiſe of camps and courts diſeaſe,
Purloin'd ſome hours to charm rude cares with verſe,
Which flame of Faithful Shepherd *did rehearſe.*

But now reſtrain'd from ſea, from camp, from court,
And by a tempeſt blown into a port,
I raiſe my thoughts to muſe on higher things,
And ecchō' arms and loves of Queens and Kings:

(e) Idem, ibid. to the King at Breda (*e*). Upon the Reſtoration it was expected that he would have been made one of the Secretaries of State, not only from the kindneſs which his Majeſty had for him, and the hopes formerly given him of it, but likewiſe as a recompence in ſome meaſure for the great ſufferings which both his family and himſelf had ſuſtained in the King's ſervice. However miſſing that preferment he had the place of Maſter of the Requeſts conferred on him, a ſtation, in thoſe times, of conſiderable profit. Afterwards for his known abilities and ſkill in the Latin Languages, he was made Secretary for that tongue (*f*). In 1661 he being then Burgeſs for the Univerſity of Cambridge was ſworn one of the Privy Council of Ireland, and ſent Envoy to the Court of Portugal, with a dormant Commiſſion to be Embaſſador, which he was to make uſe of as occaſion ſhould require (*g*). In 1662 (*b*) he was again ſent to that Court with the title of Embaſſador, and negotiated the marriage of his maſter King Charles II, with the Infanta Donna Catherina, daughter of the late King Don John VI, and only ſiſter to the preſent King Don Alfonſo. Upon his return thence in 1663 he was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council (*i*). In January 166$\frac{3}{4}$ he was ſent Embaſſador to both the Courts of Spain and Portugal [*D*], in which time the foundation of peace betwixt thoſe Crowns and England was laid by him. His deportment during his former employments in thoſe Courts gained him

(f) *Short Account &c.* ubi ſupra.

(g) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(b) Idem, ibid.

(i) *Short Account, ubi ſupra.*

Which Queens (deſpiſing crowns and Hymen's band)
Would neither men obey, nor men command.
Great pleaſure from rough ſeas to ſee the ſhore:
Or from firm land to hear the billows roar!

This Tranſlation was not printed till after our Author's death at London 1671 in 4to; to which is added *Fieſtas de Aranjuez, Feſtivals repreſented at Aranjuez*, written likewiſe by Antonio de Mendoza, and tranſlated by Sir Richard Fanſhaw. He tranſlated alſo out of Portugueze into Engliſh *The Luſiad*, or *Portugal's Hiſtorical Poem*, written by Luis de Camoens. This Tranſlation was printed at London 1665 in fol. and dedicated to William Earl of Strafford, ſon and heir to Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, upon whoſe trial our Author wrote a copy of verſes printed among his Poems. Mr. Wood tells us (8), that *beſides theſe Tranſlations he hath performed others, which continue partly in manuſcript.*

(8) Col. 44.

[*D*] *In January* 166$\frac{3}{4}$ *he was ſent Embaſſador to both the Courts of Spain and Portugal.*] We have ſeveral Letters of the Earl of Arlington to Sir Richard, while the latter was employed in his embaſſy in Spain, publiſh'd in a Book intitled, *The right honourable the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. II. *containing a compleat collection of his Lordſhip's Letters to Sir* Richard Fanſhaw, *the Earl of* Sandwich, *the Earl of* Sunderland, *and Sir* Will. Godolphin, *during their reſpective Embaſſies in Spain from* 1664 *to* 1674. *As alſo to Sir* Robert Southwell *in Portugal. Now publiſhed from the originals, and never before printed.* London 1701 in 8vo. In this Book are publiſhed the Inſtructions given to Sir Richard Fanſhaw upon his going Embaſſador to Spain in 1664. In 1702 there were printed at London in 8vo, *Original Letters of his Excellency* Sir Rich. Fanſhaw, *during his Embaſſies in Spain and Portugal; which, together with divers Letters and Anſwers from the chief Miniſters of State of England, Spain, and Portugal, contain the whole negotiations of the Treaty of Peace between thoſe three Crowns.* The Editor in the Preface remarks very judiciouſly, "that ſome Hiſtorians "are too often guilty of partiality, by ſupporting a "faction, or ſerving an intereſt. Others for want "of knowing ſecret affairs as they were tranſacted, "(which public Miniſters are very ſhy in communicating, while they live, for fear of diſobliging their "maſters, or rendering themſelves obnoxious to cenſure) muſt conſequently give us but a lame and imperfect account of men and things. But men of "learning are conſcious, that this partiality or defect "is abundantly and ſatisfactorily remedied and ſupplied, by the publication of thoſe great men's *Letters* and *Memoirs* after their death, that tranſacted "thoſe affairs in perſon, wherein the curious want "ſatisfaction; for by this means ſecrets are diſcovered, intrigues laid open, myſteries revealed, and "matters of fact ſet in their proper lights as they were "acted, with all the adhering circumſtances of time, "place, perſons, concurrence, oppoſition, diſpatch, "and delays, without a poſſibility, at leaſt a probability "of impoſing upon the enquirer; unleſs we could "conclude that truth and juſtice were baniſhed the "world, which would diſcover a greater want of cha- "rity than any ingenuous man would be thought "guilty of." But with reſpect to that pretence, the Editor aſſures us, that the purchaſer is ſecured from danger in the publication of theſe *Letters, Anſwers, Obſervations*, and *Memoirs*, by a triple concurrence of indiſputable teſtimonies of their veracity and genuine deſcent. "Firſt, *ſays he*, from the known ho- "nour and integrity of Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, who "was the Author of them, and left them in the poſ- "ſeſſion of his daughter, from whoſe hands we re- "ceived them. Secondly being printed from the ori- "ginals ready to be produced, if occaſion ſhould re- "quire. And thirdly, becauſe the contents were tranſ- "acted in our memories." In the *Inſtructions* to him he is directed, after paying the uſual compliments to the King and Queen, the Prince, the Infanta, Don Juan of Auſtria, the Duke de Medina las Torres, and the other principal Miniſters of the Court, in terms proportionable to their different conditions, to offer to the King's conſideration that diſadvantage, in which both the Crowns ſuffer by the various interruptions, and almoſt deſtruction of the commerce and trade ſo uſeful and beneficial to both Nations. Upon this head he is inſtructed immediately to demand reparation from, and exemplary puniſhment upon ſome of the Free-Booters, who had taken ſhips from the Engliſh contrary to the articles of peace then ſubſiſting; as alſo to explain himſelf more at large therein to the Duke of Medina las Torres, the principal Miniſter there, and to deal with him upon a Treaty in that matter. With reſpect to Portugal, he is directed, that if the Duke of Medina las Torres ſhould ſuggeſt any thing of a deſire, that the Court of England would quit Portugal, he ſhould ſeem ſurprized with it, as a matter, which he did not expect, and acquaint the Duke, that rather than he would ſeem to admit any debate upon a particular ſo contrary to the honour of his maſter, he would take his leave of the Court of Spain, and return to England. Next he is adviſed, as opportunity ſhould offer, to inform himſelf what kind of Licence Don Domingo Grillio had, and of what extent for the tranſportation of Blacks into the Weſt-Indies; and accordingly to offer him the proſecution of the contract begun by his Agent in England the year before. One point he is ordered earneſtly to inſiſt upon, before he enters into any debates, even at his firſt arrival, viz. the ſending an Embaſſador to England; and to take occaſion, upon any delay therein, to talk of his own return to England; and not to make any ſtep in the formalities of a Treaty, till ſuch an one be diſpatched. He is farther inſtructed to employ his utmoſt ſkill and induſtry, in penetrating into and diſcovering under what model and form his Catholick Majeſty deſigned to leave the Government, when he ſhould die; with all things elſe of the moſt ſecret nature, that might poſſibly come to his knowledge, of which he is ordered to give weekly accounts to the Engliſh Court, and to put the ſecret matters into cypher, leſt by any foul play on the way the contents of his Letters ſhould be diſcovered. He is alſo inſtructed to entertain a good correſpondence and friendſhip with all the Embaſſadors,

him ſuch high value and eſteem there, that his reception was vaſtly magnificent, exceeding all that were before; which thoſe Kings declared was done as a particular reſpect to the perſon of the Embaſſador, and was not to be a precedent to ſucceeding Embaſſadors (*k*). June the 4th 1666 he was ſeized of a violent fever at Madrid, which proved fatal to him on the 16th of the ſame month old ſtyle (*l*), being the very day on which he had deſigned to ſet out in order to his return to England (*m*). His body was embalmed, and brought thence by his Lady through Spain and France by land to Calais, whence it was conveyed by ſea to London, and interred in the pariſh Church at Ware in Hertfordſhire, among his anceſtors, with a fair monument of marble over him (*n*). He was a compleat maſter of the Spaniſh, Portugueſe, Italian, and French Languages (*o*); and was an able ſtateſman, a great ſcholar, and remarkable for his ſincerity, humanity, and piety (*p*). He married a daughter of Sir John Harriſon, by whom he had ſeveral children.

(*k*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Idem, ibid.

(*m*) *Short Account. ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, pag. 191. ed. Oxon. 1691.

dors, Reſidents, and Agents of Princes and States in alliance with England, who ſhould happen to be in the Court of Spain, and eſpecially with the French Embaſſador; "by whoſe reputation there, *ſay the In-* "*ſtructions*, and his carriage towards you, you will "beſt know how to treat with him. One thing in "very great confidence you may inform him of, that "you are come thither to ſet ſome treaty on foot "for a truce, at leaſt with Portugal, of which you "have had means to know better than others the great "neceſſity, for the weakneſs in which that Crown is, "and imprudence into which the Nation falls every "day, notwithſtanding all ſucceſſes, whereof they "never make a right uſe; without entering into more "particular conference with him herein, till the mat-"ter be well advanced, it being certain he will do "all he can to diſturb it. And notwithſtanding the "good correſpondence we recommended to you to en-"tertain with the ſaid Embaſſador, yet you muſt be "wary that his forwardneſs or preſumption do not "lead him to any points of advantage above you, "remembering eſpecially, that the Crown of England "doth not yield the hand to any King." We have afterwards the following paſſage in theſe inſtructions. *According to the lights and informations given you herein, you ſhall acquaint the Duke of* Medina las Torres *with a report brought hither to our Couſin Prince* Rupert *of his brother Prince* Maurice's *being detained a priſoner in the Indies, with ſuch circumſtances as make it probable to him; and therefore we aſk of him the Duke, that a perſon be purpoſely ſent into the Indies to make inquiry into the matter, it being a ſatisfaction we could not deny to our ſaid couſin, for the quiet of his mind in ſo important a concernment; and for your directions therein you muſt make reſort to the papers given into your hands concerning this matter.* H.

FAREL (WILLIAM), one of the moſt eminent Miniſters of the Reformed Church, was the ſon of a Gentleman of Dauphiné, and was born at Gap in the year 1489 (*a*). He ſtudied Philoſophy (*b*) and the Greek and Hebrew Tongues (*c*) at Paris with great ſucceſs, and was for ſome time a Teacher in the College of Cardinal le Moine (*d*). It was James le Fevre, ſurnamed *Stapulenſis*, who procured him that employment (*e*). I think that he was alſo indebted to the ſame learned man for the choice which William Briçonnet Biſhop of Meaux made of him to preach in his Dioceſs: this Prelate had ſome inclination for the Reformed Religion, for which reaſon he invited into his Dioceſs ſome perſons who had reliſhed the new opinions. Farel amongſt others was called to preach there in the year 1521 (*f*). The perſecution which was raiſed at Meaux in the year 1523, againſt thoſe that were ſtiled Heretics, *obliged him to provide for his ſecurity ſomewhere elſe than in France* (*g*). He retired to Straſburg [*A*], where Bucer and Capito *admitted him as a brother* (*h*); he was afterwards received as ſuch by Zwinglius at Zurich, by Haller at Berne, and by Oecolampadius at Baſil (*i*) [*B*]. As he was thought a very proper man to make Proſelytes, he was adviſed to undertake the Reformation of Religion

(*a*) Ancillon, *Vie de Guillaume Farel*, pag. 1.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 10.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 18 and 28.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 29.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 110, and 193.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 110.

(*h*) Ibid. pag. 197.

(*i*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He retired to Straſburg.*] I thought that I ought to follow the account of a man (1), who tells us, that *he has by him Farel's own Journal*; I have ſaid therefore upon his credit, that our William Farel flying from Meaux retired to Straſburg. But I ought not to diſſemble that another Miniſter (2), who ſeems to me to have followed very good Memoirs, relates this affair otherwiſe. He ſays that Farel being obliged to leave Meaux, went to Gap, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh the Reformation there. This deſign did not ſucceed, and only expoſed Farel to the hatred and ill offices of his countrymen. Wherefore he retired to Baſil, where he held a public diſputation which expoſed him to great dangers. Hence he went to Straſburg, where Bucer and Capito received him with open arms, and where he preached the truth to the French Refugees till the year 1527, when he went to Montbeliard to forward the Reformation there (3). This laſt fact is abſolutely falſe; we ſhall ſhew below that Farel preached the Goſpel in the territories of Montbeliard in the year 1524.

(1) Ancillon, Miniſter of Metz before the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and afterwards at Berlin. See his *Vie de Farel*, publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1691, pag. 202.

(2) Frider. Spanheim.

(3) Taken from Frideric Spanheim's Oration, intitled *Geneva reſtituta*, pag. 39, 40.

[*B*] *He was received as a brother .... by Oecolampadius at Baſil.*] I add the name of that city to my Author's account, who has omitted it. This omiſſion may lead us into a miſtake, for it would make us think that Oecolampadius was a Miniſter of Bern. Mr. Ancillon's words are as follow. *In the year* 1524 *Zuinglius, the bright and clear Light of Zurich, Haller the Veſſel of Election at Bern, Oecolampadius the Lamp of God's houſe, embraced Farel* (4). I obſerve in this account another omiſſion, which is more conſiderable ſtill. He does not mention a famous diſpute in which Farel was engaged at Baſil in the year 1524. I know that he has mentioned it in another place (5), but he has not well ſet down the time when it happened (6), and does not ſpeak of it where he ought to have done it, that is to ſay, when he related (7) hiſtorically and in a chronological order all Farel's labours. Let us therefore ſupply his omiſſion. Farel being arrived at Baſil in the year 1524, came before the Faculty of Divinity, and declared that he deſired to hold a public diſputation. The Divines of Baſil, and eſpecially Lewis Berus Provoſt of St. Peter refuſed to give him leave, pretending that his Theſes were agreeable to the new Doctrines. The Senate having been acquainted with this refuſal gave Farel leave to maintain his Theſes. Farel cauſed them to be poſted upon the College-Gate. The Grand-Vicar, the Rector of the Univerſity, and the Profeſſors publiſhed a prohibition to aſſiſt at this diſputation upon pain of excommunication. The Senate being perſuaded that this prohibition was a dangerous attempt on their authority, commanded all the Divines, the Curates and the Students to be preſent at this diſputation, and declared that they who ſhould refuſe it would loſe the right of making uſe of the public mills and ovens, and of buying the neceſſaries of life at the Market (8). By this means Farel had all the advantage he could wiſh for; he held his diſputation in the preſence of an infinite number of Clergymen and Laymen, February the 15th 1524. But yet the Roman Catholic faction was ſtill ſo ſtrong, that they obliged him ſoon after to retire from Baſil (9).

(4) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 197, 198.

(5) In pag. 43. where he does not treat of the chronological ſeries of Farel's labours.

(6) He places it on Feb. the 15th 1520.

(7) In chap. the 13th pag. 191, &c.

(8) *Secus facturis uſu molendinorum, furnorum & mercatus interdicit.* Melch. Adam, *in Vitis Theol. Exter.* pag. 114.

(9) Taken from Melch. Adam, ibid. pag. 113, 114.

gion at Montbeliard, in which deſign he was ſupported by the Duke of Wittenberg, who was Lord of that place, and he ſucceeded in it moſt happily (*k*). He tempered his zeal a little according to Oecolampadius's advice [*C*]. In the year 1528 he had the ſame ſucceſs

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 204.

[*C*] *He tempered his zeal a little, according to Oecolampadius's advice.*] Here follow Mr. Ancillon's words. " Farel according to the advice which Oe- " colampadius gave him, tempered his ardour, and " managed his zeal according to the temper of his " hearers, all of whom he converted to the Communion " of Jeſus Chriſt (10)." This is meant of his preaching at and about Montbeliard. Others ſay that as he had diſcovered too much heat and paſſion in thoſe quarters, Oecolampadius adviſed him to add prudence to his mettle when he ſhould preach the Goſpel in another place (11). *Baſilea exactus in* monte Bellicardi *Evangelium Chriſti aliquandiu docuit, poſt & in aliis Gallici idiomatis peritis vicinisque locis: tanta animi contentione tantoque ardore: ut divinitus illum ad munus ejuſmodi excitatum res demonſtraret: quanquam alicubi moderationem in eo quidam deſiderarint, ut dicemus. Circa annum* viceſimum ſeptimum *iterum annunciandi verbi locum invenit, in quodam oppido, cui* Ælin *nomen: ubi ut fortiter & prudenter ageret, Oecolampadius ſubmonuit* (*). i. e. " Being baniſhed from Baſil he " preached the Goſpel of Chriſt for ſome time at " Montbeliard, and afterwards alſo in ſome neighbour- " ing places where the people underſtood French; he " did it with ſo much zeal and ardour, that it plainly " appeared he had been divinely choſen for that " function: though ſome perſons wiſhed he had been " a little more moderate. About the year 1527 he " met with another opportunity to preach the Goſpel " in a certain village called Ælin, when Oecolampa- " dius adviſed him to behave both with fervency and " prudence." The Author from whom I have borrowed this paſſage, gives us (12) the very words, which Oecolampadius made uſe of when he entreated his friend to break himſelf of his violence. *Ita* Oecolampadius *alicubi* (†): Qui hic tibi & Evangelio favent, ne quid ardore zeli initia inter attentes, timent. De quo ſatis monui antè, quàm abires: nunc non item. Neque enim excidiſſe animo crediderim; quomodo inter nos convenerit: nempe ut quantò propenſior es ad violentiam; tantò magis te ad lenitatem exerceas; leoninamque magnanimitatem columbina modeſtia frangas. Duci, non trahi, volunt homines. Unum ſpectemus; quomodo lucrifaciamus animas Chriſto; & quomodo ipſi doceri vellemus, ſiquidem adhuc teneremur in tenebris & captivitate Antichriſti. Vide ut Chriſtum etiam vita exprimas, exemplo inquam docendi. *Et alibi* (§) *apertiùs:* rogavi ex N. ſuper manſuetudine tuâ: quâ nihil magis Chriſtianum, nedum Apoſtolum decet. Is cùm mirè extuliſſet ſedulitatem indefatigabilem, ardoremque inextinguibilem, & ſatis felicem ſucceſſum: ſubdit, quod in ſacrificos imbres effundas convitiorum. Non ignoro, quid illi mereantur, & quibus coloribus depingi debeant: pace tamen tua dixerim, amicus & frater fratri: non videris per omnia officii tui reminiſci. Evangelizatum, non maledictum miſſus es. Condono, imò laudo zelum: modò ne deſideretur manſuetudo. Da operam, mi frater, ut ſpiritum meum exhilares etiam hoc nuncio: quod in tempore ſuo, vinum & oleum infundas; quod Evangeliſtam, non tyrannicum legiſlatorem præſtes. i. e. " Oecolampadius *ſpeaks* " *ſomewhere thus:* they who wiſh well here to you " and to the Goſpel, are afraid leſt your fiery zeal " ſhould carry you too far in this beginning. I have " given you ſufficient warning of this before you " went away: I ſhall not repeat what I told you then, " for I cannot think that you have already forgotten " what we agreed upon together: namely, that the " more you are inclined to violence, the more you " ought to ſtrive how to acquire more gentleneſs, and " to qualify that magnanimity of a lyon by the meek- " neſs of a dove. Men will be led, and not pulled " by main force. Let us only mind this, how we " may gain ſouls to Chriſt; and how we our ſelves " would chooſe to be taught, if we laboured ſtill under " the darkneſs and ſlavery of Antichriſt. Take care " that you imitate Chriſt by your actions; I mean by " your manner of teaching. *He ſpeaks more openly* " *ſtill in another place.* I have enquired of N. about " your meekneſs, than which nothing becomes better " a Chriſtian, not to ſay, an Apoſtle. This perſon " having highly commended your indefatigable care " and your inextinguiſhable ardour, and your ſucceſs, " which is not inconſiderable, added, that you poured " out ſhowers of reproaches on the Prieſts. I know " what they deſerve, and how they ought to be deſ- " cribed: but give me leave to ſay it, as a friend " and brother to a brother: You do not ſeem to re- " member in every reſpect what your duty requires of " you. You are ſent to preach the Goſpel, and not " to rail. I excuſe, nay I commend your zeal, provided " it does not want meekneſs. Strive, my dear bro- " ther, to fill my ſoul with joy, by acquainting me " that in a proper time you know how to mix wine " with oil, and that you behave like an Evangeliſt, " and not like a tyrannical Legiſlator."

(10) Ancillon's *Vie de Farel*, pag. 204.

(11) Melch. Adam, *in Vitis Theol. Exter.* pag. 114.

(*) *In Epiſt.* lib. 4.

(12) Melch. Adam, *in Vit. Theol. Exter.* pag. 113, 116.

(†) Lib. 4. Epiſt. pag. 916.

(§) Lib. 4. Epiſt. pag. 956.

Here follows an inſtance of Farel's too fiery zeal. On a proceſſion day he pulled out of a Prieſt's hand the image of St. Anthony, and threw it from the bridge down into the river. He would have been knocked down had not God prevented it by a panic fear, with which the mob was ſeized on a ſudden. It is however thus that the Miniſter whom I quote pretends Farel was ſaved. *Cùm verò Farellus noſter aliquando, publica occaſione gloriæ divinæ aſſerendæ oblata,* Antonii *idolum, magna cum pompa per urbem circumgeſtatum, Sacrificulorum manibus excuſſum in ſubjectum flumen è ponte præcipitaſſet, Pentheus alter haud dubie futurus erat, ni mira Dei providentia furibundæ plebis ora & manus injecto terrore panico præter ſpem compeſcuiſſet* (13). i. e. " It happened one day that our " Farel met with an opportunity to maintain publickly " the Glory of God. For St. Anthony's image being " carried about the city with great pomp and ceremo- " ny, he ſnatched it out of the Prieſt's hand, and " threw it over the bridge into the river. For which " action he would no doubt have been torn to pieces " like another Pentheus, had not God's wonderful " providence refrained the mouths and hands of the " populace, by filling them unexpectedly with a " panic fear." Eraſmus did very much diſlike Farel's temper. Thus he writes to the Official of Bezançon. *Habetis iſthic in propinquo, novum Evangeliſtam* Pharellum, *quo nihil vidi unquam mendacius, virulentius, aut ſeditioſius* (14). i. e. " You have in your neigh- " bourhood the new Evangeliſt Farel; I never ſaw a " man more falſe, more virulent, or more ſeditious." In another place he gives us a frightful character of him: but it muſt be remembered, that he thought Farel had abuſed him in ſome of his writings. *Supereſt* Pharellus, *bone* Chriſte, *quàm pius, quam innocens, vir! In quem quid ſcripſerim non referunt. Si nunc eſt converſus ad meliorem frugem, gratulor homini. Qualis olim erat, mihi valde diſplicuit, ſeditioſus, acidæ linguæ, & vaniſſimus. Sic rem geſſit in monte* Pellicardi, *ut bis inde profugerit.* Baſilienſis *Senatus, quum cuperet civitatem eſſe tutam à ſeditione, juſſit* Pharellum *ire exulatum.* Oecolampadius *cujus mensâ tum utebatur non ſemel objurgavit hominem, quòd obtrectandi nullum faceret finem, teſtatus ſe non poſſe ferre in convivio tam amarulentas obtrectationes. Id mihi narravit, qui in eadem menſa accumbebat, vir integritatis rariſſimæ. Apellârat me* Balaam, *hac de cauſa cum illo expoſtulanti, nihil certi reſpondit, ſed ſic elapſus eſt, ut diceret negotiatorem quendam* Dupletum *hoc dixiſſe, is enim jam abierat; & fieri poteſt ut dixerit, ſed à* Pharello *doctus. De colloquio noſtro ſcripſit epiſtolam ad fratres* Conſtantiam, *in qua ſæpe in decem verſibus non erat unum verbum verum. Omitto jam leviora. Talem expertus, ſi talem depinxi, nihil mirum. Nunc qualis ſit neſcio* (15). i. e. " Is " Farel alive, Good Lord, what a pious, what an " innocent man! They do not relate what I wrote " againſt him. If he is now altered for the better I " wiſh him joy. But I diſliked him extremely as he " was formerly, a ſeditious, ſlanderous and deceitful " man. The Senate of Baſil being willing to keep " their city free from ſedition, baniſhed Farel; and " Oecolampadius with whom he uſed to board has " often cenſured him for his continual railings, de- " claring that he could not bear thoſe bitter invectives " at table. This has been related to me by a man " of an uncommon ſincerity, who uſed to diet at the " ſame

(13) Fridericus Spanheim. *in Geneva reſtituta*, pag. 40, 41.

(14) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 30. lib. 18. pag. 798. It is dated December the 29th 1524; whence it appears that Farel went that year into the territories of Montbeliard. See alſo the 14th Letter of the 30th book, but correct the date of it, and put 1525, inſtead of 1515.

(15) Eraſm. *in Epiſtola ad Fratres Germaniæ inferioris*, pag. 2128, 2129. It is the 69th Letter of the 31ſt book; it was written in the year 1530. I have corrected ſome errors, which crept into the London edition. Compare this with what I ſhall quote from Eraſmus in the Remark [*L*] quotation (43).

(l) Ibid. pag. 206, 207.

(m) Ibid. pag. 207, 208.

ſucceſs in the City of Aigle, and ſoon after in the Bailiwick of Morat (*l*) [*D*]. He went afterwards to Neufchatel in the year 1529, and argued againſt the Roman Catholic party with ſo much ſtrength, that this City embraced the Reformed Religion and eſtabliſhed it intirely November the 4th 1530 (*m*). He was ſent (*n*) a Deputy to the Synod of Waldenſes held in the Valley of Angrogne; hence he went to Geneva, where he laboured againſt Popery; but the Grand Vicar and the other Clergymen reſiſted him with ſo much fury, that he was obliged to retire. He was called back in 1534 by the inhabitants, who had renounced the Roman Catholic Religion, and he was the chief perſon that procured the perfect abolition of Popery in that City the next year. He was baniſhed from Geneva with Calvin in the year 1538 (*o*), and retired to Baſil, and afterwards to Neufchatel (*p*), where there was great probability of a large Evangelical harveſt. Some months before he had received at Neufchatel a deadly affront, but for which ſuch a ſatisfaction was made him [*E*], that it cannot be ſaid he was forced to go to Mets. He

(n) Spanheim, *in Geneva reſtituta*, pag. 42, 43.

(o) Beza, *in Vita Calvini.*

(p) Ancillon, *Vie de Guillaume Farel*, pag. 170.

(16) Matth. xi. 12.

LUTHER.

[*D*] *He had ..... ſucceſs in the city of Aigle, and ſoon after in the Bailiwick of Morat.* According to Monſieur Ancillon he did not go to Neufchatel but after he had reformed the City of Aigle and the Bailiwick of Morat: but Monſieur Spanheim the father makes him go to Neufchatel immediately on his leaving Montbeliard, and to Aigle, &c. His account is ſo curious that it deſerves to be tranſcribed at length. The Reader will ſee in it this Reformer's intrepidity, and with how much courage he got over the oppoſition which the Prieſts made, who cauſed the bells to be rung that his voice might not be heard: they alſo made uſe of the artifice to which Ulyſſes had recourſe to prevent the bad effects of the ſinging of the Syrens, they ſtopped their ears with locks of ſilk. This it was they oppoſed to Farel's thundering eloquence: but at laſt they became more reaſonable, and heard him favourably. *Inde*, that is to ſay from Montbeliard, Neocomum *delatus Farellus, ſed & ibi duriter habitus* Aquileiam *Bernatum oppidum Valeſiis conterminum incolere cœpit, & ludum aperire erudiendæ juventuti in ſpeciem, revera docendæ veritati. Turbatum hic etiam à Sacrificulis, & Farello quærenda ſedes alia. Delecta* Moratum, *Helveticæ gentis fortitudine & victoria nobile municipium. Sed nec ibi Farello noſtro quies. Extruſus itaque in agrum* Biellenſem *divina providentia totum illum tractum ingenti ſucceſſu Evangelii prædicatione implevit, eumque inter ludibria, verbera, & contumelias innumeras, Diaboli & Cleri ingratiis, Chriſto vindicavit. Accêſſere mox* Orba & Granſonium, *quicquid fremeret Satan, quicquid Sacrificuli in Farelli & Evangelii perniciem molirentur. Imperterritus hominis animus omnes in ſtuporem dabat, cùm viderent animum ſimul ac vocem illi ad ſtrictos enſes conſtare, adeò quidem, ut & illi ex Clero, qui continuo campanarum clangore, & aure bombycinâ lanugine oppletâ, concionem ejus eludere diu ſatagerant, poſtmodùm patulas aures & faventes animos ad Farelli auditorium adferrent* (17). i. e. "Hence Farel went to *Neufchatel*; but being alſo "ill treated there, he retired to Aigle, a town belonging to thoſe of Bern, and ſituated near the country "called *Valais*; there he opened a ſchool with a pretence to teach the youth, but in reality with a deſign "to preach the truth. But the Prieſts drove him from "thence alſo, and he was obliged to think of another "place whither to retire. He choſe *Morat*, a town "famous for the courage and victory of the Swiſs "nation. But even there he could not live quietly. "Being therefore by the providence of God ſent into "the territory of Bienne, he ſpread with a wonderful "ſucceſs the knowledge of the Goſpel through that "whole tract, and gained it to Chriſt notwithſtanding "the innumerable affronts, blows and injuries with "which the Devil loaded him, and againſt all oppoſition of the Clergy. Soon after he reformed Orbe "and Granſon, though the Devil raged at it, and "the Prieſts did all that lay in their power to deſtroy "Farel and the Goſpel. This man's undaunted "courage raiſed people's admiration, when they ſaw "that neither his preſence of mind nor his voice "failed him amidſt drawn ſwords; ſo that even thoſe "Clergymen who by the noiſe of the bells and by "ſtopping their ears with ſilk endeavoured at firſt "to render his preaching ineffectual, heard him afterwards with attention and with a favourable diſpoſition "towards him." You will not find Lauſanne in the liſt of the cities where Farel planted the Reformed Religion: and yet he eſtabliſhed it alſo at Lauſanne, if we may believe Beza (18), and the inſcription of his picture. Pray obſerve, that during the firſt ſermons he made at Mets, the Dominican Friars had their recourſe to their bells, as to an infallible remedy: but in vain did they ring them, they could not interrupt the Preacher. He ſtrove with the bells who ſhould be better heard, and he was not beaten. *Primam concionem in cœmiterio Dominicanorum habuit. Qui cùm aliud non poſſent, campani æris impulſu impedire concionem conati ſunt. Ibi tum* Farellus *contra ad ravim uſque vocem intendit: nec vinci ſe à ſtrepitu ullo paſſus eſt* (19). His voice was like the thunder, and we may apply to him what Spanheim ſaid of a Monk who preached againſt Lutheraniſm. Dominicanæ *familiæ Monachus, qui pro concione in Palatii cœnobio ſtentoreâ declamatione* Cornua quæ vincatque tubas, *in* Lutheranum *nomen invehebatur*, à Petro Roberto Olivetano .... *publicè increpitus & correptus* (20). i. e. "A Dominican Friar, "who preaching in the Convent of the Palace inveighed againſt the Lutherans with a Stentorean "voice, and louder than a hunter's horn and a trumpet, was publicly reproved by Peter Robert Olivetan."

(18) Beza, *in Iconibus.*

(19) Melch. Adam, *in Vitis Theolog. Exter.* pag. 114. See alſo a Letter of *Bucer* to *Calvin.* It is the 37th amongſt Calvin's Letters, and dated October the 6th 1541. This date does not agree with Beza, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* liv. 16. 433. who places Farel's journey under the year 1542.

[*E*] *He received at Neufchatel a deadly affront, ... for which ... ſatisfaction was made him.*] "Farel "having endeavoured to reform the Church of Neufchatel ſo that every thing might be done with order "and decency, was continually improving men's morals, reforming all abuſes, and ſuppreſſing all ſcandalous actions, as much as lay in his power. This "ſtrictneſs, with which he laboured to have the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline obſerved, rendered him odious and "even unſufferable to the wicked and vicious. It "happened one day that a woman of a nobſe Family "parted from her huſband. Farel entreated her not "to put aſunder what God had joined together, and "inſiſted upon the ſtrongeſt arguments to perſuade her "to do her duty. This woman would not hearken "either to the private advices ſhe had received, or "to thoſe of the Conſiſtory, or to the entreaties of "the

(17) Spanheim, *Geneva reſtituta*, pag. 41, 42.

(20) Spanheim. *Geneva Reſtituta*, pag. 56.

He had a thouſand difficulties to ſtruggle with in that riſing Church, and was obliged to retire with the faithful into the Abbey of Gorze (*r*) [*F*], where the Count of Furſtemberg protected them. But they could not continue there long, for they were beſieged in the Abbey, and obliged at laſt to ſurrender after a capitulation (*s*). Farel very happily made his eſcape [*G*], and endeavoured to procure an effectual reſtoration for his friends by the means of the Proteſtant Princes of Germany (*t*). He went to take again upon him his former functions of a Miniſter at Neufchatel, whence he took now and then a journey to Geneva. When he went thither in the year 1553, he found that he was very odious to ſome perſons there [*H*]. During his ſtay at Geneva at this time he was preſent at Servetus's execution (*u*). He went again to Geneva in the year 1564, to bid farewell for

(*r*) Ibid. pag. 211.

(*s*) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* liv. 16. pag. 434.

(*t*) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 99, 100.

(*u*) Idem, pag. 228.

" the Magiſtrates of Neufchatel; ſo that Farel thought " himſelf obliged to blame and condemn this diſobe- " dience after another manner, and that he ought to " remove that ſcandal publickly in a ſermon and " from the pulpit. Hence it was that on a Sunday " morning the laſt day of July he ſpoke with his " wonted ardour both againſt this rebel woman, and " againſt them that ſupported her in her obſtinacy. " They who favoured her took his action very ill. " That ſame day they combined together againſt Farel, " and knew ſo well how to work upon the people, " that at two of the clock they met in an open place " near the church and the caſtle, to conſult together " how they ſhould deal with Farel. The opinions " were divided, ſome being for, and others againſt " Farel: at laſt the majority voted that Farel ſhould " leave Neufchatel within two months. The prudent " conduct of the Governor and of the Council of " State, as they call it, prevented a ſedition and the " effuſion of blood. As Farel had no other motive or " view, but the promoting of the glory of God and " the honour of his Church, the ſedition did not ſur- " prize him, he was not daunted by it, but continued " to perform the functions of his office without the " leaſt faint-heartedneſs. No ſooner were the ſove- " reign Lords of Bern acquainted with the raſh un- " dertaking of this Lady's friends, but they wrote im- " mediately to the Governor and Council of Neufcha- " tel, that they might prevent the evil and ſuppreſs " it before it grew worſe. They ſent two Deputies " of the moſt conſiderable perſons of their Council, " who being arrived at Neufchatel, repreſented in the " ſtrongeſt manner to the four Miniſters, and to the " Council and Citizens, what a ſignal injury it would " be to Farel, and to the ſignal ſervices he had done, " and to the grace of which God had made him an " inſtrument towards them. Hence it happened, that " on the 28th of November the Council iſſued out a " Decree, by which it was ordered, that all miſun- " derſtanding ſhould be ſuppreſſed, all partiality ſmo- " thered, all miſtruſt ended, and all hatred and ani- " moſity ſtifled and appeaſed; that Farel ſhould con- " tinue to perform the functions of his office, as being " blameleſs both with regard to his doctrine and to " his morals, and as a man who had done the Church " very great ſervices; that whoever ſpoke ill of Fa- " rel ſhould be condemned to pay a great fine; Farel " being in reality the *Claſſis* * of Neufchatel, *the* " *Chariot of Iſrael, and the Horſemen thereof*, by his " piety, his probity, and his learning. According " to the advice of the Magiſtrates of Bern, Farel, by " a majority of the votes of the Citizens of Neufcha- " tel, was continued in his poſt January the 4th, " 1542, to the great comfort of all good men, and " to the ſhame of his enemies, who were all ſilenced. " This added new ſtrength to Farel's zeal; he ſtorm- " ed and thundered more than ever againſt vice and " corruption (21)." It muſt be obſerved, that this Miniſter aſſerted with great zeal and vigour the ſeverity of Church diſcipline, and impoſed publick penance on all thoſe ſinners that raiſed any ſcandal. Here follows the ſubſtance of a Letter written to the *Claſſis* of Neufchatel by the Miniſters of Baſil July the 28th 1554. *They ſay that they commend Farel's zeal in taking all poſſible care that the Church-diſcipline be exactly obſerved, that the reign of vice be deſtroyed, that the holy Sacraments be adminiſter'd in a holy and profitable manner; adding that they approved, as well as Farel, that they who by their ſins ſcandalize the Church, ſhould make a ſolemn confeſſion of their faults, give a public teſtimony of their repentance, and by an extraordinary humiliation make amends for the offence they have given* (22).

* What a *Claſſis* is, ſee in the Article BEKKER. Remark [*N*].

(21) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 176, &c.

(22) Ibid. pag. 153.

[*F*] *He was obliged to retire into the Abbey of Gorze.*] The women were like to tear him in pieces there, if we may believe Monſieur de Madaure. He charges him *with having cried out, that it is falſe that the Virgin Mary continued a Virgin after her delivery* (23). *The women of Gorze*, adds he, *ſtartled at this blaſphemy and audaciouſneſs, fell upon him, and with their nails pluck'd out his hair and beard, and tore him with ſuch a fury, that he would never have eſcaped ſafe out of their hands, had not Captain Henry Franck deliver'd him.* Monſieur Ancillon ſhews this to be a fable.

(23) Madaure in the book intitled, *La Naiſſance & la Decadence de l'Hereſie à Mets*, quoted by Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 66. (*a*).

* (*a*) Mr. Bayle is miſtaken in this quotation and in the (25): He takes for the name of a man, the name of the city of which he was a titulary Biſhop. This man's name was MARTIN MEURISSE; he was a Franciſcan Friar, and Biſhop of Madaure, Suffragan and Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick of Mets. Thus he ſtiled himſelf in the titles of his Books, and particularly of that which Mr. Bayle quotes: It is intitled, *Hiſtoire de la naiſſance, du progrès, & de la décadence de l'Hereſie dans la ville de Mets & Païs Meſſin.* i. e. "The Hiſtory of the birth, progreſs, and fall of " hereſy in the city and territories of Mets." This title ſeems to have been copied from that which Florimond de Remond prefixed to his Hiſtory. Mr. Bayle was probably miſled by Monſieur Ancillon's manner of quoting this Author in his Life of Farel; he calls him generally *le Sieur de Madaure* *; which is a manner of expreſſing one's ſelf as inaccurate, as if *Coeffeteau* was quoted under the name of *le Sieur de Dardaine* or *de Marſeille*, or *Cardinal du Perron* under the name of *le Sieur d'Evreux* or *de Sens*. Meuriſſe's work, which occaſioned this remark, was printed at Mets for J. Antoine in the year 1642, 4to. The reader will find a Catalogue of his other Works in *Waddingi Scriptores Ord. Minorum*, and in the *Bibliotheca Telleriana*, p. 115, 192, and 294. CRIT. REM.]

* See the *Mélange Critiq. de Mr. Ancillon*, tom. 2. pag. 271.

[*G*] *Farel very happily made his eſcape.*] Beza having related (24), that this Abbey *was beſieged, and at laſt ſurrendered upon terms*, adds, *and tho' ſtrict ſearch was made after Farel, yet he made his eſcape having been put in a cart amongſt the lepers.* Monſieur de Madaure pretends that Farel eſcaped *by being put in a cart full of lepers, having his face made white with meal, and holding a clapper in his hand* (25). But Monſieur Ancillon anſwered, that *this meal and this clapper are all of the Sieur de Madaure's own invention*, and he grounds this anſwer on Beza's ſilence. But this is not a ſolid foundation; for Beza was not obliged to relate all the circumſtances of this affair, but only the ſubſtance of it.

(24) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* liv. 16. pag. 434.

(25) Madaure, *Naiſſance & Decadence de l'Hereſie à Mets*, qnoted by Ancillon, pag. 95.

[*H*] *He was very odious to ſome perſons at Geneva.*] They brought a criminal action againſt him, and he was obliged to appear before the Judges: for the Senate of Geneva wrote to the Magiſtrates of Neufchatel, deſiring them to order that the perſon accuſed ſhould come and anſwer the charges that were brought againſt him. As ſoon as the Senate heard that Farel was arrived, they ſent Calvin word, that he muſt not be ſuffered to preach. Calvin does not acquaint us with the iſſue of this affair, he only ſays, that he would willingly blot out with his own blood the diſhonour, which thoſe of Geneva brought upon themſelves, by their ungrateful conduct. Here follows the whole paſſage. *Nunc ad ſummum pervenit nequitia, ut omni pudore excuſſo templum Domini in lupanar convertere obſtinate cupiant. Atque ut ſciatis quam fœda ſit deformitas, cum hic nuper eſſet, frater noſter Farellus, cui ſe totos debent, ut ſatis noſtis, & pro jure ſuo eos libere moneret,*

for ever to Calvin who was dangerouſly ill. He married at the age of ſixty nine [*I*]. He took a ſecond journey to Mets in the year 1565, *being invited by his ancient flock to come and ſee the fruits of the ſeed which he had ſowed in their hearts* (*y*). The day after

(*y*) Ancill. *Vie de Farel*, pag. 263.

moneret, tantus in eum furor exarſit, ut capitale judicium in eum intentare non ſint veriti. Scio equidem non debere novum videri, ſi reperiantur in urbe libera factioſi homines, qui turbas concitent. Sed deploranda eſt Senatus noſtri cæcitas, quod libertatis ſuæ patrem, & patrem hujus Eccleſiæ ſibi reum cauſæ capitalis mitti a Neocomenſibus popoſcit. Dedecus hujus urbis proferre cogor, quod ſanguine meo delere cuperem. Venit Farellus: antequam urbem ingreſſus eſſet, denunciabat domi meæ apparitor Senatus, ne ſuggeſtum conſcenderet. Reliqua non proſequor: quia ſatis eſt ejus ingratitudinis guſtum dediſſe, quæ bonis omnibus & ingenuis merito ſtomachum movebit. Sed quoniam me complures cauſæ impediunt, ne mala noſtra aperte deplorem, ſic breviter habete, niſi per vos cohibeatur Satan, habenas ei laxatum iri (26). i. e. "Wickedneſs is now come to the higheſt degree; ſo "that men having now loſt all ſhame, obſtinately de- "ſire to turn the Church of God into a place of pro- "ſtitution. And that you may know how abomina- "ble the corruption is; I muſt tell you, that when "our brother Farel was here lately, to whom they "are ſo much indebted, as you very well know, he gave "them free advice, as he has a right to do; whereupon "they fell into ſuch a paſſion againſt him, that they "did not ſcruple to bring a criminal action againſt "him. I am ſenſible that it is no new thing, to ſee "in a free City factious men, who raiſe commotions. "But we ought to lament the blindneſs of our Senate, "who required from the Magiſtrates of Neufchatel "to ſend thither to them the Father of their Liberty "and the Father of this Church, as a perſon charged "with a capital crime. I am forced to relate the diſ- "honour of this City, which I would blot out with "my own blood. Farel came; and before he en- "tered the city, the Senate's officer declared at my "houſe, that he ſhould not get into the pulpit. I "ſhall not relate the reſt, for it is ſufficient to have "given you an inſtance of ſuch an ungratefulneſs, "which juſtly exaſperates all good and honeſt perſons. "But as there are ſeveral reaſons, which do not ſuf- "fer me openly to bewail our misfortunes, I ſhall on- "ly warn you in one word, that if Satan be not re- "ſtrained by you, he will ſoon be let abſolutely looſe."

(26) Calvinus, *Epiſtola ad Tiguri-nos Miniſtros*; it is the 165th; it is dated from Geneva Nov. the 26th 1553.

[*I*] *He married at the age of ſixty nine.*] "It ap- "pears by a writing under Farel's own hand, that he "married an elderly maiden called Mary, the daugh- "ter of Alexander Torel of the City of Roan; that "this maiden retiring to Neufchatel for the ſake of "Religion, had been brought up in the knowledge "of the Lord by her mother, who was a widow in- "deed, and feared and ſerved God; that this maiden "was honeſt and virtuous, and her life regular and "blameleſs. The Bans of Farel and Mary Torel's "marriage are ſtill extant written by Farel himſelf, "with great ſimplicity; they were publiſhed Septem- "ber the 11th, the 21ſt, and October the 2d, 1558 "(27)." Let us ſee how Monſieur Ancillon vindi- cates this marriage (28). *Farel did not marry till he was ſixty nine years old, and as his friends ſaid, when he had one foot in the grave. Farel's friends thought his marriage very ſtrange, and out of ſeaſon: yet Farel found means to make his friends approve the reaſons, that made him enter into a ſociety, ſuch as marriage is, in his old age. Men have thought till this time, that Farel was perſuaded to marry by a ſecret inſpiration and an extraordinary motion. However it be we know, that by marrying, he propoſed to provide for his old age, becauſe of his infirmities, by the means which God himſelf has ordained; that is, by taking an help for his piety to cheriſh it in him, an help for ſociety, to make it more agreeable, an help for œconomy, whom he might truſt with the things belonging to this life, and an help for his weakneſs, that he might poſſeſs his veſſel in ſanctification and honour. We know that Farel married in order to ſhew, that a ſtate of celibacy is neither meritorious nor ſatisfactory, as they of the Romiſh Church aſſert. We know, that Farel married to prove that the grace of a perpetual continency is neither given to all, nor for ever* *. The end of this Apology will ſurprize all thoſe who have but a ſuperficial genius, and even ſeveral other perſons: Men will hardly imagine, that the gift of continence, which has been kept till the age of ſixty nine, ſhould on a ſudden diſappear and vaniſh away. The moſt ſenſual and moſt voluptuous perſons do generally loſe their incontinency at that age, and even ſooner. Even they, who have not made too bad an uſe of their hot conſtitution, find that their ſtrength is entirely decayed before they come to their ſixty ninth year; and here is a man, who at that age begins to find, that he cannot be continent any longer. This is certainly very extraordinary; but yet let us not call it a mere fable. Let us remember that the impreſſion of ſome objects upon our brains is not in the power of our ſoul. When ſome objects pleaſe us, it is not becauſe we will have it ſo, but becauſe they move after a certain manner the fibres of our brains, and open ſome valves in them which were ſhut. This alteration produces almoſt an infinite number of others in our body: hence come thoſe deſires, that foretaſte of pleaſure, and a thouſand other innovations, which deſtroy our continency. Thus Mary Torel altered the courſe of the animal ſpirits in this good old man: ſhe pleaſed him; ſhe had that proportion between the object and the faculty, which raiſes the ſentiments of love, and all that follows; and this was enough. Do not come and tell me, *that this maiden was not young, and that ſhe is not repreſented as beautiful.* This is nothing to the purpoſe; the proportion I have mentioned, that great ſpring, that grand mover, conſiſts neither in youth nor beauty; it is a certain *Je ne ſcai quoy*, I know not what, which has its ſeat in the imperceptible particles. The effects of it are felt, tho' the manner of its action be unknown (29). A man may have ſeen ten thouſand women for twenty years, and yet have never had a mind to marry. This ſame man may chance to meet with a woman in a boat, in an entertainment, or in a viſit, and will like her ſo well as to be ready to marry her immediately: and yet ſhe is neither ſo young nor ſo beautiful as thoſe, whom he did not fall in love with: ſhe alſo has been in company with ſeveral men, much more inclinable to love than this is, and yet ſhe did not inflame their heart. Why? Becauſe the proportion between the object and the faculty was wanting, and happens to be in this particular caſe; and ſo the marriage is ſoon agreed upon. It may even be ſaid, that a man advanced in years, who from a long chain of arguments infers that he muſt marry, does by that very means diſpoſe himſelf to incontinency. He becomes liable to be eaſily ſtruck in that part of the brain, which gives riſe to love: the object that touches him in that part pleaſes and charms him, he thinks of it continually, he deſires to enjoy it, and all this makes him loſe the noble gift of continence, with which nature had endowed him; he finds himſelf in a burning condition, and marries according to St. Paul's advice. There is nothing therefore improbable in the vindication of our old man's marriage, which I have tranſcribed; on the contrary, we meet there with an inſtance, which ſtrongly proves, that nothing is more raſh, than a vow of celibacy. The gift of continency is not a thing on which men may depend. Suppoſe you have been proof againſt a thouſand very lovely objects, even for a great many years. Well; does it follow from thence that you will be ſo perpetually? Can you anſwer for it, that you will never meet with an object more proportionable to the fibres of your brain? This comes like the thief in the night, when you do not expect it. Keep therefore always your liberty, poſſeſs your gift as though you did not poſſeſs it, and think that you can and perhaps ſhall loſe it, when you will not be aware of it. You need only meet with a perſon with whom you fall in love, and away goes your continency.

(29) See the *Nouvelles Lettres contre le Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, pag. 557.

Notwithſtanding all this, it is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that Farel ſhould have continued a batchelor till he was an old man. His conſtitution which was all fire, and ſo ſtrong that in his ſeventy fifth year (30) he had a ſon by his wife who was pretty old, required, it ſeems, that he ſhould have married young. The moſt powerful

(30) He lived 76 years, and left a ſon who was but one year old. *See* Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 272.

(27) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 242, 243.

(28) Ibid. pag. 240, 241.

* Chryſoſt. Hom. 47. on St. Matth.

after his arrival (z) *he preached in the Church of the intrenchment.* He was not then ſo old as it is related [K]. He returned to Neufchatel, and died there September the 13th in the ſame year (aa). He left a ſon who was but one year old, and who died three years after (bb). Though he was more capable to preach than to write books, yet he ſet up for an Author [L]. Let us not omit to obſerve, that he laid the foundations of the

(z) That is to ſay May 13.

(aa) Melch. Adam, *Vit. Theolog. Exter.* pag. 115.

(bb) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 272.

powerful eloquence, with which he confuted the pretended validity of monaſtic vows, did not require it leſs; ſince at that time men were obliged to preach by their own example, if they would not be ſuſpected of ſome remains of heterodoxy (31). Eraſmus mentioning the ſucceſs which the Reformers had, ſays amongſt other things, that ſeveral Monks and Nuns married: he had ſaid juſt before that Farel preached in the territories of Montbeliard. *In montem* Bellicardi *vocatus eſt* Pharellus *ad prædicandum Evangelium hoc novum; cujus hic mirus eſt ſucceſſus. Jam multi repudiârunt Baptiſmum, & revocârunt Circumciſionem. Miſſam abominantur plurimi: Sunt qui publicè doceant, in Euchariſtia nihil eſſe niſi panem & vinum. Velum & cuculla deponitur paſſim. Nubunt & ducunt uxorem Monachæ & Monachi* (32). i. e "Farel is called to Mont-"beliard to preach this new Goſpel there: It ſucceeds "wonderfully here: A great many perſons have al-"ready renounced their Baptiſm, and are returned to "their Circumciſion. A great number abhor the "Maſs. There are ſome who maintain that there is "nothing but bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. "The veil and Monk's hood are every where thrown "off. Monks and Nuns marry." Monſieur Maimbourg obſerves, that Farel's Sermon to the Nuns of Geneva abounded with exhortations to marry. *The Nuns of St. Clara, who were the only Nuns at Geneva, were obliged to leave the city; however no violence was offered theſe holy Virgins. Only they made them the ſtrongeſt exhortatious they could, to perſuade them to quit the veil, and to accept the huſbands that were offered them. They were alſo obliged to liſten to a long and ridiculous Sermon, which the Miniſter Farel preached to them in their Convent, before the Syndics, from theſe words of the Goſpel,* Exſurgens Maria abiit in Montana, "Ma-"ry aroſe .... and went into the hill-country;" *to prove to them, that after the example of the Virgin, who went to ſee her couſin Elizabeth on the mountains of Judea, they ought not to be ſhut up, but were obliged to live in the world, and to marry like other women* (33). I ſhall obſerve by the by, that they, who find that the Miniſters in thoſe days took too much care to extol the excellency of marriage, and to exclaim againſt the vows of continency, do not take notice of the circumſtances of that time. It muſt be obſerved, that the celibacy of the Clergy had been for ſome Centuries, an inexhauſtible ſpring of ſcandalous lewdneſs, which diſgraced the Chriſtian Church. The ax was therefore to be laid to the root of the tree. This ſpring was to be drained by aboliſhing the vows of continency. This pernicious doctrine was ſtrongly to be confuted, namely that a Clergyman who keeps a concubine ſins leſs, than one who marries. This doctrine is an unavoidable conſequence from the law of celibacy; for according to the principles of the Church of Rome, a Clergyman who marries after he has made his vow of continency, engages himſelf upon oath to tranſgreſs all his life-time an inviolable Law; he is therefore more guilty, than if he committed now and then the crime of fornication; this is only a tranſient fall; it does not prevent him from acknowledging his fault; he may repent it, and return to the obſervation of his vow; but if he marries he puts himſelf under a neceſſity of breaking it without remorſe and irretrievably. It was therefore neceſſary to preach with the utmoſt vigour upon the honeſty and dignity of matrimony, and againſt the audacious attempt of thoſe, who diſparaged it to ſuch a degree as to prefer fornication before it. It was beſides to be feared, leſt if the Prieſts and Monks, who renounced Popery, abſtained from marrying, the ſame lewdneſs would ſoon be obſerved in the Reformed Churches, which had rendered the Popiſh Clergy deſpicable and abominable to all honeſt men. To prevent therefore this great diſorder it was neceſſary to encourage theſe Gentlemen to marry, ſuppoſing they wanted encouragement; it was neceſſary that the greateſt man ſhould pave the way before them, and ſet them an example. We muſt however do juſtice to the great men of the primitive Church, who have ſo much recommended celibacy. They were induced to it by commendable motives: for nothing is more proper to make the Goſpel proſper, than the thought that they who preach it, have mortified the fleſh, and deprive themſelves of thoſe very pleaſures, which worldly perſons may lawfully enjoy. They had conſidered, that matrimony was attended with a thouſand worldly cares, and ſenſual occupations, which could not but interrupt the ſacerdotal functions. In a word, they ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by the faireſt ſide of celibacy, and went ſo far as to convert it into a Law. But we may ſafely ſay that the promoters of it had not ſufficiently ſtudied human nature, had they been well acquainted with it, they would never have laid ſuch a heavy yoke on the ſhoulders of the Miniſters of the Altar. They ought to have ſaid to each other, we mind only the outward ſhew, the glory of this appearance deceives us,

Maxima pars vatum, pater & juvenes patre digni,
Decipimur ſpecie recti (34).

If they had foreſeen the conſequences of this Law, they would probably have taken all their fine notions for ſnares laid before them by the Devil.

Obſerve that Florimond de Remond aſſerts, that Farel had already had a wife, when he married in his old age. *Farel having left him his place when he went to be a Miniſter at Neufchatel, where in a decrepit age, being threeſcore and ten years old, troubled with the ſtone and the gout, (the uſual attendants of old age) he married again with the daughter of his chamber-maid, being eager after the ſport as an old deer, vainly regretting the heat of his youth, and oftener lazy and uſeleſs in her arms, than amongſt his Books* (35).

[K] *He was not then ſo old as it is related.*] Beza aſſerts that Farel went to Mets in the year 1565, *notwithſtanding his great age, for he was then above fourſcore years old* (36). He has ſet down Farel's age more accurately in another Book (37), where he makes him live but ſeventy ſix years. Monſieur Ancillon ought not to have tranſcribed that blunder of Beza, ſince he had put Farel's birth under the year 1489 (38). Thus Authors forget in one paſſage of the ſame Book what they have ſaid in another place. *God*, ſays he (39), *made Farel, who was above fourſcore years old, take the reſolution to go again to Mets, ... where he arrived May the 12th* 1565.

[L] *Yet he ſet up for an Author.*] He publiſhed in Latin an account of a controverſy in which he was engaged at Bern in the year 1528 (40). Monſieur Ancillon does not mention it. He ſpeaks only of the *Sommaire & Declaration brieve néceſſaire à tous Chretiens.* i. e. "A ſummary and ſhort declaration ne-"ceſſary for all Chriſtians," printed in the year 1552; and of his Book concerning the Lord's Supper and his Teſtament, printed in the year 1553 (41), and of another Book intitled *Le Glaive de l'Eſprit* (42), i. e. "The Sword of the Spirit," printed at Geneva in the year 1550, and deſigned to confute the Free-thinkers. Eraſmus mentions ſome anonymous writings of Farel; his words are as follow (43). *Cum* Phallico *fuit mihi congreſſiuncula perbrevis. Ejus hiſtoriam ſcripſit cuidam* Conſtantienſi, *exemplum clam ad me perlatum eſt. Nihil vidi vanius, nihil glorioſius, nihil virulentius. Sunt ibi interdum decem verſus in quibus ne ſyllaba quidem vera eſt. Idem edidit libellum de* Pariſienſibus & Pontifice. *Quantum illic inficetiarum, quantum ineptæ virulentiæ, quam multi nominatim traducti? & tamen ipſe ſolus non apponit nomen ſuum. Idem ut audio auxit ſtolidum* Alberi *judicium, quod nondum videre licuit; viſi ſunt* Conſtantiæ *& alii duo libelli, quos in me ſcripſit. Et profitetur novum dogma, ſic traducendos, qui obſiſtunt Evangelio, inter quos me numerat, &* Balaam *paſſim appellat.* i. e. "I have had a ſhort controverſy "with Farel, of which he wrote an account to ſome "body at Conſtance, a copy of which has been ſe-"cretly

(31) See the Article of BUCER, Remark [E].

(32) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 19. lib. 30. pag. 1907. It is dated from Baſil Feb. 10, 1515; but it ſhould be 1525.

(33) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 1. pag. m. 48.

WHY the Miniſters, in the beginning of the Reformation inſiſted ſo much upon the neceſſity of marriage.

(34) Horatius, *de Arte Poetica*, ver. 24.

(55) Flor. de Remond *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 7. chap. 18. pag. m. 929.

(36) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* liv. 16. pag. 456.

(37) Beza, *in Iconibus.*

(38) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 1.

(39) Ibid. pag. 263.

(40) Melch. Adam, *Vit. Theolog. Exter.* pag. 16.

(41) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 44.

(42) Ibid. pag. 212.

(43) Eraſmus, Ep. 133. lib. 19. pag. 951. it is dated Sep. 6, 1524.

(cc) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* liv. 5. pag. 891. See the laſt Remark.

the Church of Grenoble in a journey which he made to Gap (*cc*). We ſhall throw Moreri's blunders and the errors of ſome other Writers into the ſame remark [*M*]. Obſerve

" cretly conveyed to me. I never ſaw any thing " more idle, more vain, more violent. There are " ſometimes ten lines etogether, in which there is " not one ſyllable tru . He alſo wrote a ſmall " Book concerning the Pariſians, and concern- " ing the Pope. How much low wit is there in " that Book, how many ſilly invectives, how many " perſons traduced by name! And yet he alone does " not put his name to it. He has alſo, as I hear, " made additions to Alberus's judgment, which I have " not yet been able to ſee. There have been ſeen at " Conſtance two other pamphlets alſo, which he " wrote againſt me. He maintains a new doctrine, " namely, that they ought to be thus ſlandered, who " oppoſe the Goſpel, amongſt whom he reckons me, " and he calls me in ſeveral places *Balaam*."

[*M*] *We ſhall throw Moreri's blunders, and the errors of ſome other Writers into the ſame remark.*] I. Moreri ſays, that by Farel's means *Hereſy made the moſt conſiderable progreſs in Dauphiné.* He is miſtaken: for all the ſhare Farel had in the converſion of that province is contained in the following words of Beza (44). *In the mean while it happened that William Farel going from his Church of Neufchatel in Switzerland to Gap his native place, and paſſing through Grenoble, made there a ſtrong and lively exhortation; he being a man full of a godly zeal, as much as any perſon of this age; and having diſpoſed thoſe of Grenoble to their duty he left them Aynard Pichon for their Miniſter, to encourage them.* II. I own that Farel was Miniſter at Neufchatel after he left Geneva, but before he was a Miniſter at Geneva, he had already performed the ſame functions at Neufchatel; ſo that Moreri has not followed a chronological method. III. He commits a blunder of the ſame nature, when he ſays that this Miniſter having been a little ill uſed at Geneva, *taught his doctrine afterwards at Mets, at Montbeliard, at Lauſanne, and in other places.* After his baniſhment from Geneva he taught it only at Neufchatel and at Mets. His firſt exploit, if I may ſay ſo, was the Reformation of Montbeliard: what he did at Lauſanne happened before he was a Miniſter at Geneva. IV. Moreri ought not to have quoted *Sleidan's Annals*, it is not ſo that this Author's Hiſtory is called. V. According to Moreri Farel is charged with renewing the Hereſy *of Paul of Samoſata, and that of the Elceſaites, as appears from a letter which he wrote to Calvin, and which begins thus,* Litteras tuas quæque eſt &c. (45), *and which is the 78th among Calvin's Epiſtles,* I have not yet been able to trace out the origin of all this; I have only found (46) that one Peter Caroli, formerly a Doctor of the Sorbonne, retired to Geneva about the year 1535. He was obſerved to be a Trimmer, and a man who loved women and his belly; it was not therefore an eaſy matter for him to find a good preferment. He deſired to be Miniſter of Neufchatel, but could not obtain it, and Farel was no doubt the cauſe of it. Calvin and Viret were alſo againſt him, and this was probably the true reaſon which induced Caroli to accuſe them ſometimes of Arianiſm, and ſometimes of Sabellianiſm. A Synod was aſſembled at Lauſanne, before which Caroli produced all the proofs he could gather to ſupport his charge. But the accuſed defended themſelves ſo well that all thoſe proofs were pronounced void and null: they obtained a ſentence by which they were declared orthodox, and as for Caroli he was judged unworthy of the Holy Miniſtry (47). Caroli was not diſcouraged for all this: he appeared again with new papers and proofs before a Synod held at Bern, and endeavoured to obtain a ſentence, by which it was declared that the accuſed had at leaſt given room for ſuſpicions. But they refuted him fully even in this reſpect, and were abſolved of the ſuſpicions as well as of the Hereſies. (48) *Ubi à nobis excuſſa omnia fuerunt quibus ſuſpicionem aliquam de tempore præterito injicere conabatur .... atque hac de ratione, cui non ſatisfaceret, nemo præter ipſum repertus eſt. Fratres ut dignum erat fidis Chriſti Miniſtris nos iniquiſſime in ſuſpicionem aliquam* (49) *adductos ſibi videri pronuntiarunt.* It appears from Calvin's letter, out of which I tranſcribed thoſe words, that the Extracts which this man had ſpread every where, had given ſome perſons a bad opinion of the accuſed Miniſters. So true it is, that man is capable to be impoſed upon by the boldneſs of an impudent ſlanderer! Caroli did not yield to the authority of the Synod; he continued alone to maintain that he had juſtly accuſed them (50). Such is the character of thoſe intermedling, proud and revengeful men; they will never own that they had raſhly defamed their brethren. *Dum hæc geruntur, afferuntur à Myconio literæ publice ad conventum ſcriptæ. Aliæ rurſum à Capitone ad Farellum generatim miſſæ, quibus utriſque intellectum eſt, horrendum longe lateque rumorem de noſtra controverſia pervagatum eſſe. Denique ad excitandam erga nos gentium omnium invidiam malicioſe à certis hominibus fabrefactum. Quod autem homo nihili futiliſſima ſua vanitate tantum proficere potuerit, ut tot Eccleſiis ſiniſtram de nobis opinionem injiceret: id vero eſt, quod nos vehementer perturbavit.* Calvin obſerves that Caroli was condemned to be baniſhed (51). Take notice that by the account I have juſt now given it does not appear that Farel was accuſed of Samoſatenianiſm. I know that Lindanus obſerves, that this Miniſter taught that the Holy Ghoſt was nothing elſe but the motion, which God impreſſes on the creatures (52). I know alſo that Lindanus quotes for his voucher a letter of Caroli to the Cardinal de Lorraine (53), but I am certain that there is a great deal of unfair dealing in all this. He commits a blunder, which I muſt not paſs over. Thoſe of Baſil, *ſays he* (54), dreaded Farel's ſeditious ſpirit ſo much, that knowing he fled twice from Montbeliard, they baniſhed him. He quotes *Eraſm. epiſt. ad Prin. Infer. Germ.* It is an eaſy matter to convince him, that he did not well examine the Authors he quoted. Eraſmus's letter is not directed *ad Principes*, to the Princes, but *ad fratres inferioris Germaniæ* to the brethren in Lower Germany. Eraſmus does not ſay, with thoſe of Baſil, that Farel fled twice from Montbeliard; he knew very well, that Farel did not go to Montbeliard but after he had been baniſhed from Baſil. Prateolus (55) admits all Lindanus's blunders, and tranſcribes his very phraſes: they both mention to us a pretended Sect of *Farreliſts*, which never exiſted but in the fancy of thoſe impertinent compilers of the Catalogues of Heretics. The Jeſuit Gaultier mentions the ſame Sect, and quotes Prateolus. He tells us (56) that Farel revived the whole hereſy of Paul of Samoſata, and the doctrine of the Elceſaïtes. He pretends to prove it by a Letter in which he ſuppoſes that this Miniſter does not condemn to eternal damnation thoſe that diſſemble their faith when they are in danger, provided they do not openly profeſs idolatry. *Dicens nolle ſe eos damnare qui periculorum formidine adducti fidem diſſimulant, modo idololatriam exterius non profiteantur* (57). He quotes, *Farell. ep. ad Calv. cujus initium, Literas tuas, quæque eſt* 78 *inter Epiſtolas Calvini* (58). i. e. " Farel in his Letter to " Calvin, which begins thus, *Your Letter*, and which " is the ſeventy eighth amongſt Calvin's Epiſtles." We have ſeen above, that Moreri grounds his aſſertion upon the ſame Letter. I have Calvin's Letters printed at Hanaw, in the year 1597. The LXXVIIIth is from Bucer to Calvin; none of our Farel's Letters begin with *Literas tuas*, nor favour the Syſtem of the Nicodemites; and I find in his Life written by Monſieur Ancillon (59), that *it is to the Letter, which he wrote to Calvin November the 2d* 1544, *that we are indebted for Calvin's excellent work againſt the Nicodemites, which we have in page* 789 *of his* Opuſcula *to page* 803. Here follows a manifeſt lye of Father Gaultier. He ſuppoſes that Calvin drove Farel from Geneva, *qui tamen eam* (Genevam) *illi poſtea eripuit, adeo ut deinde Neocomenſis Miniſter creatus ſit* (60). i. e. " Who " yet deprived him afterwards of that Church (of Ge- " neva) ſo that he was made a miniſter of Neufchatel." And yet it is unqueſtionable that theſe two Miniſters were driven from Geneva at the ſame time, and for the ſame reaſon; and that when he was called back, they would call Farel back alſo, who notwithſtanding Calvin's preſſing entreaties (61), obſtinately refuſed to comply with the deſire of thoſe of Geneva.

This falſity of Father Gaultier is more tolerable, than what we read in Prateolus in the paſſage where he aſſerts, that the officers ſurprized Farel at Baſil in a bawdy-houſe on an Holy Friday (62).

(44) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* liv. 5. pag. 890, 891.

(45) See below quotation (58) from Father Gaultier. You will ſee there, that the words *quæque eſt*, are no part of the letter.

(46) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* liv. 16. pag. 435.

(47) *Nos Synodi ſententia fuimus abſoluti, ille indignus judicatus qui Miniſterio fungeretur.* Calvinus, *Epiſtolâ ad Grynæum.* It is the 5th in the edition of Hanaw 1597.

(48) Idem, ibid.

(49) *Sycophanta ille Senatus Conſulto in exilium actus eſt, nos plane abſoluti non à crimine modo, ſed ab omni quoque ſuſpicione.* Idem, ibid.

(50) See the Quotation (47).

(51) See the Quotation (49).

(52) *Hic præter Sacramentariſmum etiam Samoſateni renovavit hæreſim Spiritum Sanctum affirmans motum in rebus creatum.* Lindanus. *in Dubitantio*, Dial. 2. pag. m. 147.

(53) *Ita in Summa Gallicana Scripturæ, teſte Petro Carolo Epiſt. ad Card Lotharingum.* Idem, ibid.

(54) *Hunc adeo ſeditioſum metuebant Baſilienſes, ut cum bis Monte Pellicardo profugiſſet eum in exilium abire juſſerint.* Idem, ibid. pag. 146.

(55) Prateol. *in Elencho Hæreſ.* pag. m. 180. *See alſo* pag. 290.

(56) *Pauli Samoſateni hæreſim in integrum reſtituit docens Spiritum Sanctum eſſe quendam motum creatum.* Jacobus Gaultierus, *in Tabula Chronograph.* pag. m. 757.

(57) Idem, ibid.

(58) See above, quotation (45).

(59) Ancillon, *Vie de Farel*, pag. 212.

(60) Gault. *Tab. Chronogr.* pag. 757.

(61) *See* Calvin's 111th Letter.

(62) Prateolus, *in Elencho Hæreſ.* pag. 290.

ſerve, that Farel was thought to be the Author of ſome Libels which were poſted up in ſeveral ſtreets of Paris, and even on the very gates of the Louvre in the year 1534 (*dd*), which proved very prejudicial to the whole Proteſtant Party in the Kingdom.

(*dd*) Florimond de Remond, *Hiſtoire de l'Hereſie*, liv. 7. chap. 5. pag. m. 859.

FARNABY (THOMAS), in Latin *Farnabius*, was one of the learned Humaniſts of the ſeventeenth Century. His notes upon moſt of the ancient Latin Poets have been of very great uſe to young beginners; they are ſhort, learned, and deſigned chiefly to clear up the text. He lived at London (*a*), and applied himſelf to the education of Noblemen and Gentlemen's children, which procured him a handſome livelihood for his family (*b*). I think that his Dedications brought him alſo ſome profit, though he obſerves, ſomewhere, that the time was paſt when they were profitable [*A*]. He dedicated his Horace, and afterwards his Juvenal and Perſius, to Prince Henry, James the Firſt's eldeſt ſon, and was very kindly received by that young Prince (*c*), when he had the honour to preſent his Juvenal and Perſius to him, the Prince did even in ſome manner command him to write ſuch Commentaries on all the Latin Poets; but he was ſo vexed at the cenſures of ſome Critics, that out of ſpite, and againſt his own inclination, he reſolved to diſcontinue that kind of labour. Yet they made him afterwards alter his reſolution (*d*). He had a country-houſe twenty miles diſtant from London, whither he retired in the year 1636 (*e*). Charles I ordered him to write a Latin Grammar for the uſe of all the ſchools, when that which had been eſtabliſhed by Law, and againſt which a great many complaints had been made, was to be reformed (*f*). He died in the year 1647 (*g*). A French Dominican Friar has commended the works of this Author [*B*]. See alſo what the Jeſuit Vavaſſeur § (*α*) ſays of Farnaby's Notes on Martial in his Work intitled, *De Epigrammate* (*h*).

(*a*) Barlæus, Epiſt. 119. pag. 292.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) See the Dedication of his *Lucian*.

(*d*) Taken from the ſame Dedication.

(*e*) Farnab. *Epiſt. ad Voſſium*, pag. 303. *Epiſtolarum ad Voſſium ſcriptarum.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid. pag. 302.

(*g*) Witte, *in Diar. Biograph.*

(*h*) Pag. 270, &c.

[*A*] *He obſerves ſomewhere, that the time is paſt, when Dedications were profitable.*] He quotes on this occaſion a fact which Valerius Maximus relates, which is, that though men did no longer conſult the flight of birds, when they married, as they uſed to do antiently, yet they ſtill invited to their wedding the perſons appointed to make that conſultation. They ſtill kept up, at leaſt by name, ſome footſteps of the antient ceremony. *Quod antiquis, apud quos nihil niſi auſpicio prius ſumpto gerebatur factitatum, ut ex more, nuptiis auſpices interpoſiti, quamvis auſpicia deſiiſſent (Val. Max. lib. 2. cap. 1.) ipſo tamen nomine veteris conſuetudinis veſtigia uſurparent: hoc pleriſque noſtrum quos vexat inſanabile hoc ſcribendi cacoëthes, uſu venit ut quamvis patronorum exoleverit cum auctoritas tum benignitas, non citra ambitionem tamen ſummis & gravibus viris perituræ chartæ tutelam obtrudamus* (1). i. e. "As it happened to the antients, who uſed to under-"take nothing without conſulting the flight of "birds, that though this cuſtom came to be out of "uſe at weddings, yet as Valerius Maximus ſays, "B. 2. c. 1. they invited the *Auſpices* to their wed-"dings, thus keeping up, at leaſt by name, ſome re-"mains of the antient cuſtom; ſo it is with us, who "labour under this incurable itch of writing; though "the authority and generoſity of Patrons be out of date, "yet we are ſo ambitious as to put our works, which "will ſoon periſh, under the patronage of ſome grave "and noble perſon." His meaning is that all the reality of dedications is periſhed, and yet they are ſtill in uſe.

(1) Thomas Farnabius, *Epiſt. dedicatoria Tragœdiar. Senecæ.*

[*B*] *A French Dominican Fryar has commended the works of this Author.*] It is in the paſſage in which he undertakes to prove that the Jeſuits are much below a great many other Writers, who have illuſtrated the *Belles Lettres* (*α*). *Doleo*, continues he (2), *meo tempore, cùm literis humanioribus ſtuderem, defuiſſe nobis illud ſubſidium ad rem litterariam maximum, quod ſuppeditarunt à paucis annis Farnabius & alii; Poëtis omnibus commentariis marginalibus ita clarè explicatis, ut mediocris Grammaticus poſſit etiam difficillimos inoffenſo pede locos decurrere. Hæc non poſſunt expectari aut parari adjumenta, ad Auctorum peritiam, ab iis, qui per tres aut quatuor annos literas humaniores docent, & ad Theologiæ conſcendunt vel Philoſophiæ cathedram, ſed ab his, qui conſeneſcunt & immoriuntur Grammaticæ, aut Rhetoricæ ſcholis; quales non dubito fuiſſe illos, qui adeò utilem & neceſſariam opem contulerunt bonarum litterarum ſtudioſis, Commentatores marginales.* i. e. "I am "ſorry, that in my time, when I ſtudied polite Lite-"rature, we wanted this great aſſiſtance to improve "our ſelves in it, which ſince a few years Farnaby "and others have afforded: for they have explained "all the Poets in ſo clear a manner by their marginal "notes, that a man but indifferently ſkilled in the "Grammar, can go eaſily through the moſt difficult "paſſages. Theſe helps towards underſtanding the "ancient Authors cannot be expected from nor pro-"cured by them that teach polite Literature only for "three or four years, and then are promoted to a "Profeſſorſhip of Divinity or Philoſophy, but only "by thoſe who ſpend all their life-time, and even die "in a Grammar ſchool; ſuch were, I am ſure, thoſe "who by their marginal commentaries have afforded "ſuch an uſeful and neceſſary aſſiſtance for the ſtudy "of polite Literature.

(2) Vincent. Baronius, *Apologet.* lib. 5. Sect. 1. pag. 316.

§ (*α*) The Author of this obſervation is, I think, Cæſar Cremonin, in his Oration delivered in the year 1591 in behalf of the Univerſity of Padua againſt the Jeſuits. Monſieur Anthony Arnaud quotes the paſſage in page 6 and 7, of his *Franc & véritable Diſcours*, &c. That is, "Candid and true Diſcourſe." In the edition of the year 1662. And the Oration itſelf is printed in page 451 of the *Mercure Jéſuite* in the edition of the year 1626. CRIT. REM.

☞FARNABIE, or FARNABY (THOMAS). We ſhall endeavour to ſupply the defects of Mr. Bayle in this Article. He was ſon of Thomas Farnabie of London Carpenter, and grandſon of Mr. Farnabie, ſometime Mayor of Truro in Cornwall [*A*]. He was born in London about the year 1575, and became Servitor to Mr. Thomas French Fellow of Merton College in Oxford in the beginning of 1590; but being a youth of unſettled diſpoſition, though pregnant parts, he continued there but a ſhort time, and being enticed

[*A*] *Grandſon of Mr. Farnabie, ſometime Mayor of Truro in Cornwall.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (1), who likewiſe tells us (2), that he was aſſured by Mr. Francis Farnabie, ſon of him, of whom we treat in this article, that "the great grandfather "of his father, viz. the father of him, who was "Mayor of Truro, was an Italian Muſician." Father Niceron (3) has miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage of Mr. Wood, and aſſerts, that Mr. Farnabie the Critic's grandfather "was an Italian by birth, and a Mu-"ſician by Profeſſion, and having ſettled in England, "was ſometime Mayor of Truro in Cornwall." From which words it is evident, that he has applied to Mr. Farnabie's grandfather what relates to his great grandfather.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 104. 2d edit. London 1721.
(2) Col. 105.
(3) *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 16. pag. 268. edit. Paris 1731.

enticed to abandon his Religion and country went to Spain, and was for ſome time educated there in a certain College belonging to the Jeſuits. At length being weary of their ſevere diſcipline, he found a way to leave them, and went with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins in their laſt voyage in 1595, being in ſome eſteem with the former. He afterwards ſerved as a ſoldier in the Low-Countries; but being reduced to great neceſſity he landed in the weſtern part of England [*B*], where wandering about for ſome time under the name of *Thomas Bainrafe*, the anagram of his ſurname, he ſettled at Martock in Somerſetſhire, and taught a Grammar-ſchool there with good ſucceſs [*C*]. He afterwards removed to London, and opened a ſchool in Goldſmiths-Rents behind Red-Croſs Street near Cripplegate, where were large gardens and handſome houſes, and great accommodations for the young Noblemen and other youths [*D*], the number of whom at one time amounted to above 300. While he taught this ſchool, he was made Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*a*), and April 24, 1616 (*b*) was incorporated in that of Oxford. At length, upon occaſion of ſome underhand dealing of his landlords [*E*], and frequent ſickneſſes in the City he removed about 1636 to Sevenock in Kent, (in the neighbourhood of which place, at Otford, he had purchaſed an eſtate,) and taught there the ſons of ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, who boarded with him, with great ſucceſs, and grew rich, purchaſing an eſtate there, and another near Horſham in Suſſex. His works gained him a great reputation [*F*]. Upon the breaking out of the commotions in 1641, he was eſteemed ill affected to the cauſe of the Parliament, becauſe when the proteſtation was

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 104. 2d edit.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 202.

[*B*] *Landed in the weſtern part of England.*] It was in Cornwall; at which time *his diſtreſſes*, ſays Mr. Wood (4), *made him ſtoop ſo low, as to be an Abcdarian, and ſeveral were taught their Hornbooks by him.*

(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Taught a Grammar-School there with good ſucceſs.*] In 1646, when Mr. Charles Darby was called to teach that School, he found in that town and in the neighbourhood many who had been Mr. Farnabie's Scholars, *ingenious men, and good Grammarians, even in their grey hairs* (5).

(5) Idem, ibid.

[*D*] *Great accommodations for the young Noblemen and other youths.*] The School-Houſe was a large brick-building divided into ſeveral partitions and apartments, according to the diſtinctions of the *forms* and *claſſes*, under the care and inſpection of the reſpective Uſhers allotted to attend them (6).

(6) Idem, ibid.

[*E*] *Upon occaſion of ſome underhand dealing of his landlords.*] Theſe are the very expreſſions of Mr. Wood (7); which are extremely miſtaken by Father Niceron (8), who tells us, that our Author left his School in London on account of *ſome uneaſineſſes*, which he ſuffered from *the Maſters, who taught in conjunction with him*, &c. *Il s' acquitta tranquillement de ſon emploi juſqu'à l'an* 1636, *que quelques chagrins que lui ſuſciterent* les Maîtres qui enſeignoient avec lui, *& ſes frequentes infirmitez l'obligerent à le quitter.*

(7) Ibid.

(8) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 270.

[*F*] *His works gained him a great reputation.*] We ſhall give a Catalogue of them. I. *Notæ ad Juvenalis & Perſii Satyras.* London 1612 in 8vo. The third Edition was printed at London 1620 under the following title: *Junii Juvenalis & Auli Perſii Flacci Satyræ: cum Annotationibus ad marginem, quæ obſcuriſſima quæque dilucidare poſſint. Tertia Editio prioribus multo emendatior & auctior.* It is dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales. Ben. Johnſon wrote the following Epigram upon his notes on Juvenal:

Temporibus lux magna fuit Juvenalis avitis,
Moribus, ingeniis, divitiis, vitiis.
Tu lux es luci, Farnabi; *operiſque fugâſti*
Temporis & tenebras ingenii radiis.
Lux tua parva quidem mole eſt, ſed magna vigore,
Senſibus & docti pondere judicii.
Macte, tuo ſcriptores, lectoreſque labore
Per te alii vigeant, per te alii videant.

The ſame Poet wrote likewiſe another Epigram upon the Notes on Perſius, which is as follows:

Cum Juvenale tuo, Farnabi, *Perſius exit,*
Atq; affectatis eruitur tenebris:
Quem legat, & quondam neglectum intelligat ille
Qui Stridone ſatus, nomine ſanctus erat.

II. *Notæ ad Senecæ Tragœdias.* London 1613 in 8vo. The third Edition was printed at London in 1634 under the following title; *L. & M. Annæi Senecæ Tragœdiæ. Poſt omnes omnium editiones recenſioneſque Editio tertia auctior & emendatior, operâ & ſtudio* Thomæ Farnabii. To this Edition is prefixed a privilege granted him from the King, dated October 1634 for the ſole printing of that and ſeveral other of his works for one and twenty years; and commendatory verſes by *Daniel Heinſius, Richard Andrews* M. D. *Hugh Holland, Laurence Whitaker*, and *Na. Tomkins.* III. *Notæ ad Martialis Epigrammata.* London 1615 in 8vo. 1633, &c. in 12mo. Dedicated to Sir Robert Killegrew. IV. *Lucani Pharſalia ſive de Bello Civili Cæſaris & Pompei Libri X. Adjectis ad marginem Notis* T. Farnabii, *quæ loca obſcuriora illuſtrent*, London 1618 in 8vo. Dedicated to Sir Francis Stuart. To this Edition are prefixed commendatory verſes in Latin by *R. A.* M. D. and Mr. *John Selden*; the latter of whom, among others, has the following lines upon our Author:

Haut eſt ingenio repertus alter,
Farnabi, *potior, ſcientiorve,*
Aut priſcæ hiſtoriæ Poeticeſve,
Cui mandetur honos vices gerendi,
Tutorum, & tenebris faces parandi
Quam tu, cui veteres reconditique
Ritus ex adytis patent; & omnes
Theſauro Sophiæ nimis reducti.

V. *Index Rhetoricus Scholis & Inſtitutioni tenerioris ætatis accommodatus.* London 1625 in 8vo. To an Edition printed at London 1646 in 8vo were added *Formulæ Oratoriæ & Index Poeticus.* The fifth Edition was printed at London 1654 under the following title: *Index Rhetoricus & Oratorius, Scholis & inſtitutioni tenerioris ætatis accommodatus. Cui adjiciuntur Formulæ Oratoriæ & Index Poeticus. Operâ & Studio* Thomæ Farnabii. *Editio quinta, prioribus emendatior.* This Book is dedicated to Dominico Molino, Senator of Venice. The *Index Poeticus* ſubjoined to this Edition was printed at London 1634. In the Preface to the *Index Rhetoricus* he informs us, that he had publiſhed about twenty years before his Scheme of *Tropes* in verſe without his name; which meeting with ſucceſs, was claimed by a certain plagiary; upon which our Author compoſed his *Index Rhetoricus.* Monſr. Gibert (9) ſpeaks of this Book with commendation, and obſerves, that Monſr. Baillet has paſſed a favourable judgment upon it; and that Father Vavaſſeur, tho' he affirms, that Mr. Farnabie's Latin is ſometimes exceptionable, yet allows him to be a diligent and learned Writer. VI. *Florilegium Epigrammatum Græcorum, eorumque Latino Verſu a variis redditorum.* London 1629 in 8vo, &c. VII. *Notæ ad Virgilium.* London 1634 in 8vo. VIII. *Syſtema Grammaticum.* London 1641 in 8vo. IX. *Notæ in Ovidii Metamorphoſes.* Paris 1637 in fol. (10); and London in 12mo 1677 &c (11). X. *Phraſiologia Anglo-Latina.* London in 8vo. XI. *Tabulæ Græcæ Linguæ.* London in 4to. XII. *Syntaxis.* London in 8vo. XIII. *Notæ in Terentium.* Our Author had finiſhed his Notes upon Terence as far as the fourth Comedy, in which he was engaged, when he was cut off by death. But Dr. Meric Caſaubon compleated the two laſt Comedies, and publiſhed the whole at London 1651 in 12mo.

(9) *Jugemens des Savans ſur les Auteurs, qui ont traité de la Rhetorique*, ſubjoined to Monſieur Baillet's *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 8. pag. 247, 248. edit. Amſterdam 1725, in 4to.

(10) *See* Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 273.

(11) Wood, col. 105.

was urged that year, he ſaid, *It was better to have one King than five hundred.* Afterwards being ſuſpected to have favoured the riſing of the country for the King about Tunbridge in 1643, he was impriſoned in Newgate, and thence carried on ſhipboard. It was likewiſe debated in the Houſe of Commons whether he ſhould be ſent to America; but this motion being rejected, he was removed to Ely-Houſe in Holbourn, where he remained for about a year before his death. He died June the 12th 1647, aged ſeventy two, and was interred in the Chancel of the Church at Sevenock, and over his grave an epitaph was inſcribed [G]. He was twice married, and left iſſue by both his wives [H]. He is celebrated by ſeveral Authors, and particularly by John Dunbar (d) a Scot, who ſtiles himſelf *Megalo-Britannus*, and Richard Bruch (e).

(c) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 104, 105.

(d) In *Epigram. Cent. VI.* edit. London 1616, in 8vo, *in Centur. ſext.* num. 74.

(e) *Epigrammatum Hecatontides duæ.* London 1627, in *Hecatontas altera*, num. 17.

[G] *Over his grave an Epitaph was inſcribed.*] It was as follows: *P. M. Viri ornatiſſimi* Thomæ Farnabii *Armigeri, Cauſæ olim Regiæ Reiq; publicæ ſed litterariæ Vindicis acerrimi. Obiit* 12 *Junii* 1647.

Vatibus hic ſacris qui lux, Farnabius, *olim,*
Vate carens, ſaxo nunc ſine luce jacet.

[H] *He was twice married, and left iſſue by both his wives.*] His firſt wife was Suſanna, daughter of John Pierce of Launcells in Cornwall, Gent. By her he had a ſon named *John*, who was a Captain in King Charles I's army, and inherited his father's eſtate in Suſſex, where he lived in good eſteem, and died about the beginning of 1673. Our Author by his ſecond wife, Anne, the daughter of Dr. John Howſon, Biſhop of Durham, had ſeveral children, one of whom named *Francis*, inherited his father's eſtate at Kippington in the pariſh of Sevenock; and from him Mr. Wood received an account of ſeveral paſſages of his father's life (12). T.

(12) Wood, col. 105.

☞FASTOLF (JOHN) Knight Banneret, Companion of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and Baron of Cilliguillim, a victorious Commander and Governor in France for many years, and an eminent Miniſter of State under three Kings of England, was deſcended of an antient, numerous and honourable family in Norfolk; particularly that branch which was ſeated at Caſtre in Fleg, near Great Yarmouth in this county (a), the patrimony of his anceſtors; whereof himſelf was ſeized as the chief heir-male, till he conveyed it into other hands; having ſplendidly adorned it with magnificent buildings; and where it is ſuppoſed that he was born, in or near the year 1380: However ſome, who betray great ignorance in their accounts of him, have placed his birth at *Potten* in *Bedfordſhire*. To paſs over many conſiderable perſons of his name and lineage, who are upon record; as that Faſtolf who was *Mint-Maſter* under King Edgar (b): Sir Nicholas Faſtolf chief Juſtice of Ireland, and a Juſtice *Itinerant* in Nottingham, in the reign of King Edward III (c); and others diſtinguiſhed, not only with the degree of Knighthood, but various poſts of honour, it will be more neceſſary, here to obſerve, that John Faſtolf Eſq; who was founder of a Religious Houſe at or near the ſeat beforementioned (d), is generally taken to be the father of our Worthy, and might not improbably be that John, (ſon of Nicholas) who in 1393 appointed himſelf to be buried in the Church of the *Holy Trinity*, in which place was alſo a free chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt, to which, as ſeveral preſentations had been made, by many others of the family, ſo alſo by our religious Knight himſelf (e). There is no doubt but a maſter of thoſe accompliſhments which made him ſo uſeful in adminiſtrations of the greateſt conſequence, and a man who was ſuch a patron and promoter of Learning as he will particularly appear to have been, was a man of Education. Whether he received any part thereof in the family of Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk (f), particularly in the quality of his Page, though a courſe of education not uncuſtomary in thoſe days, for the ſons even of Noblemen, is yet an aſſertion to be received but doubtfully, conſidering our authority for it is only that of a Poet (g), under whoſe hands the character of this renowned Knight has very wrongfully ſuffered, it being perverted with a licence moſt unaccountable, as will before we have done be more amply manifeſted. This we may depend on, ſince we have it from one of his own ſervants, that the merits of our Worthy were ſuch, before he received the Honour of Knighthood as recommended him in marriage with a wealthy Perſon of Quality named Milicent Lady Caſtlecomb daughter of Robert Lord Tibetot and Relict of Sir Stephen Scrope, ſon of the Lord Scrope. This marriage was ſolemnized on the feaſt of St. Hillary in Ireland about the twenty eighth year of his age, or the tenth of Henry IV. He obliged himſelf in the ſum of a thouſand pound to pay her an hundred pounds a year, in the nature of pin-money, during her life; and ſhe received the ſame to the 24th year of that King's reign (h). The lands in Wiltſhire and Yorkſhire which came to him by his marriage with this Lady deſcended to Stephen Le Scrope Eſq; her ſon and heir. We may preſume he had a command in France before the death of King Henry IV. Becauſe in the very firſt year of his heroick ſucceſſor Henry V we find *Faſtolf* had the caſtle and dominion of Veires in Gaſcoigne granted him (i); whence it may be probable, that he then reſided in that Dutchy which belonged to the Crown of England. In the third year following, that is 1415 when *Harfleur* was taken, *Faſtolf* was conſtituted Lieutenant thereof by the Earl of *Dorſet* (k); in which year being as yet but an Eſq; he was retained by (l) indenture on the 18th of June, with ten Men of Arms and thirty Archers, to ſerve the King in his intended voyage into France; and having received the Honour of *Knighthood* before the 29th of January following had the Mannor and Demeſnes of *Fritenſe* near *Harfleur* then granted to him during life, for his good ſervices (m). The ſame year

(a) Camden. *Britan. de Icenis.*

(b) Sir Andrew Fountain's *Saxon Coyns*, Tab. 5. n. 10.

(c) *Clauſ.* 1. *Edw.* 3. *p.* 2. *M.* 20. and Dugdale *in Chron. Series.*

(d) Speed's *Chron. in Tab. of Relig. Houſ.* and Weever's *Fun. Monum.* fol. 363.

(e) *Regiſt. of Norwich.*

(f) He died at Venice about the 2d year of his baniſhment by K. Ric. II. Ann. 1. Hen. IV.

(g) Shakeſpeare's 2d Part of K. Hen. IV. Act. 3. Scene 2.

(h) *Itinerar. Will. Worceſter, Miſcell. M.* 221. *in Bibl. C. C. C.* and Dr. Thoroton's *Antiq. of Nottinghamſh.* fo. 104.

(i) Rymer. *Fœd. ad fin.* Vol. 17.

(k) *MS. Petri Baſſet, in Officio Heralderum.*

(l) Rymer, vol. 9. fol. 270.

(m) Ibid. fol. 329.

year towards the latter end of October he was in the midlde of the famous battle of *Agincourt*, where, among others, he ſignalized himſelf moſt gallantly, by taking the Duke of *Alençon* priſoner (*n*). In 1418 he was appointed to ſeize the caſtle and dominion of *Bec Creſpin* (*o*), and other Mannors; and had that caſtle and other lands, to the yearly value of two thouſand *Scutes* (*p*) granted him in *ſpecial tail*. In 1420 he was at the ſiege of *Monſterau*, and in the following year at that of *Meaulx-en-brie*. In January 1422 which was the firſt year of *Henry* VI. the town of Mulent being ſurprized, *John* Duke of *Bedford Regent* of *France* with Sir *John Faſtolf*, then *Grand Maſter of his Houſhold* and *Seneſchal* of *Normandy*, laid ſiege to that place and retook it. In 1423 after the relief of the caſtle of Cravent, Sir John was advanced to be *Lieutenant for the King*, and *Regent* in *Normandy*, in the diſtricts of *Roan*, *Eureux*, *Alençon* and the countries beyond the river *Seine:* Alſo *Governor* of the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*; and before the battle of Vernoyle was created a *Banneret*. About three months after, as a *French* Hiſtorian obſerves, Sir *John* then Captain of Alençon and Governor of the *Marches* thereof laid ſiege to the caſtle of *Tennuye* in Maine (*q*), which was ſurrendred to him. In 1424 he was diſpatched to prevent the delivery of Alençon to the French (*r*) upon a diſcovery made that a *Gaſcoigner* had ſecretly contracted to betray it. In September 1425 he beſieged *Beaumont le Vicomte* which ſurrendred (*s*), and then likewiſe took the caſtle of *Sillie-le-Guillem* whence he was honoured with the title of *Baron*. The ſame year he took St. Ouen d'Eſtrais near Laval, alſo the caſtle of Gravelle, and was about the ſame time elected in England, with extraordinary diſtinction of his deſerts, *Knight of the Garter* [*A*]. In 1426 John Lord Talbot was conſtituted Governor of Anjou and Maine (*t*); for which end Sir John Faſtolf was removed to another Government (*u*), which might poſſibly be the ſource of thoſe jealouſies and competitions between them which were never reconciled. In October 1428 he had a protection (*w*), being then going into France, and there he performed an action of that bravery and conduct as can ſcarcely be parallelled in antient or modern Hiſtory. It was at the battle of *Herrings* as the French have called it, becauſe being in Lent, a great quantity of that fiſh was then carried by him from Paris among other proviſions to relieve the Beſiegers of Orleans; and he made uſe of the carriages in which they were conveyed, to obſtruct the French army, who endeavoured to intercept him, till his forces defeated and routed them. It is related at large by an Engliſhman before cited, who appears to have been in the French wars under him, though his narrative is written in French [*B*] with a Latin title; and more curſorily by ſeveral of the French Hiſtorians; who agree with him that the Engliſh had a great diſadvantage in number, but not in the number of French who were ſlain by them. Soon after the Engliſh were driven to raiſe the ſiege of Orleance, followed the battle of Pataye; where the French made ſuch a ſudden onſet, that many of moſt approved and undoubted courage, among the Engliſh, ſaw no chance for life but

(*n*) *MS. int. Collect. J. Anſtis Arm.*

(*o*) *Rot. Norman. 6 Hen. 5. M. 40.*

(*p*) A French Gold Coin called by them *Eſcue d'Or*, from *Scutum* a Shield, in value 3 s. 4 d. See Forteſcue, *de Laud. Legum Angliæ*, pag. 118. alſo his *Difference between an abſolute and limited Monarchy*, pag. 21.

(*q*) Chartier, *Hiſt. de Char. VII.* pag. 9.

(*r*) Hollingſhed's *Chron.* pag. 587.

(*s*) Baſſet, *ut ſupra.*

(*t*) Idem.

(*u*) Hollinſhed, pag. 597.

(*w*) Rymer, vol. 10. fol. 408.

[*A*] *Elected Knight of the Garter.*] In the ſcrutiny for an Election on St. George's Eve 4th of Henry VI, there was an equality of votes for Sir John Faſtolf and Sir John Radcliffe Seneſchal of Guyenne, but the Duke of Bedford who was Lieutenant in the King's abſence, tho' he judged them both right worthy of admiſſion, declared in preference of Sir John Faſtolf's merits and ſervices, notwithſtanding that Sir John Radcliffe was the older ſoldier, and had paſſed *twenty eight winters unreproached in armies* (1): So Faſtolf was firſt choſen of the Order, ſucceeding the Earl of Weſtmoreland in the third ſtall of the Prince's ſide; and Radcliffe was elected ſoon afterwards upon another vacancy. The Letter which was ſent to our *Worthy* upon this occaſion into France, ſignifies that *this honour was conferred on him, in conſideration of* his good, loyal, and honourable ſervices, *performed to the King's* father *and the* King himſelf; *and for* other deſerts *of honour which God had endowed him with, in his conſtant behaviour as* a good, and faithful ſubject, *and for* the pains and travels *ſuſtained by him in the* wars *to ſupport the King's right and juſt claim* (2). His oath was received, and he inveſted by the Earls of Warwick, Saliſbury and Suffolk, according to the Commiſſion to them directed. After his mantle, helmet and ſword were offered by his Proctors, there was a *Commiſſion* iſſued on the 25th of Feb. in the 5th of Hen. VI for his Inſtallation: wherein, to his former character, is the addition made of *his great ſenſe, valour, and experience in arms* (3).

(1) Aſhmole's *Hiſt. of the Garter*, pag. 270.

(2) Idem, *in Append.* n. 21, 22.

(3) Idem, *in Append.* n. 50.

[*B*] *Related at large by an Engliſhman &c. tho' his narrative is in French.*] Who ſpeaking of the ſiege of Orleans ſays, *Et environ le temps de Kareſme enſuivant, pource que vivres & artilleries commençoient a faillir ou dit Siege, fut appointe & ordonne, que Sire* Jehan Faſtolf &c. That is, as we ſhall here briefly render it. About the time of the enſuing *Lent*, Sir John Faſtolf and Sir Thomas Rampſton were appointed to go and ſollicit the *Regent* at Paris for a ſupply of proviſions to carry on the ſiege, and he ordered them corn, herrings, &c. alſo artillery, with horſes and carriages in great plenty, beſides a band of *croſs bows* and a party of the guards from his own palace, for their ſafer convoy: ſo that they returned about *fifteen hundred* ſtrong. When, as they marched, one froſty morning, between Yearnville en Beauſſe and Rouvroy, they ſpied, in the large plain where they were, an army of French and Scots under Charles ſon of the Duke of Bourbon, Sir William Styward Conſtable of Scotland, and many other eminent Commanders, from a great diſtance, and to the number of about *nine* or *ten thouſand men*, approaching to encounter them. Hereupon Faſtolf ranged his troops in order, planted before his archers ſharp-pointed ſtakes or palliſadoes, and intrenched himſelf about with the carriages and horſes all chained or linked together to break the force of their cavalry and prevent being ſuddenly overrun, ſo waited the arrival of their enemy; who ſoon after aſſailed them in this entrenchment; but the Engliſh defended themſelves, and annoyed their aſſailants with ſuch extraordinary vigor and valour, that they defeated the French, ſlew Sir William Styward with his brother and many others, French as well as Scots, *au Nombre de* XXVC *ou environ* to the number of twenty five hundred or thereabout, and put the reſt ſhamefully to flight, without the loſs or hurt of any one conſiderable perſon: after which glorious victory Sir John Faſtolf and his party proceeded in their march to the ſaid ſiege (4). Herewith, the French Hiſtorian Chartier agrees very well, as that this rencounter was near Janville, that the French *Eſtoient beaucoup en plus grand nombre que les Anglois*, much more numerous than the Engliſh, that there were great and deſperate ſkirmiſhes between them, that Stuart the Conſtable before mentioned and the Sire d'Orval were killed; but mentions no more beſides, than *Environ deux cent hommes en leur compagnée*, about two hundred men of their party (5).

(4) *Lib. de Actis Armorum & Conqueſtûs Regni Franciæ &c. Compilatus fuit ad Nobilem virum J. Faſtolf Baronem de Cylyeguillem Anno* 1459 *&c. per Pet. Baſſet Arm. &c. MS. in Officio Armorum.*

(5) *Hiſtoire de Cha. VII.* pag. 17.

but in flight. It is ſaid in our Hiſtories, that Faſtolf himſelf perceiving the inevitable fate of the battle, withdrew without giving or receiving a blow, as deeming it mere raſhneſs to fight at ſuch diſadvantage. And thus much is obſerved by the French Hiſtorians, who write, that he and ſuch others as could eſcape (from being killed or taken) in that unexpected ſurprize retired to Corbeil (*x*); and ſurely a raſh rencounter is leſs commendable than a prudent *retreat*. Nor would this he made have been under any ſuſpicion of a cenſure, but for the conſequence which may be thought to have attended it; not that he might have prevented it had he ſtood his ground, but with the Lord Talbot, Scales, Hungerford, and Sir T. Rampſton, been taken priſoner of war. What follows in our own later Engliſh Hiſtorians *That for this departure the Duke of* Bedford *took from him the* George *and* Garter (*y*), is clogged with ſo many improbabilities, and ſo many ſolid reaſons have been given for the unlikelihood thereof (to which others ſtill might be added, if occaſion were) that the ſhort abſtract of them we ſhall refer to in this place [*C*], may be ſufficient to ſatisfy any reaſonable perſon. But were the worſt granted that is here alledged or ſuggeſted, and if he was deprived of the Enſigns of his Order upon any warmth of a ſudden miſunderſtanding, yet this can be no diminution of Sir John Faſtolf's honour, ſeeing the very ſame Hiſtorians inform us, that after an examination of this charge, his conduct appeared ſo juſtifiable, thoſe Enſigns were reſtored him; or as they themſelves word it, *for apparent cauſes of* good excuſe; *and againſt the mind of the Lord Talbot*, who muſt have been a very powerful adverſary. Beſides he was continued both in military and civil Adminiſtrations of the higheſt importance; for in 1430 the Regent conſtituted him his Lieutenant in Caen (*z*), as being a perſon of vigilance and experience in wars. In 1432 he went into France in company with the Regent, and was ſoon after one of the Ambaſſadors ſent to the Council of Baſil and one of thoſe ſelected to treat of a final or temporary peace with the adverſary of France (*aa*): and that year Faſtolf with the Lord Willoughby commanded the army which aſſiſted the Duke of Bretagne againſt the Duke of Alençon (*bb*). The next year going into foreign parts he had licence to conſtitute John Faſtolf of Olton Eſq; his general Attorney. In 1434 or the beginning of the next year he was with the Regent in France. In 1435 was again one of the Ambaſſadors to conclude a Peace with the Adverſary of France (*cc*). In September this year the *Regent* died at Roan, and, as the ampleſt teſtimony of his confidence in the honour and integrity of Sir John Faſtolf, appointed him one of the Executors of his Laſt *Will* (*dd*). If any one ſhall think theſe marks of diſtinction might proceed from any private affection in the ſaid *Regent*, let him obſerve that the Duke of York who ſucceeded in the Lieutenancy of France, made our Knight a Grant of an annuity of twenty pounds yearly out of his own lands, *for his notable and laudable ſervices and good council*; which is ſufficient to ſhew this Duke's ſentiments alſo of his deſerts (*ee*). In 1436 and one or more years after, we have accounts that Sir John was in Normandy. In 1443 he obtained licence to employ ſome ſhips for the furniſhing his houſe (*ff*). In 1450 he conveyed to John the Cardinal, Archbiſhop of York, and others, his Mannor of Caſtre in Fleg, and ſeveral other lands mentioned in a Deed of the ſaid Conveyance (*gg*). About the year 1453 he was grown through age and infirmities unable to travel on foot or horſeback without the greateſt hazard of his health: wherefore his abſence at the annual feaſts of the Knights Companions of the Garter was afterwards excuſed (*hh*). He held out however at leaſt ſix years longer, as may be gathered from an account of the age he arrived at, which is given by a noted Contemporary [*D*] in that

(*x*) Chartier, *Hiſt. de Char. VII.* pag. 26. & Monſtrelet, vol. 2. pag. 46, &c.

(*y*) Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. 26. *and* Hollinſhed, fol. 601.

(*z*) Huet. *Origines de Caen*, pag. 50.

(*aa*) Rymer, vol. 10. pag. 525, 527, 530.

(*bb*) Chartier, pag. 59.

(*cc*) Rymer, vol. 10. fol. 642.

(*dd*) *Regiſtr. Chicbele*, vol. 1. pag. 475.

(*ee*) Sandford's *Genealog. Hiſtory*, fol. 386.

(*ff*) Rymer, vol. 11. fol. 44.

(*gg*) *Clauſ.* 29 *Hen. VI.*

(*hh*) The *Black Book* of the *Garter*.

[*C*] *We ſhall refer to in this place.*] Among which reaſons for the ſaid unlikelihood, one is, that no authentic contemporary appears to have vouched it; again, there ſeem to be abſurdities in the very expreſſion; the *George* not being in all probability a *ſymbol* of the *Order* in that age; but admitting, thereby was only meant the Croſs of St. George, it muſt yet be granted that the Duke of Bedford, as he could not inveſt any perſon with the Order, ſo it is improbable he ſhould have the power to *diveſt* any one of it without conſent of the Sovereign and concurrence of the other Knights. It is ſtill more incredible that he exerciſed this authority upon a bare information without examining into the truth of the charge, which is utterly inconſiſtent with the honour, generoſity, and exalted character of this Regent, who had the greateſt reverence for this Order, and was a moſt punctual obſerver of its Statutes. Moreover will it be believed, this Duke, who held himſelf circumſcribed to the Statutes in the election of our Knight, ſhould be on leſs guard in depoſing of him, even to the aſſuming a liberty not allowed by the Statutes then in being? For the degradation of a Knight who ſhould fly from battle was an article firſt inſerted into the Statutes made by Henry VIII. And this too is there reſtrained with theſe words: — *If it ſhould pleaſe the* Sovereign, *and the* Company *in the next Chapter* (6).

(6) Mr. Anſtis's *Regiſter of the Garter*, vol. 2. pag. 139.

[*D*] *By a noted contemporary.*] This was William Caxton, our firſt Printer; who ſays of *Cicero's* Tract of *Old Age*, which he printed in Engliſh about twenty years after the death of our Knight, that it was "tranſ-
" lated, and thyſtories openly declared, by the orde-
" nance and deſyre of the noble auncient Knyght Sir
" Johan Faſtolf of the Countee of Norfolf Baneret;
" lyving the age of fourſcore yere; exerciſying the
" warrys in the Royame of *Fraunce* and other coun-
" trees, for the diffence and unyverſal welfare of
" bothe Royames of England and Fraunce, by fourty
" yeres enduryng; the fate of armes hauntyng, and
" in admynyſtryng juſtice and polytique governaunce,
" under thre Kynges; that is, to wete, Henry the
" fourth, Henry the fyfthe, Henry the ſyxthe; and
" was Governor of the Duchye of Angeou, and the
" Countree of Mayne; Capytain of many Townys,
" Caſtellys and Fortreſſys in the ſaid Royame of
" Fraunce; havyng the charge and ſaufgarde of them
" dyverſe yeres; occupyeng and rewlynge thre hon-
" dred ſpeeres, and the bowes accuſtomed thenne;
" and yeldyng good accompt of the forſaid townes,
" caſtellys, and fortreſſys to the ſeyd Kynges, and to
" their Lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recommen-
" dation; as Johan Regent of Fraunce, Duc of Bed-
" forde, Thomas Duc of Exceſter, Thomas Duc of
" Clarence and other Lieutenants (7)."

(7) Caxton's *Tully de Senectute*, fol. 1481. *in Pref.*

that noble character of him, with a reference to which we ſhall conlude this Abſtract of his actions abroad, and character in a publick capacity.

As his martial virtues had made him formidable in war, thoſe he now exerciſed in his retired and domeſtic life, rendered him no leſs amiable; all we meet with in this ſcene of his ſtory, being elegant, hoſpitable and generous, either as to the place of his aboad, or thoſe perſons and foundations on which he ſhowered his bounty. To ſupport theſe acts of munificence, he had many fair Mannors and large poſſeſſions in Norfolk, Suffolk, Surrey, beſides Yorkſhire and Wilts, as was before obſerved; the particulars whereof may be found upon record (*ii*). He was a benefactor to both the Univerſities, bequeathing a conſiderable legacy to Cambridge for building the ſchools of *Philoſophy* and *Civil Law* (*kk*); and at Oxford he was ſo bountiful to Magdalen College, that his name is there commemorated in an *Anniverſary* Speech. And though the particulars of his favour to that College are not ſpecified becauſe he *enfeoffed* the Founder in his life-time; it is yet known that the *Boars-Head* in *Southwark*, now divided into tenements, yielding *one hundred and fifty pounds yearly*, together with *Caldecot* Mannor in Suffolk, were part of the lands he gave; and *Lovingland* in that county is conceived alſo to have been another part of his donation. But at *Caſtre* the antient eſtate of his family is to be ſeen the remains of his ſplendid ſeat, or manſion houſe; at one corner whereof ſtands a ruinated Tower of brick, above one hundred foot high; and over one of the windows are carved his arms, ſurrounded with the Garter. Tradition will have it, this houſe was erected by a French Nobleman taken priſoner by our famous Knight, according to the model and architecture of his own Caſtle in France, as the price of his ranſom; which, if true, might be the abovenamed Duke of Alençon. He furthermore appointed, here, by his Executors, a *College* to be built, for a Maſter, ſix Prieſts, and ſeven poor men; and that they ſhould endow it with an annuity of a *hundred and twenty marks*, chargeable upon ſeveral parts of his eſtate; but by ſome accident it dwindled to a *Chantery*. He likewiſe built a houſe in *Yarmouth* and a *Royal Place* as it is termed in Southwark (*ll.*) His liberality ſeems alſo to have been beſtowed at *Bickling* and *Pulham-Mary* in Norfolk, the Churches whereof being formerly adorned with his Arms; and amongſt the ornaments in the latter, there was the Effigies of Sir *John Faſtolf* (*mm*) in gilt armour, painted on one of the glaſs windows with *his Creſt, on a Wreath, Azure and Or, a Plume of Feathers Argent*; and two Eſcutcheons with *the Croſs of St. George within the Garter*; alſo his Lady kneeling, in her Coat Armour, *Argent, a Satire Gules.* ſubſcribed with a ſupplication to *pray for the ſoul of Sir* John Faſtolf, *who in his life-time had performed many charitable deeds.* But though this picture of his perſon is defaced, we have ſeen as above ſome agreeable draughts of his magnificent mind. They are now to be retrieved, at leaſt to be repreſented here, only in miniature; but would have rendered him much more illuſtrious, had they deſcended to us in their full proportion; for ſo they ſeem to have been drawn out in that particular Treatiſe intitled, *Acta Domini Johannis Faſtolf* (*nn*) written by his *Soget* or *Segret*, a Herald or Purſuivant who is alſo called his *Secretary*, named *William Wyrceſter* or *Botaner*, no title among the officers of arms, but the name of his mother's family, as himſelf obſerves in his *Itinerary*. Had this Treatiſe of our Knight's *Life and Actions* been tranſmitted in due time to the public, it might have prevented thoſe liberties which have been taken with his character; I mean the *Theatrical* miſrepreſentations which are daily conſolidating into thoſe that are *Hiſtorical*; whereby he is now vulgarly conceived, an old, unweildy, humorous, debauched, cowardly bravo; a fit ornament for the ſign poſts of drinking houſes, and lately made, even the leading hero in the Hiſtory of Highwaymen (*oo*). I am very ſorry theſe conſequences are attributed to Shakeſpeare, whoſe rare and admirable genius has, by univerſal ſuffrage, eſtabliſhed him a principality in the *drama*; and do cordially wiſh that ſome more ſubſtantial apology could be produced from him, than either a quibbling *variation* of our Worthy's name, or a little *anachroniſm*, or that this character of Sir *John Falſtaffe* as he calls him in the two parts of *Henry IV*, and his *Merry Wives of Windſor*, was written and acted originally under the name of *Sir John Oldcaſtle*; for which, upon reprehenſion, he ſubſtituted Falſtaffe, as may be obſerved more particularly below [*E*]. If this ſubſtitution may imply an accidental rather than premeditated defamation, the Author

(*ii*) *Eſcheat.* 38, 39 *Hen. VI.* n. 45.

(*kk*) *Lib. Proc. Univ. Cant.*

(*ll*) Vincent. *MS. in Office Arm.* n. 18. pag. 122.

(*mm*) *MS. inter Collect. Johan. Anſtis Arm.*

(*nn*) *See* Bale in *Cent. Script. Brit.*

(*oo*) *See* Captain Johnſon's *Hiſtory of Highwaymen*, fol. 1732, pag. 1.

[*E*] *More particularly below.*] *Faſtolf* is viſibly changed by Shakeſpear into *Falſtaffe*, that the very *name* might import the *character* of *falſe courage*, or a man whoſe profeſſions were deceiving and not to be relied on. The Poet might think this variation would be ſufficiently taken for a feigned name, and be more acceptable, as it was more proper for the feigned character, to which had been affixed a name the Players were obliged to expunge. But by whatever means, unleſs it was the inimitable humour of the character, this ſubſtitution paſſed ſo unexceptionably among his contemporaries; for we cannot ſuppoſe the noble Earl of Shrewſbury would be ſeen to encourage ſuch an expoſure for the ſake of an antiquated difference between the two Families; yet from poſterity the Poet has not met with the ſame indulgence. For as Dr. Fuller very juſtly obſerves, "The *Comedian* is not excuſable by "ſome alteration of his name, ſeeing the *vicinity* of "ſounds *intrench* on the memory of that *worthy* "*Knight*; and few do heed the *inconſiderable difference* "in ſpelling their names (8)." As for the *Anacroniſm*, that too is ſo inconſiderable, as will ſcarcely perſuade us the *poetical* Knight was not intended for the *hiſtorical* one. It is true Shakeſpear deſcribes his Falſtaff to have been ſome fifty years old, or inclining to three ſcore, before the battle at Shrewſbury, which was in 1403 (9), and brings in a relation of his death in the firſt Act of Henry V, which, tho' it agrees not by many years with the age and death of the real Sir John Faſtolf; ſo that whatever propriety the Poet gained by imitating his name, he may have loſt in making us ſuppoſe thereby that he meant the ſame perſon; yet,

(8) *Worthies of England in Norfolk.*

(9) *The First Part of Henry IV.* Act 2. Scene 3.

(pp) *The Life of Mr. W. Shakeſpear by Nic. Rowe Eſq; before the edition of his Plays in* 8vo 1709, pag. 9.

Author is not denied to be blame-worthy nevertheleſs, in his ſecond choice (*pp*). For though the dead are not ſenſible of ſuch injuries to their memory, they are yet injurious to the living; and when a particular character of eminence ſuffers ſuch diſtortion, it diſables the very limbs of public virtue, by diſcouraging hopeful minds, through the proſpect of ſuch ungrateful returns, from the emulation of that which is laudable and exemplary. But to proceed. Our worthy Knight having, in this retirement, attained to the venerable age of *fourſcore* years, was at laſt ſeiżed with an hectic fever and aſthma; and having laboured under theſe diſeaſes full twenty weeks (*qq*), departed this life on St. Leonard's Feaſt, and, as ſeveral old manuſcripts have, after one another it ſeems, remembered in the year 1459. The authorities may be more particularly ſeen in thoſe Memoirs which have ſo greatly reſtored our Worthy to his true light; and to which, we muſt here pay the juſtice of our acknowledgments for thoſe circumſtances which conſtitute the greateſt part of this Article; hoping the channel in which they here run, will not render them leſs clear than they are in the fountain from whence they are drawn. But as the learned and elaborate Collector of them John Anſtis Eſq; *Garter* principal *King of Arms* (*rr*), has elſewhere, in the ſame work, obſerved, Sir John Faſtolf died rather in the next year, on that day, or, as he quotes a little further from the *Eſcheats*, on the eve or vigil of that Feaſt, that is, on the fifth of November in the 39th of King Henry VI, or *Anno Dom.* 1460 (*ss*), no leſs than thirty ſeven years beyond the wide and random conjecture of Fuller in his *Worthies*. He was buried in the Abbey of St. *Benedict de Hulme* in *Norwich*; and ſo devoutly was he revered in the duſt, that John Beauchamp Lord of Powyke in his laſt will dated the 15th of *Edward* IV, appointed a *Chantery*, more eſpecially for the ſoul of Sir John Faſtolf.

(qq) *MS. penes Dom. Hans Sloane, Baronet.*

(rr) In his Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, vol. 2. 1724.

(ss) Idem, vol. 1. in Pref.

yet, as his Life comprehends all that period, it intrenches upon his memory in point of *time*, no leſs than the former liberty does in relation to his *name*. But this death of Falſtaff in Shakeſpear will naturally ſuggeſt to us a probability of the Tradition, that the part was firſt deſigned for Sir John Oldcaſtle, who, as it is well known ſuffered death about the middle of that King Henry's reign beforementioned in the year 1417, Shakeſpear is thought to have formed his two Plays of Henry the IVth, and Hiſtory of Henry the Vth from that old Play called *The famous Victories of* Henry V, *containing the honourable battle of* Agincourt, which opens with a ſcene of the ſaid Prince Henry's robberies; where Sir John Oldcaſtle is one of the gang; and it is likely that Shakeſpear might continue the name of Oldcaſtle till it was ordered to be changed, if not by a complaint from ſome deſcendants of the Family; yet as reflecting upon a perſon who makes ſuch a conſiderable figure among our *Reformers* in Bale and Foxe's Martyrology. The late accurate Editor of Shakeſpear has been curious enough to obſerve ſome paſſages in thoſe Plays, which amount to a proof that the name was originally Oldcaſtle (10), and Dr. Fuller, who might converſe with ſome perſons that ſaw this character of Skakeſpear's when it was firſt acted, does poſitively aver, that "true it is Sir John Old-"caſtle was the *make-ſport* in all Plays for a coward. It "is eaſily known out of what *purſe* this black *penny* "came; the Papiſts railing on him for a heretick; "and therefore he muſt alſo be a coward, tho' indeed "a man of arms every inch of him, and as valiant as "any in his age. Now as I am glad that Sir John "Oldcaſtle is put out, ſo I am ſorry that Sir John "Faſtolf is put in, to relieve his memory, in this "baſe ſervice, and be the *Anvil* for every dull wit to "*ſtrike* upon (11)." But, as the treſpaſs was poetical, we ſhall end with a poetical animadverſion taken from an original *Hiſtorical Poem* on *Three* of our *Kings*; in the poſſeſſion of the writer of this article. Herein the Poet has five ſtanza's of reproof for this liberty taken on the Stage in derogation of our Knight; but, for brevity, ſhall at preſent repeat only theſe two (12).

(10) Mr. Theobald's edit. of Shakeſpeare, vol. 3. 1733, pag. 348, 349, 451.

(11) *Worthies of England in Norfolk.*

(12) Τριπαρῳδια: *The ſeveral Reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. MS.* 8vo 1649, *in H.* 5 *Stanz.* 136. 139.

Here to evince that ſcandal has been thrown
Upon a name of honour; charactred
From a wrong perſon, coward and buffoon;
Call in your eaſy faiths, from what you've read
To laugh at Falſtaffe; *as a humour fram'd,*
To grace the ſtage, to pleaſe the age, miſnam'd.

No longer pleaſe yourſelves to injure names
Who lived to honour: if, as who dare breathe
A ſyllable from Harry's choice, the Fames,
Conferr'd by Princes, may redeem from death?
Live Faſtolffe *then; whoſe* Truſt *and* Courage *once*
Merited the firſt Government in France.

FATIMA, the daughter of Mahomet, and wife of Ali. Some Relations import that ſhe is the great Saint who is venerated with ſo much devotion at Com (*a*) [*A*]: but moſt Travellers are of another opinion. Some ſay the Saint of Com was the daughter of Ali and Fatima [*B*]. According to Pietro della Valle ſhe was their grand-daughter [*C*]. Others

(*a*) It is a City of Perſia.

[*A*] *Some Relations import that ſhe is the great Saint... of Com.*] Sir Thomas Herbert, in his travels to Perſia, having ſaid that the Moſque of Com is a magnificent ſtructure, adds (1): *The devotion which they have for this place has enriched it with many conſiderable preſents which have been carried to the ſepulchre of Fatima the wife of Mortis Ali, and daughter of Mahomet the great Prophet of all the Muſſulmans, who is interred there. The ſtructure of the Moſque is round, and built in the Epirotic manner. The tomb of the pretended She-Saint is raiſed twelve feet from the ground, and covered with a Pall of white velvet, to which they go up by ſome ſteps of maſſy ſilver.*

(1) Pag. 339. quoted by Beſpier, in his *Remarks on the preſent State of the Ottoman Empire by Rycaut*, tom. 1. pag. 23.

[*B*] *Some ſay ſhe was the daughter of Ali and Fatima.*] This is what we find in the relation of Figueroa: they told me, ſays he (2), *that at Com there was a very famous Moſque, dedicated to the memory of a great Saint named Lela, the grand-daughter of Mahomet, and daughter of Ali and Fatima.* The Sieur Beſpier advances a very probable conjecture: *The name of* Lela, ſays he (3), *is uſually given to the great Ladies of Africa, and it is alſo the title of honour which is there given to the bleſſed virgin, mother of our Lord* JESUS, *for whom the Mahometans have a great reſpect and veneration, as well as for her ſon.* He cites Diego de Torres, who aſſures us (4) *that they call the Virgin Mary Lela Mariam, which ſignifies Lady Mary, and that* (5) *all the daughters of the* Sherif *take the title of* Lela, *and he names them all four, viz.* Lela Mariam, Lela Aya, Lela Fatima, *and* Lela Lu. After this Beſpier adds, that he is *ſomewhat inclined to believe that* Lela *was not the proper name* of the Saint mentioned by Figueroa, *but only the title of honour which preceded it, and that ſhe had another name which Figueroa has omitted, or which they did not tell him; the inhabitants of* Com, *who held this maid for a Saint, calling her only* Lela, *or* the Lady, *by way of excellence; nearly in the ſame manner as moſt Chriſtians ſay* our Lady, *inſtead of* the bleſſed Virgin Mary.

(2) *Embaſſy*, pag. 220. quoted by Beſpier, ibid.

(3) Ibid. pag. 22.

(4) *Hiſt. of the Sherifs*, chap. 74.

(5) Ibid. chap. 107.

[*C*] .... *According to Pietro della Valle ſhe was their grand-daughter.*] "There is a fine bridge at Com, and "near the bridge ſtands a beautiful Moſque, in which "they told me a ſiſter of Iman Riza, whom they have "in veneration, and who was one of the moſt eſteemed "ſucceſſors

Others say she was the daughter of Mûsa the son of Jaafar. This last opinion is supported by an authentic proof, I mean by the titles which are given to the Saint of Com in the solemn prayers addressed to her by the Pilgrims [*D*]. These are prayers of a set form, and consequently furnish a good proof, which gives us no great idea of the exactness of Travellers, since some of the most celebrated are so negligent in their account of such a Saint. It appears from this form of prayer that Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, the wife of Ali, and mother of several children, is nevertheless reverenced as a Virgin [*E*].

" successors of Mahomet, is interred; she likewise is " considered as a Saint after their manner, so that they " have a great respect and veneration for the place of " her burial (6)." Iman Riza was the son of Hosein, who was the son of Fatima (7): it follows, therefore, that the sister of Iman Riza was the granddaughter of Fatima. Tavernier's account agrees in this particular with that of Pietro della Valle. " What is most remarkable at Com is a large Mosque.. " where are to be seen the sepulchres of Shah Sefi, " and Shah Abbas the Second, and that of *Sidi Fatima* " the daughter of *Iman Hocen*, who was the son of " Ali and Fatima Zurha the daughter of Mahomet (8)."

(6) Pietro della Valle, pag. 58. of the 2d Vol. of his *Travels*, quoted by Bespeir in his *Remarks on the present State of the Ottoman Empire*, pag. 23, 24.

(7) Bespier, ibid. pag. 24.

(8) Tavernier, *Voyag.* liv. 1. pag. 75. of the Dutch Edition 1679.

[* Ali, surnamed *al Ridâ*, or, as the Persians pronounce it, *Riza*, was the eighth Imâm of the race of Ali and Fatima the daughter of Mahomet, and was the sixth in descent from them, and not their grandson, being the son of Mûsa, the son of Jaafar, (which last was their great great grandson) as appears from the prayers in the following remark †. ADD. REM.]

† *See also* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* pag. 97.

[*D*] *The solemn prayers addressed to her by the pilgrims.*] Sir John Chardin (9) has set down the *two principal prayers which are directed to be said by the pilgrims of* Com. The first begins thus: *I visit my Lady and mistress* Fathmé *the daughter of* Mousa, *the son of* Dgafer, *on whom be salvation and peace for ever*. There is one thing considerable in these prayers, which is, that the pilgrims therein recommend themselves to the intercession of the Saint, and also pray for her. You have already seen that they wish her peace and eternal salvation; here follows another passage of the formulary: *I wish thee eternal salvation, O* Fathmé *daughter of* Mousa, *holy, virtuous, and righteous Virgin, directress to truth, pious, sanctified, worthy of all our praises, who intirely lovest the faithful, and art intirely beloved by them: Maid without spot, and free from all impurity. May God vouchsafe to take his greatest pleasure in thee, to accept thee and establish thee in paradise, which is thy dwelling and thy refuge for ever* (10). But see in what manner they presently recommend themselves to her prayers (11); *I am come to seek thee, O Lady and mistress of my soul, with an intention of drawing near unto the most high God by this act of devotion, and unto his Apostle and his children. The mercy of God be on him and them for ever. I abhor and detest my sins, of which I have made an unhappy burthen, which I am sinking under, and I do my utmost to break the yoke of hell. Vouchsafe to grant me thy intercession, O holy Virgin, on the day wherein the good shall be separated from the wicked. Be thou propitious to me; for thou art of a race, and descended from ancestors, which suffer none of those who love them to fall into misery, who never refuse the request of any who come to pray to them, who avert all sorts of evil from those who love them, and whose enemies, on the contrary, can never prosper.* Sir John Chardin informs us (12) that the tomb of this Fathmé has been thrice rebuilt: *her father*, continues he, *brought her to Com on account of the persecution which the Chalifs of* Bagdad *carried on against his family, and all those who held* Ali *and his descendants for the only lawful successors of* Mahammed. *She caused some fine structures to be built in that city, and died there. The people believe that God took her up into heaven, and that her tomb is empty, and nothing but a representation.* The Church of Rome, therefore, is not the only one that honours the assumption of Virgins. We shall see immediately that the immaculate conception, and the virginity of a mother, seem to be two doctrines of Mahometism. One thing is wanting in Sir John's relation. He should have told us the time when Mousa the father of Fathmé lived.

(9) *Journal du Voiage de Perse*, pag. 464. of the Amsterdam Edition, by Wolfgang, 1686.

(10) *Journal du Voyage de Perse*, pag. 465.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid. pag. 468.

[* Musa the son of Jaafar, and father of Ali Riza and Fatima, was born in the year of the Hejra 128 †, and died in the year 183 §. ADD. REM.]

† A. C. 745.

§ A. C. 799.

[*E*] Though *wife of Ali, and mother of several children, she is nevertheless reverenced as a virgin.*] The pilgrims, according to the Form of prayers, are to say this, among others: " I wish thee eternal salvation, " O most pure, most righteous, and immaculate vir- " gin, glorious *Fathmé*, daughter of *Mahammed the* " *Chosen*, wife of *Ali the well-beloved*, mother of the " twelve true Vicars of God, of illustrious birth (13)."

See D'Herbel. pag. 650. and Elmacin. pag. 115.

(13) *Journal du Voyage de Perse*, pag. 464.

FAUCHET (CLAUDIUS) a native of Paris, and first President of the *Cour des Monnoyes* in that City, published some books, which gained him the reputation of a learned man [*A*]. He died very old in the year 1601. Lewis the XIIIth did not like his manner

[*A*] *He published some Books, which gained him the reputation of a learned man.*] He has translated Ta- " citus's History very learnedly and with an immense " labour. His Translation has been printed at Paris " for Abel L'Angelier in the years 1582, 1583, and " 1584, in folio, in 4to, and in 8vo; tho' he did " not put his name to it, any more than to his Book of " the Antiquities of the Gauls, . . . so little does he " care for glory, being only desirous to be useful to " the public (1)" Thus la Croix du Maine spoke in the year 1584. Monsieur Baillet does not speak of this Translation as of an anonymous work; Claudius Fauchet, says he (2), *has translated into our language the works of Tacitus, which have been printed under his name in several forms, but the first five Books were translated by* Stephen de la Planche (3). In the year 1579 Fauchet published in 4to a Collection of the Antiquities of the Gauls and the French; twenty years after he gave another Edition of it in 8vo, and carried his labour to the first family of the Kings of France. He published a Continuation of it in the year 1601, in 8vo: it is intitled, *Fleur de la maison de Charlemagne . . . contenant les Faits de Pepin & ses successeurs depuis l'an* 741, *jusques à l'an* 840 *de* JESUS CHRIST, i. e. " The Flower of the House of Charles the Great, . . . " containing an account of the Actions of Pepin and of " his Successors from the year of Christ 751, to the year 840." He died when they printed his work intitled, *Declin de la maison de Charlemagne . . contenant les faits de Charles le Chauve & ses Successeurs depuis l'an* 840, *jusqu'à l'an* 987, *de* JESUS CHRIST, *& entrée de Régne de Hugues Capet.* i. e. " The Decline of Charles the " Great's House, ... containing an account of the " Actions of Charles the Bald, and of his Successors " from the year 840 of Christ, to the year 987, and " to the beginning of Hugh Capet's reign." This volume came out in the year 620 in 8vo. As for the work intitled, *Origine des Chevaliers, Armories & Heraux, ensemble de l'Ordonnance, Armes & Instrumens, desquels les François ont anciennement usé en leurs Guerres.* i. e. " The Origin of Knights, Coats " of Arms and Heralds, together with the order " which the French observed, and the Arms and In- " struments they made use of anciently in their wars;" as for this work, I say, it was printed at Paris in 8vo, in the year 1600. He published at Paris in 4to in the year 1581, *Recueil de la Langue & Poësie Françoise, Ryme & Romans; plus les Noms & Sommaires des Oeuvres de* 127 *Poëtes François, vivans avant l'An* 1300; i. e. " A Collection relating to the French Tongue and " Poetry, Rhyme, and Romances; with the names and " an abridgment of the works of 127 French Poets, " who lived before the year 1300." The edition of his works published at Paris in the year 1610 (4), and which Moreri mentions, was counterfeited at Geneva the next year.

(1) La Croix du Maine, *Bibloth. Françoise*, pag. 57.

(2) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 4. num. 939. pag. 535.

(3) Du Verdier calls him *Plance.*

(4) It is in 4to.

(a) See the Remark [O] of the Article LEWIS XIII.

manner of writing (a). He has been compared with Scipio du Pleix in the Sieur Sorel's *Bibliotheque Françoiſe* (b) or French Library. This deſerves to be read.

(b) In pag. 377. of the 2d edition.

(a) I have ſeen him quoted in Latin under the name of *Falcarius*.

FAUCHEUR (a) (MICHAEL LE) was a very celebrated Miniſter amongſt the Proteſtants in France in the 17th Century. His greateſt Talent was that of Preaching [A], and we may ſay that he excelled in it. He was admired on that account in the Church of Montpellier [B]. And as his reputation ſpread abroad, and the Church of Paris was uſed to chooſe the moſt eminent Preachers that were in the Provinces, they ſoon choſe him to be one of their Miniſters. He was reſolved to undeceive thoſe who thought he was capable only of compoſing a good Sermon and of delivering it with a good grace. He undertook therefore a conſiderable work, that required a great deal of time; it was a Treatiſe upon the Sacrament, againſt Cardinal du Perron. Men were agreeably ſurpriſed to ſee a large Volume in folio coming from him, which was ſtuffed with Greek and Latin paſſages, and full of all kind of learning concerning this controverſy. His other works are ſeveral volumes of Sermons, and a Treatiſe intitled, *De l'Action de l'Orateur* [C], which has been lately reprinted in Holland. I have ſeen a manuſcript letter of his in Latin, in which he gave the Great Du Moulin very good advice concerning his book of the Salmurian Controverſies. Le Faucheur died at Paris April the 1ſt 1657 (b).

(b) Witte in *Diar. Biograph.* See alſo *Monſieur Daillé's Life*, pag. 44.

[A] *His greateſt talent was that of preaching.*] I have been told that he preached once with ſo much ſtrength againſt duelling, that the Marſchal de la Force, who heard this Sermon, proteſted before ſome men of courage, tht if he were challenged to fight a duel, he would not accept it.

[B] *He was admired . . in the Church of Montpellier.*] The Sermon which he preached there on a Faſt day in the year 1618 has been often printed. It is a very eloquent and pathetical piece.

[C] *He wrote a Treatiſe of the Action of an Orator.*] It was printed at Leyden in the year 1686, and it was falſly aſcribed to Monſr. Conrart (α), either becauſe they thought him the Author of it, or becauſe they hoped that the Book would ſell better, if they prefixed to it the name of a man, who was very famous for his politeneſs. The Authors of the *Journal* publiſhed at Leipſic gave a very exact account of this Book in their *Journal* for January 1687 (1). They did not omit the paſſage where the Author ſpeaks of a certain Preacher, who had made a rule to himſelf to cough very regularly, and exactly at ſuch or ſuch a period of his Sermon: and leſt he ſhould fail in it, he uſed to put marks in his manuſcript wherever he deſigned to cough: he wrote in thoſe paſſages *hem, hem,* as it has been ſeen in the original after his death (β). The advice which theſe Authors gave has been followed by a Profeſſor of Helmſtad (2), who has tranſlated this Treatiſe into Latin. This Tranſlation was publiſhed in the ſame city in the year 1690. The Authors of the Journal of Leipſic have given ſome account of it (3), and acquainted the publick, that the Tranſlator reſtored this work to its true Author. What they ſuppoſe, namely, that this work having been printed at Lyons in the year 1676 without the Author's name, it was publiſhed at Paris ten years after under the name of Mr. Conrart, and that the Dutch Edition imitated the blunder of that of Paris by aſcribing the work to the ſame Mr. Conrart; this, I ſay, wants to be corrected. I. The anonymous Edition of Lyons 1676 is not the firſt: I remember to have ſeen this Book as ſoon as the year 1666 (γ). II. It was not printed under Mr. Conrart's name at Paris in the year 1686. Theſe words, *ad Exemplar Pariſ.* MDCLXXXVI, which theſe Gentlemen quote (4), do not ſignify that it was printed from the Edition which was publiſhed at Paris in 1686, but that it was printed in 1686, according to the Paris Edition; ſo that the year of that Paris Edition is not ſet down.

(1) Pag. 17, 18.

(2) Melchior Smidius.

(3) In the month of July 1690, pag. 368.

(4) Pag. 17. *anni* 1687.

* (α) *It was falſly aſcribed to Monſieur Conrart.*] The reaſon of it was, that the licenſe for printing it was granted *to the Sieur Conrart, Counſellor and Secretary to his Majeſty:* ſo that Mr. Conrart was certainly the perſon that publiſhed it. Now when an Author's name is not printed in the title-page of his Book, it may reaſonably be aſcribed to the perſon who is named in the Licence, eſpecially when that perſon does not ſay the leaſt thing by which it appears that he is only the Editor of the Book. But there is ſomething more with regard to this Book, which is intitled, *Traité de l'Action de l'Orateur, ou de la prononciation & du geſte.* i. e. "A Treatiſe concerning the Action of "an Orator, or of Pronunciation and Geſture." Towards the end of the Preface the Author tells his readers, that it is to the Counſels of his friends they are indebted for this work, *otherwiſe*, ſays he, *I would never have been determined to* WRITE *it, and leſs ſtill to* PUBLISH *it.* This cannot but perſuade the reader, that he, who publiſhed it, had alſo compoſed it; and it is for this reaſon that a great many perſons thought that Mr. Conrart who publiſhed it, was alſo the true Author of it †. CRIT. REM.]

† From the Critical Remarks printed at the end of the Paris edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary.

(β) *He wrote in thoſe paſſages,* hem, hem, *&c.*] By reading this one is inclined to think it is ſaid of ſome Preacher, who was contemporary with le Faucheur. But the fact, as he relates it, (p. 81.) is as follows. *Olivier Maillard in one of his Sermons delivered at Bruges in the year* 1500, *made a mark in all the paſſages where he deſigned to cough, writing there* hem, hem, hem, *as appears by the printed copy of that Sermon.* The Author of the Critical Remarks printed at the end of the Paris Edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, ſeems to doubt of this fact; or if it be true, he ſays that theſe *hems* ſignify perhaps quite another thing, than what le Faucheur imagined *. CRIT. REM.]

* Ibid.

(γ) *As ſoon as the year* 1666.] Mr. Bayle did not know when this work, which is but a ſmall Book in 12mo containing 243 pages, was printed for the firſt time: the firſt Edition was publiſhed by a Licence dated July the 18th, 1656. Mr. Conrart had made over his right to the Bookſeller Courbé January the 10th 1657, and the Book was printed off the firſt of February following §. CRIT. REM.]

§ Ibid.

(a) *Quem ætate Pauli IV* (it ſhould have been *Pauli III*) *Romani Pontificis, anno Chriſti MDXL vixiſſe conſtat.* Hankius, *de Scriptoribus Rerum Romanarum*, tom. 2. pag. 134.

FAUNO (LUCIO) in Latin *Faunus*, an Italian Author who lived towards the middle of the ſixteenth Century (a), wrote a Book of the Antiquities of Rome, *delle Antechità della Città di Roma*, which has been printed in Italian, and in Latin [A]. He tranſlated ſome of Flavius Blondus's works into Italian (b).

(b) *Epitome Bibliotheca Geſneri*, pag. m. 552.

[A] *His Book of the Antiquities of Rome . . . has been printed in Italian, and in Latin.*] The Italian Edition printed at Venice is ſaid to be of the year 1558, in 8vo, in the Catalogue of Thuanus's Library. They mention (1) another publiſhed in the ſame city in the year 1553. The Latin Edition was publiſhed at Venice in the year 1546, if we may believe the Epitomizer of Geſner. Others place the Venice Edition under the year 1549 (2).

(1) *See* Mr. Teiſſier, *in Catal. Catalogor. &c.* pag. 550.

(2) Hank. *De Scriptor. Rer. Roman.* pag. 134.

FAUSTA

FAUSTA, the daughter of Maximianus Herculeus (*a*), was the Emperor Conſtantine's conſort. They had married her to him with a deſign to deceive him (*b*); but ſhe diſcovered Maximianus's ſnares to her huſband (*c*). It is related that Conſtantine, ſuſpecting that Criſpus, whom he had had (*d*) by a concubine (*e*), had a criminal converſation with Fauſta, cauſed him to be put to death; and that, in order to comfort Helena his mother, who grieved extremely for that young man's death, he cauſed Fauſta to be ſmothered in a very hot bath. This is what Zoſimus aſſerts (*f*). Some ſay that Fauſta being in love with Criſpus, diſcovered her paſſion to him, but as ſhe could not perſuade him to ſatisfy her deſire, ſhe complained to Conſtantine that he attempted to raviſh her. They add, that Conſtantine giving credit to Fauſta's calumny, put Criſpus to death, and that having found out afterwards that his ſon was innocent, he put that woman to death [*A*]. Cardinal

(*a*) Zoſimus, lib. 2. pag. m. 81.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. pag. 82.

(*c*) Idem, ibid. *See alſo* Eutropius, lib. 10.

(*d*) Zoſimus, ibid. pag. 93.

(*e*) Her name was *Minervina*. Zoſimus, lib. 2. pag. 93.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. pag. 103, 104.

[*A*] *Some ſay that Fauſta was in love with Criſpus . . . Conſtantine put Criſpus to death . . . and put that woman to death.*] This tragical event is related by ſeveral Authors with a thouſand variations, and ſome of the moſt material circumſtances are almoſt always omitted. Zoſimus (1) pretends, that Conſtantine ſuſpected Criſpus of a criminal converſation with Fauſta, and yet he aſſerts that this Emperor put Criſpus to death, without inflicting the leaſt puniſhment on the Empreſs; for he pretends that ſhe was ſmothered in a bath only becauſe this was thought neceſſary to comfort Conſtantine's mother. Such an account deſerves to be ſeverely cenſured; Criſpus could not be ſuſpected of an inceſt with Fauſta, but Fauſta muſt have been ſuſpected of the ſame crime. Why then does Conſtantine puniſh Criſpus only? This is an objection, which Zoſimus ought to have foreſeen and anſwered; and yet he does not take the leaſt precaution againſt ſuch an exception; whence it follows that in his account of Conſtantine's behaviour he did not follow the rules of a ſtrict accuracy. The latter part of his narration requires that he ſhould have obſerved in the former that Criſpus was ſuſpected, not of inceſt with Fauſta, but of an unſucceſsful attempt on her chaſtity. Thus there would be no difficulty in the whole account; every reader would eaſily underſtand that Conſtantine made his wife's innocency fall a ſacrifice to his mother's affliction, or that by ſome artifice they made him believe, that his wife's conduct had not been abſolutely blameleſs. If we want to have a full account of this event, we muſt conſult Metaphraſtes: I own that he is not a very credible Author, but after all he gives us a fuller account, and places the circumſtances in a better order than any other Writer. Criſpus being accuſed by his mother-in-law is puniſhed; he is the only perſon guilty in his father's eyes. We muſt not therefore think it ſtrange that Fauſta ſhould not ſuffer the leaſt puniſhment. Yet afterwards it is found out that ſhe is a ſlanderer, and ſhe is puniſhed accordingly. Obſerve that Metaphraſtes ſuppoſes, that the Martyr Artemius relates this in Conſtantine's defence, and in anſwer to Julian the Apoſtate's objections. Read the following paſſage from Baronius (2). *Artemius Præfectus Auguſtalis, idemque Martyr, cum Chriſtianitatis reus cauſam ageret coram Juliano apoſtata, deroganti illi Conſtantino, multaque in eum objicienti, ac præſertim propinquorum necem, hæc tunc in eum pro Conſtantino reſpondit* :* Ille autem *(inquit)* uxorem Fauſtum juſtè admodum interfecit, ut quæ priſcam Phædram eſſet imitata, ejuſque filium Criſpum calumniata, quod ejus amore captus eſſet, & vim ei conatus eſſet afferre, ſicut etiam illa Hippolytum Theſei filium. Atque primum quidem qui ſic in matrem inſanierat (ut volebant ejus verba) ille cum eſſet maritus punivit. Poſtea autem cum ſciviſſet eſſe mentitam, ipſam quoque occidit, in eam ferens ſententiam omnium juſtiſſimam. *Hæc Artemius ad Julianum.* Sidonius Apollinaris tells us, that the Conſul Ablavius wrote a Diſtich, which was poſted up on the palace-gate, and which contained a very ſharp reflection on Conſtantine's cruelty. *Ut mihi non figuratius Conſtantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugiſſe verſu gemello Conſul Ablavius, vel momordiſſe diſticho tali clam palatinis foribus appenſo:*

Saturni aurea ſæcla quis requirat?
Sunt hæc gemmea (3), ſed Neroniana.

Quia ſcilicet prædictus Auguſtus iiſdem fere temporibus extinxerat Conjugem Fauſtam calore balnei, filium Criſpum frigore veneni (4). i. e. "So that the Conſul Ablavius "does not ſeem to have more elegantly cenſured the "family and life of Conſtantine in a couple of verſes, "or bantered him by that diſtich which was ſecretly "poſted up on the palace-gate, the ſenſe of which is as "follows; *Who would wiſh for the Golden Age of Sa-* "*turn? ſince this is an Age of Jewels* §, *but a Ne-* "*ronian Age.* Becauſe &c." Theſe words of Sidonius Apollinaris contain nothing concerning the reaſon of Conſtantine's conduct. They only acquaint us, that this Emperor put his wife Fauſta to death by the heat of a bath, and his ſon Criſpus by the cold of poiſon. Moſt of the Authors ſay, that Criſpus was put to death, but not that he was poiſoned. *Ad Iſtriam duxit prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam* PEREMPTUM *Conſtantini filium accepimus Criſpum* (5). i. e. "He "carried him into Iſtria, near the town of Pola, "where we are told that Criſpus Conſtantine's ſon was "killed." St. Jerom's expreſſion is as follows: *Hic* (Lactantius) *extrema ſenectute Magiſter Cæſaris Criſpi, filii Conſtantini, in Gallia fuit, qui poſtea à patre* INTERFECTUS *eſt* (6). i. e. "Lactantius had been in "his old age Tutor in Gaul to the Cæſar Criſpus, "Conſtantine's ſon, who was afterwards put to death "by his father." We read in Euſebius's Chronicle, that Criſpus Conſtantine's ſon, and young Licinius ſon of one of Conſtantine's ſiſters were both moſt cruelly killed, *crudeliſſime* INTERFICIUNTUR, in the firſt year of the 276th Olympiad, that is to ſay, in the year 325 of the Chriſtian Æra, and that Conſtantine killed his wife Fauſta the fourth year of the ſame Olympiad. Oroſius does not mention Fauſta, but he ſays, that about the time when Arius's hereſies were condemned in the Council of Nice, Conſtantine killed his own ſon Criſpus, and his nephew Licinius, and that it is not known what reaſons thus exaſperated him againſt his own blood. *Sed inter hæc latent cauſæ, cur vindicem gladium, & deſtinatam in impios punitionem Conſtantinus Imperator etiam in proprios egit affectus. Nam Criſpum filium ſuum, & Licinium filium, ſororis filium* INTERFECIT (7). It is very ſtrange that this Hiſtorian ſhould not have heard what ſo many others aſſert, namely, that Criſpus was put to death becauſe he was ſuſpected of having a criminal love for his mother-in-law; but Oroſius did perhaps hear all this, and ſeveral other reaſons alſo, and theſe different accounts made him perhaps think that the true reaſons of Criſpus's death were a myſtery. Aurelius Victor, who relates that it was thought Fauſta perſuaded Conſtantine to put Criſpus to death, does not tell us, by what motive ſhe perſuaded her huſband. For the reſt he agrees with Zoſimus as to the cauſe of Fauſta's death; he ſays that Conſtantine cauſed her to die in a bath, becauſe his mother Helena being extremely grieved at Criſpus's death, was continually upbraiding him with it. *Fauſta conjuge, ut putant, ſuggerente Criſpum filium* NECARI *jubet. Dehinc uxorem ſuam Fauſtam in balneas ardentes conjectum interemit, cum eum mater Helena dolore nimio nepotis increparet* (8). Nothing ſeems more ſurprizing to me, than to find that Eutropius ſpoke of Conſtantine's barbarous actions, without ſaying a word of Criſpus's death, tho' he does expreſly mention the death of Licinius and Fauſta (9). It is pretended, that St. Chryſoſtom, without mentioning any perſon by name, relates this action of Conſtantine: but then he ſuppoſes, that this Prince, ſuſpecting his wife of adultery, cauſed her to be bound on a mountain, that ſhe might be devoured by ravenous beaſts: He adds, that the ſon of this ſame Prince was killed by his own father, or rather by his brother (10). Gregorius Turonenſis aſſerts, that Conſtantine put his ſon Criſpus and his wife Fauſta to death for high treaſon (11). Philoſtorgius relates, that Conſtantine giving

§ See the marginal quotation (3).

(1) Zoſimus, lib. 2. pag. m. 103, 104.

(2) Baronius, *ad ann.* 324. num. 11. pag. m. 295.

* *Ex Metaphr. apud Sur. die* 20 *Octob. tom.* 5.

(3) Savaro makes the following note upon this word. *Scilicet quod Criſpus . . . veneno gemmæ id eſt gemmatæ pateræ infuſo potionatus occubuit.* i. e. "Criſpus "died of a poiſon which was "given him in a "gem, that is to "ſay in a cup "adorned with "gems."

(4) Sidon. Apollinar. Epiſt. 8. lib. 5. pag. m. 338.

(5) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 14. cap. ult. pag. m. 57, 58.

(6) Hieronym. *de Script. Eccleſ. in Lactantio.*

(7) Oroſius, lib. 7. cap. 28. folio m. 321 *verſo.*

(8) Aurelius Victor, *in Epitome*, pag. m. 224.

(9) *Primum neceſſitudines perſecutus, egregium virum, & ſororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem interfecit, mox uxorem, poſt numerojos amicos.* Eutrop. lib. 10. pag. m. 117.

(10) Chryſoſt. *Homil.* 15. *in Philippenſes.* *See* Henry Valeſius *in Ammian. Marcell.* lib. 14. pag. m. 58.

(11) Greg. Turon. *Hiſt. Franc.* lib. 1. cap. 34.

ing

(g) Baron. *ad ann.* 324, num. 5, & *seq.*

Cardinal Baronius (*g*) juſtly complains of the Writers of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who have concealed theſe facts, or even endeavoured to confute them [*B*]. He places the marriage of Conſtantine and Fauſta under the year 307 (*h*), and the death of Criſpus and of this Empreſs under the year 324. There could not happen any thing more dangerous to this ſon of Conſtantine, than his mother-in-law's falling in love with him; for he could not but expoſe himſelf, whatever courſe he took. His complaiſance would have

(*h*) Monſ. Baluze *in Lactant. de mort. Perſec.* cap. 27. proves that this Chronology is true.

ing credit to the calumnies of his wife, Criſpus's mother-in-law, cauſed him to be put to death, and that having afterwards diſcovered, that this woman committed adultery with a certain meſſenger, he gave orders to ſmother her in a bath (12). Beſides the Authors I have mentioned, the reader will do well to conſult Suidas (13) and Zonaras.

(12) Philoſtorg. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 2. cap. 4.

(13) Suidas, *voce* Κρίσπος.

I have quoted all theſe Authors, that the reader may ſee the defects, differences, and inaccuracies of the ancient Hiſtorians. Let us alſo obſerve, that ſince there are ſo many Authors to be quoted on this ſubject, it is ſtrange that in Moreri's Dictionary they ſhould till this time quote only Ammianus Marcellinus, who ſays nothing either of Fauſta, or of the reaſon why Criſpus was put to death. You have ſeen above (14) all that we meet with in this Writer upon this ſubject.

(14) Quotation (5).

I muſt not omit taking notice of the liberty which the Jeſuit Cauſſin has taken of adding a great many things of his own invention to the account of this ſtory. This might be tolerable in a Poem, or in a Romance. But theſe ornaments of Rhetoric are not to be ſuffered in a grave and ſerious work, and which is intitled, *La Cour Sainte* (the Holy Court). Nothing is more agreeable than this for young ſcholars, but nothing is more inſipid for men of years and judgment. It raiſes their indignation to ſee that an Author attempts to deſcribe at large the beauty of Criſpus, the riſe and progreſs of Fauſta's love for him, how ſhe declared it to him, her ſpite at his refuſal, the artifice ſhe made uſe of to be revenged, her grief at the death of Criſpus, &c. to ſee, I ſay, that an Author ſhould deſcribe all theſe things, tho' he does not borrow them from any Hiſtory extant. Here follows what Father Cauſſin relates with regard to the laſt particular I have mentioned. "As ſoon (15) as this news was brought to Court, the wicked "Fauſta perceived it was an effect of her perfidiouſ- "neſs; and repreſenting to herſelf in a moſt lively "manner that unhappy Prince, whom ſhe had lov- "ed ſo much, now cruelly ſlaughtered in that age, "and that beauty, in which death is moſt lamenta- "ble, and with that good nature, which would have "raiſed the compaſſion of the very tygers and lions, "all her anger and hatred was changed into a raving "grief, which made her cry and howl at her huſ- "band's feet, confeſſing that ſhe by her abominable "calumny had killed the chaſte Criſpus, that ſhe had "tempted him to commit a crime, but that ſhe found "him a Joſeph endowed with an invincible chaſtity, "who abhorred her ſin as it deſerved to be abhorred; "at which ſhe being exaſperated, and fearing leſt he "ſhould be beforehand with her, ſhe had recourſe to "that wicked artifice ſhe made uſe of: that therefore "ſhe was unworthy to live, having killed the moſt in- "nocent Prince in the world, and ſtained his own "father with his blood (16)." What a bold attempt is this! An Author of the 17th Century dares to give us a particular account of circumſtances of his own invention concerning a fact which happened in the fourth Century. There is not one ancient Author that tells us how Conſtantine was acquainted with his ſon's innocency, ſo far are they from aſſerting, that Fauſta herſelf diſcovered it to that Emperor.

(15) Of the death of Criſpus.

(16) Cauſſin, *Cour Sainte*, tom. 2. pag. m. 56.

[*B*] *Cardinal Baronius juſtly complains of the Writers . . . , who have concealed thoſe facts, or even endeavoured to confute them.*] He cenſures upon this ſubject three Hiſtorians, Euſebius, Sozomen and Evagrius. The firſt of them does not mention thoſe facts, and the two others diſpute againſt thoſe that mentioned them. Euſebius does not ſay one word of this in his Life of Conſtantine, but he ſpeaks of it in his Chronicle. Sozomen dares not flatly deny the death of Criſpus, nor own it poſitively: he (17) only refutes the Heathen Writers, who had aſſerted, that when Conſtantine could not find in the Heathen Religion any means to atone for ſuch execrable murthers, which means he found in the Chriſtian Religion, he forſook the Religion of his anceſtors, and became a Chriſtian. Evagrius (18) poſitively denies both that Conſtantine put Criſpus and Fauſta to death, and that it was for this reaſon that he embraced the Chriſtian Religion. Baronius (19) having condemned the ſilence of the firſt of theſe three Hiſtorians, as a baſe flattery, charges (20) Sozomen with an incredible ſtupidity, who in order to prove that Conſtantine did not put Criſpus to death, made uſe, ſays he, only of the following argument; *viz.* Criſpus lived till the twentieth year of Conſtantine's reign, and made ſeveral Laws with him. Baronius (21) does ſtill more wonder at Evagrius's conduct, and refers him to Euſebius's Chronicle, to Aurelius Victor, to Eutropius, to Oroſius, to Sidonius Apollinaris, &c. He confutes afterwards the arguments which Sozomen and Evagrius objected, the former to the Heathen Authors in general, the latter particularly to Zoſimus. I. But let us obſerve firſt, that he curtails their arguments, and that he ought not to have aſſerted, that Sozomen denied the death of Criſpus (22); for this Hiſtorian leaves us doubtful with regard to the fact itſelf, and only confutes the conſequences, which the Heathens pretended to infer from it. The argument he offers againſt them is much ſtronger, than Baronius repreſents it. For if Conſtantine and Criſpus have made Laws together in favour of the Goſpel, it follows from thence, that Conſtantine had forſaken the Pagan Religion before the death of Criſpus, and conſequently that he did not forſake it, becauſe he did not meet in that Religion the neceſſary expiations and atonement for the murther of his ſon, as the Heathen aſſerted. Such is Sozomen's argument; the Annaliſt has entirely enervated it, by ſuppoſing that this Author only ſays, that Criſpus made Laws with Conſtantine (23): he had not made ſuch an undeterminate obſervation, he had ſaid, that the Laws were made in favour of the Chriſtians (24). Baronius has not been more fair with regard to Evagrius: he charges him (25) with objecting to Zoſimus only Euſebius's ſilence: but it is certain that Evagrius does more, for he quotes (26) three paſſages of Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, by which it appears that the Emperor Conſtantine had always been addicted to the true faith, and that his ſon Criſpus, the beloved of God, was like his father. II. Let us obſerve in the ſecond place, that Sozomen's other arguments have been well refuted by the Annaliſt (27), who ſhews him plainly, that the Philoſopher Soſipater had been acquainted with Conſtantine, and ought to have anſwered him, according to the Platonic Syſtem, that this Emperor's Murthers could not be expiated. Zoſimus aſſerts that ſuch was that Philoſopher's anſwer to Conſtantine. He has been refuted (28) among other arguments by the following obſervation; namely, that Soſipater could not but know, that there were in the Heathen Religion ceremonies to atone for the moſt heinous murthers. Witneſs Hercules, who killed his ſons and his hoſt, and yet found means to atone for thoſe murthers. Baronius (29) refutes very well theſe anſwers of Sozomen, by obſerving that there was a material difference between the murthers committed by Conſtantine, and thoſe committed by Hercules. The former were perpetrated by a Prince who had the full uſe of his ſenſes, and the latter by a mad-man, whoſe action could not be conſidered as voluntary.

(17) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. m. 406, 407.

(18) Evagrius, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 41. pag. m. 371.

(19) Baron. *ad ann.* 324. num. 5. pag. m. 271.

(20) Idem, ibid. num. 7. pag. 294.

(21) Idem, ibid. num. 8.

(22) *Ut neget Criſpum occiſum à patre.* Baron. ibid. num. 7. *Non admittens omnino Criſpum à Conſtantino juſſum occidi.* Idem, ibid. num. 20. James Godefroy, *Notis in Philoſtorg.* pag. 50. commits the ſame blunder.

(23) *Eo uno utitur argumento quod Criſpus vivens ad vigeſimum uſque patris Imperii annum pervenerit, multas interea leges cum eo ſtatuens.* Baron. *ad ann.* 324. num. 7.

(24) Πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ νόμους θέμενος νέους ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν. Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 406, 407.

(25) Baron. *ad ann.* 324. num. 8.

(26) Evagr. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 41. pag. 372.

(27) Baron. *ad ann.* 324, num. 22, & *ſeq.*

(28) Sozom. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 407.

(29) Baron. *ad ann.* 324, num. 25.

It will doubtleſs be aſked why this Annaliſt takes ſo much care to confirm the ſlanders of the heathen Authors, and to refute the Writers of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who have anſwered them as well as they could. Does it become a Cardinal to declare himſelf in a manner for the Infidels, who affected to diſgrace Conſtantine's converſion, as though this Emperor had abjured the Heathen Religion, only becauſe its diſcipline was ſo ſevere, that he could not find in it the leaſt remedy to appeaſe the remorſe of his conſcience, whereas the Chriſtians offered him a very eaſy method to waſh off his ſtains by the Water of Baptiſm. Do not think, that Baronius does this without a deſign: he does it only with a view to ſupport certain traditions favourable to the See of Rome: he does

have drawn God's wrath upon him; and beſides, if it ſhould happen to be known, he had the worſt to fear from Conſtantine; a refuſal was a matter of great importance; for in this caſe he would draw upon himſelf the indignation and fury of an Empreſs [C]. Some Authors aſſert (*i*), that Fauſta engaged Conſtantine again to worſhip the falſe Deities, and that God viſited him with a leproſy, in order to draw him from that idolatrous worſhip.

(*i*) Michael Glycas, lib. 4. *apud* Baronium, *ad ann.* 324, num. 35.

does it (30) in order to confirm the Acts of Pope Silveſter, and to prove that Conſtantine was baptiſed by that Pope, at Rome, a little before the Council of Nice was held. The *Faſti* of Idacius do not favour his opinion, for they put the death of Criſpus under the year 326. F. Pagi (31) places Criſpus's third Conſulſhip under the year 324. Conſult Godefroi's Notes upon Philoſtorgius (32). After all, it is a hard matter to imagine, that a year before or after the Council of Nice, Conſtantine ſhould have conſulted an Heathen Philoſopher, to learn from him by what ceremonies murthers could be atoned for. Could he have been till that time poſſeſſed with the ſuperſtitious notions of the Heathens, after he had ſo long profeſſed the true faith? Obſerve, that there are ſtill at this time ſome perſons (33) who doubt, that he put his ſpouſe Fauſta to death; and do not forget to compare the Heathen Writers with thoſe who have publiſhed, and ſtill do publiſh, that the Reformers of the Church in the ſixteenth Century forſook the Popiſh Religion only with a deſign to deliver themſelves from the hardſhips of celibacy, and abſtinences, and that the liberty of living without auricular confeſſion, and without any auſterity made them find an immenſe number of followers.

(30) Baron num. 29, & *ſeq. ad ann.* 324.

(31) Pagi, *Diſſertat. Hypat.* pag. 249.

(32) Jacob. Gothofredus, *in Philoſtorg.* pag. 51.

(33) *See* Cellarius, *in Eutrop.* lib. 10.

[C] *A refuſal .... drew upon him the indignation and fury of an Empreſs.*] They that have the greateſt knowledge in love affairs, ſay that it is very imprudently done, to act the tempter when a man only deſigns to try whether a woman be virtuous or not. For they who aim at nothing more, expoſe themſelves very much, in caſe they perſuade the woman to conſent that they ſhould enjoy her. The affront ſhe receives when a man does not make an advantage of the kind diſpoſition to which he has reduced her, inſpires her with ſuch a reſentment, as makes her invent a thouſand means to be revenged. She cannot think that he has been deceived, and that the weakneſs ſhe diſcovered has been uſeleſs to her, ſhe cannot, I ſay, think of this, but ſhe falls into a moſt violent paſſion, which the tempter has but too much reaſon to dread. It is much worſe ſtill, when a woman declares her love firſt, and finds that her addreſſes are unſucceſsful. Woe to him whom ſhe tempted, and could not win; ſhe thinks of nothing but his ruin. The Patriarch Joſeph is a proof of this (34). And if the Sacred Hiſtory furniſhes us with this remarkable inſtance, the Hiſtory of the Heroical Times does not contain leſs conſiderable inſtances. Read the ſtories of Bellerophon and of the chaſte Hippolytus. The Hiſtory of the following ages alſo offers us ſomething like it, if it were only our Fauſta, who calumniated Criſpus, becauſe he would not conſent to ſatisfy her deſire. Juvenal has rightly obſerved that the ſhame of ſuch a refuſal inſpires a woman with hatred, and it in this caſe, that ſhe ſhews the greateſt cruelty.

(34) See the 39th chapter of the Book of Geneſis.

Sed caſto quid forma nocet? quid profuit olim
Hippolyto grave propoſitum? quid Bellerophonti?
Erubuit nempe hæc ceu faſtidita repulſa:
Nec Stenobœa minus quam Creſſa excanduit, & ſe
Concuſſere ambæ, mulier ſæviſſima tunc eſt,
Cum ſtimulos odio pudor admovet (35).

(35) Juvenal, Sat. 10. ver. 324.

" She may be handſom, yet be chaſte, you ſay:
" Good obſervator, not ſo faſt away:
" Did it not coſt the modeſt youth his life,
" Who ſhun'd th' embraces of his father's wife?
" And was not th' other ſtripling forc'd to fly,
" Who coldly did his patron's Queen deny,
" And pleaded laws of hoſpitality?
" The Ladies charg'd 'em home, and turn'd the tail.
" With ſhame they redned, and with ſpite grew pale.
" 'Tis dang'rous to deny the longing Dame;
" She loſes pity, who has loſt her ſhame."

Dryden.

An Empreſs, a Queen, and in general the Ladies of the higeſt rank are chiefly to be dreaded, when their addreſſes have not been anſwered. Their quality makes them take an affront more to heart, and furniſhes them with more opportunities to revenge themſelves. We may very well apply to them the words of Juno in Virgil's Æneid.

——— *Mene incepto deſiſtere victam* (36)?

(36) Virg. Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 37.

In ſuch a caſe an indifferent opinion of their beauty, is an injury which roots itſelf deeply in the heart.

——— *Manet alta mente repoſtum*
Judicium Paridis ſpretæque injuria formæ (37).

(37) Idem, ibid. ver. 26.

I do not know whether Lactantius made his diſciple (38) read the ſtory of Phœdra; it might have been of ſome uſe to him.

(38) Criſpus, ſon of Conſtantine.

FEITHIUS (EVERARD) was born at Elburg in the Province of Guelderland in the 17th Century. He ſtudied Philoſophy for ſome time, and applied himſelf afterwards intirely to polite Literature, in which he made a conſiderable progreſs. He learned the Greek tongue perfectly, and even the Hebrew tongue; of which the Profeſſors of the Univerſity which the Proteſtants of France had in Bearn gave him a large teſtimonial. Being returned into his own country, from which he had been long abſent, he was under a great conſternation becauſe of the expedition of the Spaniards commanded by Spinola. This determined him to leave his native country; he went to ſettle in France, where he taught the Greek tongue, and was honoured with the friendſhip of Caſaubon, of Meſſieurs Du Puy, and of the Preſident Thuanus. When he was walking one day at Rochelle attended by a ſervant, he was deſired to enter into the houſe of a Citizen (*a*). Since that day it could never be diſcovered what became of him, notwithſtanding all the ſtricteſt inquiries of the Magiſtrates. It was a pity; for if this young man had lived to grow old, he would have wonderfully explained moſt of the ſubjects relating to polite Literature. This judgment is grounded upon the manuſcript works of his, which are extant (*b*), one of which was publiſhed at Leyden in the year 1677 [A].

(*a*) *In Civis Rapellani ædes vocatur.* Brumannus, *ubi infra.*

(*b*) Taken from Brumanus, *Epiſt. Dedicat. Antiquitatum Homericarum.*

" FELIBIEN

[A] *One of his Works was publiſhed at Leyden in the year* 1677.] It is a Book in 12*mo* of 350 pages, intitled, *Antiquitatum Homericarum libri quatuor.* i. e. " Four Books of the Antiquities of Homer." It is very learned and abounds with curious and inſtructive obſervations. Henry Bruman, Principal of the College at Swol, and the Author's grand-nephew (1), took care to publiſh it. He promiſed to make a collection of Feithius's other Works, which had been diſperſed through the careleſsneſs of his heirs. I know from very good hands that they are not all periſhed, and that the Work *De Athenienſium Republica*, and that, intitled *De Antiquitatibus Atticis*, are in the poſſeſſion of a very learned Antiquary (2).

(1) *Avo meo materno frater fuit* (*Feithius*) Brum. *Epiſt. Ded.* Antiquit. Homer.

(2) Mr. Cuper.

" FELIBIEN (ANDREW) *Sieur des Avaux* and *de Javercy* Counſellor and Hiſto-
" riographer to the King, &c. gained a great reputation by his knowledge in the liberal
" Arts. He was born at Chartres, and had hardly finiſhed his firſt ſtudies there at the
" age of fourteen years, but he was ſent to Paris to improve himſelf in the Sciences,
" and in the management of affairs. But his inclination ſoon made him apply himſelf
" intirely to the Muſes. The firſt Eſſays of his pen diſcovered the beauty of his genius,
" and the gracefulneſs of his ſtyle. The Marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil being choſen
" for the ſecond time Embaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of Rome in 1647, Mon-
" ſieur Felibien was made Secretary to the Embaſſy, and perfectly anſwered the hopes
" which that Miniſter had conceived of him. During his ſtay at Rome his natural in-
" clination for the liberal Arts made him gladly ſpend all the time he could ſpare in vi-
" ſiting thoſe who excelled in them, and eſpecially the celebrated Pouſſin, by whoſe con-
" verſations he learned to underſtand all that is moſt beautiful in ſtatues and pictures;
" and it was according to the exalted notions he then formed to himſelf of the excellency
" and perfection of painting, that he wrote ſince thoſe excellent works, which gained
" him his reputation. On his return from Italy he went to Chartres, and as he deſigned
" to ſettle himſelf, he married Margaret le Maire the daughter of the King's Advocate
" in the *Preſidial* *, who, as well as he, was related to the chief families in the City,
" and amongſt others to the illuſtrious Houſe of Aligre, which originally came from
" Chartres. His friends introduced him afterwards to Monſieur Fouquet, who would
" have given him ſtronger proofs of his friendſhip, had he not ſoon after loſt the King's
" favour. But Monſieur Colbert, who loved the Arts and Sciences, did not ſuffer him
" to be uſeleſs. After he had deſired him to make ſome draughts for his Majeſty, in
" order to engage him to complete the works he had begun, he procured him a Com-
" miſſion of Hiſtoriographer to the King, of his buildings, and of the arts and manu-
" factures in France; this Commiſſion was delivered to him March the 10th 1666.
" The Royal Academy of Architecture having been eſtabliſhed in the year 1671, he
" was made Secretary to it. The King made him afterwards Keeper of his Cabinet of
" Antiques, and gave him an apartment in the palace of Brion. He was alſo one of
" the firſt Members of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Medals. Monſieur Pellitier
" ſucceeding Monſieur Colbert in the management of the Finances, made Monſieur Fe-
" libien Deputy-Comptroller General of the Bridges and Dykes of the Kingdom.
" Though he was extremely buſy, yet he did not refuſe to take care of the poor for
" ſeveral years that he was Adminiſtrator of the Hoſpital of the *Quinze-vingts* † at
" Paris.... He died at the age of threeſcore and ſixteen June the 11th 1695. He left
" five children (*a*) [*A*]." You will find below a Catalogue of the moſt conſiderable of
his works, with a ſhort elogium upon them, and of his moral character [*B*]. See the
Journal des Savans for November the 28th 1695.

* A ſpecial Court of Judicature.

† An Hoſpital for 15 times 20, that is 300 poor blind perſons.

(*a*) Taken from manuſcript *Memoirs* ſent from Paris.

☞FELL

[*A*] *He left five children.*] " Three ſons and two
" daughters; the eldeſt ſon, formerly Dean of the
" Cathedral of Bourges, is now Vicar general of that
" Archbiſhoprick. The ſecond ſucceeded his father
" in the office of Hiſtoriographer to the King, and
" Keeper of his Majeſty's Antiques. He has publiſhed
" a Collection of the Lives and Writings of the moſt
" celebrated Architects. The third is a Monk, his
" name is, Dom Michael Felibien, of the Congrega-
" tion of St. Maur (1)."

(1) Taken from the ſame *Memoirs* ſent from Paris.

[*B*] *You will find below a Catalogue of the moſt conſiderable of his Works, with a ſhort elogium on them, and on his moral character.*] " The chief Works we have of
" him, are his *Entretiens ſur les Vies & ſur les Ouvrages
" des plus excellens Peintres anciens & Modernes.* i. e.
" *Dialogues concerning the Lives and Works of the moſt
" excellent Painters both Ancient and Modern, in* 4*to.*
" two volumes of the ſecond Edition. *Les Principes
" de l'Architecture, de la Sculpture, & de la Peinture,
" avec un Dictionaire des termes propres de ces Arts.*
" i. e. *The Principles of Architecture, Sculpture, and
" Painting; with a Dictionary of proper words relating
" to thoſe Arts. in* 4*to. De l'Origine de la Peinture,
" avec pluſieurs pieces detachées.* i. e. *Of the Origin
" of Painting; with ſeveral other pieces, in* 4*to.* Several
" deſcriptions, as that of Verſailles, and of ſeveral en-
" tertainments given by the King, and of ſeveral pic-
" tures collected in one volume in 12*mo.* The Con-
" ferences of the Royal Academy of painting, in one
" volume in 4*to.* The deſcription of the Abbey de la
" Trappe, in 12*mo.* He has alſo left ſome Tranſla-
" tions, as that of the account of what paſſed in Spain
" when the Count-Duke of Olivares fell under the
" King's diſpleaſure, tranſlated out of Italian. *The
" Caſtle of the Soul,* written by St. Thereſa, tranſlated
" out of Spaniſh. The Life of Pope Pius V, tranſlated
" out of Italian. In all that he has written appears a
" ſound judgment, an exquiſite taſte, a great clearneſs
" and politeneſs. His ſtyle is exact, natural, noble,
" and elegant. The variety of things with which he
" has interſperſed his Works, and eſpecially his
" Dialogues, and the beautiful ſtrokes with which he
" has adorned them, with that decency which became
" his ſubject, make the reading of them very agreea-
" ble. But how excellent ſoever his talents were that
" way, it was not by them alone that he gained his
" reputation. He owed a great part of it to his pro-
" bity; and the honour which five Miniſters of State,
" all very well ſkilled in the art of knowing men,
" did him by employing him ſucceſſively, is an au-
" thentic proof that they approved his conduct. The
" King himſelf has more than once commended his
" learning and his virtue. If he had been ambitious,
" or leſs moderate, he might eaſily have obtained
" greater preferments, ſince he was ſo well liked at
" Court, and favoured by the great Men; but he
" could never take upon him to manage other people's
" money; and this was his greateſt comfort when he
" died. Eight or nine thouſand Livres, which the
" King was pleaſed to grant him yearly, together with
" his own patrimony, ſeemed to him a ſufficient re-
" ward for a man of Letters, who ought rather to be
" a friend to virtue, than a ſlave to riches. He al-
" ways was a man of honour and piety. Though he
" was naturally grave and ſerious, and of a haſty and
" even ſevere temper, yet his converſation was always
" agreeable, and even merry, when there was an oc-
" caſion for it. His ſoul was upright, and concerned
" for the cauſe of truth: he uſed to encourage himſelf
" to it, by this motto, which he cauſed to be engraved
" on his ſeal, *benefacere, & vera dicere,* i. e. *To do
" good, and ſpeak the truth.* Theſe words are alſo
" put

☞FELL (JOHN), a very learned Engliſh Divine and Biſhop, was ſon of Dr. Samuel Fell Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford [*A*], by Margaret daughter of Thomas Wyld of the Commandery in the Suburbs of Worceſter Eſq; and was born at Sunningwell near Abington in Berks, or at Longworth, (as Mr. Wood was informed by a kinſman of his (*a*),) in the year 1625. He was educated in Grammar learning in the free-ſchool at Thame in Oxfordſhire, and entered a Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford in 1636, at eleven years of age (*b*), where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts June the 2d 1643 (*c*); about which time he was in arms for his Majeſty within the garriſon at Oxford, and afterwards was an Enſign. In 1648 he was ejected out of his place in the College by the Parliamentary Viſitors, being then in holy Orders; and from that time to the Reſtoration he lived at Oxford in a retired and ſtudious condition, partly at the lodgings of Dr. Thomas Willis the Phyſician, who married his ſiſter, in Canterbury Quadrangle belonging to Chriſt Church, and partly in his own houſe oppoſite to Merton-College Church (*d*); in both which places he, with Mr. John Dolben, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and ſometimes Mr. Richard Alleſtry, kept up the devotions and orders of the Church of England, and adminiſtred the Sacraments to the Royaliſts then in Oxford (*e*). Upon the Reſtoration he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt Church on the 27th of July 1660 (*f*), and Dean of that Church on the 30th of November following (*g*), having been created Doctor of Divinity on the 3d of October (*h*), and being at that time Chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty (*i*). In his place of Dean he did great ſervices to the College, and in 1666, 1667, 1668, and part of 1669 he was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, in which office he reformed ſeveral abuſes (*k*). February the 6th 1675 he was conſecrated Biſhop of Oxford, and had leave to hold his Deanery in *Commendam*, in order that he might continue his ſervices to the College and Univerſity (*l*). He wrote and publiſhed ſeveral works [*B*]. He died July the 10th 1686, and was interred on the

(*a*) See *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 795. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 33.

(*d*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Idem, ibid. col. 549, 792 and 795.

(*f*) Idem, col. 795.

(*g*) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiquit. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 256.

(*h*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 137.

(*i*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 795.

(*k*) Idem, col. 795, 796.

(*l*) Idem, col. 797.

(*m*) Id. 799.

(6) I. 798.

(a) the Fra 1ſt 24, Par 166

(a) ma

(2) Taken from the ſame *Memoirs*.

(3) For Nov. 28, 1695, pag. 695, &c. of the Dutch edition.

" put in the *Exergue* of his medal. He lived in a " conſtant practice of theſe two duties, which form " the character of an honeſt man, and a perfect " Chriſtian (2)." You will find a more particular ac- " count of all this, in the *Journal des Savans* (3).

[*A*] *Dr.* Samuel Fell, *Dean of Chriſt Church in Oxford.*] He was born within the Pariſh of St. Clements Dane near Temple-Bar, London, in the year 1584; elected Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford in 1601, aged 17 years; and took the Degree of Maſter of Arts in 1608. He was choſen Proctor of the Univerſity in 1614, and admitted Bachelor of Divinity the year following, and about that time became Miniſter of Freſhwater in the Iſle of Wight. In May 1619 he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt Church, and the ſame year took the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, being about that time domeſtic Chaplain to King James I. In 1626 he was made Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity, and ſo conſequently Prebendary of Worceſter, (which Prebend was about that time annexed to the Profeſſorſhip) he being then a Calviniſt. At length leaving his Opinion, he *became*, ſays Mr. Wood, *after great ſeekings and cringings, a creature of Dr.* Laud *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, by whoſe means he was made Dean of Lichfield, upon the promotion of Dr. John Warner to the See of Rocheſter, in 1637; and Dean of Chriſt Church the year following, in the room of Dr. Duppa advanced to the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter (1). In July 1645 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity (2). In 1647 he was ejected from his Deanery and Vice-Chancellorſhip; and retiring to his Rectory of Sunningwell near Abingdon in Berks, ſpent the ſhort remainder of his life in obſcurity. He died in the Parſonage-Houſe on the 1ſt of February 164§, and was interred in the Chancel of the Church there. He wrote and publiſhed *Primitiæ; ſivè Oratio habita Oxoniæ in Scholâ Theologicâ 9 Nov. ann.* 1626. Oxford 1627 in 4to. *Concio Latina ad Baccalaureos, die Cinerum, in Coloſs.* 2. 8. Oxford 1627 in 4to.

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 118. and *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 256.

(2) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 45.

[*B*] *He wrote and publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] *In Laudem Muſices Carmen Sapphicum. The Life of the moſt learned, reverend, and pious Dr. H. Hammond.* London 1661 in 12mo. There was a ſecond Edition the year following. Mr. Robert Croſſe, Vicar of Great Chew in Somerſetſhire, wrote a Book called *Biographia*, laying down rules how Lives are to be written, and deſigned to correct Dr. Fell for his way of writing Dr. Hammond's *Life*, becauſe Dr. Fell had refuſed to licenſe his Piece againſt Mr. Joſeph Glanvill's *Plus Ultra* (3). *The Vanity of Scoffing; in a Letter to a Gentleman.* London 1674 in 4to. His name is not prefixed to it. *Reſponſio ad Epiſtolam Thomæ Hobbes Malmſburienſis.* Printed at the end of Mr. Wood's *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis.* Mr. Hobbes had written *Epiſtola ad Dom. Ant. a Wood Authorem Hiſtoriæ & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon.* dated the 20th of April 1674, and printed in half a ſheet on one ſide. " It was upon Mr. " Wood's Complaint made to Mr. Hobbes of ſeveral " Deletions and Additions made in and to his Life and " Character (which he had written of him in that " Book) by the Publiſher (Dr. *John Fell*) of the ſaid " *Hiſt. & Antiq.* to the great diſhonour and diſparage- " ment of the ſaid Mr. *Hobbes*. Whereupon when " that Hiſtory was finiſhed, came out a *ſcurrilous* An- " ſwer to the ſaid Epiſtle, written by Dr. *Fell*, which " is at the end of that Hiſtory (4)." Several Sermons, as 1. *The Character of the laſt Days*, preached before the King, on 2 *Peter* 3. 3. Oxford 1675 in 4to. 2. *Sermon preached before the Houſe of Peers, the 22d of December* 1680 *being the day of ſolemn Humiliation, on* Matthew 12. 25. Oxford 1680 in 4to. *Account of Dr.* Richard Alleſtrie's *Life*, in the Preface which he prefixed to that Divine's *Forty Sermons*, publiſhed by our Author. Dr. Fell was likewiſe ſuppoſed to be the Author of the (5) *Intereſt of England ſtated; or a faithful and juſt Account of the Aims of all Parties now pretending, diſtinctly treating of the Deſignments of the Roman Catholic, Royaliſt, Preſbyterian, Anabaptiſt*, &c. Printed at London 1659 in two ſheets in 4to. It was anſwered by Marchamont Needham in a Pamphlet intitled, *Intereſt will not lie: in a View of England's true Intereſt in reference to the Papiſt, Royaliſt, Preſbyterian, &c. in refutation of a treaſonable Pamphlet intitled,* The Intereſt of England ſtated. London 1659 in ſix ſheets in 4to. Our Author alſo reviſed and illuſtrated with marginal Notes the *Works of St. Cyprian*, which he publiſhed under this title; *Sancti Cæcilii Cypriani Opera recognita & illuſtrata per Joannem Epiſcopum Oxonienſem.* Printed in 1682 in fol. in the Printing-Houſe joining on the Eaſt-ſide of the Theatre erected at the charge of the Univerſity of Oxford on the motion of Dr. Fell in 1674. To this Edition are added the *Annales Cyprianici* of Dr. John Pearſon, Biſhop of Cheſter. Our Author tranſlated into Engliſh St. Cyprian's Treatiſe *Of the Unity of the Church*, Oxford 1681 in 4to. He publiſhed the *firſt Epiſtle of St. Clement*, from Mr. Patrick Young's Edition and Latin Tranſlation, with ſome ſhort running notes added thereto, Oxford 1669 in 12mo. and *Alcinoi in Platonicam Philoſophiam Introductio*, Oxford 1667 in 8vo; and Dr. Thomas Willis's *Pharmaceutice rationalis*, Oxon 1674 and 1675 in 12mo and 4to, with a Poſtſcript added to the Author's Preface giving ſome account of him. He publiſhed or reprinted every year while he was Dean of Chriſt Church, ſome Author, commonly a Claſſic, *againſt new-years tide to diſtribute among*

(3) *A Prefatory Anſwer to Mr.* Henry Stubbe, *the Doctor of Warwick, &c. By* Joſeph Glanvill, pag. 211. edit. London 1671 in 12mo.

(4) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 645.

(5) Idem, col. 798.

(m) Idem, col. 799.

the 13th of the ſame month in the Cathedral of Chriſt Church (*m*). Mr. Wood tells us (*n*), that he was the moſt zealous man of his time for the Church of England; a great encourager and promoter of learning in the Univerſity, and of all public works belonging to it; of great reſolution and exemplary charity; of ſtrict integrity; a learned Divine; and excellently ſkilled in the Latin and Greek Languages, and Philology.

(n) Col. 797, 799.

mong the Students of the Houſe, to which Books he either put an Epiſtle, or running Notes, or Corrections (6). The firſt Piece which he publiſhed of the Author of *The whole Duty of Man*, was *The Ladies Calling*, to which he prefixed an Epiſtle to the Reader, giving an account after what a private manner the copy of it, accompanied with a Letter, was conveyed to his hands. This Epiſtle is omitted in the folio Edition of that Author's Works, as alſo Dr. Hammond's Epiſtle before *The whole Duty of Man*, and that of Dr. Humphrey Henchman before *The Gentleman's Calling*; which two Books had been publiſhed by thoſe Divines. Dr. Fell likewiſe publiſhed in the year 1675 two other Pieces written by the ſame Author, viz. *The Government of the Tongue*, and *The Art of Contentment*; and in 1678 *The lively Oracles given to us*, &c. In 1684 all the Works of the ſaid Author were printed together at Oxford and London in folio. *The whole Duty of Man*, *The Decay of Chriſtian Piety*, and *The Gentleman's Calling*, (which though publiſhed by Dr. Henchman ſome years before *The Decay of Chriſtian Piety*, is in this Edition placed after it) make the firſt Part, which is printed at London; and the four Pieces abovenamed make the ſecond Part, printed at Oxford. Before the whole volume is a general Preface by Dr. Fell, wherein among other things, he points at no leſs than five ſpurious Pieces, which have expreſly, or by a deſigned implicationuſurped the name and authority of this unknown, though celebrated Author. In this Edition Dr. Fell hath inſerted in the margin of the four laſt Pieces, which make the ſecond Part of the Volume, (and perhaps of *The Gentleman's Calling*, and *The Decay of Chriſtian Piety*) the heads and contents of each ſection, with marginal abbreviations, which were till then wanting in all the Parts, except *The whole Duty of Man*. He cauſed alſo at his own proper charge *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity of Oxford*, compiled in Engliſh by Mr. Anthony Wood, to be tranſlated into Latin, "and kept two men (7) in pay for doing it, "beſides what he did himſelf, which was conſiderable, "and the Author, which was leſs. And being ſo "done, he cauſed it, at his own charge alſo to be "printed with a good character and on good paper. But "he taking to himſelf the liberty of putting in and "out ſeveral things according to his own judgment, "and thoſe that he employed not being careful enough "to carry the whole deſign in their head, as the Author would have done; it is deſired, that the Author "may not be accountable for any thing, which was "inſerted by him, or be cenſured for any uſeleſs repetitions or omiſſions of his Agents under him (8)."

(6) Idem, col. 798.

(7) Mr. Chriſtopher Waſe, and Mr. Richard Peers.

(8) Wood, col. H. 799. *See likewiſe* col. 853.

FENELON. See SALIGNAC (FRANCIS de).

FENOILLET (PETER) Biſhop of Montpellier in the 17th Century, was of Anneci in Savoy. He ſtudied with great care and diligence; and having been admitted a Doctor of Divinity, he applied himſelf to preaching, and gained a great reputation that way. He won the eſteem of Francis de Sales, Biſhop of Geneva, who gave him a living in his Dioceſs; he obtained afterwards a Canonſhip in the Cathedral of Anneci. Having been invited to Paris to preach the Lent-Sermons there, he was ſo generally approved that Henry the IVth honoured him with the title of his Preacher, and promoted him three years after to the Biſhopric of Montpellier (*a*).

(a) Taken from the 4th *Letter of Francis de Sales's* 1ſt book, pag. 24, 25 of the Paris edition 1662, in 8vo.

FERNEL (JOHN) Phyſician to Henry II King of France, was born in Picardy [*A*]. He was not very young when he was ſent to Paris to ſtudy Rhetoric and Philoſophy, but he made ſuch a quick progreſs, that having been admitted Maſter of Arts after two years time, the Principals of the Colleges ſtrove who ſhould have him to teach Logic, and offered him a conſiderable ſtipend; but he would not accept their offers, and choſe rather to render himſelf worthy of a public Profeſſor's chair by private Studies and Lectures. He applied himſelf ſo cloſely to his ſtudies, that he deprived himſelf even of the moſt innocent pleaſures which might have diverted him from his Cicero, his Plato, and his Ariſtotle (*a*). The reading of Cicero procured him this advantage, that the Lectures he read on philoſophical ſubjects were as eloquent as thoſe of the other maſters were barbarous at that time. He alſo ſtudied Mathematics with great application. This continual ſtudy drew upon him a long fit of ſickneſs, which obliged him to leave Paris. On his recovery he returned thither with a deſign to ſtudy Phyſic; but before he applied himſelf entirely to it, he taught Philoſophy in the College of St. Barbara, after which he ſpent four years in the ſtudy of Phyſic; and having been promoted to a Doctor's Degree, he confined himſelf intirely to his cloſet in order to read the beſt Authors, and to improve himſelf in the knowledge of the Mathematics. He had a great correſpondence with an excellent Rhetorician (*b*), who taught him the *Belles Lettres*, and whom he inſtructed in the Mathematics. The inſtrument he invented and cauſed to be made relating to that Science ingaged him in a great expence. The wife he had lately married did not like thoſe expences, by which even a part of her portion was laviſhed away. She murmured, ſhe cried, ſhe complained of it to her father (*c*), and made him really angry with Fernel; who ſubmitted at laſt, and ſent all his inſtrument-makers away, and applied himſelf to practiſe Phyſic. But as the viſiting of his patients could not employ all his time, ſince he ſpent but little of it in his meals or in ſleeping [*B*], he reſumed the

(a) See the Remark [*B*].

(b) James Strebæus.

(c) He was a Counſellor at Paris, but we are not told to what Court he before belonged.

(1) *Claromontio oppidulo (quod viginti duntaxat milliaribus à Lutetia diſtat) natus atque ingenue educatus, Ambianum in operibus ideirco ſe prædicat, quod patrem inde habuerit.* G. Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii*, initio.

[*A*] *He was born in Picardy.*] I keep to this general expreſſion, that I may be ſure not to commit a blunder; for I find on the one hand that he ſtyles himſelf *Ambianus, a Native of Amiens*, and on the other hand, that it is aſſerted in his Life that he was born at Clermont at twenty miles diſtance from Paris, and that he takes the ſurname of *Ambianus* only becauſe his father was of Amiens (1). By Clermont is underſtood in this place Clermont in Beauvaiſis. Dom Peter de Saint Romuald gives another reaſon why Fernel was named *Ambianus*. *He was born*, ſays he (2), *at Clermont in Beauvoiſis, in a houſe ſituated in the ſuburb, where at this time the ſign of the Swan ſtill hangs out. Some have called him* Ambianus, *of Amiens, becauſe the ſuburb in which he was born, is called the ſuburb of Amiens.* Mezerai aſſerts (3), that Fernel *was born at Montidier in the Dioceſe of Amiens.*

(2) *Abregé du Threſ. Chronolog.* tom. 3. à l'ann. 1558.

(3) *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1129.

[*B*] *He ſpent but little time in his meals or in ſleeping.*]

the ſame employment, in which he had already been ingaged, before he was a Doctor of Phyſic; I mean, that he read public Lectures upon Hippocrates and Galen. This ſoon gained him a very great reputation through all France, and in foreign countries. At the end of ſix years he was obliged to leave off his Lectures, becauſe his reputation drew ſuch a vaſt number of patients to him, that he had not time enough to aſſiſt all thoſe that deſired his kind offices. But as nothing was capable of making him give over his private ſtudies, he ſpent all the hours he could ſpare in compoſing a Work of Phyſic (*d*), which was ſoon after publiſhed. The Students preſſed him ſo earneſtly to read Lectures to them upon that work, that he conſented to it, notwithſtanding his wife's reſiſtance [*C*], and the advice of his friends. He read theſe Lectures for three years, and as in the mean time he undertook another work, which he publiſhed (*e*), he laid himſelf in a manner under a neceſſity of reading Lectures ſome years longer, for it was paſſionately deſired, that he would alſo explain this new book to the youth. He had not yet finiſhed his Lectures upon it, when he was ſent for to Court, in order to try whether he could cure a Lady, whoſe recovery was deſpaired of [*D*]. He was ſo happy as to cure her, which was

(*d*) That which is intitled, *Phyſiologia.*

(*e*) The book *De Venæ ſectione.*

All other pleaſure but that of ſtudying was inſipid to him; he cared neither for play, nor for walking, nor for entertainments, nor for converſation. I ſpeak this of the time when he was a Student. *Ludos, jocos, compotationes, & commeſſationes, ſermones etiam omnium pene condiſcipulorum, ac familiarium fugere ſtatuit, non cibi, non ſomni, non corporis, non valetudinis, non rei familiaris rationem habere, omnia perpeti, dum liberalium artium cognitionem aſſequeretur, omne in eis ſtudium, diligentiam, curam, induſtriam adhibere: nullum præterquam in diſcendo voluptatem capere: arbitratus omnem horam perire, quæ in bonorum authorum lectione & ſtudiis non collocaretur: tanta in illius animo inſita erat diſcendi cupiditas, tantus cognitionis amor & ſcientiæ* (4). i. e. "He reſolved to forſake all plays and "diverſions, and even all converſations with his fel-"low-ſtudents and with his friends; to mind neither "his meals, nor his ſleep; to take no care of his body, "nor of his health, nor even of his eſtate; but to "ſuffer any thing, if he could but improve in the "knowledge of the Belles-Lettres. In this he em-"ployed all his ſtudy, his diligence, his care and his "labour. He took no delight nor pleaſure but in "learning; and reckoned that hour loſt, which was "not ſpent in the reading and ſtudying of ſome good "Author. So great was his natural inclination to ſtudy, "ſo great his love for knowledge and learning." The following part of his life anſwered this beginning; there never was a man more diligent than he was; he uſed to riſe at four of the clock in the morning, and ſtudied till it was time either to read his Lectures, or to viſit his patients: he then examined the urine, that was brought him, and preſcribed medicines according to the conjectures he could make (5). Coming home to dine he ſhut himſelf up amongſt his books, till they called him down to table; riſing from table, he returned into his ſtudy, and did not leave it but for ſuch buſineſs as called him out of doors. Coming home at night he did juſt as at noon; he ſtaid amongſt his Books till they called him to ſupper, and returned to them the moment he had ſupped, and did not leave them till eleven of the clock, when he went to bed. If he invited a friend to dine or ſup with with him, he left him without ceremony as ſoon as dinner or ſupper was over, and went to his Books again. *Omnia animi & corporis oblectamenta præ literarum ſtudiis, & medicæ artis exercitatione, pro nihilo ducens; ut nulla vitæ pars neque publicis, neque privatis, neque medicis, neque domeſticis in rebus, vacaſſe officio videretur. Si quem forte ad cœnam vel prandium aliquando invitaret, ab eo neque turpe neque inhoneſtum ducebat, aliquantò poſt ſumptum cibum ſtudiorum cauſa ſe ſurripere* (6).

(4) Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii.*

(5) This was the method of thoſe times with regard to poor people. They did not ſend for the Phyſician, they only ſent him ſome of the patient's urine, upon which he preſcribed what medicines he judged proper. *See* Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii.*

(6) Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii.*

(7) *Prædium Pentinianum.*

(8) *Erat hoc robore animi, atque hac indole virtutis, & continentiæ, ut reſpueret omnes voluptates, omnemque vitæ ſuæ curſum in labore corporis atque in animi contentione conficeret; quem non quies, non remiſſio, non æqualium ſtudia, non ludi, non convivia delectarent, nihil in vita expetendum putaret, niſi quod eſſet cum laude, & honore, & cum dignitate conjunctum.* Plantius, *in Vita Fernelij.*

Some years before his death he bought, at his wife's requeſt, a country-houſe (7), but he uſed to go and recreate himſelf there but once or twice a year. He took more delight in a buſy life and in the functions of his profeſſion, than in an eaſy and quiet life (8). He never ſent thoſe patients back, that came to beg for his advice, tho' they were ever ſo poor, and there came ſuch a vaſt number of them to him during the ſummer, that he had not time to ſit down at table, and uſed to dine ſtanding. *Tantus ægrorum numerus ad eum confugiebat, ut per totam fere æſtatem ſtans prandere cogeretur: neminem quantumlibet pauperem à ſe abire dimittebat, morbi quo angeretur ignarum, remediiſque ad eum profligandum deſtitutum* (9). When his friend entreated him to take ſome relaxation, he anſwered that death would afford him time long enough to reſt. *Quod ſi illum nonnunquam de curanda corporis ſui valetudine, deque nocturnis ſtudiis intermittendis, commonefacerem, & ad quieſcendum cohortarer, (erat enim ſomni parciſſimus) reſponſum in promptu habere ſolebat,* Longa quieſcendi tempora fata dabunt. i. e. "When I adviſed him to "take care of his health, and not to ſtudy ſo much "over night, when I entreated him to take ſome reſt "(for he uſed to ſleep very little) his anſwer was ready; "*Death,* ſaid he, *will afford me a long time to reſt.*"

(9) Idem, ibid.

The wives of ſuch Phyſicians are very much to be pitied, when they love their huſbands, and are not covetous: but if they care but little for them, and are covetous, they find ſufficiently how to make amends for the huſband's abſence.

[*C*] *Notwithſtanding his wife's reſiſtance.*] It is not a difficult matter to gueſs at the reaſon why his wife would not conſent to this kind of Lectures: They prevented him from viſiting his patients, and thus leſſened conſiderably the profits of his daily practice. The Author of his Life has not omitted mentioning this detriment. *Quod onus . . . uxore, amicis omnibus, & ægrorum curis reclamantibus, vel magno rei domeſticæ diſpendio ſuſcepit* (10).

(10) Idem, ibid.

[*D*] *He was ſent for to Court in order to try whether he could cure a Lady, whoſe recovery was deſpaired of.*] Thoſe who ſhould think that the Hiſtorian hints at Catherine de Medicis's barrenneſs, would be groſly miſtaken, as I think it will be granted by all thoſe who duly weigh his words (11): *Nec abſolverat ejus commentationis explicationem, cum in graviſſimo mulieris nobiliſſimæ* (12) *caſu ad aulicos quaſi edicto regio rapitur. Pervagabatur enim incredibilis ad hujus imperii Proceres de Fernelii eruditione fama & perſuaſio, quaſi unus eſſet e Galliæ medicis calamitoſi illius morbi perſtrenuus oppugnator, & impendentis mortis fortiſſimus vindex, malorumque depulſor, quaſi Hercules Alexicacus: quam ille opinionem de ſe ſtrenue ſuſtinuit, ut non tam ſit creditus mulierem in vita retinuiſſe, quam jam profligatæ ſalute ex inferorum faucibus revocaſſe.* i. e. "He had not "yet finiſhed his Lectures upon that Commentary, "when he was called to Court as though it were by "the King's command, to give his opinion in a very "dangerous caſe of a noble Lady. For the great men "of the Kingdom had a very great opinion of Fernel's "learning, as tho' he alone of all the Phyſicians in "France could cure that dangerous illneſs, and like "an helpful Hercules, diſpel the evils, and avert an "imminent death. He anſwered the opinion which "had been conceived of him ſo well, that he ſeemed "to have reſtored that Lady to life, rather than to "have kept her from dying." In the firſt place we may doubt whether Catharine de Medicis is any ways meant here. Secondly it is certain that the Author ſpeaks of quite another thing than barrenneſs. If the Author had meant this Princeſs, who at that time was the Dauphin's Conſort, is it ſtrange that he ſhould give her only the general title of a *Noble Lady?* Is it not ſtrange that he ſhould ſay ſhe was very dear to the Dauphin (13)? If ſhe was not his Conſort, the expreſſion is good and proper; ſhe might be the Dauphin's miſtreſs, or a Lady for whom he had a great friendſhip: but if ſhe was his ſpouſe, the Hiſtorian expreſſes himſelf impertinently. It is always taken for grant-

(11) Idem, ibid.

(12) *Henrico Galliarum Regi deſignato cui illa chariſſima erat.*

was the firſt cauſe of the eſteem, which Henry II, who was then but Dauphin, and was in love with that Lady conceived for him. This Prince offered him even then the place of firſt Phyſician to him; but Farnel, who preferred his ſtudies before the troubles of the Court, would not accept of that employment, and had even recourſe to ſome artifice in order to obtain the liberty of returning to Paris [*E*]. He obtained it without any diminution of the penſion that was promiſed him (*f*). When he had finiſhed his Lectures upon his book, he was deſired to explain ſome other ſubject, but he could not do it, becauſe of the great number of patients that called him daily (*g*). Yet he did not diſcontinue being uſeful to the public otherwiſe than by his practice. He employed his lucubrations on the work intitled, *De abditis rerum cauſis*; i. e. "Of the hidden cauſes "of things;" which was followed by ſeven books of *Pathology*, after which he wrote on Remedies [*F*]. But before he had finiſhed this laſt work, he was obliged to ſubmit to the orders of King Henry IId, who would abſolutely have him with him for his Phyſician. The contrary of what Fernel dreaded came to paſs, for he enjoyed more reſt and more leiſure at Court, than he had done at Paris; and he might have conſidered the Court as an agreeable retirement, had it not been for the journies, which the new civil war obliged the King to take. Being returned from the expedition of Calais, he made his wife come to Fontainebleau. This good woman, who grieved that ſhe was obliged to leave her relations, fell ſick, and died delirious ſoon after. He was ſo afflicted at it, that he fell ſick twelve days after his wife's burial, and died the 18th day of his illneſs (*h*)[*G*]. I ſhall

(*f*) It was of ſix hundred livres.

(*g*) *Hoc perfunctus munere, alta quædam Hippocratis & Galeni interpretari ſcripta cogitabat, idque ab eo quotidianis precibus & acclamationibus contendebant philiatri omnes, ſed præ ægrorum qui undique ad eum opis cauſa quotidie confugiebant turba, id muneris aggredi non potuit.* G. Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii.*

(*h*) Taken from his Life written by William Plantius, his diſciple, a native of Mans. It is prefixed to Fernel's Works in all the editions.

ed, in ſuch accounts, that a man loves his wife, that he is extremely concerned for her recovery, and is very thankful to the Phyſicians who cure her. It is therefore ſufficient to obſerve that the patient is his wife, and if one will make uſe of the Epithets *chariſſima, tenerrima, deareſt, moſt tender*, it muſt be after having employed the word *Uxor* or *Conjux*, *Wife* or *Spouſe*. Whence I infer, that ſince this Author wrote with good ſenſe and elegantly, he would not have expreſſed himſelf as he has done, had he deſigned to ſpeak of a ſickneſs of the Dauphin's ſpouſe. Add to this the following obſervation. It would have added a new luſtre to John Fernel's glory, had the Lady, whom he cured, been the Dauphin's Conſort. Why then did his Hiſtorian, who extols his reputation, and loads him with praiſes, omit the chief title of this Lady? Thus much with regard to the firſt point. The ſecond is plainer ſtill. Catharine de Medicis was in very good health as long as ſhe was barren. She could weary an horſe, and followed the King when he went a hunting (14); nor did either her health or her life ſeem to be in any danger from her continuing to bear no children. She was not therefore cured of a mortal diſeaſe, when they gave her remedies to cure her barrenneſs. Whence it follows that it is not ſhe who is meant in this place, ſince the Author mentions *morbus calamitoſus, mors impendens, profligata ſalus, ex inferorum faucibus revocatio*, i. e. "a dangerous illneſs, "an imminent death, a health abſolutely impaired, "and a calling back from the grave."

(14) Brantome, in his Diſcourſe concerning this Queen.

It is not without deſign that I dwell upon all theſe obſervations; it is in order to infer from them a ſtrong proof againſt thoſe who aſſert, that Fernel cured the Dauphin's Conſort of her barrenneſs. This fact appears very doubtful to me, ſince his beloved diſciple does not ſay a word of it, though he mentions another cure much leſs important, than this would have been. It is not at all probable that ſuch a glorious circumſtance of Fernel's Life ſhould have eſcaped his Hiſtorian's notice, or that knowing it, he would have omitted it in the account of that Phyſician's Life. Who would have known this ſtory if Plantius had been ignorant of it? Plantius, I ſay, who had been ſo long educated at the feet of this Gamaliel, and was admitted into his greateſt intimacy? And whom did it become better than this diſciple, to publiſh a circumſtance which was ſo much to the glory of his good maſter? You will ſay perhaps, he had forgot it, when he ſet about writing John Fernel's Life. But would he not have remembred it, when he gave an account of his maſter's journey to the Court? Could he mention that Lady given over by her Phyſicians, that Lady ſo dear to the Dauphin Henry, without calling to mind, that the Dauphin's Conſort had been rendered fruitful by Fernel's preſcription? *Credat Judæus Apella.* I cannot believe it.

[*E*] *He had . . . . recourſe to ſome artifice in order to obtain the liberty of returning to Paris.*] He repreſented firſt, that he was not yet learned enough to deſerve to be intruſted with the health of the Princes, but that if he were permitted to return to Paris, he would zealouſly employ all the means he ſhould meet with there, to become more learned, and more capable of ſerving the Dauphin. But when he ſaw that theſe arguments were of no effect, he pretended to be ſick, and ſent to the Prince a Chirurgeon, who was uſed to ſpeak familiarly to him, and who told him, that Fernel had a pleuriſy, which grief would certainly render mortal, and that his grief was occaſioned by his being abſent from his books, and from his family, and obliged to diſcontinue his Lectures, and to lead a tumultuous life. *Simulata pleuritide, & conficta ementitaque a Chirurgo, qui Principi familiaris erat, periculi magnitudine, per eum nunciari jubet, tanti mali cauſam ab animi ægritudine & mœrore proficiſci, quod a ſtudiis eſſet abductus &c* (15). The Prince giving credit to this falſe ſtory permitted Fernel to retire. Muſt not a man be exceſſively in love with his ſtudies, and with a philoſophical life, when he employs ſuch tricks, not to be a Phyſician to the Court, that is to ſay, not to have what others endeavour to obtain by all poſſible means? When Henry the ſecond came to the Throne, he renewed his entreaties; but Fernel repreſented that the honour, which was offered to him, was due for ſeveral reaſons, and as an hereditary right, to the late King's Phyſician; and that as for him, he wanted ſome time to make experiments concerning ſeveral diſcoveries he had made relating to Phyſick. The King granted him a delay: but as ſoon as Francis the firſt's Phyſician died, Fernel was obliged to go and fill his place at Henry the ſecond's Court.

(15) Plantius *in Vita Fernelii.*

[*F*] *He wrote on Remedies.*] He had finiſhed his Work on compound Remedies, and was compoſing that on ſimple Remedies, in which he had diſcovered ſeveral properties unknown to the ancients. He did not mention any thing of this to any perſon, being willing that the publick ſhould know to whom the glory of the diſcovery was owing: he was therefore reſolved not to declare it till he publiſhed his Book. The neceſſity under which he was to follow the Court, did not ſuffer him to put the finiſhing hand to this work; his greateſt ſorrow, when he died, was that he could not finiſh it. *Hic dolor hominem præcipuè angebat, hæc cura ſollicitabat, quod Therapeuticæ poſtremæ medicinæ parti, in qua multum diuque verſatus erat, quamque ſuis inventis multum locupletare poterat, extremam manum non addidiſſet* (16). This is the reaſon why his works contain an excellent *Pathology*, and but little of *Therapeuticks*. See the *Journal des Savans* for April 1666.

(16) Idem, ibid.

[*G*] *He was ſo afflicted at* his wife's death, *that he fell ſick . . . and died the 18th day of his illneſs.*] Conſidering Plantius's account, we may ſay, that ſeveral cauſes concurred to Fernel's death, His ſpleen was in a bad condition; and his affliction coming upon him made it ſtill worſe; whence aroſe a continual fever. He

I ſhall make a remark concerning his age [*H*]. He got a large eſtate [*I*], and married

He would not have died ſo ſoon with his ill diſpoſed ſpleen, had it not been for his grief; nor with grief alone, had not his ſpleen been ill diſpoſed. It is even certain that his grief was not occaſioned only by his wife's death: ſeveral other circumſtances vexed him very much before (17). But though we ſhould not mind theſe circumſtances, yet it would plainly appear that Monſieur *l'Abbé Deſiandes* is ſtrangely miſtaken. *John Fernel*, ſays he (18), *having been ſent for to Court by a Princeſs, who was diſconſolate on account of her barrenneſs, and being acquainted with the death of his wife, fell down at the feet of that Princeſs, whence they carried him to be buried in the Church of St. James in the market-place.* This Princeſs is certainly Catherine de Medicis, who ceaſed to be barren in the year 1543. Now Fernel and his wife did not die till the year 1558, and further, it is not true that this Phyſician died ſuddenly. He did not fall ſick till ten or twelve days after he had buried his wife, and died only the eighteenth day of his ſickneſs.

(17) *Quum cauſæ quædam externæ hæque graves admodum acerbiſſimum mœrorem attuliſſent, ſuperveniente uxoris obitu quo omnia exaſperata ſunt, humor in liene colle&tus tandem incaleſcens atque putreſcens, inflammationem ejus viſceris peperit, unde & febris accenſa eſt continua.* Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii*. *See* Thevet, tom. 7. pag. 331.

(18) In a Letter inſerted in the *Mercure Galant*, for Nov. 1693, pag. 197. See above the remark [*C*] of the article CHARNACE.

[*H*] *I ſhall make a remark concerning his age.*] He died in the ſeventy ſecond year of his age, in the year 1557, ſoon after the taking of Calais, if we believe Plantius the Writer of his Life. Now that city was taken by Henry the ſecond in January 1557, according to the manner of reckoning in thoſe times, that is, if the year be not ſuppoſed to begin with January. But if it be ſuppoſed to begin as we do now, it was in 1558 that Calais was taken. Plantius obſerves, that it had been in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh an hundred years ago; he ſhould have ſaid 211 years ago. Fernel's Epitaph places his death on April the 26th: if this date be right, we muſt infer from thence, that Plantius has not ſet down the year right: for the 26th day of April after the ſurrender of Calais belongs to the year 1558, even according to the ancient way of reckoning. If Thuanus, according to whom Fernel died March the 27th (19), is in the right, Plantius may have ſet down the year right. But this is not the greateſt difficulty. It is ſuppoſed in the Epitaph that Fernel lived but fifty two years, and Plantius makes him live ſeventy two. It muſt not be imagined, that the Printers put ſeventy two inſtead of fifty two; for we find in the ſame Life of Fernel, 1. That he was about ſixty years old when he ſtaid with the King as his firſt Phyſician. 2. That he practiſed Phyſick at Paris for thirty years. 3. That he had applied himſelf to ſeveral things before he practiſed Phyſick. Let us therefore be aſſured that Plantius gave him ſeventy two years, and yet the Epitaph drawn up by Fernel's ſon-in-law ſuppoſes that he lived but fifty two years. Let us quote a paſſage from Guy Patin (20). "Since they "print Fernel in your city, I muſt deſire one thing "of you, which is, to correct a blunder, which they "of Utrecht have committed in their Edition (21), "when they ſay in his Life that he was ſeventy two "years old when he died; for I can aſſure you, that "he was but fifty two years old then, as I have heard "from the late Monſieur de Villeroi, Maſter of the "Requeſts, and the ſon of one of Fernel's daughters, "who died as late as the year 1642: I have alſo been "told ſo by other perſons of his relations, and this is "an evident tradition in his family. But beſides Tradition, which is not always certain, I have two unqueſtionable proofs of it; the one is taken from the "Regiſters of our Faculty, which have been in my "hands, whilſt I was Dean of the Faculty; it is expreſly ſet down in theſe Regiſters, that Fernel died "April the 26th 1558, *anno ætatis* 52, in the fifty "ſecond year of his age. The other proof is taken "from his Epitaph in the Church of St. James in the "market-place, where it is alſo ſaid, that he died in "his fifty ſecond year. The Author of the Epitaph is "called in it *Philippus* (22) *Barjotius Fernelii Gener*, "who was Maſter of the Requeſts, and Preſident in "the Grand Council, and Fernel's firſt ſon-in-law. "The ſecond was Monſieur Gilles de Riant *a Preſident au Mortier*, who died in the year 1597; his "widow ſurvived him forty five years." It would be a difficult matter to anſwer the vouchers quoted by Guy Patin. If he had quoted only the Epitaph, his argument would not be ſo concluſive as he pretends; for who knows but the Engraver may have omitted two xx, which would reduce 72 to 52. He might alſo be eaſily miſtaken, if he made uſe of arithmetical figures inſtead of Letters: it is an eaſy matter to put a 5 inſtead of a 7. They who know, that an Author, who corrects the proof-ſheets of his own work, does not perceive ſometimes, that the Printers have prodigiouſly altered the numerical letters of figures (23), will not wonder, that the Engraver's error was not perceived by Fernel's ſon-in-law. But as I have already obſerved, Guy Patin's proofs do not conſiſt in this Epitaph only. However I have two objections againſt them. I. I cannot imagine that a diſciple of Fernel, who lived ten years in great intimacy with him, ſhould be ſo groſly miſtaken with regard to his maſter's age. Could he commit an error of twenty years? Would he have written his Life, without enquiring into his age? II. If this diſciple be miſtaken with regard to his maſter's age, he muſt be alſo miſtaken with regard to a great many other things. He tells a falſity, when he relates that Fernel began but late to ſtudy (24). And it is not true that Fernel ſtudied two years in the College of St. Barbara, and then in private with ſo much application, that it threw him into a quartan ague, which laſted a great while, and obliged him to go into the country (25). How were it poſſible that having recovered his ſtrength, he ſhould return to Paris, and that having conſidered what profeſſion he ſhould follow, he ſhould teach two years in the College of St. Barbara, how were this poſſible, I ſay, ſince we know that in 1526 (26) he publiſhed ſome Books of Mathematicks? Now even according to the moſt favourable ſuppoſition, it cannot be pretended that he publiſhed thoſe Books, whilſt he taught in the College. Where then ſhall we find the time that is neceſſary according to Plantius's account, if it be true, that Fernel died in the fifty ſecond year of his age? Would he not have been the Author of an aſtronomical Work at the age of twenty (27)? Can this be true of a ſcholar who begins but late to ſtudy Grammar and Rhetorick? And it muſt be obſerved, that in Fernel's time, a ſcholar who entered upon his courſe of Philoſophy, before he was twenty, was look'd upon as a very forward youth. A boy, who was ſent from the country to the Grammar-School at Paris at the age of fifteen or ſixteen, did not paſs for a ſcholar who began but late to ſtudy. I do not mind here Thevet's teſtimony (28), for he only tranſcribed from Plantius both with regard to the ſeventy two years, which he ſuppoſes Fernel lived, and to all the reſt.

(19) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 21. pag. 431.

(20) Patin, Letter 117. of the 1ſt vol.

(21) Patin is in the wrong to charge the Authors of the Utrecht edition with this blunder; for they only printed Fernel's Life written by William Plantius.

(22) He ſhould have ſaid *Philibert*.

(23) I know it by my own experience.

(24) *Jam natu grandis quum ſub triviali magiſtro Grammaticam diciſſet, etiamſi mater rebus eum curiſque domeſticis potius quam literis* TAM SERO *deſtinandum contenderet.* Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii*, initio.

(25) *Febre quartana* TANDEM *corripitur, qua crudeliter ac* DIU *conflictatus cœptum ſtudiorum curſum interrumpere, utque ſalubriore aëre frueretur ſolum vertere cogitur.* Idem, ibid.

(26) Geſner, *in Biblioth.*

(27) The book, which according to Geſner was publiſhed at Paris in 1526, was intitled *Monaloſphærium.*

[*I*] *He got a large eſtate.*] Plantius (29) witneſſes, that during the ten years he lived with Fernel, this Phyſician's gain amounted often to above twelve thouſand livres a year, and was but very ſeldom under ten thouſand. An author whom I have quoted above affords me the following paſſage. *After his death they found in his ſtudy thirty thouſand golden crowns: and indeed he died very rich; for beſides this, he left thirty ſix thouſand livres income a year to be divided between his two daughters who were his ſole heirs* (30). If we may believe the Writer of his Life, he was generous to his relations, tho' he loved money. *Attentus quidem ad rem familiarem, ſed in ſuos beneficus & liberalis* (31). Scaliger ſays ſomething very offenſive upon this, and upon a ſubject more tickliſh ſtill. *Fernel a downright pennygetter gained a reputation, becauſe he had forwarded the delivery of the Queen-mother. Habuit filiam ſalaciſſimam, cui dedit decem millia aureorum pro dote* (32). i. e. "He had a very wanton daughter, with whom "he gave ten thouſand crowns in marriage." They who deſire to know ſomething of Fernel's poſterity may read the following paſſage from Guy Patin (33). "There is in the Convent of the Viſitation at Lyons "a daughter of Monſieur de Riant Counſellor of State. "Her mother is niece to Monſieur de Narbonne; her "name is Mary des Prez. This beautiful Nun, who "has not yet made her vows, amongſt other eminent "qualities ſhe poſſeſſes, is conſiderable by her birth, "being deſcended from our great Fernel, who was "really an incomparable Phyſician. He left two "daughters, the eldeſt of whom was married to Monſieur Barjot, Preſident in the Grand Council, and "Maſter of the Requeſts, from whom is deſcended "the preſent Monſieur d'Annœuil, Steward to the "King's

(28) In *Fernel's Elogy*, in his 7th vol. pag. 325. edition of 1671, in 12mo.

(29) Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii*, in fin.

(30) Saint Romua'd, *Abregé du Threſor Chronol.* tom. 3. under the year 1558.

(31) Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii*, ſub fin.

(32) *Scaligerana prima*, pag. 82.

(33) Letter 100. pag. 394. of the 1ſt vol. This Letter is dated Sept. 25, 1655.

ried his two daughters very advantageouſly (*i*). It is a pretty general opinion that he cured Catharine de Medicis of her barrenneſs [*K*], and that ſhe nobly rewarded him for it [*L*]. I ſhall collect in one ſingle remark the blunders of ſome Authors [*M*].

(*i*) See the Remark [*I*].

FERON

" King's Houſhold. Annœuil is an eſtate of twelve " thouſand livres a year, ſituated in our Province of " Picardy near Beauvais, two leagues diſtant from my " native place. Fernel's other daughter was married " to Monſieur Giles de Riant *Preſident au Mortier*, " who died in the year 1597. Her name was Mag- " dalen Fernel, and ſhe died in March 1642, aged 94 " years, & *generatio rectorum benedicetur* : i. e. " the " generation of the upright ſhall be bleſſed." I am " very ſorry that I did not go formerly to Villeroy in " the Earldom of Perch, where ſhe died, on purpoſe " to have the honour to ſee her, and to kiſs her hands. " They make us kiſs relicks, which are not worth " theſe. So that your beautiful Nun may boaſt that " ſhe is deſcended from the greateſt man that ever was " of our profeſſion ſince Galen, becauſe the great Fernel " was her great-great-grand-father.

[*K*] *It is a pretty general opinion that he cured Catherine de Medicis of her barrenneſs.*] It is pretended that Henry II propoſed this affair to him in ſuch words as were ſomewhat ſurprizing. *Maſter Phyſician could you get my wife with child?* It is aſſerted that Fernel wiſely anſwered. *It belongs to God, ſir, to give you children by his bleſſing ; it is your office to get them, and mine to afford what aſſiſtance Phyſick can procure, which was eſtabliſhed by God as a remedy for human weakneſſes* (34). Monſieur Varillas relates what this Phyſician prescribed. *The people were perſuaded*, ſays he (35), *that the Queen-Mother after ten years barrenneſs, did conceive the King only becauſe the firſt Phyſician* (36) *Fernel adviſed Henry the ſecond to lye with her during her courſes, and that perſons begotten at ſuch a time were ſubject to this ſhameful diſeaſe* (37). According to Mezeray (38) Francis II *was from his birth of an unhealthful conſtitution, being the firſt child of a mother, who began very late to have her courſes.* And indeed ſeveral perſons pretend that Catherine de Medicis became fruitful only becauſe a remedy was found out, which made her courſes flow, which before were ſuppreſſed (39). This method is very different from that, which Monſieur Varillas relates. We have ſeen above, that Scaliger gives us quite another notion of the ſervice done by Fernel ; he hints that this Phyſician was ſent for whilſt Catherine was in labour, and gave her remedies to forward her delivery. This would a little better agree with the cure of a great Lady mentioned by Plantius. But as we can ſee no reaſon why he ſhould not have told the public, that Fernel procured a happy delivery to the Dauphin's Conſort, who was in danger of dying in childbed ; I do ſtill aſſert, that he did not intend to ſpeak of Catherine de Medicis, and from his ſilence I infer a very ſtrong argument to doubt of what is contained in the text of this remark. According to Brantome, *it was reported at Court, that it was rather the Dauphin's fault than his Conſort's, if they had no children* (40) ; and hereupon he relates the jeſt of a certain Lady. He had there a very good opportunity for telling what is reported of Fernel, and yet he does not mention a word of it : is not his ſilence of great weight ? Would Thuanus have omitted in Fernel's elogy a circumſtance of ſuch importance, if he had either known or believed it ? I think therefore that it is a fact upon which we ought to pronounce *non liquet*, the truth of it does not appear notwithſtanding the following aſſertion of Scevola de Sainte Marthe. *Ab Henrico ſecundo in Regiam accerſitus, principem inter ejus Archiatros locum tenuit. Eo felicis operæ proventu ut quod à natura negatum eſſe videbatur, artis beneficio conſecutus, inviſam ſterilitatem à domo regia repelleret* (41). i. e. " Being ſent for to Court by Henry the ſecond, he " was made his firſt Phyſician : his aſſiſtance having " had ſuch good ſucceſs, that what ſeemed to have " been denied by nature, he obtained by his art, re- " moving an unhappy barrenneſs from the Royal Fa- " mily." I fancy, that all theſe difficulties would ſoon be removed, if we had the Diſſertation which Monſieur Varillas has quoted. *The Phyſician Fernel*, ſays he (42), *having obſerved Catherine's conſtitution, took it into his head to cure her indiſpoſition ; and whether it was that the remedies he preſcribed had worked well, or that his ſecret conſiſted only in declaring to the Dauphin at what time his wife was beſt capable to conceive, the Court perceived ſome months after that the Princeſs was pregnant.* You will find this paſſage word for word in the *Galanteries des Rois de France* (43). Monſieur Menjot, a learned Phyſician of Paris, was of opinion, that Fernel conjectured that Catherine de Medicis was barren only through too great a dryneſs of the *Uterus*, or becauſe that part was too cloſe In the firſt caſe, the ſeed falling on too dry a ſoil could not thrive ; in the ſecond caſe, it could not penetrate ſo far as it ought. Now as during the courſes the womb is moiſtened, and more dilated than at other times, Fernel judged that then was the proper time for the Dauphin to lie with his wife, and the happy minute to do her buſineſs. Monſieur Menjot adds, that Hippocrates might give him the hint of this advice. This Author expreſſes himſelf with ſo much ſtrength, that it would be wronging him, not to tranſcribe his own words. *Referunt Catherinam Medicæam Galliarum Reginam ætate licet integra, cùm velut quinta Luna nata progeniem deſperaret, importunam ſibi ſterilitatem votiva fœcunditate commutaſſe, dulcique liberorum propagine ditatam fuiſſe, quòd contrà Moſis edictum ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ τῆ καταμηνίων, quibus ſemen aliàs eluitur, à Rege ſubagitata eſſet, ex conſilio Fernelii ſagaciter conjicientis exuperantem uteri ariditatem benigni ſanguinis aſpergine rigandam eſſe, vel etiam ſtomachum matricis naturaliter, perinde ac ex eventu in gravidis, arctiſſimum nonniſi menſium tranſitu reſerari. Idque edoctus fuerat Fernelius ab Hippocrate* (*) *jubente mulierem ἐμφρήσσεσθαι τῆ ἀνόδῳ inchoante menſtruo profluvio, ſed maximè eo deſinente, verùm profluente adhuc potiùs quàm arefacto* (44).

[*L*] .... *and that ſhe nobly rewarded him for it.*] Let us hear Monſieur Patin (43). " Some ſpeak of " the King of England, who married the Princeſs " of Portugal : he deſigns to divorce her becauſe of " her barrenneſs, as Henry II would have done his " wife Catherine de Medicis, had not Fernel happily " cured her ; ſhe was ſo generous that ſhe gave him " ten thouſand crowns every time ſhe lay in, if we " may believe Lewis d'Orleans in his *Plante hu-* " *maine* (46)," The *as* of this Author is more exact than he thought ; for what he relates of the deſign of Charles II King of England is a mere fancy of the News-Writers, which has not the leaſt ground ; and we learn from Brantome that Catherine de Medicis *had ſo well gained the love and affection of the King her father-in-law, and of King Henry her huſband, that having been ten years without bearing children, and a great many perſons adviſing the King and the Dauphin to ſend her away, becauſe it was neceſſary that there ſhould be heirs to the Crown of France, neither the one nor the other would conſent to it, ſo much they loved her* (47). See in the margin the obſervation I have made upon a paſſage from Gabriel Naudé ; it ſhews that he ſpoke of a thing, with which he was not well acquainted.

This is what I ſaid in the firſt Edition of this Work ; I muſt now add two obſervations to correct it ; the firſt is, that there are ſome Books which mention Charles II's deſign to be divorced from his ſpouſe : the ſecond, that Catherine de Medicis was ſometimes in the moſt terrible fright ; whence it might be inferred, that her father-in-law, and her huſband ſeem to have had now and then ſome thoughts of ſending her away (48). See the remark [*O*] of the Article MAROT.

[*M*] *I ſhall collect ... the blunders of ſome Authors.*] Thoſe of Moreri are but few. He ſays that Fernel *ſaw, that the Books he had publiſhed were the only Books on which publick Lectures were read in the Univerſities of Phyſick, and were preferred before all other Books.* This is one of the moſt egregious falſities that ever was publiſhed. What Sainte Marthe aſſerts deſerves hardly any credit : judge then what opinion we ought to have of Hyperboles, with which Moreri has diſguiſed it. Sainte Marthe's words are as follow (49). *Cujus* (Fernelii) *admirabili genio id contigit, quod à multis ſeculis nulli quamlibet erudito contigiſſe memini, ut ipſo vivo atque videnti opera quæ de univerſa Medicina ſcripſit in ſcholis publicè legerentur : ejuſque auctoritas veterum*

(34) Bullart, *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 2. pag. 84. He quotes Dupleix.

(35) Varill. *Hiſt. de François II.* liv. 1. pag. m. 76.

(36) Fernel was not made firſt Phyſician till after the death of Francis I, and Francis the IId, Catharine's eldeſt ſon was born four years before the death of Francis I.

(37) He ſpeaks of the Leproſy.

(38) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 42.

(39) See the remark [*M*] quotation (53).

(40) Brantome, *Dames illuſtr.* pag. m. 42.

(41) Sammarth. *in Elogiis*, lib. 1. pag. m. 33.

(42) *Hiſt. de François I.* liv. 11. pag. m. 99. He ſays in the margin, *in the Latin Diſſertation preſented to the King upon this ſubject.*

(43) Tom. 1. pag. 225. of the edition of 1694, and pag. 207. of the edition of 1695.

(*) Lib. 1. *De Morb. Mul.*

(44) Antonius Menjotius *Diſſertat. Pathologicar.* Part 3. pag. m. 23.

(45) Patin, *Let.* 515. pag. 520. of tom. 3.

(46) Naudé, *de Antiquitate Scholæ Medicæ Pariſienſis*, pag. 75. quoting the ſame book of Lewis d'Orleans, ſays that Fernel received this preſent four times. *Fernelius ab Henrico ſecundo qui quater illi decem aureorum millia pro quatuor filiis ejus ope & conſilio ſuſceptis obtulit.* It is certain that the ten children of Catharine de Medicis were born before Fernel's death.

(47) Brantome, *Dames illuſtr.* pag. 41.

(48) See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for Feb. 1700, pag. 196.

(49) *In Elogiis*, lib. 1. pag. m. 32.

FERON (JOHN LE) Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, was of Compiegne. He was above threeſcore years of age in the year 1564, and died under the reign of Charles IX. He was *one of the moſt diligent and moſt curious men of France for inquiring into noble families, coats of arms, &c.* (*a*), as appears by ſeveral volumes he wrote, ſome of which have been publiſhed [*A*]. Men of taſte deſpiſed them becauſe of the infinite number of fictions and ſilly ſtories with which he had ſtuffed them [*B*]. Monſieur le Feron ancient Provoſt of the Merchants at Paris, and Preſident of the *Enquêtes* * in the 17th Century was of that family (*b*).

(*a*) Taken from La Croix du Maine, pag. 211, 222.

(*b*) *Mercure Galant*, for Feb. 1703, pag. 38.

* Or *Court of Inquiries*, a particular Court belonging to the Parliament of Paris.

veterum ſcriptorum inſtar apud optimum quemque rei medicæ magiſtrum graviſſimi eſſet ponderis & momenti. i. e. "Fernel was a man of ſuch wonderful learning, "that there happened to him, what I do not remember to have happened to any learned men for ſeveral ages; namely, that the Works he had wrote upon Phyſick in general, were even in his life-time publickly read in the Colleges, of which he himſelf was a witneſs: and that his authority had as great a weight with the beſt Phyſicians as the writings of the antients." The Sieur Bullart's blunders are more numerous. He ſays, that Fernel reſolved *somewhat late to ſtudy the firſt principles of the ſciences under James Strebé* (50). Two things are hinted here, the firſt that Fernel began but late to ſtudy: the ſecond that he began it under James Strebé. The former is very true according to Plantius in Fernel's Life. But the latter is abſolutely falſe, for Fernel had already taught Philoſophy in the College of Sainte Barbara, and had been admitted a Doctor of Phyſick, when he entered into a correſpondence with Strebé. This correſpondence conſiſted in a mutual inſtruction; they were taught by, and did teach each other. Fernel taught Strebé the Mathematicks, and learnt from him to write Latin correctly (51). Monſieur Bullart erroneouſly believes, that Henry II was already King of France, whilſt his wife was ſtill barren. If he had conſulted Brantome, he would not have ſaid, that that Prince *reſolved to part from her:* and if he had conſulted Lewis d'Orleans, he would not have aſſerted that this Queen gave Fernel ten times ten thouſand crowns (52). Let us quote Monſieur Bullart's own words (53) *This French Æſculapius made ſuch an effectual uſe of the knowledge he had of the diſtemper, and of the remedy which it was proper to preſcribe, that he rendered the Queen fruitful, by curing the ſuppreſſion of her courſes, after which ſhe had five ſons and five daughters; and at the birth of each of them ſhe gave that learned man ten thouſand crowns.* It is falſely ſuppoſed (54) that after Henry II had *kept him with him as his firſt Phyſician, and had carried him every where with him as the preſerver of his health .... he gave him time to put in order the materials he had written concerning Phyſick, and furniſhed him with the means to print them.* Read this learned man's life, and you will ſee that he only wrote a Treatiſe on Fevers, after he performed the functions of firſt Phyſician to Henry II: you will even find that he died before he had finiſhed that Treatiſe.

(50) Bullart, *Académie des Sciences*, tom. 2. pag. 33.

(51) *Dum Strebæus à Fernelio Mathematicarum diſciplinarum, Fernelius viciſſim à Strebæo politioris literaturæ cognitionem & gravem plenumque orationis ſtylum accipit, integrum biennium exigitur.* Plantius, *in Vita Fernelii.*

(52) See above Remark [*L*] quotation (46).

(53) *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 2. pag. 83.

(54) Bullart, ibid.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral Volumes, ſome of which have been printed.*] He publiſhed at Paris in 1655, printed by Valcoſan, *Catalogue des Conneſtables, Chanceliers, Grandmaiſtres, Admiraux, & Mareſchaux de France, & des Provoſts de Paris, contenant leurs erections & eſtabliſſemens, le temps & exercice de lieurs eſtats, mutation & variation d'iceux, leurs noms, ſurnoms, Seigneuries & armoiries blaſonnées, enſemble un abregé de leurs faicts* (1). i. e. "A Catalogue of Conſtables, Chancellors, Grandmaſters, Admirals, and Marſhals of "France, and of the Provoſts of Paris; containing "their foundation and eſtabliſhment, the time and "nature of their ſeveral functions, the alterations that "happened in them, their names, ſurnames, Lordſhip, and Coats of Arms blazoned, together with a "ſhort account of their actions." *in fol.* The ſame year he publiſhed his *Traitté de la primitive Inſtitution des Rois, Herauts, & Purſuivans d'Armes*; i. e. "A Treatiſe of the "firſt Inſtitution of the Kings, Heralds and Purſuivants "at Arms." at Paris printed by Maurice Menier in 4to. As for his *Hiſtoire Armoriale réduite en 12 Volumes contenant les eſcuſſons, blaſons, noms, ſurnoms, qualitez, & memoire perpetuelle, des Rois, Princes, Seigneurs, Gentils-hommes & Nobles de pluſieurs Royaumes Chreſtiens & Infideles, & principalement du Royaume de France.* i. e. "The Armorial Hiſtory written in twelve Volumes, containing the Coats of Arms, blazon, "names, ſurnames, titles, and perpetual memory of "the Kings, Princes, Lords, Noblemen and Gentlemen of ſeveral Kingdoms both Chriſtian and Infidel, and particularly of the Kingdom of France?" as to this Book, I ſay, and ſeveral other Compilations of the ſame kind, La Croix du Maine obſerves that they are not printed (2).

(1) Du Verdier Vau Privas, *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. 690.

(2) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 222.

[*B*] ... *Men of Taſte deſpiſed them, becauſe of an infinite number of fictions .... with which he had ſtuffed them.*] I have already obſerved (3) what Monſieur le Laboureur thought of them; and I ſhall now tranſcribe a paſſage from Stephen Paſquier. It is to be found in a Letter, which he wrote to a Lawyer (4), who was writing a Work of Eſcutcheons and Coats of Arms. "I can tell you, that amongſt thoſe who med-"dled with this ſubject, le Feron, of whom you write "to me, was ſo ſelf-conceited as to pretend that he ex-"celled in it above all the reſt. I can ſpeak of him, "ſince I have converſed with him now and then in "my younger days. He was an ancient Lawyer be-"longing to our Court, but he never followed the buſineſs much (5), amuſing himſelf with blazoning "Eſcutcheons and Coats of Arms, as you may have "obſerved by ſome Books which he publiſhed upon "that ſubject; and yet he never wrote ſo well as ſome "of them, that wrote ſince his time. For to ſpeak plain, "he did not fetch the origin of Coats of Arms from "the wars, nor from the Nobility, but even from the "beginning of the world; nay he gave our firſt fa-"ther Adam his Coat of Arms: what could they be, "you will ſay? Why, three fig-leaves: and when I "aſked him, why he aſcribed to him ſuch a Coat of "Arms, he anſwered, it was becauſe Adam, after he "had eaten of the forbidden fruit, covered his ſecret "parts with a fig-leaf. And upon this footing he "writes four or five large and thick volumes figured "according to his opinion. A curioſity, which I dare "call inexcuſable as it is inexhauſtible (6)."

(3) In the Remark [*C*] of the Article PINET.

(4) To Monſ. Moreau, Advocate in the Parliament of Bourdeaux.

(5) See the *Opuſcules de Loiſel*, pag. 525.

(6) Paquier *Lettres*, liv. 19. tom. 2. pag. 455.

FERRAND (JAMES) Doctor of Phyſic, and a native of Agen, wrote a book *de la Maladie d'Amour*; i. e. *Of Love ſickneſs*; which was printed at Paris in the year 1622. It has not yet been mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Medica*, or the Library of the Phyſicians; and yet it deſerved to have a place there, more than ſeveral others that are ſet down in it [*A*].

FERRARA

[*A*] *It deſerved to have a place in the* Bibliotheca Medica, *more than ſeveral others that are ſet down in it.*] Though James Ferrand's deſign was only to conſider love as it often turns into a bodily diſeaſe, and becomes a frenzy, or a melancholy, yet he ſays a great many things which relate to love in general. I take here the word *love* in the ſenſe it has by way of eminency; I mean for that paſſion which one ſex conceives for the other, a paſſion that has been honoured with a religious worſhip by the Heathens under the name of Venus, and which is one of the deepeſt myſteries of nature. The Dedication of James Ferrand's Book abounds with learning, by which it appears, that there is nothing upon which the Heathen Poets had ſo deeply philoſophized as they have upon love. The Author has omitted the verſes of Lucretius, which I have quoted above (1). I obſerved there, that if this paſſion came into the world by ſin, it was to be conſidered

(1) In the Remark [*F*] of the Article EVE.

FERRARA (RENATA of France, Dutcheſs of) famous for her virtue, and her attachment to the Reformed Church, was daughter of Lewis XII and Ann of Britany [*A*]. She was born at Blois (*a*) the 25th of October 1510 (*b*), and was contracted to Charles of Auſtria (*c*) in the year 1513 and the year 1515, and afterwards ſhe was alſo promiſed to Joachim Marquis of Brandenburg; but in 1527 ſhe married Hercules d'Eſte the ſecond of the name, Duke of Ferrara and Modena (*d*). Others place their wedding day on the 28th of June 1528 (*e*). A modern Hiſtorian aſſures us that ſhe was miſtreſs of immenſe learning [*B*]. He relates many things, of which ſome are moſt falſe, and others doubtful, concerning Calvin's journey to this Princeſs's Court [*C*]. What he advances with relation to the

(*a*) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. Genealog.* pag. 132.

(*b*) See the Remark [*A*].

(*c*) Who was afterwards the Emperor Charles V.

(*d*) Anſelme, *Hiſt. Genealog.* pag. 132.

(*e*) Father du Londel, *Faſtes des Rois*, pag. 32.

ſidered as a board in a ſhipwrack: it was like a ſecond vital principle granted to mankind, it was a new ſpring neceſſary to ſet all nature a-going. But I ought alſo to have obſerved that this ſecond favour of the Author of all things has the ſtamp common *to all the gift of Fortune, which are conſtantly mixed with ſome evil. Fortuna nunquam ſimpliciter indulget* (2). They who do not know by their own experience what bitterneſs attends the pleaſures of love (3), may read the Sieur Ferrand's work, it will learn them how to judge of this ſubject by the ſentences of ſeveral grave Author's: for according to the method of thoſe times, this Phyſician quotes a great many paſſages, and hardly ſays any thing without ſupporting it by the authority of ſome Greec or Latin Poet, or of ſome ancient and modern Philoſopher. The Authors have left off this method; but the Authors who followed it are not the leſs inſtructive for it; and after all, I find it ſtrange, that the *Lindenius renovatus* (4) ſhould not have mentioned the Author, who is the ſubject of this article; this is not the only omiſſion the Writer of that work has been guilty of. See the Remark of the Article VANDERLINDEN.

(2) Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 14.

(3) See the Article SELEMNUS. If it were jealouſy, it would be enough to make the counterbalance the good.

(4) This is the title of the *Bibliotheque de Scriptis Medicis*, in the laſt edition which is that of the year 1686, in 4to.

[*A*] *She was daughter of Lewis XII, and Ann of Britany.*] I ſhall here ſet down a particularity which deſerves to be known. That Queen was brought to bed in the year 1510 "of a ſecond daughter, whom "ſhe named Renata, as if in this birth ſhe had ſeen "her hopes of child-bearing *born again*, which ſhe "had almoſt wholly loſt; but the ignorance of the "midwives, who aſſiſted her in this laſt labour, treat-"ed her ſo ill, that ſhe became incapable of having "children for the future, and ſuch indiſpoſitions con-"tinued upon her from thence, that at length ſhe died "three years after, at the Caſtle of Blois, the 13th "day of February 1513 (1)." The Author of the Notes on Rabelais's Letters is in all likelihood miſtaken, when he ſays (2), that the Princeſs Renata was born the 15th of October 1509, &c.

(1) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 890.

(2) Pag. 83.

[*B*] *A modern Hiſtorian aſſures us, that ſhe was miſtreſs of immenſe learning.*] Mr. Varillas is the Hiſtorian I mean. His words follow: "Renata of France, "daughter of King Lewis XII, and wife of Hercules "d'Eſte Duke of Ferrara, had made him father of "five of the fineſt children in Chriſtendom, though "as to her perſon ſhe was the moſt deformed Princeſs "of her age. It is true, the defects in her ſhape and "face were ſo abundantly recompenſed by the beau-"ties of her mind, that, taking all together, ſhe had "more reaſon to think herſelf obliged to nature than "to complain. She had more quickneſs and delicacy "of wit than had been ſeen in any woman, not ex-"cepting thoſe of Italy, who pretend to it the moſt; and "it was but a diverſion to her to learn all that was dif-"ficult in the moſt ſublime ſciences. She had eaſily, "and without any effort of mind, made herſelf mi-"ſtreſs of Philoſophy and Divinity, and not one of "her ſex ſpoke of them with better grace, or rather, "in a leſs tireſome manner. She excelled in all parts "of the Mathematics, but eſpecially in Aſtronomy; "and the contempt ſhe had for Judicial Aſtrology "had not hindred her from learning all the ſecrets of "it from the famous Luke Gauricus (3)." He ſays elſewhere (4) ſomething ſtronger yet; viz. that *nobody ſurpaſſed her in the moſt profound ſpeculations of Philoſophy, the Mathematics, and Aſtrology.* This ſavours of the romantic ſtyle: Varillas, inſtead of qualifying the expreſſions of Brantome, a Gaſcon Author, who gives a looſe to hyperboles but too frequently, and eſpecially when Princeſſes are the ſubject, goes even farther than he. The reader will judge of it immediately. *Madame Renée . . . avoit un des bons eſprits & ſubtils qui étoit poſſible: elle avoit fort étudié, & l'ai vu fort ſavante diſcourir fort hautement & fort gravement de toutes ſciences, juſques à l'Aſtrologie & la conoiſſance des aſtres, dont je la vis un jour entretenir la Reine mere, qui l'oyant ainſi parler dit que le plus grand Philoſophe du monde n'en ſauroit mieux parler* (5). i. e. "The "Princeſs Renata had as penetrating and refined a "wit as poſſibly could be; ſhe had ſtudied much, and "I have heard her diſcourſe in a very learned, ſub-"lime, and ſolid manner, of all ſciences, even Aſtro-"logy and the knowledge of the Stars, with which I "ſaw her one day entertain the Queen mother, who "hearing her talk ſo pertinently, ſaid the greateſt "Philoſopher in the world could not have ſpoken "better on the ſubject." What a fall is here? According to Varillas, the equality of knowledge between the Princeſs and all men of learning relates to *the moſt profound ſpeculations of Philoſophy, the Mathematics, and Aſtrology*; but, according to Brantome, it relates only to ſome diſcourſes of Aſtrology, and that too in the judgment of Catherine de Medicis. It is of more uſe than is commonly imagined to lay before the readers a parallel of the original with the copy, as I do here. Conſult the margin (6).

(3) Varillas, *Hiſtoire de l'Hereſie*, liv. 10. pag. 354 of the Dutch Edition.

(4) *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, tom. 1. pag. 176 of the Dutch Edition.

(5) Brantome, *Vie des Dames illuſtres*, pag. m. 300.

[*C*] . . . *And relates ſeveral things, ſome moſt falſe, and others doubtful, concerning Calvin's journey.*] Mr. Varillas (7) relates under the year 1535, that Calvin, having made choice of Straſburg *for his abode*, drew thither *thoſe of his ſect who had voluntarily baniſhed themſelves* from France. *Calvin*, proceeds he, *having got together a ſufficient number of diſciples to form a Church, by Bucer's advice, preſented a petition to the Magiſtrates of Straſburg, to obtain the ſpiritual direction of the French who had been tranſplanted from France to Alſatia on account of their Religion . . . The Magiſtrates at the perſuaſion of Stunius* (8) . . . *granted the requeſt, and Calvin by this means had the opportunity of founding a Church after his own way. . . . As his intention was to render the College of Straſburg famous, he was not ſatisfied with drawing thither the fineſt genius's, and the moſt learned men of the Univerſities of France whom he had corrupted; but he was deſirous alſo that the ſame College ſhould be principally obliged to him for its reputation, and he taught there with greater aſſiduity than Luther or Melanchthon had done in the College of Wittemberg: for which reaſon the number of his auditors became incomparably greater than theirs had been, tho' no ſovereign Prince had intereſted himſelf in it. He taught Divinity in this College, and none of the Profeſſors aſſiſted more willingly than he at the public diſputations of the Students. Beſides this, he reviſed his Inſtitution, and added to it a fourth and laſt Book. He ſpent two whole years in theſe laborious employments, and nothing could have drawn him thence if he had not hoped to make a greater progreſs elſewhere; but he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the vain conceit, which had been put into his head, of ſpreading his doctrine in Italy; and he imagined that it would be ſomething ſo glorious and ſo agreeable to penetrate into a country which had been inacceſſible to Luther and Zuinglius, and to withdraw from the Pope's obedience the people who were the neareſt to his See, that he could not withſtand the temptation which offered.* Mr. Varillas here makes a digreſſion in praiſe of the Dutcheſs of Ferrara (9), after which he ſays (10) that Calvin, being not unacquainted with that Princeſs's diſpoſition, *went in diſguiſe from Straſburg to Ferrara.* He ſuppoſes that Calvin, having by *his wit* gained the ear of Renata, endeavoured to give her ill impreſſions of the doctrines of Luther, and thoſe of Zuinglius, and Melanchthon, and that the Princeſs, who (11) *had a mind to change her Religion only to be revenged* on the Court of Rome, at firſt rejected the doctrines of Calvin;

(6) Brantome, ibid. *ſays that Renata, though* ſhe was very much deformed in her perſon, *brought her huſband a very beautiful offspring. He ſays, pag.* 306, that though her outward appearance was not ſo grand, by reaſon of the deformity of her body, yet ſhe had a great deal of majeſty. *Varillas, inſtead of ſtopping here, ſays that* as to her perſon ſhe was the moſt deformed Princeſs of her age.

(7) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 10. pag. 352, &c.

(8) It ſhould be *Sturmius.*

(9) It has been ſeen in the preceding Remark.

(10) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 10. pag. 355.

(11) Ibid. pag. 356.

the motives which engaged her to embrace the new Religion, has very little probability [D]. She

vin; but that ſhe was *not long before ſhe turned Calviniſt. . . . . He preached in* her chamber, *that it might be the better concealed, becauſe reſpect forbade the ſervants to enquire too curiouſly into what paſſed there. But it is much more difficult for Ladies of quality, than for others, to hide their Religion long from their huſbands. That which the Dutcheſs profeſſed came to the knowledge of the Duke of Ferrara, and that Prince was the more exaſperated at it, becauſe nothing was more oppoſite to his temporal intereſt. He held his dominions of the Holy See, and he knew the Popes would not want power to diſpoſſeſs him, if they had a pretext for it. His dread increaſed when he reflected that Duke Alfonſo his father had been a long time an exile, a vagabond, poor, and a ſoldier in the pay of a foreign nation, for having diſobliged the Pope, and that to get into favour again he had been forced to aſk pardon of Pope Alexander VI, and to marry Lucretia Borgia. Theſe conſiderations in an inſtant changed the Duke who had been hitherto very complaiſant to the Dutcheſs. He obliged her to return to the exerciſe of the new Religion* (12), *and all the favour ſhe obtained of him for Calvin was, that he ſhould be permitted to go back as he came.*

(12) The Printers have made a miſtake here: we muſt read either *renounce* inſtead of *return to*, or *old* inſtead of *new*.

THIS paſſage of Varillas cenſured.

There are a great many falſhoods in this Narration. I. When Calvin, in 1534, departed the Kingdom of France, he made choice of the city of Baſil (13), and not that of Straſburg, for the place of his retreat; and he continued at Baſil in the greateſt obſcurity he poſſibly could (14), till he undertook his journey to Italy, after he had publiſhed his Chriſtian Inſtitution (15). II. It is falſe, therefore, that he erected at that time a Church at Straſburg, and that he rendred the College of that city more famous than the College of Wittemberg. III. Let us rectify this as well as we can, by tranſferring it to its true time; and we ſhall ſtill find ſeveral lies in the relation. Calvin, being driven from Geneva in the year 1538, went into Switzerland, where he received an invitation from the Magiſtrates of Straſburg to be Profeſſor of Divinity there. He accepted of that employment, and acquitted himſelf therein with the applauſe of the learned (16); but, IV, he did not draw to that College *the fineſt genius's, and the moſt learned men of the Univerſities of France:* and V, *the number of his auditors* did not become *incomparably greater than* that of *Luther and Melanchthon had been* at Wittemberg. I do not know whence Varillas could take the foundation of theſe romantic hyperboles. It is very certain that Calvin, by the permiſſion of the Magiſtrates, founded a French Church at Straſburg, and that he made it ſubject to his formulary of diſcipline (17); but VI, it is not true that this was the beginning of his labours in that city. He went thither to teach Divinity, to which he was called by the Magiſtrates; and afterwards he deſired their conſent to the erection of a French Congregation. VII. He did not quit theſe *laborious employments* in hopes of making a greater progreſs in Italy: for he took leave of thoſe of Straſburg, only to return to Geneva (18), whither he ſaw himſelf recalled with great earneſtneſs. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, as Mr. Varillas does, that Calvin went to ſee the Dutcheſs of Ferrara in the year 1535, after having for two years diſcharged the office of Profeſſor in Divinity, and that of Miniſter, and after having reviſed his Inſtitution, and augmented it *with a fourth and laſt Book:* for VIII, he left France in the year 1534, and he went to Ferrara towards the end of the year 1535, and IX, when he took that journey his Chriſtian Inſtitution had been publiſhed but once. He did not reviſe, or augment it, till after his return from Italy (19). X. It was not divided into Books before the Edition of 1559. XI. I own that the Dutcheſs of Ferrara was the mother of five children, but they were not all born when Calvin took his journey to that Court. When ſhe lay in of a daughter in the year 1536, Rabelais obſerves that ſhe had already a daughter and a ſon (20).

A Hiſtorian who is guilty of ſo many falſhoods with reſpect to facts ſo eaſy to be related truly, deſerves no great credit with regard to the private converſations which he ſuppoſes between the Dutcheſs of Ferrara and Calvin. This is what I call doubtful; for I have no good proofs to aver, whether Calvin did or did not inſinuate to the Dutcheſs ſuch and ſuch things againſt Luther, Zuinglius, and Melanchthon. I might eaſily be perſuaded that Calvin contributed but little to the converſion of this Princeſs: I believe he found her pretty much out of conceit with the Romiſh faith, and that Marot, who had taken refuge at that Court before him, had a greater hand than he in Renata's change of Religion (21).

(13) Above, Remark [F] of the Article CALVIN.

(14) Ibid. Remark [U].

(15) He publiſhed it at Baſil, in the year 1535. See above the Remark [U] of the Article CALVIN.

(16) *Theologiam ibi docuit magno cum doctorum omnium applauſu.* Beza, *in Vita Calvini*, ad ann. 1538.

(17) *Ex Senatus conſenſu Gallicam Eccleſiam conſtituta etiam eccleſiaſtica diſciplina plantavit.* Idem, ibid.

(18) He returned thither in the year 1541. See his *Life* by *Beza*.

(19) Mr. Varillas, *Hiſt. of Charles IX*, tom. 1. ſays that Calvin *had compoſed, at* the Court of the Dutcheſs of Ferrara, the *Books of his Inſtitution*. In the 10th Book of his *Hiſt. of Hereſy*, pag. 350, he ſays that Calvin being gone to Nerac, to conſer with le Fevre and Roſſel, read his Inſtitution to them. You muſt know that Calvin conferred with le Fevre at Nerac in 1533, or thereabouts.

(20) Rabelais, Epiſt. 14. pag. 59.

(21) *See* Le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 746, 747.

[D] *What Varillas advances with relation to the motives which engaged her to embrace the new Religion, has very little probability.*] "The injuries ſhe pretended the King her father had received from Pope "Julius II had inſpired her with an averſion to the "Court of Rome (22)." This, according to Varillas, was the motive which induced her to hearken to the new ſects. "She had a mind to change her Religion "only to revenge herſelf; ſhe thought it ſufficient for "that purpoſe to attack the ſpiritual and temporal au"thority of the Popes, without meddling with the Sa"craments, and above all with the religious Orders, "which would not fail to raiſe very great diſorders in "the beſt eſtabliſhed ſtates (23)." It muſt be owned, generally ſpeaking, that the deſire of revenge may produce in a man's mind a ſtrong inclination to a ſect. If a party appears againſt certain perſons who have done us a great injury, we are very much diſpoſed to ſupport that party, we wiſh it may be juſt, and by dint of wiſhing it, we often come to believe it juſt. This is ſeen, not only in political and academical cabals, but even in religious diſputes; ſo that it is not to be doubted but that a perſonal hatred to a Pope may be ſufficient to induce a Prince to favour the Divines who preach againſt that Pope. But was this the caſe of our Dutcheſs? She was ſcarce out of her ſwaddling-cloaths when Julius II died. The Court of Rome was reconciled to Lewis XII, when that Prince left the world; ſo that our Renata was more likely to hear talk of the peace between her father and Leo X, than of the outrages of Julius II. It is not probable that ſhe ſhould have conceived againſt the memory of this Pope a reſentment which included all his Succeſſors. When we do not hear of a quarrel till after it is ended, the paſſions which it raiſes are not ſo quick; it is the ſight of the evils into which it plunges us, that excites in our minds a violent hatred againſt him who is the author of them. I do not deny but thoſe who during the troubles, and even at the time of the pacification, were yet in the cradle, may conceive a very ſharp reſentment againſt the author of thoſe troubles, when they come to age, and feel themſelves hurt by the fatal conſequences of the miſchief which he cauſed; but was this the caſe of the Dutcheſs of Ferrara? She was excluded from ſucceeding her father by the Salique Law, and conſequently the evils which Julius II had cauſed to Lewis XII would not have concerned her, though they had continued under the reign of Francis I.

(22) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 10. pag. 355.

(23) Idem, ibid. pag. 356.

It is certain that true facts are ſometimes deſtitute of probability; and therefore without deciding whether the Princeſs had any reſentment, or whether ſhe had not, I ſhall only ſay it is not likely that the remembrance of the injuſtice of Julius II ſhould make her fully bent to be revenged on the Court of Rome by embracing the Lutheran Religion. However I ought not to conceal what I have read in Brantome. *Perhaps* ſays he (24), *reſenting the injuries which the Popes had in ſo many inſtances done her father, ſhe withdrew from their obedience, not having it in her power, as ſhe was a woman, to do them more miſchief. I have it from good hands that ſhe often ſaid as much.* Mr. Le Laboureur (25) quotes an Elegy of Clement Marot on Renata's being the third time with child; in which the child is congratulated *for being conceived at ſo happy a juncture.* Marot *promiſes him the ruin of the Pope and the Holy See, whom he treats with great indignity, and calls the enemy of his family.* This ſhews that the Poet brought domeſtic quarrels on the ſtage, with intent to alienate the Dutcheſs of Ferrara from the Court of Rome. Take notice that he alſo made uſe of good omens, and favourable predictions, of which Poets are ſo liberal, and which ſo frequently prove them to be falſe Prophets (26). He was one in this inſtance, and bluſhed at it no more than his brethren do in the like caſe.

(24) Brantome, *Vie des Dames illuſtres*, pag. 300.

(25) *Addit. aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 747: he obſerves that this *Elegy* was ſuppreſſed.

(26) See the Remark [C] of the Article FUENTERABIA.

She left Italy on account of her Religion [*E*], ſo ſoon as her huſband was dead, and returned to France, where ſhe was permitted to profeſs Huguenotiſm. She reſided at Montargis, and there gave protection to many who were perſecuted, till ſhe was obliged to do it no longer. I doubt Mezerai does not fix the time of this exactly [*F*]. It was with much regret that ſhe yielded to ſo cruel a conſtraint: and if her courage appeared on this occaſion, her charity was no leſs conſpicuous [*G*]. This virtuous Lady had always ſhewn a very great inclination to diſtribute her liberality to the diſtreſſed [*H*]. She interceded

[*E*] *She left Italy on account of her Religion.*] This is what Thuanus informs me of. *Sub idem tempus,* ſays he (27), *Renata Ferrarienſis, Guiſii ſocrus, quæ ex Italia in Galliam ob religionis cauſſam migraverat, Aurelianum Regis ſalutandi gratia venit.* i. e. "About "the ſame time Renata Dutcheſs of Ferrara, and mo-"ther-in-law to the Duke of Guiſe, who had retired "from Italy into France on account of Religion, "came to Orleans to pay her reſpects to the King." He ſays this under the year 1560. The Duke of Ferrara, this Princeſs's huſband, died in the year 1559.

(27) Thuan. lib. 26. pag. 521.

[*F*] *I doubt Mezerai does not fix the time of this exactly.*] Relating the outrages which the Reformed ſuffered in divers places in the year 1562, he ſays (28), "that the authority of the Dutcheſs Dowager of Ferrara "ſaved a great number of them, who from all parts "threw themſelves into Montargis under her protec-"tion. The Duke of Guiſe, her ſon-in-law (29), "not being able either by entreaties, or by menaces, "to bring her into the right way, ſent thither John "de Sourches-Malicorne with four troops of horſe; "who having ſummoned her to deliver up to him the "chiefs of the factious who had fled into the caſtle to "her, threatning withal to bring cannon to get them "out by force, received an anſwer worthy ſuch a "Princeſs. *Conſider well,* ſaid ſhe to him, *what you "do: know that no body has a right to command me "but the King himſelf, and that if you carry matters to "ſuch extremity, I will put my ſelf the foremoſt in the "breach, where I will try whether you will have the "inſolence to kill a King's daughter, whoſe death heaven "and earth will be bound to revenge on you and all "your race, even to the infants in the cradle.* Theſe "reſolute words having a little cooled his courage, "the Duke of Guiſe's death, which happened at the "ſame time, wholly diverted him from his enter-"prize." Mr. Varillas telling the ſame ſtory, and paraphraſing it according to his uſual cuſtom, applies it to the year 1562 (30). But I ſhould be much deceived if the Proteſtant Writers, who apply this adventure to the year 1569, deſerved not a great deal more credit. We ſhall immediately ſee the words of the Sieur d'Aubigné.

(28) *Hiſtoire de France,* tom. 3. pag. 86.

(29) *Ann d'Eſte, daughter of Renata, married to her firſt huſband Francis of Lorrain Duke of Guiſe, and to her ſecond the Duke of Nemours. She was mother of the Duke of Guiſe who was killed at Blois, and was ſo violent in the ſervice of the League againſt Henry III and Henry IV. She was then called the Dutcheſs of Nemours. See the laſt Remark towards the end.*

(30) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX,* tom. 1. pag. 375.

[*G*] *If her courage appeared on this occaſion, her charity was no leſs conſpicuous.*] The anſwer ſhe returned to Malicorne has not been ſo nobly turned by d'Aubigné as by Mezerai; but I doubt the expreſſions he makes uſe of were rather the Hiſtorian's than the Princeſs's. However it be, let us cite d'Aubigné. "This (31) "was the reaſon that all fled from the towns and vil-"lages of the flat country to Montargis, where many "had been preſerved during the firſt wars under "the protection of the Dutcheſs, who being of the "royal blood, and related to the Guiſes, had a par-"ticular privilege. She and her Miniſters blamed "thoſe who took up arms, in ſuch terms as ſet her "and the Prince of Condé at enmity: and this quar-"rel gave ſome colour to the reſpect which was ſhewn "her. But this laſt concourſe of Proteſtants at Mon-"targis ſtirred up the Preachers of Paris, and they "the King, to force her to turn away four hundred "and ſixty perſons, the two thirds women and chil-"dren at the breaſt. That Princeſs, burſting into "tears, ſaid to Malicorne, who brought her theſe "harſh news, that if ſhe had on her chin what he had "on his (32), ſhe would kill him with her own "hands, as a meſſenger of death. She furniſhed "this diſtreſſed company with a hundred and fifty "waggons, eight travelling coaches, and a great many "horſes (33)." The manner how theſe poor people, whom Malicorne endeavoured to deſtroy by the way, eſcaped, is very ſingular. D'Aubigné relates it; as another Huguenot Hiſtorian (34) alſo does, but without naming Malicorne: and as to the Dutcheſs, this is what he ſays of her, under the year 1569 (35): *At that time the Duke of Alençon gave the Dutcheſs of Ferrara to underſtand that Montargis (her ordinary reſidence) was a harbour for the Proteſtants; and that plots were daily hatched there againſt his Majeſty. Wherefore he deſired her to diſmiſs them and the Miniſters, and to leave the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, which ſhe profeſſed, or elſe to remove to ſome other place. She anſwered that ſhe was too nearly related to the Crown, to be ſo ill affected to it: beſides, that there was in the town only a poor and harmleſs people, who meddled with nothing which might be of the leaſt importance to the King's ſtate. In ſhort, that ſhe could not leave a place which belonged to her, & where ſhe was reſolved to live and die, and that in the exerciſe of the Religion which had been permitted her by the King, and in which ſhe had hitherto been brought up. However, about the end of September, ſhe was obliged to diſmiſs moſt of thoſe who had retired thither, being threatened with having a garriſon ſent in very ſpeedily. And foraſmuch as there were ſeveral families, many women, and a great number of young and old people, all unable to go the long journeys they were forced to take, or elſe to be at the mercy of thoſe who waited only for an opportunity to deſtroy them; ſhe lent her coaches, carts, and waggons to aſſiſt them, anſwering for the waggoners who carried the reſt and their baggage.*

(31) That is, the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants at Orleans, in the year 1569.

(32) *See* Brantome's words below, Remark [*H*], Citation (38).

(33) D'Aubigné, *Hiſt. Univerſelle,* tom. 1. liv. 5. chap. 13.

(34) His Work is intitled, *The true and complete Hiſtory of the Troubles and memorable things which happened as well in France as in Flanders, and the neighbouring Countries, from the year* 1562: it was printed at Rochelle, 1573, in 8vo.

(35) Liv. 8. folio 253.

When I conſider that Thuanus (36) has furniſhed Mezerai and Varillas with what they ſay of Malicorne's fooliſh enterprize in the year 1562, and the Princeſs's couragious anſwer, and that he places this event in the ſame year, I do not know which way to turn myſelf; and perhaps we muſt ſay that the Dutcheſs was twice diſturbed at Montargis, in the year 1562, and in the year 1569: the ſecond time it may be Malicorne was not charged with the commiſſion, though d'Aubigné ſays he was.

(36) Thuanus, *Hiſt.* lib. 30. pag. 608.

[*H*] *She always ſhewed a very great inclination to diſtribute her liberality to the diſtreſſed.*] I ſhall make uſe of Brantome's words. *If this Princeſs,* ſays he (37), *was intelligent, wiſe, witty, and virtuous, ſhe was alſo indued with ſo much goodneſs, which ſhe ſo well expreſſed to her huſband's ſubjects, that I never ſaw any one in Ferrara who was not well ſatisfied with her, and did not highly commend her: for above all they had a ſenſe of her charity, which ſhe always took care to exerciſe, and eſpecially towards the French; having this good quality, that ſhe never forgot her own nation, and though ſhe was at a great diſtance from it, yet ſhe always loved it greatly. Never did a Frenchman, paſſing through Ferrara, if he was in want and addreſſed himſelf to her, go from her without receiving a conſiderable alms, and money ſufficient to carry him home; and if he was ſick, and could not travel, ſhe cauſed him to be taken good care of and cured, and then gave him money to return to France.* Brantome had heard *that when the Duke of Guiſe went to Italy, ſhe ſaved after his return above ten thouſand poor French ſouls, as well ſoldiers as others, who without her aſſiſtance would have periſhed for hunger and want; for as they paſſed thro' Ferrara, ſhe ſupplied them all with medicines and money as far as was in her power;* and when her ſtewards repreſented to her her exceſſive expences, *ſhe only anſwered, What would you have? theſe are poor Frenchmen, and my Countrymen, whom, if God had given me a beard on my chin, and I had been a man, would now have been all my ſubjects, and would nevertheleſs have been ſuch, if that unjuſt Salique Law did not bear too hard upon me* (38). Brantome was not ignorant of her charities at Montargis; let us hear him further (39): "I have heard ſome of her dome-"ſtics ſay, that after her return to France, being re-"tired to her city and houſe of Montargis, when the "civil wars began, ſo long as ſhe lived ſhe took under "her protection a very great number of people, and "thoſe Proteſtants who were driven and baniſhed from "their eſtates and houſes, ſhe aſſiſted, ſuccoured, and "entertained as far as ſhe was able. I ſaw my ſelf, "in

(37) Brantome, *Vie des Dames Illuſtres,* pag. 302.

(38) Ibid. pag. 303.

(39) Ibid. pag. 305.

terceded ſtrongly for the Prince of Condé when he was impriſoned [*I*]; but afterwards ſhe fell out with him, becauſe neither ſhe, nor her Miniſters, approved the Proteſtants taking up arms (*f*). We cannot ſufficiently admire the firmneſs with which ſhe oppoſed the devices which Henry II and her huſband made uſe of, to reclaim her from what they called Hereſy [*K*]. She died at Montargis the 12th of June 1575 (*g*), in the profeſſion of the Reformed Religion. It is through groſs ignorance, therefore, that a Jeſuit (*h*) has put her into the Liſt of thoſe who abjured the errors of the Proteſtants. Her bearing with her huſband's gallantries was not the leaſt mark of her patience under the misfortunes of this world. It is ſaid that after ſhe had brought him three ſons and three daughters, ſhe retired of her own accord to a private houſe, that ſhe might neither ſee, nor traverſe the pleaſures he took with other Ladies. They even add that this *poor Princeſs* expreſſed ſome friendſhip for her huſband's miſtreſſes (*i*).

(*f*) See the Remark [*G*].

(*g*) Le Laboureur, *Add. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 749.

(*h*) Joannes Franciſcus Haki, *in Libro cui Titulus* Via Regia, &c.

(*i*) *See* Louis Guyon. *Diverſes Leçons*, tom. 3. pag. 136.

FERRARIUS

" in the time of the ſecond troubles, the forces of " Gaſcony led by Meſſieurs de Terrides and de Mon- " ſales, amounting to 8000 men, and marching to " the King; when the Chiefs and principal Captains " and Gentlemen, and my ſelf among them, paſſed " by Montargis, and went to pay our reſpects to her, " as we were in duty bound; I believe we ſaw in the " caſtle above 300 Proteſtants, who from all parts " had retired thither: an old Steward of hers, a very " honeſt Gentleman, whom I had been acquainted " with at Ferrara and in France, ſwore to me that ſhe " daily fed above three hundred of thoſe poor refu- " gees."

[*I*] *She interceded ſtrongly for the Prince of Condé.*] I ſhall borrow my proof ſtill from the ſame Author. " I have heard ſay, and I have it from good hands, " that when the Prince of Condé was impriſoned at " Orleans, in the time of the young King Francis, " ſhe came from Ferrara two days after, and I ſaw " her arrive, the King and all the Court going to " meet her, and receiving her with great honour, as " ſhe deſerved; ſhe appeared very much concerned at " his impriſonment, and repreſented to the late Duke " of Guiſe her ſon-in-law, that whoever had adviſed " the King to that ſtep, had done very wrong, and " that it was no ſmall matter to uſe a Prince of the " blood in that manner (40)." Thuanus makes her ſpeak in a yet more lofty ſtile. *Aurelianum regis ſalutandi gratia venit, deploratoque præſenti rerum ſtatu generum acerbè increpuit, & ſiquidem ante captum Condæum adveniſſet id ſe impedituram teſtata monuit, ut ab injuria erga regiæ ſtirpis principes in poſterum temperaret, nam plagam eam diu ſanguinem miſſuram, nec cuiquam unquam bene vertiſſe qui regis conſanguineos principes prior laceſſiviſſet* (41). i. e. " She came to Orleans " to pay her reſpects to the King, and having lament- " ed the miſerable ſtate of affairs, ſhe bitterly reprov- " ed her ſon-in-law, and declared that if ſhe had ar- " rived before the Prince of Condé had been impri- " ſoned, ſhe would have prevented it, that he might " learn for the future to uſe more moderation towards " the Princes of the blood; for that wound would bleed " a long while, nor did ever any man proſper, who " without provocation injured Princes related to the " King."

(40) Brantome, ibid. pag. 306.

(41) Thuan. lib. 26. pag. 521, 522, *ad ann.* 1560.

[*K*] *We cannot ſufficiently admire the firmneſs with which ſhe oppoſed the devices which Henry II and her huſband made uſe of to reclaim her from . . . . hereſy.*] Monſieur le Laboureur has publiſhed (42) a very curious piece. It is the inſtruction which was given by Henry II to Dr. Oriz, when he went to Ferrara. That Doctor was one of the Pope's Penitentiaries, and executed the office of Inquiſitor in France: he was ſent to Ferrara on purpoſe to convert the Dutcheſs. He was charged to tell her, I, That the King had been informed, to his inexpreſſible grief, that ſhe *had ſuffered herſelf to be precipitated into the labyrinth of thoſe wicked and damned opinions, contrary and repugnant to our holy Faith.* II, *That when he ſhall hear ſhe is reconciled and reduced to the true obedience of the Church, the ſatisfaction and pleaſure he ſhall receive thence will not be leſs than if he ſaw her raiſed from death to life.* III, That if *inſtead of treading in the ſteps of her progenitors, who with ſingular zeal have always protected our holy Catholic Faith, the ſaid Lady ſhould chuſe to remain ſtubborn and obſtinate, this would diſpleaſe the King as highly as it is poſſible for any thing to do, and would make him wholly forget the friendſhip, reſpect, and duty of a good nephew; nothing being ſo odious to him as the followers of ſuch reprobate Sects, to which he is a mortal enemy.* If theſe Remonſtrances produced nothing, then Dr. Oriz was to preach ſome polemical Sermons, which the Dutcheſs ſhould be obliged to hear *with all her houſhold, whatever refuſal or difficulty ſhe could poſſibly make. Having continued this for ſome days, if he ſaw that by ſuch means he could do no good with the ſaid Lady,* he was ordered to declare to her, *in the preſence of the Duke her huſband, that it is his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, and he actually intreats and moſt earneſtly exhorts the ſaid Lord Duke, that he cauſe the ſaid Lady to be put in a place ſeparate from all company and converſation, where ſhe may no longer corrupt any body but herſelf, taking from her her own children and all her family in general, of what nation ſoever they be, who ſhall be accuſed or ſtrongly ſuſpected of the ſaid errors and falſe doctrines, that they may be brought to juſtice. . . . . And that ſentence being paſſed on them, the delinquents may receive exemplary puniſhment and correction.* All this was to no purpoſe: read Mr. le Laboureur's words (43). The Duke of Ferrara was not dextrous enough to hinder Ann d'Eſte his daughter from being tainted with the new opinions. Her mother, who cauſed her to be brought up to learning, gave her as a companion in her ſtudies Olympia Fulvia Morata, a young Lady of great parts, who was afterwards a good Lutheran. *Cum Anna Herculis Eſtenſis Ferrarienſium Principis filia iiſdem literis à Joanne Sinapio viro ſummo inſtitueretur, ut haberet quicum honeſta æmulatione certaret, viſum matri eſt . . . ut Olympia in Aulam in qua aliquot annos magna cum laude fuit advocaretur* (44). i. e. " While Ann, the " daughter of Hercules d'Eſte, Duke of Ferrara, was " inſtructed in the ſame kind of learning by John Sina- " pius, a man of great eminence, that ſhe might have " a companion who might raiſe in her a noble emu- " lation, her mother thought proper . . . . to ſend for " Olympia to court, where ſhe lived ſome years in " high eſteem." The converſation of this young Lady gave the Princeſs Ann a great inſight into Religion; and it is moreover ſaid that ſhe was ſenſibly concerned at the puniſhments which were inflicted on the Proteſtants after the affair of Amboiſe, and that ſhe exhorted Catherine de Medicis not to ſhed innocent blood. It is Thuanus who tells us this. *Sola Anna Ateſtina Guiſii uxor miti ingenio fœmina, & quæ à teneris annis Ferrariæ ſub Renata parente ei doctrinæ quæ tunc exagitabatur innutrita fuerat, Olympiæ Moratæ lectiſſimæ & eruditiſſimæ fœminæ conſuetudine ad id uſa, lacrimas non tenuiſſe dicitur, ultroque Catharinam monuiſſe ut ſi regem ac regnum ſalvum vellet, ab innocentum ſuppliciis abſtineri juberet* (45). i. e. " Ann d'Eſte, wife to the " Duke of Guiſe, a Lady of a mild temper, and who " had been from her infancy brought up by her mo- " ther at Ferrara in the doctrines then under perſecu- " tion, for which end ſhe had Olympia Morata, a " Lady of diſtinguiſhed merit and learning, given her " for a companion, is ſaid to have been the only per- " ſon who did not refrain tears, and to have adviſed " Catherine of her own accord, that if ſhe wiſhed well " to the King and Kingdom, ſhe ſhould give orders to " abſtain from putting innocent people to death." At the time of the League ſhe was very zealous againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion: family-intereſts, and the remembrance of Poltrot (46), perhaps made her change her opinion. The Duke of Ferrara had quarrelled with Renata before the reign of Henry II; for here is what Rabelais wrote from Rome, in the year 1536. " The Princeſs Renata is in danger of receiv- " ing ſome vexation on this account: the Duke has " taken from her Madam de Soubiſe, her Gover- " nante, and makes her be waited on by Italian wo- " men only, *which is no good ſign* (47)."

(42) In the *Additions to Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 747.

(43) *She obſtinately endured the effects of theſe menaces, on which Account Brantôme obſerves there was for ſome time a miſunderſtanding between her and her husband, who could do no more than take from her the education of her children.* Le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 749.

(44) Cœlius Secundus Curio, *in Epiſtola ad Betuleium*, inter *Epiſtolas Olympiæ Fulviæ Moratæ*, pag. m. 97.

(45) Thuanus, *Hiſt.* lib. 24. pag. 496, 497. *ad ann.* 1560.

(46) Who aſſaſſinated the Duke of Guiſe, her husband.

(47) *Epitres de Rabelais*, pag. 18.

☞FERRARI (OCTAVIAN), a learned Writer in the ſixteenth Century, was born of a noble family at Milan September the 23d 1518, and ſon of Jerom Ferrari. After he had ſtudied polite Learning, Philoſophy, and Phyſic in the moſt celebrated Univerſities of Italy, he was choſen Profeſſor of Ethics and Politics in the College founded by Paul Canobio by his advice, and held this place for eighteen years. The Senate of Venice engaged him afterwards to remove to Padua, where he explained the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle with ſo much ſkill and elegance, that Francis Vimercat, who was Profeſſor in the Royal College at Paris in the time of Francis I, returning to Italy upon the death of that King, fixed upon him preferably to all other learned men, for the publication of his works. He continued at Padua four years, and then returned to Milan where he continued to teach Philoſophy till his death, which happened in 1586. He was then ſixty eight years of age. We ſhall give an account of his works in the note [*A*]. He was excellently ſkilled in polite Literature, which enabled him to treat of the Sciences in a pure and elegant ſtyle. He excelled principally in Philoſophy, and was eſteemed a ſecond Ariſtotle. But he was no leſs illuſtrious for probity than his learning. Bartholomew Capra, the Civilian, his intimate friend, to whom he left his Library, made his funeral Oration (*a*).

(*a*) Teiſſier, *Elog. des Hommes tirez de l'Hiſt. de M. de Thou avec des Additions*; and Struvii *Bibliotheca Antiqua* 1705.

[*A*] *His Works.*] I. *De Sermonibus exotericis.* Venice 1575 in 4to. This Work is very uſeful to thoſe, who would inform themſelves of the Doctrine of Ariſtotle. It is well known that this Philoſopher's Works were of two kinds; the one ſtyled *Exoterics* were for all ſorts of people; the other intitled *Acroamatics* were only for the uſe of his ſcholars. Ferrari treats at length of the former. His Book was reprinted with the Additions of *Melchior Goldaſt*, and a new Diſſertation of Ferrari *de Diſciplina Encyclio*, under the general title of *Clavis Philoſophiæ Peripateticæ Ariſtotelicæ*. Francfort 1606 in 8vo. II. *De Origine Romanorum.* Milan 1607 in 8vo. Though our Author did not put his laſt hand to this work, and death prevented him from finiſhing it, yet it deſerved to be continued down to poſterity, according to Grævius, who has inſerted it in the firſt Volume of his *Roman Antiquities*, and added his own Corrections to it. Bartholomew Capra, who publiſhed it at firſt, added ſomething of his own, which he ſeemed to think better of than it deſerved. III. He tranſlated Athenæus into Latin, and wrote ſome Notes upon Ariſtotle. T.

☞FERRARI (FRANCISCO BERNARDINO), was of the ſame family with the preceding, and born at Milan about the year 1577. Being entered at firſt as a novice in the Congregation of St. Ambroſe and St. Charles, he applied himſelf with great ſucceſs to Philoſophy and Divinity as well as to the Latin, Greek, Spaniſh and French Languages, and was admitted a Doctor of the Ambroſian College. His vaſt knowledge of books, and abilities in all kinds of learning, induced Frederic Borromeo Archbiſhop of Milan, to appoint him to travel into divers parts of Europe, in order to purchaſe the beſt books and manuſcripts, with a deſign to form a Library at Milan. Ferrari paſſed over part of Italy and Spain, and collected a great number of books, which laid the foundation of the famous Ambroſian Library. About the year 1638 he was appointed Director of the College of the Nobles lately erected at Padua, in the room of Balthaſar Bonifacio. He diſcharged that poſt two years, at the end of which his indiſpoſitions obliging him to quit it, he returned to Milan. This is what we are acquainted with by Tomaſini (*a*). We are informed of no other particulars of our Author's life, and he is beſt known by his works [*A*]. He died January 30, 1669, aged ninety two years (*b*). All his writings are full of learning and curious reſearches into Antiquity; and he wrote with great clearneſs and method, and is very judicious in his conjectures, and exact in his quotations (*c*).

(*a*) In his *Gymnaſium Patavinum.*

(*b*) *See* Ghilini, *Teatro d'Huomini Letterati*, Part 1. pag. 66. & Filippo Picinelli, *Ateneo de i Letterati Milaneſi*, pag. 200.

(*c*) Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibl. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 17. pag. 109. edit. Amſterdam 1711 in 4to.

☞FERRARI

[*A*] *His Works.*] I. *De Antiquo Eccleſiaſticarum Epiſtolarum Genere Libri tres.* Milan 1613 in 8vo. It. *Editio Nova, cum Indicibus Auctorum, Rerum, & Verborum; curâ Gebh. Theod. Meieri.* Helmſtad 1678 in 4to. This ſubject had been treated of before by Gerard Rodolphus de Grave, Canon of that city, who died about the year 1594, in a Book intitled *De Litteris Canonicis; videlicet, Formatis, Pacificis, Commendatiis, ac Dimiſſoriis, quarum in Eccleſiâ primitivâ uſus fuit.* Cologne 1582 in 8vo. Ferrari has quoted this Treatiſe in the ſecond Chapter of his Work, and borrowed a great many things from it without any acknowledgment. II. *De Ritu ſacrarum Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Concionum Libri tres.* Milan 1620 in 4to. Paris 1664 in 8vo. *Cum Præfatione Joannis Georgii Grævii*, Utrecht 1692 in 8vo. This Work is very curious. We are informed in the *Journal des Sçavans* (1), that when the ſecond Edition was publiſhed at Paris, the former was become very ſcarce; which, it is ſaid, was occaſioned by this circumſtance, that Frederic Borromeo Arcbiſhop of Milan, having written a Treatiſe *de concionante Epiſcopo*, was jealous of Ferrari's Book which was publiſhed at the ſame time with his; upon which account he endeavoured to the utmoſt to ſuppreſs it, and ſucceeded ſo far as to render it extremely ſcarce. But Father Niceron obſerves (2), that there is no ground for this ſtory; ſince Ferrari's Book was not publiſhed at the ſame time with the Archbiſhop's; the latter not being printed till 12 years after, that is, till 1632, after that Prelate's death, and with a permiſſion which ſhews there was a *ſede vacante*. The jealouſy aſcribed therefore to the Archbiſhop is merely imaginary, as well as the pretended ſuppreſſion. If Ferrari's Book became ſcarce, it is juſt the ſame caſe in the ſpace of 45 years with all Books, whether good or bad, of which there was but one Edition. This Treatiſe is divided into three Books. The firſt treats of the Sermons themſelves; the ſecond of the Preacher and the Auditors; and the third of the place and time of preaching. III. *De Veterum Acclamationibus & plauſu Libri ſeptem.* Milan 1627 in 4to. It is likewiſe reprinted in the ſixth Volume of *Grævius's Roman Antiquities.* Du Pin tells us (3) that his Work is full of Eccleſiaſtical and Profane Learning upon the ſubject of the acclamations and applauſes uſed amongſt the antients, which is treated with great accuracy and in its whole extent. Ferrari began ſeveral other Works upon divers Points of Antiquity, both Eccleſiaſtical and Profane; as it is ſurprizing, that as he lived forty two years after the publication of the laſt mentioned Work, he ſhould not have publiſhed ſome other. T.

(1) 2. *du Février* 1665. *See likewiſe* Du Pin, *Nouvelle Biblioteq. des Auteurs Eccleſ.* tom. 17. pag. 102. edit. Amſterd. 1711 in 4to.

(2) *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes illuſtres*, tom. 28. pag. 280.

(3) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 108.

FERRARI (OCTAVIO), a very learned writer in the ſeventeenth Century, whom Moreri confounds with Octavian abovementioned, was born at Milan May 20, 1607 of the ſame family. His father dying when he was but four years old, his uncle by the father's ſide Franciſco Bernardino Ferrari, mentioned in the preceding article, took him home to his houſe and educated him. He went through his ſtudies in the Ambroſian College; and after he had paſſed through his courſe of Philoſophy and Divinity, applied himſelf intirely to polite Literature, in which he made ſo conſiderable a progreſs, that Cardinal Frederic Borromeo entertained a great eſteem and affection for him, and procured a Profeſſorſhip of Rhetoric in that College, though he was then but one and twenty years old. Six years after, that is in 1634, the Republic of Venice invited him to Padua, in order to teach Eloquence, Politics, and the Greek Language in the Univerſity of that City. This Univerſity was then extremely declined from its former flouriſhing eſtate; but he reſtored it to its luſtre. The Republic rewarded him by enlarging every ſix years his penſion, which at firſt was but five hundred ducats, but at laſt was raiſed to two thouſand. After the death of Joſeph Ripamonte, Hiſtoriographer of the City of Milan, our Author was appointed to write the Hiſtory of that City, and a penſion of two hundred crowns was ſettled upon him for that purpoſe. He began that work, and compoſed eight books; but finding that they would not communicate to him the pieces which were neceſſary for him, and which were repoſited in the Archives of Milan, whither he went every year to ſearch for materials for his work, he deſiſted from it, and left what he had done to his heir on condition that he ſhould not publiſh it. His reputation and the merit of his writings [*A*] procured him preſents and penſions from foreign Princes. Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, in whoſe honour he had made a public diſcourſe upon her mounting the throne, preſented him with a chain of gold worth a thouſand crowns, and honoured him with her letters. Lewis XIV of France gave him for ſeven years a penſion of five hundred crowns. The infirmities, to which hard Students are ſubject, attacked him very early in life. Frequent pains of the head diverted him from his ſtudies, but he

[*A*] *His writings.*] They are as follow: I. *De Re Veſtiariâ Libri tres.* Padua 1642 in 8vo. *Secunda Editio, Libri ſeptem. Quatuor poſtremi nunc primum prodeunt, reliqui emendatiores & auctiores, adjectis Iconibus.* Padua 1654 in 4to. *Editio nova; accedunt Analecta de Re Veſtiariâ, & Diſſertatio de Lucernis ſepulchralibus Veterum.* Padua 1685 in 4to. The two firſt works were reprinted in the ſixth volume of *Græviuſ's Roman Antiquities*, and that upon the ancient ſepulchral Lamps in the twelfth. Tho' Ferrari's book *de Re Veſtiariâ* did not ſatisfy Ezechiel Spanheim and Boecler, who repreſent it as a very ſlight and ſuperficial work; other learned men have judged more favourably of it; and Morhof ſtyles it a Book full of Literature, and which intirely explains the ſubject, of which it treats. *Græviuſ*, *Rubenius*, and *Almeloveen* ſpeak of it likewiſe in the ſame manner. The diſcourſe upon the ancient ſepulchral Lamps is principally levelled againſt thoſe, who have aſſerted, that the ancients had the ſecret of making an oil, which would never conſume, or of diſpoſing their lamps in ſuch a manner, that in proportion as they burnt, the ſmoke inſenſibly condens'd, and was reduced into an oil as before. Fortunius Licetus wrote a long Diſſertation *de Lucernis Antiquorum reconditis*, in four Books, printed at Venice 1621 in 4to, to maintain this opinion; but Ferrari has clearly ſhewn, that theſe eternal lamps, and this oil, which would never be conſumed, are mere chimera's, and all the ſtories related of them abſolute fables. II. *Pallas Suecica, Panegyricus Suecorum Reginæ imperium auſpicanti dictus.* Third Edition 1651 in 8vo. III. *De Laudibus Franciſci Putei.* Padua 1651 in 8vo. IV. *Analecta de Re Veſtiariâ, ſive Exercitationes ad Alberti Rubenii Commentarium de Re Veſtiariâ & lato clavo. Acceſſit Diſſertatio de Veterum Lucernis ſepulchralibus.* Padua 1670 in 4to. This is the firſt edition of theſe Treatiſes, which were afterwards ſubjoined to his book *de Re Veſtiariâ*. Ferrari could not bear, that *Rubenius* ſhould find any thing exceptionable in his Book *de Re Veſtiariâ*; and wrote this Book to criticize that Author in his turn. He has done this in a little too ſevere a manner, without conſidering, that the work which he attacked was poſthumous, and conſequently had not *Rubenius's* laſt hand. But perſons of the beſt diſpoſition do not love to be criticized, and frequently loſe their temper, and ſometimes even their reaſon, in endeavouring to revenge the injury, which they imagine they have received by being criticized upon. Ferrari complains (1) of a Writer, who had compoſed a Treatiſe of Roman Antiquities, in which he had copied from him all that he had ſaid concerning the Dreſs of the Romans without quoting him, and by that means incurred the imputation of Plagiariſm. He does not name him, but the perſon was *Henry Kipping* (2), who in a new edition of his philoſophical works printed at Bremen in 1674, added a ſhort Apology againſt Ferrari's Acculation. V. *Prolufiones XXVI. Epiſtolæ. Formulæ ad capienda Doctoris Inſignia. Inſcriptiones. Pars I & II.* Padua in 4to 1664 and 1668. *Pars III. Acceſſit Panegyricus Ludovico Magno Francorum Regi dictus.* Padua in 4to. All theſe little pieces and ſeveral others, which had been printed ſeparately, were collected and diſpoſed into proper order by John Fabricius, who publiſhed them at Helmſtad in 1710 in two volumes in 8vo. VI. *Veneta Sapientia, ſeu de optimo Civitatis Statu Prolufio.* Padua 1675 in 4to. VII. *Electorum Libri duo.* Padua 1679 in 4to. In this work our Author treats of ſeveral points of Antiquity, which have no connection with each other. VIII. *Origines Linguæ Italicæ.* Padua 1676 in fol. The Author of the *Journal des Sçavans* (3) gives the following judgment of this work. "Scaliger had before "treated of this ſubject in twenty four Books, which "are unfortunately loſt. Tho' Ferrari has not taken "ſo great an extent, yet we find a great deal of learning in him. But he appears ſo jealous of the language of his Country, that he thinks that every "other origin, but what he gives it, as well as the "French and Spaniſh, from the Latin Tongue, would "be injurious to it. This prevents him from aſſenting to the opinion of Cardinal Bembo, who ſup-"poſes, that the Italian owes a good number of its "words to the jargon of Languedoc and Provence." Monſr. Menage has written a Book upon the ſame ſubject to correct the errors of Ferrari, and has committed new ones. John Fabricius pretends, that Ferrari and Menage have fallen into miſtakes merely from their not having ſought for the Etymology of a great many Italian words in the German and Swediſh Languages; and he gives us in the third Tome of his *Bibliotheca* (4) a long liſt of Italian words, which he imagines to be derived from thoſe languages. IX. *De Pantomimis & Mimis Diſſertatio nunc primum edita.* Wolfenbuttel 1714 in 8vo. John Fabricius publiſhed this Treatiſe; and Mr. de Sallengre has inſerted it in the ſecond volume of his Roman Antiquities. They are Lectures read by Ferrari upon this ſubject, in which he gives in a conciſe manner every thing remarkable upon that point. X. *Diſſertationes duæ, altera de Balneis, de Gladiatoribus altera, nunc demum in lucem editæ à Joanne Fabricio.* Helmſtad 1720 in 8vo, pagg. 72. Theſe Diſſertations are very ſhort and clear upon the ſubjects treated in them. T.

(1) Pag. 154.

(2) His *Antiquitatum Romanarum Libri IV.* were printed at Bremen 1664, in 8vo.

(3) For April 26, 1677.

(4) Pag. 286.

he returned to them as ſoon as he was at eaſe. He died March 7, 1682 in the ſeventy fifth year of his age. He was a man of a ſweet temper, ſincere, and affable, and knew how by his engaging behaviour to gain upon perſons the moſt exaſperated againſt each other, which procured him the title of the *Reconciler* and *Pacificator* (*a*). His ſtyle is ſimple and elevated according to the ſubject, and every where elegant and pure. It is rather diffuſe than ſhort, but full of force, and never tedious. He has been charged with being ſometimes turgid and poetical, which is true in ſome paſſages; but it is when he treats of things which admit of ſome elevation, and where hyperboles are in ſome meaſure allowed. With regard to invention and ſubjects of eloquence, his ſentiments are generally ſolid, ingenious, and well choſen (*b*).

(*a*) See his Elogium in Charles Patin's *Lyceum Patavinum*, and Niceron, *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſtr.* tom. 5. pag. 77-80.

(*b*) Le Clerc, *Bibl. Ancien. & Moderne*, tom. 6. pag. 177.

FERRARIENSIS. It is under this name that a ſcholaſtic Philoſopher, whoſe name was *Francis Sylveſtre*, is uſually quoted [*A*]. He was of Ferrara, and was ſo much eſteemed in his Order (*a*), that he was choſen General of it in the Chapter that was held at Rome in the year 1525. His corpulency did not hinder him from viſiting the Provinces of the Order, with a deſign to reſtore diſcipline and regularity there as much as it was poſſible (*b*). He died at Rennes in Britany September the 24th 1528. He was aſſiſted in his death-bed by, and received the Sacraments of the Church from Father Ives Mayeuc, a Dominican, who was Biſhop of Rennes from the 29th of January 1506, and who had been Confeſſor to Queen Ann of Britany, to Charles VIII and Lewis XIIth (*c*).

(*a*) That of the Dominicans.

(*b*) *Licet corpore gravis, Provincias tamen Ordinis viſitando luſtravit ex officio, reſtituendæ vitæ regulari... pro viribus intendens.* Altamura, *in Biblioth. Dominic.* pag. 253.

I add, that according to Leandro Alberti (*d*) he died September the 19th 1528, at the age of fifty four years. This Hiſtorian agrees with Altamura concerning the place; but his Tranſlator has not well tranſlated theſe words, *nella città di Renes*, *in urbe Reneſia*, he ſhould have ſaid, *Redonibus*, or *in civitate Redonenſi*. D'Argentré aſſerts (*e*), that *Franceſco Sylveſtro*, General of the Dominicans died at Rennes October the 20th 1528. He thought falſly that his name was Prieras, which was taking him for Silveſter Prierias Maſter of the Sacred Palace under Pope Leo X.

(*c*) Taken from Altamura, *Biblioth. Dominic.* pag. 253.

(*d*) *In Deſcript. Italiæ*, folio 350 *verſo* of the Italian edition of Venice 1561, and pag. 540 of the Latin edition of Cologne 1567.

(*e*) D'Argentré, *Hiſtoire de Bretagne*, liv. 12. chap. 69.

[*A*] *It is under that name, that . . . Francis Sylveſtre is uſually quoted.*] The work which is chiefly quoted is his Commentary on Thomas Aquinas's four Books againſt the Gentiles. He wrote alſo a Comment on Ariſtotle's Philoſophy, and the Life of the bleſſed Oſanna in ſix volumes. She is a Saint whoſe Confeſſor he had been, and who is extremely venerated at Mantua, becauſe of her holineſs and of her miracles (1).

(1) *Ex* Altamura, *in Biblioth. Domin.* pag. 253.

FERRET (ÆMILIUS) in Latin *Ferrettus* [*A*], one of the learned Civilians in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Caſtello Franco in Tuſcany [*B*] November the 14th 1489. As ſoon as he was twelve years old he was ſent to Piſa, where he ſtudied the Civil and Canon Law for three years; he ſpent two other years in the Univerſity of Sienna, after which he went to Rome, and was made Secretary to Cardinal Salviati. He was admitted an Advocate at the age of nineteen years, after a public diſputation before a numerous audience of Cardinals and Biſhops. He left then his Chriſtian name of *Dominicus*, and took that of Æmilius. Having accepted of the Chair of Law-Profeſſor, he explained ſo learnedly the Law *de Rebus creditis* (of things with which perſons are truſted) that it gained him the title of Secretary to Leo the Xth. He exerciſed that office for ſome years, after which he reſigned it voluntarily, and retired into his native country. He left it again at the end of two years, his father having been killed there, and went to Tridino in the Dukedom of Montferrat. He married there [*C*], and having continued there four years, he attended the Marqueſs of Montferrat to Rome and to Naples, that Marqueſs commanding part of the French army. This expedition of the French proving unſucceſsful, Ferret endeavoured to return into his native country, but he was taken by the Spaniards, and could not obtain his liberty but by paying a ranſom. He went into France, and taught the Law at Valence with ſo much reputation, that Francis I made him Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris [*D*], and ſent him an Envoy

[*A*] *In Latin* Æmilius Ferrettus.] Monſieur Graverol the Lawyer was miſtaken, who thought, that this Law-Profeſſor's name was *Æmilius Perrottus*. He would not inquire whether it was by miſtake that ſome called him *Æmilius Ferrettus* (1). However it be, he aſſerts, that the *Æmilius Perrottus*, to whom Bunel wrote Letters, is the ſame with the Civilian *Æmilius Ferrettus*. It is a miſtake: the latter was an Italian, and the former a Frenchman, as Monſieur Graverol might have learnt from Bunel (2). I take him to be the ſame with the Counſellor in the Parliament, whom Thuanus has mentioned with commendation, and whoſe ſon was killed in the ſlaughter on St. Bartholomew's day. *Dionyſius item Perrottus, Æmilii Senatoris Pariſienſis non minus integritate quam juris ſcientia clari F. tanto patre digniſſimus eandem fortunam ſubiit* (3). i. e. "Denis Perrot, the worthy ſon of Æmilius Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris, a "man eminent by his honeſty as well as by his know-"ledge in the Law, had the ſame fate." Monſieur Graverol was miſled by the Epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque, where we read the following words. *Æmilius Ferretus, ſeu Perrotus, Juriſconſultus ſcripſit &c* (4). The Author aſcribes to him the Commentary *in Legem Gallus*, which belongs only to Perrot.

(1) *Æmilius Perrotus, qui & aliis Æmilius Ferrettus dicitur (an errore id factum non eſt hic diſquirendi locus) Juris-conſultus fuit magni nominis.* Franciſcus Graverol, *Notis in Epiſt. II Bunelli*, pag. 7.

(2) *See* Bunel's 7th Letter, pag. 33.

(3) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 52. pag. 1077, *ad ann.* 1572.

(4) *Epitom. Biblioth. Geſneri*, pag. m. 12.

[*B*] *He was born at Caſtello Franco in Tuſcany.*] His Anceſtors, who came originally from Ravenna, ſettled in that city of Tuſcany (5). Obſerve here a blunder or two of Monſieur Allard. *Æmilius Ferret*, ſays he (6), *was of Languedoc, but he taught in the Univerſity of Valence with reputation under Henry II.* He ſhould have ſaid under Francis I. He might have obſerved from Panzirolus (7), that he was appointed Counſellor in the Parliament of Grenoble; he would thus have belonged to Monſieur Allard's work for a new reaſon.

(5) Panzirolus, *de Claris Leg. Interpret.* lib. 2. cap. 167. pag. m. 348.

(6) Allard, *Biblioth. de Dauphiné*, pag. 103.

(7) Panzirol. *de claris Leg. Interpret.* pag. 350.

[*C*] *He married there.*] His wife was of a very good family. *Ex ſplendida Familia* (8). He had ſix ſons and one daughter by her (9), and yet he died childleſs, and his nephew was his heir (10). Which is a new proof, that Æmilius Perrot, the Father of a man, who was killed in the year 1572, is not the ſame with Æmilius Ferret, who died childleſs in the year 1552.

(8) Ibid. p. 349.

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) *Uxore ac liberis amiſſis Marcum Nicolai fratris filium hæredem ſcripſit.* Idem, ibid. pag. 350.

[*D*] *Francis I made him Counſellor in the Parliament*

Envoy to the Venetians, and to the Florentines. He acquitted himſelf ſo well of that employment, that it determined the Marqueſs of Montferrat to ſend him to the Court of Charles the Vth, after he had obtained Francis the Iſt's conſent for that journey. Ferret attended the Emperor in the expedition of Africa; and as ſoon as he was returned into France the King ſent him to the Florentines during the war in which they were ingaged againſt the Emperor. He went back to France when they were ſubdued, and followed the Court to Nice, where the Pope, Charles the Fifth, and the King of France had an interview: having afterwards reſigned the poſt of Counſellor in the Parliament he went to Lyons, and thence to Florence, where he was admitted a Citizen. He was ſent for to Avignon to teach the Law there. His yearly ſtipend was at firſt 550 crowns, then 800, and then a 1000; which is a ſum that had never been given to any Profeſſor in that Univerſity. He gained the love both of the inhabitants and of the ſtudents; they ſhewed it in a very remarkable manner after his death [*E*], as will appear by the remarks. He died at Avignon July the 15th 1552. He wrote ſeveral books (*a*) [*F*]. There is one of his Letters prefixed to the old French Tranſlation of Boccacio's Decameron [*G*].

(*a*) Taken from Panzirolus, lib. 2. cap. 167. *de claris Legum Interpret.*

of Paris.] It was in the year 1536, if we may depend on Panzirolus: but if he be right in this, he muſt be groſly miſtaken ſoon after, when he ſuppoſes, that after Ferret had been promoted to this poſt, Francis I ſent him to Venice and to Florence, and the Marqueſs of Montferrat into Spain, about the time when Charles the fifth was making preparations for his expedition into Africa. This expedition happened in the year 1535.

[*E*] *He gained the love both of the inhabitants and of the Students; they ſhewed it . . . after his death.*] Simon Craveta, his ſucceſſor in the Chair of Law-Profeſſor, venturing to cenſure him in his firſt Lecture, was hiſſed at, and driven out of the city. "Unicè tam "a civibus quam auditoribus dilectus (Ferrettus) ingens "ſui deſiderium reliquit, quod Simonis Cravetæ exem- "plum oſtendit, qui Æmilii Cathedræ ſubrogatus, cum "in prima oratione eum perſtrinxiſſet, ab omnibus ex- "ploſus & urbe ejectus, coactus eſt diſcedere (11)."

(11) Panzir. *de claris Legum Interpretibus*, pag. 350.

[*F*] *He wrote ſeveral Books.*] Here follows what Panzirolus ſays of them (12). *Plura in jus civile ſcripſit, & librum de Signo & Ratione inſcriptum, in quo multas leges interpretatus eſt, & alterum Bartoli Everriculum nuncupatum, in quo ejus errores congerit. Notas in Inſtitutiones, Opinionum Volumen, Reſponſa, nec paucas Epiſtolas edidit. Opus etiam de Armorum ratione lingua Hetruſca compoſuit.* i. e. "He wrote a great "deal upon the Civil Law, and alſo a Book in- "titled *de Signo & Ratione*, in which he has explain- "ed a great many Laws: another intitled, *The ſweep- "ing of Bartolus*, in which he has collected a great "many blunders of that Civilian. He has alſo pub- "liſhed Notes upon the Inſtitutes, a Volume of Opi- "nions, Anſwers, and ſeveral Letters. He alſo has "written a Book in Italian of the bearing of Arms." We muſt add to all this a Commentary upon Tacitus.

(12) Idem, ibid.

[*G*] *There is one of his Letters prefixed to Boccacio's Decameron.*] This Letter is in Italian, and dated from Lyons May the firſt 1545. He wrote it to the Queen of Navarre. It is a very good Elogy of the Decameron, and of the French Tranſlation, which Anthony le Maçon had made of it by that Queen's order. Emilio Ferretti (thus he ſigns his name) declares, that he never thought that the Tranſlator, tho' a man of wit, a diligent, and good writer, and very well ſkilled in the Italian Tongue, could perfectly well ſucceed in tranſlating of the Decameron, but that he found the contrary upon peruſing his Tranſlation. The Sieur le Maçon's application to agriculture and building, the avocations occaſioned by the cares of his family, for he had a wife and a great many children; all this, I ſay, gave our Ferretti little hopes of ſeeing a good tranſlation written by Maçon. *Per la moltitudine & varietà de le cure, ne le quali egli ha reſo ſingular conto di ſe, o per eſſer deditiſſimo a la agricoltura & à l'edificare, ſecondo che dimoſtrano le ville & le caſe ſue, o per haver moglie & buon numero di figluoli & maſchi & femine, à quali e ſtato meſtieri di altro aiuto che di teſſer favole, à ogni altra coſa aſpettavo che mi riuſciſſi che à tradur novelle, almeno in ſi gran numero & di ſi gran varieta: ma la bellezza de l'ingegno ſuo, & il compartimento, per il quale egli ha ſaputo coſi ben diſpenſer il tempo, ha vinte & tante ſue difficultà, & l'imagination mia.* Here is by the by a ſhort account of the old Tranſlator of the *Decameron*.

FERRI (PAUL), in Latin *Ferrius*, was one of the moſt learned Divines in the ſeventeenth Century. He was born February the 24th 1591, at Mets, where his family made a good figure [*A*]. He was ſent to ſtudy Divinity at Montaban, and made ſuch conſiderable progreſs in that Science, that he was admitted a Miniſter at Mets in the year 1610 at the age of nineteen. He had already publiſhed a book then [*B*], and the title of a Proponent * was united in him with that of an Author. The books he publiſhed afterwards at different times gained him a great reputation [*C*]. He had eminent talents for

* See the marginal quotation (9) in the article of BEKKER.

(1) The *Oxford Catalogue* ſhould have ſtiled him *Metenſis* and not *Metrenſis*.

[*A*] *He was born . . . at Mets* (1), *where his family made a good figure.*] His father James Ferri went for forty years ſucceſſively through all the degrees of the ancient Magiſtracy of that City, and did not get out of employment, but when the Juriſdiction of thoſe Judges, who were called the *twelve*, was ſuppreſſed in the year 1643. His wife Elizabeth Jolli, our Paul Ferri's mother, was ſiſter to the famous Peter Jolli the King's Attorney at Mets, Toul and Verdun, to whom Monſieur le Bey de Batilli, and Monſieur Boiſſard inſcribed ſeveral of their Epigrams in their Latin Poems.

[*B*] *At the age of nineteen he had already publiſhed a Book.*] Here follows the title of it, *Les prémieres Oeuvres Poetiques de Paul Ferri Meſſin, où ſous la douce diverſité de ſes conceptions ſe rencontrent les honnêtes libertez d'une jeuneſſe.* i. e. "The firſt poetical Works "of Paul Ferri of Mets; in which amongſt the ſweet "variety of his thoughts is to be met the honeſt free- "dom of youth." He cauſed it to be printed at Montauban in 1610. He was then but a Proponent *: but as he was diſpoſing himſelf to be ſoon promoted to the dignity of a Miniſter, he finiſhed his advertiſement to the reader in theſe words: *Sat ludo nugiſque datum*; i. e. "We have now ſpent time enough in "joking and trifling." If this Collection of Poems was in Latin it would be intitled *Juvenilia Pauli Ferrii*. We have here a new Author to be added to the *Enfans celebres* or *Famous children*, if Monſieur Baillet reprints his Book upon that ſubject. The firſt piece we met with in theſe Poems, is a Paſtoral intitled, *Iſabelle, ou le Dedain de l'amour*; i. e. "Iſabella, or "the Scorn of Love." There are afterwards ſeveral Sonnets, and ſome Stanzas with this title, *Les Gloires d'Iſabelle*; i. e. "Iſabella's Trophies;" and laſtly ſeveral Stanzas and Sonnets for Miniſters and other perſons of Montauban, Mets, and la Rochelle.

* See the marginal note (9) in the article of BEKKER.

(2) It is a book in 8vo of 559 pages; it is ſaid in the title page that it is printed at Gotſtad, *Gotſtadii*. It is probably a fictitious name, which in High-German ſignifies the *City of God*, by which *Geneva* is meant.

[*C*] *The Books he publiſhed afterwards at different times gained him a great reputation.*] He publiſhed one in 1616 intitled, *Scholaſtici orthodoxi ſpecimen* (2); i. e. "An Eſſay on the Orthodoxy of Schoolmen." He ſhews in it, that the doctrine of the Proteſtants with

for preaching. He was the moſt eloquent man of his Province, and whoſe Sermons moved the audience moſt. His noble preſence, his venerable countenance, and fine way of delivery added a great luſtre to his eloquence. His enemies ſpread a falſe report abroad concerning him, namely, that he was one of the Miniſters whom Cardinal de Richelieu had bribed to procure a coalition of the two Religions. This falſity is to be met with in Guy Patin's Letters [*D*]. However it is certain, that he was grieved at the diviſion of the Proteſtants, and hoped that he could contribute ſomething to forward a reunion. It was no doubt with this view that he kept a great correſpondence with Dury (*a*) [*E*], who negotiated

(*a*) See his Article.

regard to God's Grace, has been taught by the Schoolmen. This Treatiſe gained him the eſteem of the illuſtrious Monſieur du Pleſſis Mornai, who wrote him a Letter about it (3), in which he alſo gave him ſome advice concerning another Work, which he had been told Monſr. Ferri was writing. That other work was printed at Sedan for John Jannon in the year 1618, and is intitled, *Le dernier deſeſpoir de la Tradition contre l'Ecriture, ou Refutation du Livre de François Veron.* i. e. "The laſt Shift of Tradition againſt the holy "Scripture; or a Confutation of Francis Veron's "Book." Here follows the title of another work publiſhed at Leiden in the year 1630. *Pauli Ferrii Vindiciæ pro Scholaſtico Orthodoxo adverſus Leonardum Perinum Jeſuitam, Doctorem Theologum, & Univerſitatis Muſſipontanæ Cancellarium, juſtæ, plenæ, amicæ, in quibus agitur de Prædeſtinatione & annexis, de Gratia & libero Arbitrio, de Cauſa peccati & juſtificatione.* i. e. "A juſt, full and friendly defence of the Book intiled, the Orthodoxy of the Schoolmen, againſt Leonard Perinus, a Jeſuit, Doctor of Divinity, and "Chancellor of the Univerſity of Pont-a-Mouſſon; "which treats of Predeſtination, and the Doctrines "connected with that, of Grace and Free-will, of the "Cauſe of ſin, and of Juſtification." This Jeſuit had publiſhed in the year 1619 a Book which he intitled, *Thraſonica Pauli Ferrii Calviniſtæ* (4); i. e. "The "Bravado of Paul Ferri the Calviniſt." In the year 1654 Monſieur Ferri wrote a general Catechiſm, in order to prove that it had been neceſſary to reform the Church; he publiſhed it that ſame year with this title, *Catechiſme general de la Reformation*; i. e. "A "general Catechiſm of the Reformation." Monſieur Boſſuet, who was then Canon and Archdeacon of Mets, and who is become famous ſince under the name of Biſhop of Condom, and Biſhop of Meaux, wrote againſt this Treatiſe of Monſieur Ferri. I muſt not forget to obſerve, that this Miniſter was choſen to preach the Funeral Sermon on the death of Lewis XIII, and that on the death of the Queen-mother Ann of Auſtria. Theſe two Sermons have been printed. He alſo made on ſome occaſions prayers for the recovery of their Majeſty's health; theſe prayers have alſo been printed, and are very beautiful.

(3) Dated June 19, 1617. It is printed in the 3d volume of the *Memoires de Du Pleſſis*, pag. 1158.

(4) Alegambe, *Bibliotb. Societat. Jeſu*, pag. 305. His Continuator ſays *Verrii* inſtead of *Ferrii*.

Let us add to all this a paſſage from Monſieur Ancillon (5). "Monſieur Ferry wrote alſo another Book "(6), which is intitled, *Le dernier deſeſpoir de la Tradition*; it is a very good book in its kind. He "alſo wrote in the year 1624 a ſmall Book intitled, "*Remarquez d'Hiſtoires ſur le Diſcours de la vie & de "la mort de St. Livier, & le recit de ſes Miracles "nouvellement publiées par le Sieur de Rambervillier "Lieutenant General au Bailliage de l'Evéché de Mets, "avec diverſes approbations des Docteurs.* i. e. "Hiſtorical Remarks upon the Diſcourſe concerning the "Life and Death of St. Livier, and the account of "his Miracles, lately publiſhed by the Sieur de Ramberviller, Lieutenant General in the Bayliwick of "the Biſhoprick of Mets, with the approbation of "ſeveral Doctors." Monſieur Ferri would not be "known for the Author of this ſmall piece, becauſe "he wrote it againſt a conſiderable perſon, who was "his countryman, and with whom he would not fall "out; but he has made a preſent of this little Book, "ſince I have been his collegue, and I keep it ſtill: "He wrote with his own hand the following words "under the title of it. *Par Paul Ferri*; (By Paul "Ferri)."

(5) Ancillon, *Mêlange Critique*, tom. 2. pag. 269.

(6) He had juſt mentioned the *Scholaſticus Orthodoxus*.

(7) Patin, Letter 509, dated March 24, 1670, pag. 490. of the 3d vol. of the Geneva edition 1691.

[*D*] *This falſity is to be met with in Guy Patin's Letters.*] Here follows the paſſage (7), "Monſ. Ferri Miniſter of Mets died a month ago. He was one of the "moſt learned men amongſt thoſe of his Religion. "If Cardinal de Richelieu had lived ſome time longer, "he would have reconciled the two Religions. There "were ſeveral Miniſters bribed for this purpoſe; Mon"ſieur Ferri was one of them, and had a yearly pen"ſion of five hundred crowns. Thus the Huguenots "ſpeak of him here." This Miniſter's enemies revived this falſe report, when he had publiſhed his general Catechiſm, in which they pretended that he laid himſelf open to his adverſary; I mean Monſieur Boſſuet Archdeacon of Mets, who wrote againſt him.

[*E*] *He kept a great correſpondence with Dury.*] This correſpondence laſted above twenty five or twenty ſix years. I ſhall relate on this occaſion a ſtory which has been communicated to me. Dury being at Francfort Fair in April 1662, declared to ſome Gentlemen of Mets, that he extremely longed to ſee Monſieur Ferri. When theſe Gentlemen were ready to return home, they aſked him whether he would go in company with them, and exhorted him to undertake the journey, offering to wait for him till the next day. Dury wiſhed that they had given him more time to conſider; but he was obliged to take very ſoon a final reſolution: he reſolved to go to Mets; but he met with two difficulties: the firſt was, that he muſt conſent to dreſs after the French faſhion, like a country-man: the ſecond, to have his great white and ſquare beard ſhaved. He had a great diſlike for the firſt, and the ſecond was a terrible vexation for him. But his great deſire of ſeeing Monſieur Ferri made him get over theſe two obſtacles. He ſet out with the Gentlemen, and they arrived ſo late at Mets, that Dury was obliged to put off his viſit till the next day. But one of the Gentlemen, with whom he came, went early in the morning to Monſieur Ferri, and told him that Dury was arrived, and that it would be civil to make him the firſt viſit. Monſieur Ferri was ſo ſurprized and ſo overjoyed at this news, and was ſo full of the pleaſure of ſaluting immediately this good Doctor, that he forgot to tie the garters of his breeches, and went out half dreſſed. Their meeting was attended with a thouſand edifying tokens of zeal and mutual eſteem. It is thought, that the reſult of their conferences was, that Ferri drew up a writing, which he directed to the Divines of Straſburg. One of them, who probably was not for a *coalition* of Religions, wrote againſt Monſieur Ferri. Obſerve by the by how much Monſieur Amyraut was miſtaken, when in the year 1647 he ſpoke of Dury as of a man who was dead (8).

Let us tranſcribe here, what Monſieur Ancillon, Monſieur Ferri's collegue, has ſaid of Dury (9). "He "came to Mets, where he conferred with Monſieur "Ferri and me in another perſon's houſe. He told us "as a ſecret all that he had done till then, and what "he intended to do afterwards, and aſked us our ad"vice. We obſerved that he was an honeſt man, "very learned, and very capable of managing an af"fair of that importance. He had already put it in "a great forwardneſs; he had the promiſe of the "Princes of Germany and of the Kings of the North. "He told us that he did not meet with any difficulty "from the Princes, and that there were only ſome "Clergymen who made objections againſt that great "and deſirable work, and oppoſed it. He was very "well ſatisfied with the charity of the Gentlemen of "Zurich, who had furniſhed him with large ſums of "money for his travels, and for ſupplying what he "might want beſides what the Protector (10) allowed "him. We encouraged him as much as we could to "continue his labours till he had performed his de"ſign."

(8) Andrew Rivet obſerved this blunder. *Scripſit in ſua præfatione* (that is to ſay in the preface of his *Specimen Animadverſionum* againſt Spanheim) *Rever. Duræum* piæ memoriæ *non* depoſuiſſe niſi cum vita *ſtudium concordiæ inter Reformatos & Lutheranos ſarciendæ, qui etiamnum vivit Dei gratia & valet.* i. e. "He wrote in "his preface, "that the late "Rev. Dury *of* "*bleſſed memory* "did *to his laſt* "*breath* deſire "to reconcile "and unite the "Reformed with "the Lutherans; whereas "Duræus is ſtill "alive and in "good health, "thank God." Andrew Rivetus, *Epiſt. Apologet. ad Guill. Fratrem*, dated July 14, 1648. *Oper.* tom. 3. pag. 386, 387.

(9) Ancillon, *Mêlange Critique*, tom. 2. pag. 244, 245.

(10) Oliver Cromwel.

In the firſt edition of this Dictionary I gave an account of what was contained in the Memoirs, that had been communicated to me, which is, that the reſult of Dury and Ferri's conference in 1662 was, that the

negotiated in Germany the reunion of the Proteſtants, and was an honeſt man, full of zeal and piety, but who at laſt became ſomewhat fanatical [*F*]. Paul Ferri died December the 27th 1669. He had never left off preaching. They found above fourſcore ſtones in his bladder; and it was this that occaſioned his death. He had a very fine Library, and took a delight in writing his remarks on the blank leaves, which are uſed to be left at the beginning, and at the end of books; and as he wrote a very ſmall but neat hand, he wrote a great many things upon thoſe leaves, which could eaſily be read. In the inſcription of his picture are theſe words, *Verbi Divini Miniſter* [*G*]; i. e. "Miniſter

the latter wrote a work, which determined a Divine of Straſburgh to write againſt him. This Divine cannot be Dorſcheus, for he died in the year 1659; ſo that his Book *de Gratia adverſus Calviniſtam Ferrium* (of Grace againſt Ferri the Calviniſt) cannot relate to any thing that followed the conference between the Reconciler Dury and the Miniſter of Mets. What Dury relates, that *there were only ſome Clergymen who oppoſed the coalition or reconciliation of Religions*, deſerves to be obſerved, and confirms what the reader will find hereafter (11). Hulſeman Profeſſor of Divinity publiſhed at Wittemberg in the year 1644, a Book againſt Dury's project, and intitled it, *Calviniſmus irreconciliabilis*; (Calviniſm irreconcileable).

(11) In the Remark [*D*] of the Article HOTTINGER.

[*F*] Dury *at laſt became ſomewhat fanatical.*] This appears by the particulars, which I have related above (12) concerning his Apocalyptical deſigns, and ſtill more by the great hopes he entertained from his new expoſition of the Apocalyps. I could not add this laſt particular to the preceding, becauſe I happened to be then at the laſt page of the firſt Volume of this Dictionary; I referred it therefore to this place. Pray let us conſider Dury's Scheme. It is *a Method of Meditation deſigned to diſcover the true ſenſe of the holy Scripture by itſelf, in order to prevent all occaſions of diſputing about what may be doubtful: for in caſe any doubt ariſes, there is nothing elſe to do, but to turn immediately to ſome one paſſage, or to ſeveral, in which the controverted ſubject is mentioned: and the true ſenſe of the Scripture being found out by the common rule of interpretation, the controverſy is thereby immediately determined, provided it be agreed beforehand, to admit the ſenſe of the holy Scripture* (13). He adds that in order to give an Eſſay of his Method, *he was willing to chooſe the Apocalypſe or Revelation of St. John, which is acknowledged without diſpute to be the darkeſt and moſt difficult of the whole Bible; that by deſcribing the method, which leads us to a true underſtanding of it, we may know that the ſame method will diſcover to us the ſenſe, and ſhew us the true meaning of the other Books and paſſages of the holy Scripture, which are leſs difficult* (14). He is of opinion that *with God's help this battery againſt the power of Darkneſs will be raiſed after ſuch a manner, that the Lord's hand will be lifted up, according to the Prophecy of Iſaiah, Chap. XXVI, 9, 10, 11, 12, which begins at this time to be fulfilled. We muſt therefore endeavour to have them ſurrounded with ſo much light, that they cannot find any place where to hide themſelves* (15). How many idle fancies and vain imaginations have we here! What character muſt a man be of, who flatters himſelf that ſuch a method will afford an evidence ſo clear that it will remove all the doubts which may ariſe about the true ſenſe of ſuch or ſuch paſſages in the Bible? This great reconciler ſounded the trumpet in Zion; for he added to his Book a Latin Piece of four pages in 4to with this title, *Celeuſma ad pios Evangelii Miniſtros.*

(12) In the Remark [*C*] of the Article DURY.

(13) Duræus, *Intelligence de L'Apocalypſe*, pag. 24.

(14) Ibid. pag. 25.

(15) Ibid. *Epitre Dedicatoire*, pag. 9, 10.

Vos qui per vada Sancta navigantes
Lentos figitis ad mandata remos
Audite hoc monitum, ut celeuſma miſſum
Nomine CHRISTI.

i. e. "A ſignal to the pious Miniſters of the Goſpel. "You who navigating over the Holy Sea put a lazy "hand to the oar when the word of command is "ſpoken; hark to this warning, which is given you "as a ſignal in the name of Chriſt."

The perſon who owned the copy which came into my hands had paſted to it the original of the Letter which Dury wrote to the Conſiſtories of the Province of Groningen, when he ſent them his new ſcheme and his *Celeuſma*. This Letter is dated from Caſſel June 22, 1674; it ſhews that he was extremely zealous and concerned for his new method.

Obſerve that in order to excuſe him and to ſhew that he did not give himſelf over to idle fancies, it may perhaps be ſaid, that his deſign was to touch the conſcience of thoſe who kept the diviſion up. This appears by the following words. *What cauſes a diviſion and hatred amongſt the Chriſtians is nothing elſe but men's reſolution of maintaining the principles and method of their particular faction againſt what the common edification requires, according to what we are taught by St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. v. 19. . . . . My deſign therefore is to inquire after the truly Evangelical and Spiritual remedy which may be applied to the conſcience of thoſe, who for worldly views keep up a ſpirit of faction amongſt the Chriſtians. This therefore is the foundation and intent of my new ſcheme* (16). This, will ſome ſay, was going to the very root both of the evil and of the remedy; we ought not therefore to be ſurprized, that he expected ſuch wonders from it. He deſigned to point out "the means to remove the obſtacles which "kept the minds of the Proteſtants out of the road "which led to a more perfect Reformation, as ought "to de eſtabliſhed both in the Schools and in the "Church, whence the Government of the States will "reap a great benefit by God's bleſſing (17)." But let men ſay what they pleaſe, his notions will ſtill be but idle fancies, ſince it was not leſs difficult to touch the conſcience of the Ring-Leaders, than to enlighten their underſtanding.

(16) Ibid. pag. 17.

(17) Ibid. pag. 25, 26.

[G] *In the inſcription of his picture are theſe words* Verbi Divini Miniſter.] Several of my Readers will be glad to find here the Diſtich, which is at the bottom of his picture,

Tales ſi multos ferrent hæc ſæcula Ferri,
In Ferri ſæclis aurea ſæcla forent.

i. e. "If there were many ſuch Ferri's in this age, "this age would be a golden age *."

* It is impoſſible to preſerve the gingle and puns of the original in a Tranſlation.

The firſt print of a Miniſter's picture, which the Proteſtants of Mets publiſhed after this, was that of Monſieur Ancillon: they put the words *Verbi Divini Miniſter* in it, but were obliged to eraſe them (18).

(18) This happened to be falſe. See below Num. VI. of this Remark.

This Monſieur Ancillon was a Miniſter of Mets, and a very worthy man. See his Article (19). His ſon has been very angry at what I have ſaid in this Remark [G], and has publiſhed his complaint. I. He pretends (20), that in order *to ſhew how much Monſieur Ferri was reſpected*, I have ſaid, *that they ſuffered that the words, Miniſter of the R. R. ſhould be put in his print: and that they, who ingraved Monſr. Ancillon's picture, having given him afterwards the ſame title, the Magiſtrates would not ſuffer it; and ordered it to be eraſed, becauſe they had not the ſame regard for the latter, as they had had for the former* (21). *Was it not poſſible*, continues he, *to make the illuſtrious Monſieur Ferri appear as great as he really was, without depreſſing Monſieur Ancillon? Could not the former be extolled, without being raiſed on the ruins of the latter?* This *Diſtinction* appears to him (22) odious and affected. He ſays, that *one endeavours without a cauſe to aſperſe* Monſieur Ancillon's reputation (23). II. He is angry (24) with the perſon, who ſent me materials, and wonders (25) at my *credulity*, and *at the uſe I have made of them.* He ſuppoſes, that *as I have been a great while in the neighbourhood of Mets, I muſt know pretty well how things went there, and that I was not ignorant of the general eſteem and inexpreſſible love they had there for Monſieur Ancillon.* III. He mentions (26) the literary correſpondence there was for ſeveral years between Monſieur Ancillon and me. IV. He does not think (27), that either his father or any perſon of his family ever offended me. V. But he is of opinion (28) that for the ſake of my own reputation *I ought not to have taken ſo much care . . . to*

A COMPLAINT of Monſ. Ancillon the ſon.

(19) Vol. I. pag. 672.

(20) *Diſcours ſur la Vie de feu Monſ. Ancillon*, pag. 307.

(21) Ibid. pag. 308.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Ibid. pag. 312.

(25) Ibid. pag. 313.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid. pag. 314.

(28) Ibid.

« Miniſter of the Goſpel ;" which it was not permitted to make uſe of ſince with regard

name Monſieur Ancillon both in the Body and in the Index of my Work, ſince I deſigned to give him only a place in it, which is ſo little worthy ſuch a great man as he was. VI. Coming to the matter in hand, he aſſerts that what I have ſaid is falſe, and acquaints the public (29), that the Sieur Philippe *engraved Monſieur Ferri's picture ſome time after his death, and called him Miniſter of the R. R; that the King's Attorney excepted immediately againſt that title, and proſecuted the Engraver for it.* That Monſieur Ferri's heirs refuſing to be concerned in that cauſe, the Engraver (30) *fell into a paſſion againſt his own Work, and, if ſome perſons of note had not prevented him, he would have broke the plate in pieces, out of ſpite, becauſe they ſhewed ſo little concern for him, though when he engraved that picture, he deſigned only to do honour to Monſieur Ferri and to his family*; that *therefore he only corrected the title, and in order to ſilence the King's Attorney and the Roman Catholics, he put a P between the two R's, meaning thereby the Religion Pretended Reformed.* That (31) *the ſame Sieur Philippe did ſome years after engrave Monſieur Ancillon's picture, and to avoid the troubles he met with on account of Monſieur Ferri's picture, he put in the other* David Ancillon, Miniſtrorum Metenſium Decanus. That *no exception was ever made by any perſon againſt theſe words, that they remained without any oppoſition,* that *the publick has always ſeen them in that print both at the time it was drawn and ever afterwards.* That *he has the plate actually in his poſſeſſion, and* that (32) *he is ready to ſhew it to all them that deſire to be convinced there is at leaſt one blunder* in my large *Work.*

(29) Ibid. pag. 308.

(30) Ibid. pag. 309.

(31) Ibid. pag. 310.

(32) Ibid. pag. 311.

I never was more ſurprized in my life than when I read that part of the Work of Monſieur Ancillon's ſon. I did immediately two things. Firſt I wrote to him, that he might be in the right with regard to the matter of fact, but that he could not but be miſtaken with regard to the intention he ſuppoſed one had had. I explained ſome things to him, and deſired him to ſet matters right in the firſt Book he ſhould publiſh. I alſo promiſed him, that I would explain all this in the ſecond Edition of my Work. He ſent me a very obliging anſwer, and aſſured me, that he would very ſoon ſend a Book to the preſs, in which all this would be corrected. The other thing I did was to write to the perſon who had communicated ſome materials to me concerning Monſieur Ferri; I deſired him to let me know whether the two facts I had aſſerted, and which I had from him, could be proved, or whether we ought to confeſs that they were falſe, ſince we had ſeen the Book, in which Monſieur Ancillon's ſon maintained that Monſieur Ferri's print had been excepted againſt, but that his father's had not. We ſhall ſee below what anſwer I received, but let us firſt make ſome obſervations upon the five Articles of the Complaint,

A CONFUTATION of that complaint.

I. I proteſt with the utmoſt ſincerity, that I had not the leaſt deſign to inſinuate to my Readers any notion of ſuperiority or inferiority with regard to theſe two Miniſters of Mets, Monſieur Ferri and Monſieur Ancillon; nor do I believe, that the honeſt man, who ſent me the memoirs, had any ſuch thought. I have read them over again ſince I have been informed of this Complaint, and found nothing in them that may raiſe the leaſt ſuſpicion. The affair is related in a very plain manner, juſt as I have reported it; and it appears evidently, that he deſigned only to mark the exact time when one of the cavils of the Popiſh Miſſionaries againſt the Reformed were ſet on foot. There was a time when they only vexed thoſe Miniſters, who ſtile themſelves *Paſtors*, but they were not put to any trouble on account of the title of *Miniſters of God's Word*; at laſt they reſolved to vex them on that account alſo. I imagined that it was this the Gentleman who ſent me memoirs, deſigned to obſerve with regard to the city of Mets and its territories, and it was only with this view that I made uſe of the obſervation relating to Monſieur Ferri's picture. If I had been told, that ſome perſons would pretend, that I intended thereby to raiſe Monſieur Ferri above Monſr. Ancillon, I would have anſwered, that this appeared impoſſible to me. However I remember very well, that it never came into my mind, that ſuch a conſtruction might be put upon my words; if I had ſuſpected it in the leaſt, I would have poſitively declared what was the deſign of my Remark. Judge then, how amazed I was, when I ſaw a perſon complaining publickly, that my deſign was to depreſs and diſgrace Monſieur Ancillon; and that I had ſaid, that the words *Miniſter of God's Word* were ordered to be eraſed out of his print, *becauſe they had not the ſame regard for him as they had had for the other.* This is not only charging me with a deſign, which I had not, but alſo imputing words to me, of which there is not the leaſt tittle in my Dictionary. I have obſerved a thouſand times that thoſe who write the Lives or Elogies of illuſtrious men, take a delight in obſerving that ſuch or ſuch a practice began or ceaſed to be in uſe with ſuch or ſuch a Profeſſor, &c. Theſe are Epochs of ſingularities, which are thought to be remarkable; and accordingly the Author of the memoirs mentioned above, was obliged to let me know, at what time the liberty of putting *Verbi Divini Miniſter* in the prints of the Miniſters, ceaſed, and at what time the prohibition began. But if he had deſigned to hint that there was in this ſome diſtinction to the honour of Monſieur Ferri, he would have been obliged to ſet down exactly all the circumſtances, and to prove in the cleareſt manner, that ſuch circumſtances were really honourable to that Gentleman; otherwiſe he could not ground upon the bare fact any right of ſuperiority. Let us explain this. They who ſay in general, *ſuch a one is the laſt who enjoyed that liberty, ſuch a one is the firſt to whom it was refuſed,* mark thereby exactly and diſtinctly an Epoch, or fixed time; but ſtill they ſay nothing that can ſhew any difference of merit between the latter and the former. The circumſtance they ſpeak of is a very equivocal ſign. There may ariſe ſome factions, which may undertake to aboliſh a certain cuſtom, and which for three or four years following are not powerful enough to accompliſh that deſign. If a man be promoted to a Profeſſor's Chair during that time, he will enjoy the privileges of that cuſtom: but if the fifth year the factions happen to be powerful enough, a Profeſſor who is choſen then will be debarred of thoſe privileges. Does this prove that he has leſs merit than the other? By no means. It only proves that the power of a party was greater the fifth year, than it had been in the former years. It may even happen, that a faction does not care to exert its power againſt a certain perſon, becauſe they deſpiſe him; they will not introduce their innovations, till a man of the greateſt merit be choſen Profeſſor, becauſe the alteration of a cuſtom is of much greater weight, when it begins with a very eminent man. There are a thouſand and a thouſand caſes, in which the dates which the Author of the memoirs pointed out to me, would be a proof of ſuperiority for the Miniſter Ancillon, and of inferiority for the other Miniſter. But the truth of the matter is, that on this occaſion there was no deſign to hint any kind of ſuperiority neither with regard to the one nor to the other; the only intention was to ſhew the progreſs of the inſults and vexations which the Miniſters ſuffered. Obſerve that the Judges ſtirred up by the Miſſionaries, or thro' their own ambition (33) choſe rather to vex a Miniſter who had eminent qualities, than one who was but little conſidered. They imagined that the perſecuting of one who was thought to be the ſupport of ſome Reformed Church, would ſooner ruin the whole Party, than the perſecuting of one who had but little merit. Therefore Monſieur Ancillon had been more excuſable, if inſtead of pretending that there was a deſign to diſgrace his father, he had imagined that we intended to extol him. For what is there more honourable for a Miniſter, in the opinion both of the Refugees, and of all the Proteſtants, than to have been the firſt inſtance of a particular vexation of the Miſſionaries (34)? Does not ſuch a choice of the Perſecutors ſeem to prove, that they deſpiſed thoſe with whom they did not begin, and that on the contrary they thought that the injury done to thoſe with whom they began, would be a moſt effectual ſtroke? It may be remembred, that thoſe whom the Clergy employed as their Tools, ſuffered ſome Miniſters of villages, or ſome indifferent Authors, to ſtile themſelves *Paſtors*; but when they ſaw that the Miniſters of Paris took the ſame title in an excellent Book written by Aubertin a Miniſter of the ſame Church (35), they made a very great ſtir about it. It will be found upon the whole,

(33) An eaſy and infallible method to pleaſe the Court of France, and to obtain favour and preferments, was by ſhewing a great eagerneſs to vex and teaze the Miniſters, &c.

(34) It is an honour to be the firſt victim of perſecution; this is the brighteſt gem in St. Stephen's crown: Proteſilaus's death became remarkable by ſuch a circumſtance in the Trojan war. *Hectorea* PRIMUS *fataliter haſta Proteſilaë cadis.* Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 7. ver. 67.

(35) See above, remark [B] of the article AUBERTIN.

regard to his fellow Miniſters. He left ſome children behind him [*H*]; and ſome manuſcripts (*b*) [*I*]. I do not know whether any of his poſthumous works will ever be publiſhed.

(*b*) This and moſt of the particulars which the readers will find in the remarks, are extracted from the Memoirs, which the obliging, learned and curious Author of the Remarks on *Sanci's Catholic Confeſſion*, printed at Amſterdam in the year 1693, has communicated to me. N. B. The Author of thoſe Remarks was Monſieur Le Duchat, who died lately at Berlin. CRIT. REM.

whole, that if the Author of the memoirs and I had had the ſtrange deſign, which is imputed to us, we ſhould have followed a very bad method to compaſs it; we ſhould have been the moſt unſkilful men in the world: we ſhould have hid our intention ſo well, that it would have been unperceivable to all unbyaſſed Readers; and a great many perſons might have inferred from our words quite the contrary of what we intended. Thus much with regard to the firſt head of the Complaint. I ſhall be much ſhorter upon all the reſt.

II. The credit I gave to the Memoirs was not a groundleſs credulity. I had all manner of reaſon to believe, that a man, who had but lately made the moſt exact and diligent enquiries he could upon the ſpot, was not miſtaken with regard to the ſtories of Monſieur Ferri's and Monſieur Ancillon's pictures. My living ſome years in the neighbourhood of Mets could not but help to perſuade me. I arrived at Sedan towards the latter end of Auguſt 1675, and I found that the Reformed enjoyed a much greater liberty there, than they did in the other cities. But I obſerved that things grew worſe and worſe every day, and I was a witneſs to the firſt riſe of the vexation concerning the *Verbi Divini Miniſter*. A Proponent (36) was to hold a publick diſputation, and had dedicated his Theſes to ſome Miniſters of that place: he ſtyled them *Verbi Divini Miniſtri* according to the cuſtom, which had been always practiſed without the leaſt oppoſition; but the Prieſts of Sedan made a very great noiſe about it, and obtained that this title ſhould be eraſed. As I remembred this, could I doubt but that they had alſo ſeen at Mets ſuch an innovation ſoon after Monſieur Ferri's death? The particular eſteem which the Magiſtrates might have for a Miniſter (37), did not prevent their complying in this with the humour of the Miſſionaries, who applied to them. It was the humour of the Court, and conſequently it muſt prevail over all other conſiderations. III. The literary correſpondence I had with Monſieur Ancillon was very acceptable to me, and I am proud of it. We uſed to write to each other the literary news we knew. I intended to ſpeak of him in my work, and to boaſt of his friendſhip to me. But I waited for materials, or at leaſt for the opportunity, which the article of Ferri, whoſe Life he wrote, would furniſh me with. Now this article was referred to the Supplement to the two volumes of my Dictionary, to which I had alſo referred ſeveral important articles. IV. To ſuſpect that becauſe the relation of a perſon had injured me, I would vent my reſentment upon that perſon's memory, is doing me an injuſtice, and charging me with a conduct, of which they, who know me, will never think I am guilty (38). I acknowledge here, that I had not the leaſt reaſon to be diſpleaſed either with the late Monſieur Ancillon, or with any perſon of his family. V. If I did not think it proper to digreſs from the Memoirs concerning Monſieur Ferri, in order to expatiate on the merit of his collegue, it was becauſe I was certain I ſhould not want other and more proper opportunities to ſpeak of him. I have given the publick notice, that I did not draw up the Index of my Dictionary. It was drawn up by a Refugee Miniſter, who no doubt gave the late Monſieur Ancillon a place in it, becauſe he would mark the date of the particular vexation concerning the Title of *Verbi Divini Miniſter*, which is a remarkable and extraordinary fact.

VI. Let us come at laſt to the chief point. The Author of the Memoirs wrote to me, that he was miſtaken in one circumſtance. It is not true, that the words *Verbi Divini Miniſter* were put in Monſieur Ancillon's print, and conſequently it is not true, that there was an order to eraſe them. But for the reſt he was in the right to aſſert, that this title was ſuffered in Monſieur Ferri's print. He has ſent me a copy of it, in which I have read theſe words. PAULUS FERRI V. D. MINISTER ECCLESIÆ P. R. METENSIS OBIIT ANNO 1669. ÆTAT. 79. i. e. "Paul Ferri Miniſter "of the Word of God in the pretended Reformed "Church of Mets died in the year 1669, in the 79th "year of his age." The inſcription was at firſt, MINISTER ECCLES. REF. METENSIS; but they were obliged to eraſe the letters R E F, as being contrary to the Edicts of Pacification, and to put, inſtead of theſe three letters, P. R. which are now to be ſeen in all the prints of that Miniſter. Monſieur Ancillon was therefore miſtaken when he ſaid, that there was originally R. R. in Monſieur Ferri's print, and that when they corrected it, they only put a P between the two R's. From all this we may infer, I. That it is exactly true that the title *Verbi Divini Miniſter* was in Monſieur Ferri's print, and was ſuffered to remain there, even after the Ingraver had been proſecuted. II. That ſince that time it never appeared in any Miniſter's print, and that the Ingraver durſt not put it in Monſieur Ancillon's. Such was the anſwer of the Author of the Memoirs. I omit ſeveral obſervations he made, the tendency of which is to diſtinguiſh the pretence from the true cauſe of the injury that has been done to us both. It is not neceſſary to trouble the public with them.

[*H*] *He left ſome children behind him.*] He was twice married, and had a ſon and a daughter by his firſt wife. The daughter is at Mets with her whole family. The family of the ſon conſiſts of one ſon and ſeveral daughters. The latter, except the eldeſt, have all taken ſhelter at Berlin. The ſon is in England. The eldeſt daughter is at the Hague with Mr. du Vivier her huſband, who is a Miniſter there. By his ſecond wife he had but one daughter, who is married to Monſieur Bancelin, formerly a Miniſter of Mets, and now of Berlin.

[*I*] *And ſome Manuſcripts.*] As for inſtance, an anſwer to the *Hiſtoire de la naiſſance & la decadence de l'Hereſie dans la Ville de Mets*. i. e. "The Hiſtory of the Riſe and Fall of Hereſy in the city of Mets." Monſieur de Madaure, Suffragan to the Biſhop of Mets, is the Author of that Hiſtory. Monſieur Ferri recommended to his heirs in his laſt will, to print his Anſwer to that work; and yet it is not publiſhed (39). They keep ſome other works of the deceaſed, beſides an infinite number of Sermons, amongſt which there are eleven hundred, by computation, only upon the Epiſtle to the Hebrews.

(36) A native of Sedan: he is a Miniſter in Ordinary in the Walloon Church at Dort; he is ſtill alive, and can bear witneſs to what I here aſſert.

(37) The Author of the complaint muſt own this, ſince he acknowledges, that the Engraver of Monſieur Ferri's picture was proſecuted, and that this Miniſter was very much eſteemed.

(38) See the article of ANCILLON. It was written ſince the diſobliging complaint of that Miniſter's ſon; and yet I ſpoke of that Miniſter in a very advantageous manner, without any regard to this ill-grounded and unjuſt complaint.

(39) Compare this with Monſ. Ancillon's *Melange critique*, tom. 2. pag. 271.

FERRIER (ARNOLD or ARNOUL DU) Preſident in the Parliament of Paris under the reign of Henry II, who was employed in ſeveral embaſſies by Charles IX. See Moreri upon this, for I deſign to dwell only upon a circumſtance which he has omitted, and which is that Du Ferrier was for a great while a good Proteſtant in his heart, and at laſt declared himſelf ſuch openly [*A*]. If he had not made his eſcape he would

[*A*] *At laſt he declared himſelf openly* a Proteſtant.] This circumſtance, which has been unknown to ſeveral learned men (1) deſerves to be related here with its proof. The paſſage I ſhall quote is ſomewhat long; but it contains nothing but what ſerves to acquaint the reader with the hiſtory of this illuſtrious man. Monſieur Du Pleſſis Mornai going into Guienne (2), "met "at Artenai with Monſieur Du Ferrier who was re- "turning from Venice, where he had been Embaſſa- "dor; Du Pleſſis had been particularly acquainted "with him there in the year 1570. After having "embraced each other, they retired to a private place; "and ſpeaking of the good health which Du Ferrier "enjoyed by God's bleſſing in his old age, he hap- "pened

(1) See the remark [C].

(2) *Vie Du Pleſſis Mornai*, pag. 65. under the year 1582.

would have been put in priſon as a man ſuſpected of Hereſy, after the famous *Mercuriale* of the year 1559 (*a*). The ſtorm was ſome time after appeaſed with regard to him, and he was choſen for an Embaſſy, which gave him an opportunity to ſpeak a little according to his own heart. He harangued (*b*) in the Council of Trent, whither he was ſent Embaſſador by the moſt Chriſtian King; he expreſſed himſelf in a very ſtrong and bold manner, which vexed the zealous Papiſts. He went afterwards Embaſſador to Venice, where he continued ſeveral years, during which he could not diſcover his real opinions. Laſtly, Monſieur Du Pleſſis Mornai, who knew his thoughts, preſſed him ſo earneſtly on his return from that Embaſſy, to acknowledge the truth, that he obliged him publicly to declare his opinions (*c*). The King of Navarre made him his Chancellor [*B*]. The partizans of the Pope's unlimited authority have charged him with a deſign, which might very well be true either in the whole or in part [*C*]. This excellent man died

(*a*) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. m. 721.

(*b*) In the year 1562.

(*c*) See the Remark [*A*].

" pened to ſay, that he drew near his ſeventy ſixth " year; upon which Du Pleſſis taking hold of this " opportunity, told him, *Why then, is it not time now " to mind your conſcience? To think of thoſe pious diſ- " courſes, which you held with me formerly at Venice? To " remember that reſolution ſo often repeated both by word " of mouth, and by letters, of profeſſing publickly that " truth ſo long known to you, and ſo long concealed?* He " preſſed him ſo earneſtly, that he made him pro- " miſe, that he would declare himſelf; yet he gave " him to underſtand, that he could have wiſhed to re- " ceive firſt fourteen thouſand crowns, that were owed " to him for the expences of his embaſſy. Du Pleſſis " wrote to his friends at Paris, deſiring them to keep " him in that good deſign: and in order to put it out " of his power to delay any longer, he perſuaded the " King of Navarre, to whom he was lately gone, to " make him his Chancellor. Whereupon Du Ferrier " left all other buſineſs and went to meet Du Pleſſis, " and publickly profeſſed the Reformed Religion. He " was a great and eminent man, well verſed in all " uſeful learning, an excellent Civilian, who had been " honoured with ſeveral Embaſſies, even with that to " the Council of Trent, and who in his old age had " choſen the holy Scripture and the Hebrew Tongue " for the ſubject of his ſtudy. It was for this reaſon " that Monſieur Du Pleſſis, as appears from ſeveral of " his letters, entreated him to make a more ſolemn " declaration (3), by which it might be known in the " countries where he had made ſome ſtay, why a man " of ſuch reputation, and in ſuch an advanc'd age would " forſake the Roman Catholick Religion. But he " could not obtain this from a man, who had been a " Courtier all his life-time, and feared the cenſure of " the world too much. Monſieur de Montagne was " never tired with ſaying to Monſieur Du Pleſſis, *You " have gained a victory over us, by the acquiſition of that " man; you have honoured his virtue, which we made " no account of.*"

(3) *See in* Du Pleſſis Mornai's *Memoires*, the form of Abjuration that was offered to him: the Reformed wiſhed that he would have publiſhed the reaſons why he changed his Religion; and they deſigned to diſperſe them every where in ſeveral languages.

[*B*] *The King of Navarre made him his Chancellor.*] As he thought, that the affairs, which Du Ferrier had to manage at the Court of France, would not ſuffer him to reſide with him, he intended to give him a place that ſhould oblige him to ſtay at Paris, and deſigned Pibrac's employment for him; that is to ſay, the making him Superintendant of the affairs he had in that city (4). This Prince had a Council at Paris, at Toulouſe, and at Bourdeaux: the buſineſs he had before the Parliaments of all theſe Cities required it. But let us quote Monſieur Du Pleſſis's own words (5). *Becauſe the aforeſaid eſtates are ſituated under the juriſdiction of three Parliaments, namely, thoſe of Paris, Toulouſe and Bourdeaux, to whoſe cogniſance belong ſeveral affairs and law-ſuits relating to thoſe eſtates, he* (the King of Navarre) *has ſettled a Council in each of theſe Parliaments, which he pays, and in which one of the Chiefs of the Parliament preſides. He choſe Monſieur Du Ferrier, lately the King's Embaſſador to Venice, to preſide in his Council at Paris; he is one of the greateſt men in Europe, and whom the late Chancellor de l'Hoſpital judged the only perſon worthy to ſucceed him in the dignity of a Chancellor, for his honeſty and ability. We fear that he will not dare to accept it, becauſe he is reſolved openly to profeſs the Reformed Religion for the future, and would chooſe to live in a place, where he might do it with more liberty and leſs danger.* I believe indeed that he did not accept that poſt: He went to the King of Navarre to be his Chancellor; for I find the following paſſage in Du Pleſſis's Memoirs (6). " I " have been acquainted all this time with only two " Chancellors to the King of Navarre, the late Mon- " ſieur Du Ferrier, a very eminent man, the ſecond " Cato of France, who died a year ago with grief " for this war of the League; and Monſieur de Gla- " teins, Pybrac's eldeſt brother, who fills that poſt at " preſent with great reputation." The writing, from which theſe words are extracted, is dated in Oct. 1586.

(4) *Memoires de Du Pleſſis*, tom. 1. pag. 158, and 165.

(5) Ibid. pag. 187. in a writing dated in May 1583.

(6) Ibid. pag. 644.

[*C*] *The Partizans of the Pope's unlimited authority have charged him with a deſign, which might very well be true either in the whole or in part.*] The Author of the *Journal des Savans* was angry with Raynaldus the Annaliſt, for aſcribing this deſign to the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital and to Du Ferrier. " A certain pro- " ject of the Legates occaſioned ſome remonſtrances " made by the Emperor, by the King of Spain, and " by ſome other Princes, and the famous proteſtation " made by the Preſident Du Ferrier Embaſſador from " Charles the ninth, at which the Court of Rome " was ſo much diſpleaſed. There cannot be imagined " any thing more injurious to the memory of this fa- " mous Magiſtrate, than what Raynaldus has the " boldneſs to aſſert; namely, that he conſpired with " the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital to break the knot which " united the Moſt Chriſtian King with the Holy See, " to aſſemble a national Council, in which the King " of France, after the example of the King of Eng- " land ſhould be declared to be Head of the Gallican " Church, and to uſurp all the eſtates of the Church " of France (7)." If the Preſident Couſin had remembered that Du Ferrier was already a good Proteſtant at that time, and that he publickly profeſſed the Reformed Religion when he died, would he have denied what Raynaldus ſuppoſes? Is there any thing more probable than ſuch a project (8)? Was it poſſible for two ſuch able and excellent men, who were ſo well acquainted with the errors and abuſes of the Roman Catholick Religion, and who were ſo zealous for the true grandeur of the French Monarchy, to have no thoughts of a Reformation, by which France would have become formidable to all her neighbours, and which would have delivered her from a dependency, which even at this time is ſo prejudicial to her?

(7) Couſin, *Journal des Savans*, for February 28, 1689, pag. m. 118.

(8) Compare this with the Remark [*F*].

There are ſeveral other learned men, who did not know that Du Ferrier died a Proteſtant: Here follows what Davila ſaid, ſpeaking of a conference between the Duke of Epernon and the King of Navarre, upon which Roquelaure one of this Prince's favourites adviſed him to comply with Henry the third's intentions. *Contendeva in contrario Arnoldo Monſignore di Ferrier ſuo Cancelliere, il quale huomo di finiſſimo ingegno, e di excellente dottrina dopo la legatione di Venetia, nella quale era ſtato molti anni, tornato in Francia, e poco reconoſciuto alla corte, s'era ritirato appreſſo il Rè di Navarra. Queſto temendo, ſe il Padrone ſi riduceſſe alla concordia e alla ubbidienza del Rè di remanere abjetto, e abbandonato, s'era* BENCHE CATTOLICO *accoſtato all' opinione di Filippo di Morné Signore di Pleſſis* (9). i. e. " Ar- " nold du Ferrier, his Chancellor, was of a contrary o- " pinion: he was a man of a very acute genius and ex- " cellent learning. Being returned into France, after his " Embaſſy to Venice, where he continued many " years, and being hardly known again at Court, he " retired with the King of Navarre: and fearing leſt " he ſhould be deſpiſed and neglected, in caſe his ma- " ſter ſubmitted to a peace with, and obedience to the " King *(of France)* he, THO' A ROMAN CATHOLICK, " voted

AUTHORS who did not know that Du Ferrier died a Proteſtant.

(9) Davila, *Delle Guerre Civili di Francia*, lib. 7. *all' ann.* 1585, pag. m. 377.

died in the year 1585, aged about seventy nine years [*D*]. Brantome relates a surprising particular of him [*E*]. I mention it below; nor shall I forget Cardinal Palavicini [*F*].

I enlarge this Article a little in this second edition, in order to observe, that Du Ferrier was admitted Doctor of Law at Padua, and from a Professor in the University of Toulouse was raised to the dignity of Counsellor in the Parliament of the same City (*d*). Read upon this one of Bunel's Letters (*e*), in which he observes that Cardinal du Tournon had very much contributed to this honourable reward of that learned Civilian's merit, and that Francis Ist's generosity appeared in this. This Letter is not dated, but we find in it, that Castellanus was at that time Bishop of Mâcon. Whence we must infer, that Du Ferrier obtained that post between the year 1543 and the year 1548. He had been one of the learned men, whom Cardinal de Tournon used to take with him, and to admit to his familiar conversations (*f*). Thuanus makes an observation upon this, which is very much to that Cardinal's honour (*g*). Du Ferrier's Elogy is amongst those which Sainte Marthe wrote [*G*]. Consult also the remarks on the *Confession Catholique de Sanci* (*h*).

(*d*) Sammarth. *in Elogior.* lib. 1. pag. m. 90.

(*e*) The 42d.

(*f*) Thuan. *de Vita sua*, lib. 2. pag. m. 1085.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*h*) In pag. 391 of the edition published in 1699.

"voted with Philip du Mornay." Monsieur de Beauvais-Nangis (10) has censured this blunder of Davila. I imagine that Cardinal Palavicini would have been very much obliged to a person, who had told him what I relate in the remark [*A*]; it would have added great strength amongst those of his own party, to the exception he makes against Father Paul (11), grounded on the great correspondence there was between this Friar and the Embassador Du Ferrier. It is unquestionable that this Cardinal knew nothing of the latter's abjuration, since he has not mentioned it in the passage I have quoted. See the Remark [*F*].

(10) In his Remarks on Davila at the end of his *Histoire des Favoris.*

(11) Palavic. *Istoria del Concilio di Trento, Introduzione*, cap. 4.

[*D*] *He died in the year* 1585, *aged about seventy nine years.*] Two passages from Monsieur du Plessis Mornay, quoted above, prove this assertion. In the first it is said, that in the year 1582 Du Ferrier was near seventy six years old (12,) and in the other that he died in the year 1585 (13).

(12) *Vie de Du Plessis*, pag. 65.

(13) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, tom. 1. pag. 644.

[*E*] *Brantome relates a surprizing particular of him.*] "I should like the President Du Ferrier as well, who "has been so long Embassador at Venice, and who "used now and then to go and read publick Lectures "in the Colleges of Padua, which was a very great "disgrace to a man in his station, and to the King's "authority, who did not approve it, and look'd sowr-"ly upon him, when he returned, both on that ac-"count, and for the Religion he was of: so that af-"terwards he was made Chancellor to the King of "Navarre (14)."

(14) Brantome, *Mémoires*, tom. 1. in the Elogy of Francis I, pag. 248.

[*F*] *Nor shall I forget Cardinal Palavicini.*] He quotes (15) Father Paul's Life, in which it is said, that this Father had a very intimate correspondence with Du Ferrier, and that Du Ferrier had collected a great many Memoirs and Letters. Hence the Cardinal infers that Father Paul had drawn his materials from a poisonous spring; for it must be observed, says he, that Du Ferrier was one of the Embassadors, whom the Court of France sent to Trent (16), when during King Charles's infancy most of those who governed in the Royal Council were possessed with the new heresies. Du Ferrier discovered his sentiments so openly, that there were three persons of distinction (17), who testified in their writings that he passed for an Huguenot. The third of these witnesses is the Embassador of Venice, who in his Account to the Senate asserts, that Du Ferrier, who was suspected of being an Huguenot, used to read Lucian when he was at Mass. The Cardinal adds, that Du Ferrier intended to get an estate by making a trade of Religion, and that for this purpose he negotiated secretly with the Pope, by the mediation of Bastiano Gualtieri Bishop of Viterbo. He endeavoured to persuade his Holiness to dissolve the Council, and to call together a meeting of the Gallican Church, of which the Pope should be the Head, and in which he (Du Ferrier) hoped to be a Deputy from the King. As he expected great matters from the Pope's favour, so he promised all manner of kind services to the Court of Rome, and shewed himself intirely persuaded of the Pope's authority in all those points, which the Sorbonne has called into question. But finding that the Pope would not follow his scheme, his avarice turned into a madness, and made an advantage of the absence of Cardinal de Lorrain, and of Lansac the Chief of the Embassy, as also of the conditional power of Protesting, with which the Court of France had invested her Embassadors; and knowing that his collegue would approve his conduct (18), he delivered before the whole Council a satyrical Oration against the Popes, and against the members of that Assembly, and ascribed to his master the same authority over the Gallican Church, as the schismatick Kings of England claim over their Church of England. He did not appear any more in the Council, being sensible that he had made himself odious; but he went some time after to Venice, whence he wrote the worst he could to the King, and gave him to understand, by the most subtle state-arguments he could imagine, that his Majesty ought not to send his Embassadors again to Trent, nor to admit the Decrees of that Council, since they were prejudicial to the Royal Authority. It is from thence that Father Paul drew the base coin, which he puts off for true gold. Thus Palavicini concludes this subject.

(15) Palavic. *Introduzione all' Istoria del Concil. di Trento*, cap. 4.

(16) They sent three, *Lansac, Du Ferrier*, and *Pibrac.*

(17) Consalvo di Mendoza, Bishop of Salamanca, Muzio Callino, Archbishop of Zara, Niccolo da Ponte, Embassador of Venice to the Council of Trent, and afterwards Doge of the Republick.

(18) *Essendo rimasto per Collega al Ferrier solo Guido Fabri palese Ugonotto in quel tempo, come il nomina la mentovata Relazione dell' Orator Vineziano.* Palavic. *Introduz. all' Ist. del Con. di Trento.*

[*G*] *His Elogy is amongst those which Sainte Marthe wrote.*] This Writer of Elogies has very well expressed what he says of this great man, but he does not give us a full account of his life. Let us observe, that till this time (19) they have quoted him in Moreri's Dictionary thus, *In Annal.* Which will make several persons think, that Scevola de Sainte Marthe wrote Annals. On which occasion I shall observe a blunder of the same kind. which has not been corrected even in the Paris Edition of 1699. At the end of the Article *Eugenius IV* they quote in Moreri, *Æneas Sylvius Eutrop. c.* 58. This may persuade several readers, that this Æneas Silvius, who was Pope under the name of Pius II, wrote a Book intitled *Eutropius, or a Commentary on Eutropius the Historian.* These blunders, and several others of the same nature, have not been committed by Moreri, but by his Printers. I do not doubt but he wrote *Sainte Marthe, in Elogiis: Æneas Sylvius, in Europa.* Thus at least he ought to have written.

(19) That is till the edition of Paris 1699 inclusively.

FERRIER (JEREMY) (*a*) was a Minister and Professor of Divinity at Nimes towards the beginning of the seventeenth Century; he changed his Religion afterwards, and was made a Counsellor of State. In the year 1602 he maintained in a public disputation, *that Pope Clement VIII was properly the Antichrist* (*b*). This caused a great disturbance [*A*]. Who would not have thought, that a man who took such a bold step, would

(*a*) And not *Benjamin*, as he is called by St. Romuald quoted by David l'Enfant, month of Sept. pag. 174.

(*b*) Ferrier, Preface to his *Traité de l'Antichrist.*

[*A*] *This caused a great disturbance.*] The Parliament of Toulouse ordered a Warrant out to take him up because of this Thesis. The Members of the Chamber of Castres were divided in their opinions; at last the King made a Decree by which *all persons were prohibited to prosecute this Minister for that proposition* (1). The Provincial and National Synods of France used all their interest for Ferrier very zealously (2), for he had had the art of making the whole body of the Reformed to be concerned for him: so far that the National

(1) Ferrier, *Preface du Traité de l'Antechrist.*

(2) Ibid.

would always be very hot, and the adverſary of all moderate Divines? yet he was one of the firſt who began to yield [*B*] in the political aſſemblies of the Reformed in France. He did not countenance thoſe that voted that it was proper to ſhew a great deal of ſpirit. On the contrary he oppoſed, as much as lay in his power, all the bold and reſolute ſchemes, which the moſt zealous members propoſed. This made him be ſuſpected to ſuch a degree, that he was looked upon as a penſioner of the Court, as a falſe brother, and a traitor to the Churches (*c*). The national Synod held at Privas in the year 1612, forbad him to preach within the City of Nimes (*d*) [*C*]. Whereupon Ferrier obtained the poſt of Counſellor in the Preſidial * of that City; but there aroſe a popular tumult againſt him, which occaſioned his changing his Religion [*D*]; after which he ſettled at Paris,

(*c*) See the remarks [*D*] and [*L*].

(*d*) *Mercure François*, tom. 3. pag. 156.

* A ſpecial Court of Judicature.

Synod held at Gap in the year 1603, and in which he was aſſiſtant to the Moderator (3), ordered that a new article ſhould be added to the Confeſſion of Faith, ſetting forth, that *the Pope was properly the Antichriſt, and the ſon of perdition mentioned in the Scripture.* See in Monſieur Du Pleſſis Mornai's Life (4), how Henry the fourth took offence at this innovation; and obſerve, how the intrigues and the intereſt of one private perſon can influence a whole body.

(3) *Hiſtoire de l'edit. de Nantes*, tom. 1. pag. 396.

(4) Pag. 296, &c.

[*B*] *He was one of the firſt who began to yield.*] It is aſſerted in the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes (5), that he *ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by the cajoleries of the Court*, and that *the Jeſuits boaſt that as early as the year* 1600 *their father Coton being at Nimes . . . entered into a correſpondence with Ferrier, whom even at that time he diſpoſed to betray his brethren. However it be*, continues that Hiſtorian, *he perplexed all the affairs, in the political aſſemblies in which he was preſent, which obliged the Synod to forbid him ever to meddle with them any more.* The *Mercure François* (6) tells us, that there aroſe ſome jealouſies between the Deputies to the Aſſembly held at Saumur in 1611, and that *the Miniſter Ferrier retired from it, alledging for his pretence the ſickneſs of his ſon and his mother-in-law.* The ſentiments of that Aſſembly were divided (7); *ſome members of it aſſerted that they ought to have the benefit of the Edict of Pacification as it had been firſt drawn up: The others, (amongſt whom was Ferrier,) maintained that they ought to keep to the terms of the Edict, (according to the King's will and pleaſure) as they had been recorded in the Parliaments.*

(5) Tom. 1. pag. 395.

(6) *Mercure François*, tom. 2. pag. 302. edit. of Cologne.

(7) Ibid. tom. 3. pag. 156. *See alſo* tom. 2. pag. 496, where it is ſaid that Chamier was at the head of thoſe who were of the firſt opinion, which was that of the Party-Huguenots, and Ferrier at the head of thoſe who were of the ſecond opinion, which was that of the State-Huguenots.

[*C*] *The Synod held at Privas forbad him to preach within the city of Nimes.*] The Author of the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes gives a full account of this affair. *It was on* Ferrier's *account*, ſays he (8), that in the Synod held at Privas *they paſſed an Act, by which the Profeſſors of Divinity were excluded from the political Aſſemblies. But they went farther with regard to Ferrier; they tried and condemned him in a very mortifying manner.* The means he had contrived *to ward off the blow, ſerved only to make it unavoidable. He took ſeveral ſuſpicious journeys to Court, without the knowledge or conſent of his Church.* He accepted immediately the poſt that was offered him in the Church of Paris, *and being reproved for his faults, he ſeemed to be very penitent: but after he had promiſed never to forſake his profeſſion, and to exerciſe it at Paris, he went back from his word in a very unhandſom manner, and returned into his County without taking his leave of the Miniſters of Paris. All this was taken into conſideration at Privas; and Du Moulin, who gave the Synod an account of what paſſed at Paris, when Ferreri had ſhewed a proud, inconſtant, and faithleſs mind, ſaid ſuch things of him, that his conduct was found to be very irregular. They added to all this ſeveral accuſations concerning his former conduct, which was very ſtrictly examined. They charged him with acquitting himſelf very carelesly of his functions as a Divinity Profeſſor, with preaching doctrines, that were not very orthodox, with meddling with the management of the money belonging to his Church, and of which he had kept diſhoneſtly a large ſum, of which he never would give any account; of having either forged himſelf, or conſented to the forging of ſome letters, which had intangled him in diſgraceful affairs, and made him prevaricate very diſhoneſtly. He was ſeverely cenſured on all theſe accounts. But beſides this verbal reproof, the Synod commanded him to write to the Church of Paris to make her ſatisfaction, forbad him to aſſiſt at their political Aſſemblies for ten years, and ordered him to perform the functions of a Miniſter only without the limits of the Province of Languedoc.* The Church and the City of Nimes ſent Deputies to the Synod, who uſed all their endeavours *to have this ſentence reverſed, but they loſt both their time and labour. Nay the Synod gave them to underſtand, that they were not pleaſed to ſee that ſuch a ſolemn deputation ſhould have been ſent to ſupport a man, who betrayed the common cauſe. The Miniſters who had joined with the Deputies were cenſured for their complaiſance; and the Memorials, which they took upon them to preſent to the Synod, were declared to be ſlanderous. But as they could not but foreſee, that Ferrier would not ſtop there, and that having the Magiſtrates on his ſide, he would ſtill act as a Miniſter, ſince he had not been prohibited to perform the functions of a Paſtor, they declared to him, as an addition to his puniſhment, that he ſhould be ſuſpended* ipſo facto, *if he did not ſubmit to his ſentence.* However, as they would not make him deſperate, they ſent him to Montelimar in the room of Chamier, who was going to Montauban, where he was choſen Profeſſor of Divinity. Hereupon Ferrier took other meaſures (9), and obtained the office of Counſellor in the Preſidial of Nimes, in which he was inſtalled notwithſtanding the oppoſitions of the Conſiſtory, who after ſeveral proceedings excommunicated him July the 14th 1613. We ſhall ſee in the following Remark the diſorders which followed upon this by a popular tumult.

(8) *Hiſtoire de l'edit. de Nantes*, tom. 2. pag. 84, &c.

(9) *Hiſt. de l'ed't de Nantes*, tom. 2. pag. 122.

[*D*] *A popular tumult . . . . occaſioned his changing his Religion.*] The Author of the Mercure François has given a particular account of this tumult. Ferrier's adverſaries, ſays he (10), ſeeing that he was a Counſellor in the Preſidial, *excommunicated him after their manner, and ſtirred up the populace of Nimes to aſſault him as he was going to or coming back from the Preſidial.* Ferrier having had notice of his deſign went nevertheleſs to the Preſidial with the Provoſt July the 14th, 1613. *He was not aſſaulted as he went; but as he came back with a deſign to go home, he found his adverſaries with the populace, who, pointing out to him, ſaid to one another,* vege lou, vege lou, lou traitre Judas. i. e. "*Do you ſee him, do you ſee him, the "traitor Judas.*" *Then they began to pelt him with ſtones,* and to purſue him, *with a deſign to ſeize him.* But he ſheltered himſelf in Lieutenant Rozel's houſe. *Being exaſperated at his eſcape, they went to his houſe, which they plundered, and burnt a great deal of his furniture and ſeveral of his books before the door.* The 15th and 16th of July *they went alſo and plundered what he had in the country, and rooted up his vines; after which they returned to Nimes every one of them holding bits of vines and ſmall trees in their hands, which they had plucked up out of Ferrier's cloſe.* He found means to make his eſcape to Beaucaire, after he had been three days ſhut up in a tomb (11). Ferrier aſſerts (12), that he was almoſt pelted to death with ſtones, and that he eſcaped *only by a miracle out of the hands of thirty fellows of the Conſiſtory, who had bound themſelves upon oath to kill him.* That *his mother, a woman of threeſcore, the widow and daughter of a Miniſter died with the horrour of this ſad ſcene, during which theſe murtherers threatened her a thouſand times to burn her alive.* That *two ſmall infants were miraculouſly ſnatched out of the fire, by the prudent conduct of the Magiſtrates, whom theſe furious zealots threatened with death.* That *his poor wife, who was nine months gone with child, was ſtruck with halbards.* That *his mother-in law, who was near fourſcore years old, received the ſame barbarous treatment.* That *all his houſhold-goods were burnt before their Temple, and the greateſt part of his books and papers either plundered or burnt, and the beſt part of his eſtate carried off or ruined.* That *by the ſentence given at the Chamber of the Edict of Caſtres, and by the advice of all the Judges who were of the pretended Reformed Religion, ſeventeen of thoſe poor*

(10) *Mercure François*, tom. 2. pag. 156, 157.

(11) Ibid. tom. 12. pag. 495, 496. Ferrier ſays the ſame in the Preface to his *Traité de l'Antechriſt*; I have been buried three days, and really put in a tomb.

(12) Ferrier, ibid.

Paris, where he endeavoured to make his fortune. He publiſhed in 1614 (e) a book of Controverſy concerning the diſpute about the Antichriſt. The King employed him *in ſeveral important affairs*; and in the year 1626 he was commanded *to attend his Majeſty in his journey* to Britanny, where he was honoured with *the title of State and Privy-Counſellor* (f). Cardinal de Richelieu had a particular eſteem for him (g). Ferrier on his return from this journey was affected with an hectic fever, which grew worſe and worſe every day; he died of it September the 26th 1626 [E], and was buried in the Church of St. Sulpicius, which was his pariſh (h). During the latter days of his life he gave ſtrong proofs of his zeal for the Roman Catholic Religion [F], and made all his children promiſe that they would live and die in the ſame faith [G]. I cannot exactly tell how

(e) The Dedication to the King is dated from Paris September 1, 1614.

(f) *Mercure François*, tom. 12. pag. 496, 497.

(g) Ibid.

(h) *Mercure François*, tom. 12. pag. 499. He lived in the Suburb of St. Germain.

poor wretches were condemned to death, they (13) *having perſuaded them to kill him for the advantage of their Religion, promiſing them that they would all go to heaven for ſuch an abominable action.* This laſt circumſtance has all the appearance of a mere impoſture and a downright calumny, which may raiſe ſuſpicions againſt all the others (14); and after all no conſequence can be drawn from all this againſt the Doctrine or Principles of the Reformed. It is well known, that an exaſperated mob, of what country ſoever or Religion it be, has not the leaſt regard for any thing in the world. Ferrier himſelf acknowledges, that the Judges, who were of the Reformed Religion, voted for the puniſhment of ſeventeen of theſe rioters. To finiſh this Commentary on my Text, I have only to obſerve, that Ferrier pretends, that theſe violent proceedings againſt him conquered the obſtinacy, with which he ſtrove againſt the truth. *It is*, ſays he (15), *the conſtant reproach, with which the enemies of my ſalvation load me*, that I am a Roman Catholic againſt my will. *This is very true, I confeſs it. God has granted me this favour againſt my will, when I reſiſted him, when I fled from him, when I abhorred the ſalvation which he offered me. My calling has been attended with violence, becauſe my obſtinacy in continuing a Heretick was very great. Thus in order to ſave the Perſecutors and moſt bitter enemies of the Church, God has been obliged to thunder from heaven, to lighten, to beat them down, and to ſtrike them blind by his powerful hand:* He ſuppoſes, as you ſee, that the vexations he ſuffered broke the chains by which he was tied to Hereſy, and led him to a ſecond Ananias, that is to ſay to Cardinal Du Perron, who introduced him into the Pale of the Church. This Cardinal was the great Converter in thoſe times.

(13) He means the Miniſters and their agents.

(14) The Author of the *Hiſtoire de l'edit. de Nantes*, tom. 2. pag. 123, 124, owns that the populace, without having the leaſt regard either for the Judge, or the Conſul, or the Miniſters, broke open the doors of Ferrier's houſe, plunder'd or burnt his furniture, and omitted nothing of what an exaſperated mob uſed to do; they committed all poſſible diſorders in a country-houſe belonging to Ferrier, and broke open the priſons to deliver ſome of the rioters, whom the Magiſtrates had ſecured.

(15) Ferrier, *Preface du Traité de l'Antechriſt.*

A REFLECTION upon this maxim *Compelle intrare*, Compel them to come in.

I ſhall obſerve here, without regard to any particular fact, that as there is a *Compelle intrare*, COMPEL THEM TO COME IN, there is alſo *a Compelle exire*, COMPEL THEM TO GO OUT. Imagine a Clergyman, who has made one of his brethren a great enemy to him, it may very well happen that they ſhall make him be a Heretick whether he will or not, and that they ſhall force him to paſs over to another Religion. He ſhall firſt be charged with Heterodoxy; afterwards it will be aſſerted, that he keeps a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy, that he is a penſioner, that he is diſaffected to the State, and capable of infecting the whole Church: they will render him ſo odious, that his very relations will not dare to converſe with him; ſo that finding that it is no longer in his power to edify as a Paſtor, he ſhall be forced to look for employment ſomewhere elſe. But where will he go? The letters of his adverſaries fly much ſwifter than a whole family can move; he cannot go to any place, but he will find, that he has already been defamed there (16). So that after he has endeavoured to ſettle in ſeveral places, without being able to remove men's prejudices and raſh judgments, finding himſelf almoſt at his laſt penny, and not knowing how to get a livelihood, being beſides full of indignation to ſee, that two or three clamourers ſhould ſo eaſily prepoſſeſs the mind of ſo many people and entertaining an ill opinion of a party, which ſuffers itſelf to be ſo eaſily frighted, he caſts himſelf into the Pale of another Church. And this is exactly what his enemies deſired; they have then the full enjoyment of their wiſhes; they are never more vexed than when they ſee that thoſe, whom they have accuſed and traduced, do not confirm their accuſation by forſaking their Religion (17). This is a kind of perſecution deſigned not to compel men to come in, but to compel them to go out.

(16) See upon this the Remark [E] of the article ALCIAT (John Paul).

(17) See above the remark [K] of the article ARNAUD (Anthony) Doctor of the Sorbonne.

[E] *He died .... September the 26th*, 1626.] The error of thoſe (18) who place his death on the 27th of September 1626 is not very conſiderable. They (19) who place it under the year 1625 are a little more miſtaken.

(18) Peter de St. Romuald, Father l'Enfant, Moreri, &c.

[F] *During the latter days of his life he gave ſtrong proofs of his zeal for the Roman Catholic Religion.*] They publiſhed a Pamphlet intitled *De l'heureux trépas & mort du Sieur Ferrier*. i. e. "Of the happy death of Ferrier;" in which they relate what he ſaid when the Prieſt brought him the Holy Sacrament and the Extreme Unction, &c. The Mercure François (20) has given an account of ſeveral things contained in that Pamphlet: I refer the Reader to that account. But I ſhall tranſcribe here two of thoſe things, becauſe they ſeem to correct ſome miſtakes. "When the Holy Sacrament came to his "houſe, Mrs. Du Ferrier his wife being on her knees "near his bed, cried out; *Lord, I am not worthy that "thou ſhouldeſt come under my roof.* He, being deeply "affected with thoſe words, ſaid to her, *Alas! my dear, "let him, who put theſe words into your mouth, im-"print for ever his love and faith in your heart* (21)." This proves evidently, that this Ex-Miniſter's wife was not of the Reformed Religion at that time; and that therefore the Monk St. Romuald, and after him the Dominican Friar David L'Enfant were miſtaken, when they ſaid (22), that Ferrier *could not perſuade his wife to follow his example, and that nevertheleſs they lived very well together.* Some time before his death he dictated his epitaph in the following words (23). *Hic jacet Hieremias Ferrier, qui anno Domini* 1613 *Catholicam Apoſtolicam & Romanam fidem firmiter amplexus, ad extremum uſque vitæ ſpiritum firmiter retinuit.* i. e. "Here lyes Jeremy Ferrier, who em-"braced the Catholic Apoſtolic and Roman Religion "in the year 1613, and conſtantly perſevered in it "to his death." This will ſerve to refute Moreri.

(19) F. Jacob. *Biblioth. Pontificia*, pag. 349. Konig, *Biblioth. vet. & nov.* Henninges Witte, *in Diario Biographico.*

(20) *Mercure François*, tom. 12, pag. 496, &c.

(21) Ibid. pag. 497.

(22) See the *Hiſtoire generale de tous les Siecles*, by David l'Enfant, Month of Sept. pag. 174.

(23) *Mercure François*, tom. 12. pag. 499.

[G] .... *and made all his children promiſe, that they would .... die in the ſame faith.*] As he aſſerts in the Preface to his Treatiſe of Antichriſt, that he has a large family to provide for, we ought to think that he had a great number of children. There was but one daughter amongſt them. Here follows the diſcourſe he held with her, when he exhorted her to perſevere in the Roman-catholic Faith; *And you, my daughter, who have had the happineſs above your brothers, that you were baptiſed in the Church, do not you make me alſo the ſame promiſe* (24)? Monſieur Patin has mentioned this daughter. *The Lieutenant Criminal here is very ill. His wife, who is a ſhrew, has beat him, and ſhut him up in his cellar. She is a worſe Devil than Pilate's wife was. She is daughter of Jeremy Ferrier, formerly a Miniſter of Nimes, but who abjured his Religion.* Thus Patin ſpeaks in a Letter dated Auguſt the 25th, 1660 (25). In all probability he ſpeaks alſo of her when he ſays in another place (26); "Men "talk here of nothing but of the murther of *Monſieur "Tardieu* Lieutenant Criminal, and of his wife. The "two murtherers were immediately apprehend-"ed... The whole people go, as it were in a pro-"ceſſion, to St. Bartholomew's Church, to pray for "the ſoul of this unhappy Lieutenant Criminal, and "of his wretched wife. She was ſo prodigiouſly "covetous, that ſhe had neither a footman, nor coach-"man, nor maid-ſervant. She choſe rather to wait "on herſelf, in order to ſpare her bread.... Prayers "have been ſaid in a ſolemn manner in St. Bartho-"lomew's Church for the ſaid Lieutenant Criminal "and for his wife; but if ſhe had no ſoul, what will "become of thoſe prayers? For as to the wax-tapers "they are burnt and conſumed (27)." A ſon of Jeremy Ferrier *was killed by ſome footmen, whom he would*

(24) Ibid. pag. 498.

(25) It is the 196th in page 175. of the 2d vol.

(26) Letter 366. pag. 95. of the 3d vol. dated Auguſt 26, 1665.

(27) Letter 367. pag. 99. dated Sept. 10, 1665.

how old he was [*H*]. They made him hope that he ſhould be ſent Embaſſador into Holland, if we may believe Moreri [*I*]. I dare not aſſert poſitively, that it was he that wrote the *Catholique d'Etat* [*K*], or *State Catholic*, a work which was much eſteemed in its time. The Reformed have given Jeremy Ferrier a very odious character [*L*]. He could

would prevent from ſtriking his own. Dom Peter de St. Romuald (28) places his death on February the 23d 1638. Here is a very unfortunate family. I do not queſtion but Monſieur Tardieu's wife, who was ſo noted for her covetouſneſs (29), and who periſhed in a tragical manner with her huſband, was the daughter of the Ex-Miniſter Ferrier.

(28) *Journal Chronol. de Hiſtorique.*

(29) See Monſ. Boileau's 10th Satyr, in which this marriage and its conſequences are a very curious Epiſod.

[*H*] *I cannot exactly tell how old he was.*] He is not conſiſtent with himſelf upon this ſubject: for in one paſſage of his *Preface*, he owns that he is very ſorry that he did not employ for the ſervice of the Catholic Church *full twenty years, which he had unhappily loſt*, ſays he, *in ſupporting a bad and ungrateful cauſe.* This ſignifies, that he was admitted a Miniſter about the year 1593, ſince he did not change his Religion till the year 1613. But he had ſaid two pages before, that he was but 24 years old when he aſſerted that Clement VIII was the Antichriſt. This is what I find in the words which I ſhall now tranſcribe, and which ſerve as an anſwer to the imputation he was charged with, that he impudently admitted that Hypotheſis in order to diſturb the State, and to enrich himſelf in the war. *Their charge of deſigning by this means to occaſion a war belongs more properly to him*, that is to ſay, to Monſieur Du Pleſſis, *than to me, who at that time had never yet left my ſtudy, and who being but twenty four years old, had not learnt any thing of the affairs of the world, was unacquainted with all their warlike cabals, and thought of nothing but of my books, and of promoting the Religion in which I was born.* Let us remember that his Theſis was maintained in the year 1602. If at that time he was but twenty four years old, he could not have been admitted a Miniſter in the year 1593, a ſcholar of fifteen was never raiſed to that function. We cannot therefore lay any ſtreſs upon what he ſays. According to the *Mercure François* (30), he had preached the Doctrine of the Proteſtants for ſixteen years. Suppoſing then that he was twenty four years old when the Theſis of the Antichriſt was maintained in the year 1602, he would have been admitted a Miniſter at the age of nineteen, in the year 1597, and have died at the age of forty eight years. But who would venture to give credit to the *Mercure François*, rather than to Jeremy Ferrier himſelf, concerning the time during which he was a Miniſter? It is therefore better to leave this matter undetermined.

(30) Tom. 3. pag. 158.

[*I*] *They made him hope, that he ſhould be ſent Embaſſador into Holland, if we may believe Moreri.*] I miſtruſt him very much with regard to this particular; for he did not know, that Jeremy Ferrier lived thirteen years ſince his journey to Paris; he thought that this Ex-Miniſter died ſoon after his arrival into that capital city. He did not know, that his book concerning the Antichriſt is in French; for if he had known it, he would not have ſet the title down in Latin, *De Antichriſto.* He thinks without any reaſon, that Ferrier wrote a book intitled *Reſponſio ad lib. admonitio ad Beg. Lugd. XIII. &c.* The Printers have horribly diſfigured this poor title. It ſhould have been, *Reſponſio ad libellum cui titulus, Admonitio a Reg. Ludovicum XIII.* i. e. "An Anſwer to a Book intitled, A Warning to "Lewis XIII." They who aſcribed ſuch a book to our Ferrier, are certainly Authors, who wrote in Latin, and who have thus expreſſed a French book which is aſcribed to Ferrier. I ſhall ſpeak of it in the following remark.

[*K*] *I dare not aſſert poſitively, that* Ferrier *wrote the* Catholique d'Etat.] There are arguments for and againſt this opinion. This work was publiſhed in the year 1625 under the name of the *Sieur du Ferrier* (31). It was immediately aſcribed to Jeremy Ferrier; for the Author of the Pamphlet intitled, *L'heureux trepas & mort du Sieur du Ferrier*, obſerves (32), that *two inferences* may be drawn *from this death; the one againſt the Reformed, the other againſt the Publiſhers of Libels in Flanders. The Reformed or Party-Huguenots had publiſhed, that his converſion was not ſincere ... which, they ſaid, would appear by his death.* They were anſwered, that *the ſolemn proteſtation he made on his death-bed could not be ſuſpected of inſincerity, or be thought to be forced, nor even to have proceeded from light-headedneſs; ſince ſeveral perſons even of the Reformed Religion had viſited him in his ſickneſs, and could witneſs, that he was not in the leaſt diſordered in his mind, but on the contrary that his judgment continued free and ſound to his laſt breath.* As for the *foreign Writers who have publiſhed in their Libels, that* ſimia ſit ſemper ſimia, *the ape is always like himſelf*, they were anſwered, that *this ſolemn declaration which Ferrier made of his faith, when he died, and this account of his happy death, ought to ſtop their mouth, and is a condemnation of their ſlanderous writings.* It muſt be obſerved, that the *Catholique d'Etat* is an anſwer to ſome Libels which the King of Spain's partizans had publiſhed againſt France (33) upon her making alliances with the Proteſtant powers to the prejudice of the Catholic Religion. The Author of the *Catholique d'Etat* could not anſwer without ſaying a great many things againſt the Houſe of Auſtria. The Writers on the ſide of Spain replied (34), and charged that Author with continuing to act the ape, which is a plain proof that they took him for the Ex-Miniſter and Ex-Profeſſor of Nimes; and this is the reaſon why the Author of the account of his death makes the reflexion, which I have tranſcribed. Several celebrated Authors who were well acquainted with books, have aſcribed the Catholique d'Etat to Jeremy Ferrier (35). I would not ſcruple to do the ſame, if I did not know that Monſieur Baillet (36) aſcribes this book to John Sirmond (37), who was one of the Writers, whom Cardinal de Richelieu employed to anſwer the Libels which were printed in great numbers againſt him in the Spaniſh-Low-Countries. John Sirmond was uſed to diſguiſe himſelf under fictitious names in the anſwers he wrote againſt thoſe Libels. But it would be a little ſtrange that he ſhould have borrowed the name of an Author who was ſtill alive and ſo much known as the Sieur Jeremy Ferrier was; and beſides, Monſieur Peliſſon (38), who mentions ſeveral anonymous and pſeudonymous pieces of this Writer, does not aſcribe to him the *Catholique d'Etat*, which is one of the beſt pieces in Monſ. Du Chatelet's collection. Notwithſtanding all theſe arguments, I ſhall not determine any thing, till I ſee what proofs Monſ. Baillet will offer to ſupport his opinion.

(31) It was afterwards inſerted into the *Recueil de diverſes piéces pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire.*

(32) *Mercure François*, tom. 12. pag. 499.

(33) See above, the remark [*B*] in the article CARTHAGENA.

(34) The *Mercure François*, tom. 12. pag. 500, 501. gives us a catalogue of ſeveral libels written by the Spaniards, among which there is one intitled, *Scopæ Ferrerianæ.*

(35) Voetius, *Polit. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 2. pag. 531. Spizelius, *Scrutinium Atheiſmi*, pag. 32.

(36) See the Index to his *Auteurs déguiſes.*

(37) He was of the French Academy, and nephew to F. Sirmond the Jeſuit. See the *Hiſtoire de l'Academie Françoiſe*, pag. m. 304.

(38) *Hiſtoire de l'Academ. Franç.* pag. 306, 307.

[*L*] *The Reformed have given Jeremy Ferrier a very odious character.*] He relates himſelf that he underwent two violent perſecutions, the one before he was a Roman Catholic, the other after he had renounced the Reformed Religion (39). The firſt was the pelting to which he was expoſed, the plundering of his houſe, &c. The ſecond conſiſted in a ſhower of invectives, which were poured out upon him in the books that were publiſhed againſt him (40). They laid to his charge, *that he had been the King's Penſioner, and a traitor to the Churches; that he had ſet the Aſſemblies at variance amongſt themſelves, ſowed diſcords amongſt the Great, and quarrels amongſt the Nobility; that he would continue at Nimes with a deſign to ruin the Churches; that he had received gratifications from their Majeſties for ſecret ſervices; that he had made ſure of ſeveral means to deſtroy and exterminate the Churches: that he had aſſerted abominable propoſitions againſt the Myſtery of Chriſt's Incarnation; and that he had deſerved to be driven out of the Synagogue as a ſon of Belial.* You may ſee the ſubſtance of the charge brought againſt Ferrier in the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes, volume the ſecond, page 124. Here follows what we find concerning him in page 395 of the firſt volume of the ſame Hiſtory. "He perplexed every thing in the "political aſſemblies in which he was preſent: for "which reaſon the Synod forbad him to meddle any "more with them. He brought himſelf into trouble "in his own Church, and in his own Province, ſo "that he was baniſhed from them; and being tired "with the functions of a Miniſter, he procured to "himſelf the place of Counſellor in the Preſidial of "Nimes,

(39) Preface to his *Traité de l'Antechriſt.*

(40) Of ſeveral books publiſhed againſt him, he ſays he read but two, the one written by S. Ceſari, the other by the Synod of Lower Languedoc.

could not well avoid it. Cardinal du Perron made a very ſmart reflection concerning the excuſes which he pretended the Proteſtants alledged on account of the riot at Nimes [*M*].

FERRIER

" Nimes, though he had promiſed at Paris that he " would continue performing the functions of a Mi- " niſter in ſome other place. He was afterwards de- " poſed as a deſerter, and laſtly he abjured his Reli- " gion, and died a few years after (41), as much " hated by the people, as he had been beloved in the be- " ginning of his life. He was covetous, deceitful, am- " bitious, inconſtant, an intermedler, without judg- " ment, and incapable of the intrigues in which he " imprudently engaged himſelf. But he had courage, " a lively genius, a fiery imagination, he ſpoke with " the utmoſt eaſe, had a commanding voice, and ſuch a " vehement way of delivery, that he perſuaded his " hearers againſt their will, and did not leave them at " liberty to contradict him. This is the reaſon why " the multitude which is eaſily dazzled by theſe qua- " lities, were always on his ſide; and he often carried " his point, even in the Synods, againſt Chauve, who " was his competitor. This Chauve had much more " honeſty and judgment; he was a man of the moſt " agreeable gravity, which made him be very much " conſidered in the aſſemblies. But the fire and mettle " of the former prevailed over the moderation and " temper of the latter; and Ferrier's ſprightlineſs dark- " ened Chauve's ſound judgment."

(41) I have obſerved above, againſt Moreri, that he lived thirteen years after his abjuration. The Author, whom I quote, has acknowledged it in his 2d vol. pag. 125. *Ferrier lived ſtill a great while*, ſays he, *after* the riot at Nimes.

How much hot-brained perſons are liable to judge raſhly.

I have no reaſon to doubt but this character is very faithfully drawn; but I ſhall obſerve in general, and without making any application, that it is an eaſy matter in ſome circumſtances for one to paſs for a falſe brother, though he be none: he need only conſider things in another light, than thoſe vehement men who have a very extenſive and catching imagination. Theſe men do but little know other people, and do not much better know themſelves. They fancy moſt part of the time that they act only in favour of Religion, when they do it out of paſſion and pride; they reliſh nothing but bold attempts, which they think proper to ſupport the credit and worldly intereſt of their party, this they call being zealous for the cauſe of God. This might be excuſed: but they are ſometimes guilty of a very great injuſtice againſt their Neighbours; they imagine that it is impoſſible to be of a different opinion from theirs, without being a traitor; and yet there are circumſtances in which a man may be firmly perſuaded, that even the worldly intereſt of the party requires, that they ſhould not be ſo inflexible. What will theſe men of a fiery temper do in ſuch a caſe? Why, they endeavour with all their power to render the pacifick men ſuſpicious, and then they who dread to be ſuſpected, will follow the tide, and they who continue to ſtrive againſt it, run the danger of ſuffering all the misfortunes that attend the *compelle exire*. Thus it happens, that in a pretty numerous aſſembly, two or three violent men will be ſufficient to make a reſolution paſs: they need only make the peaceful men dread that they ſhall be rendered odious to the party, and ſuſpected of a baſe prevarication. What would not a man do to avoid an imputation which will render all his labours and talents uſeleſs?

As this reflection may happen to give offence to ſome perſons, I ſhall ſupport it with the teſtimony of a very zealous Writer. He owns, that *there have been ſome very honeſt men, who loved their Religion, and believed the pure Goſpel, who yet did not ſcruple to receive penſions from the Court, becauſe they conſidered them rather as a reward for their zeal in promoting the publick tranquillity, than as a bribe to make them do any thing againſt the intereſt of their Churches. And, to ſpeak ſincerely*, continues he, *in thoſe places, when a paſſionate and inconſiderate people might eaſily be determined to ſome bold and ſeditious attempt, it was neceſſary for the Paſtors to be prudent and moderate, that by their diſcourſes and by their examples they might inſpire their flocks with the ſame ſentiments. But yet it would have been more honourable to do it from a ſenſe of juſtice, without receiving any favours from the Court, than to accept of thoſe ſuſpicious rewards, which might render their integrity and honeſty doubtful. Du Moulin had often been tempted by perſons, whom the Court ſent to him, and who offered him large penſions, without requiring any thing from him, but that he would perſuade the people to be quiet and obedient. He anſwered conſtantly, that this was a duty, of which he would acquit himſelf all his life-time; but that he would have the honour of doing it of his own accord, and from a principle of conſcience, and not as being bribed to do it: ſo that he never accepted any of the offers that were made him. It would have been ſomething very noble, if all thoſe, that had been expoſed to the like temptation, had repelled it with the ſame greatneſs of ſoul* (42). It is impoſſible to ſay any thing more ſenſible or more exact. Du Moulin's conduct ſhould have been that of all his brethren. None of them ought to have received a reward for doing what their duty required of them. But however it be, we ſee here the condemnation of thoſe raſh and bold men, who being carried away by the violence of their temper, were always ready to defame as falſe brethren, as traitors, as prevaricators, all thoſe that preached up patience and ſubmiſſion. The Author owns, that *ſeveral honeſt men, who loved their Religion*, were Penſioners of the Court of France, without having the leaſt deſign of doing any thing againſt the intereſt of the Churches, and without any other view but that of receiving a reward, which they thought was due to the care they ſhould take to oppoſe the ſchemes of the warlike minds. Much more muſt he confeſs, that they, who preached up patience, without receiving any favour from the Court, might be honeſt men. As for thoſe Miſſionaries, who on account of thoſe penſions would pretend ſo ſay maliciouſly and odiouſly, that the Religious Wars had reduced the French Monarchy to the ſame condition, from which Lewis IXth had delivered it (43), they do not deſerve to be heard. Henry IVth, and Lewis XIIIth did not want to bribe mediators to procure a peace between them and their Proteſtant ſubjects, in order to avoid a Religious War. If they had cauſed the Edicts to be obſerved, the maintaining the public tranquillity would not have coſt them one farthing. I beg Monſieur Jurieu's pardon for not agreeing with him in the confeſſion he makes, that in Lewis XIIIth's time the party of the Huguenots undermined the ſupreme authority: *Cardinal de Richlieu*, ſays he (44), *took from them the cities that had been granted to them for their ſecurity; but it was from a political wiſdom, rather than from any zeal for Religion. He ſaw that this was* Imperium in Imperio, *a State within the State, and that theſe cities were the ſheltering-places of all the rebels and malecontents.*

(42) *Hiſtoire de l'edit. de Nantes*, pag. 101.

(43) It has been ſaid of him, that he made the Kings of France abſolute; and ſome Miſſionaries aſſert, that Cardinal de Richelieu finding that they were become again dependent, delivered them from that dependency by the taking of La Rochelle.

(44) *Politique du Clergé*, p. m. 20.

[*M*] *Cardinal du Perron made a very ſmart reflection concerning the excuſes . . on account of the riot at Nimes.*]

" The Reformed have wrote a Book to excuſe their " violent proceedings againſt Ferrier, and they make " uſe of paſſages from the Fathers, and amongſt o- " thers, from St. Bernard, in order to ſhew, that they " had a right to proceed as they have done, ſince Fer- " rier was excommunicated, and that a Judge, who is " excommunicated, is *ipſo facto* ſuſpended. He ſaid " after this in a bantering way, St. Bernard ſpoke of " Excommunication as he ought to have done; but " St. Bernard uſed to ſay Maſs every day. They " know very well how to make an advantage of our " Laws, when they think they have them on their " ſide; otherwiſe, they will not ſo much as hear them " mentioned; which is a downright injuſtice in them. " If they thought themſelves powerful enough, and " that by excommunication they could uſurp the " Kingdom, and depoſe the King, I do not know " what they might not do (45)." This is an inſtance of the injuſtice, which Sects that are tolerated are wont to ſuffer: they are always ſuſpected of bad deſigns; it is always thought, that if it were in their power to change the Government, they would do it, and that they condemn the doctrine of Perſecution, and the extent of Excommunication only as long as they cannot exert thoſe powers themſelves at their pleaſure.

(45) Perroniana, under the word *Ferrier*, pag. m. 141.

FERRIER (JOHN) a French Jeſuit, and a native of Rouergue, ſucceeded Father Annat in the poſt of Confeſſor to the King of France in the year 1670. He was born in the year 1614, and turned a Jeſuit in the year 1632. He had taught Philoſophy four years, Divinity twelve years, and Ethicks two years. He had been Principal of the College of Toulouſe, and had acquitted himſelf very well of that employment (*a*). It was not doubted but the Jeſuits looked upon him as a very able man, ſince they deſigned to make him the King's Confeſſor. Several perſons have been of opinion that he was much more proper for buſineſs and intrigues than Father Annat. He died in the Convent of the Jeſuits at Paris October the 29th 1674 (*b*). He publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*], and was one of the beſt antagoniſts of Janſenius's followers. His Theſis concerning Probability made a great noiſe. He maintained it at Toulouſe the 8th and the 11th of June 1659. See Thomas Anglus in his *Monumetham excantatus*, pag. 51, 52. See alſo the Remark [*B*] of the Article MAIMBOURG.

(*a*) Southwell, *Bibl. Script. Soc. Jeſu*, pag. 449.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome Books.*] A Latin Anſwer to Father Baron's objections againſt the *Scientia media*. This Book is intitled, *Reſponſio ad Objectiones Vincentianas*, and was printed at Toulouſe in the year 1668, 8vo. Father Ferrier deſigned to publiſh a Body of Divinity, but only the firſt volume of it has been printed, which treats *de Deo uno juxta Sancti Auguſtini & Sancti Thomæ principia*; i. e. "Of the Unity of God accord-" ing to St. Auguſtin and St. Thomas's principles." His other works are written in French, and relate for the moſt part to Janſeniſm. He wrote two Letters againſt Monſieur Arnauld, and he gave an account of all that paſſed in the year 1653, concerning the affair of Janſeniſm (1). I muſt not omit, that according to the Bibliographer of the Jeſuits, he wrote a Book concerning the Immortality of the Soul in the year 1660, and another on the Beauty of Jeſus Chriſt in the year 1657; but Father Southwell is in the wrong to aſcribe theſe two works to him; he ought to have aſcribed them to John Ferrier, a Jeſuit of Guienne, with whom Balſac was acquainted (2).

(1) Taken from F. Southwell, *Bibl. Scrip. Soc. Jeſu*, pag. 449.

(2) See the *Journal de Trevoux*, Novemb. 1704, pag. 1860, of the edition printed in France.

FERVAUX (JOHN) is the true Author of the *Annals of Bavaria*, which have been publiſhed under the name of John Adlfreitterus [*A*]. He was a native of Lorrain. This is all that I can ſay of him at preſent.

[*A*] *He is the true Author of the* Annals of Bavaria, *which have been publiſhed under the name of John Adlfreitterus.*] Here is my voucher. *Joh. Adlfreitterus, (vel ſi mavis* Joh. Fervaux, Lotharingus, *in cujus nomine ob certas cauſas Annales illos prudentiores apparere noluerunt) in præfatione ad lectorem Tomi primi Annalium Boicæ Gentis, minimè ſibi ait &c* (1). i. e. "John "Adlfreitterus, (or, if you pleaſe, John Fervaux, of "Lorrain, in whoſe name ſome prudent perſons would "not have theſe Annals to be publiſhed, for certain "reaſons) ſays in the Preface to the firſt volume of the "*Annals of Bavaria*, that &c."

(1) Chriſtoph. Arnoldus *de Vita Marci Velſeri*, pag. 46.

FERUS (*a*) (JOHN) Superior of the Gray-Friars at Mentz, was one of the moſt celebrated Preachers of the ſeventeenth Century. He wrote ſeveral Commentaries on the Bible, by which it appears not only that he was learned, but alſo that he was not of thoſe obſtinate Monks who will not ſwerve a jot from their opinions, nor conſent to reform the leaſt abuſe. There are few Roman Catholic Writers that are more eſteemed by the Proteſtants than he is [*A*]. It is becauſe he wrote with moderation about the Controverſies which were on foot in Germany, and becauſe in ſome things he favoured the opinions of the Reformers (*b*) [*B*]. He was attacked upon that ſubject by a Spaniſh Dominican Friar;

(*a*) This is a name turned into Latin. This Monk's true name was *Wild*, a German word which ſignifies the ſame thing as in our language, and in French *Sauvage*. This is the reaſon why Moreri mentions him, under the word *Sauvage*.

(*b*) *See* Thuanus, lib. 13. pag. 271.

[*A*] *There are few Roman Catholic Writers, that are more eſteemed by the Proteſtants than he is.*] Here follow Bucholcer's words (1). *Fuit Vir doctiſſimus, ejuſque ſcripta non ſolum apud Catholicos, ſed etiam apud Evangelicos quoſdam in ſummo habentur precio.* Quenſtedt a Lutheran Author quotes theſe words without finding fault with them. He quotes ſome other words, which I ſhall tranſcribe for my reader's inſtruction. *Johannes Ferus, alias* Wild, *Franciſcanus, Eccleſiaſtes Moguntinus, vir doctus & eloquentia ſingulari præditus. Scripſit Latino & culto ſermone pias & eruditas lucubrationes (ſcil. Annotationes in Pentateuchum, in Job, Eccleſiaſten, Threnos, Jonam, Matthæum, Johannem, Acta Apoſtolorum, Epiſtolam ad Romanos) in quibus tam veterum, quam recentium Expoſitorum Labores veluti in compendium redegit, teſte* Sixto Senenſe Lib. IV. Bibl. S. (2). i. e. "John Ferus, otherwiſe, Wild, a Franciſcan Friar, "and a Preacher at Mentz, was a learned man, endowed with great eloquence. He wrote in Latin, "and in a very elegant ſtyle pious and learned Commentaries (namely, Annotations on the Pentateuch, "on the Books of Job, Eccleſiaſtes, the Lamentati-"ons, Jonah, the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. "John, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtle to "the Romans) in which he has abridged in a manner, "the works of the Commentators both ancient and "modern, as Sixtus Senenſis aſſerts." Do not imagine, that Quenſtedt has given a compleat Catalogue of Ferus's works. He wrote ſeveral other Books. Conſult the Catalogue of Oxford, and Monſieur Teiſſier, in page 85 of the firſt volume of his Additions to the Elogies taken from Thuanus.

(1) *In Indice Chronolog. ad ann.* 1554.

(2) Quenſtedt, *de Patr. Viror. illuſtr.* pag. 244, 245.

[*B*] *In ſome things he favoured the opinions of the Reformers.*] They laboured to make man ſenſible of his corruption, and of the neceſſity he is under of having recourſe to God's mercy, without relying in the leaſt on his good works. This ſenſe runs through all their forms of prayer; and this agrees ſo little with the maxims of the Church of Rome, that the Miſſionaries in France have a thouſand and a thouſand times argued upon this topic againſt the Common-Prayers of the Proteſtants. But here follows what Monſieur Drelincourt anſwered them; he ſhewed them amongſt other obſervations (3), That John Ferus had compoſed ſome prayers which abound with thoſe ſentiments, that they condemned. Monſieur Colomiés (4) quotes a paſſage from Ferus (5) which I ſhall tranſcribe from him. "How many things are there, which the Saints have "eſtabliſhed with a good intention, and which we "ſee at preſent altered partly into abuſes, and partly "into ſuperſtition? As for inſtance, the feſtivals, the "ceremonies, the images, the maſs, the monaſteries, "&c. None of theſe things have been eſtabliſhed at "firſt, as they are uſed at preſent: And yet our Gi-"deons are ſilent, they do not remove the abuſes, they "do not remove the ſuperſtitions." He ſays in another place (6), that *they, who deſire to have a beautiful Edition of Ferus's Commentary on St. John, muſt enquire after the Edition of Louvain* 1569, *which ought to be preferred before all the others; for beſides that it is in folio, it has a Dedication from that pious and eloquent Friar to Sebaſtian Archbiſhop of Mentz, which is wanting in the other Editions. In this Dedication Ferus owns ſincerely, that he has made uſe in ſome places of the Commentaries*

(3) See the firſt of the nine *Dialogues contre les Miſſionaires ſur le Service des Egliſes Reformées*, pag. 12, &c.

(4) Colomiés, *Rome Proteſtante*, pag. 59.

(5) He takes it from the Commentary, *in Lib. Judicum*, cap. 8.

(6) *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 78.

Friar [C]; but his cauſe met with aſſertors in the ſame country. They have found no other means to make him paſs for a good Papiſt, than by ſuppoſing, that the Heretics had added ſeveral things to his writings, which were not in the original [D]. This honeſt Friar died September the 8th 1554 (c). He was not far from the opinion of the Anabaptiſts, with regard to the bearing of arms [E]. Salmero has been his plagiary [F].

(c) Thuanus, ibid.

of Brentius and Oecolampadius, who were Proteſtants; but, adds he, Ea tantum tranſtuli, quæ bona Eccleſiaſticæque doctrinæ conſona videbantur, & quæ viri illi non in ſchiſmate, ſed in Catholica Eccleſia didicerant. i. e. "I have borrowed only what appeared good to "me, and agreeable to the doctrine of the Church, "and what theſe men had not learnt in their ſchiſm, "but in the Catholick Church."

[C] *He was attacked by a Spaniſh Dominican Friar.*] The celebrated Dominicus a Soto publiſhed a Book (7), which he intitled, *Annotationes in Commentarios Joannis Feri Moguntinenſis, ſupra Evangelium Joannis*; i. e. "Remarks on John Ferus's Commentary upon the "Goſpel of St. John:" He dedicated it to Ferdinando Valdes, Inquiſitor General. He charged Ferus with teaching the Lutheran doctrine in 67 pages of his Commentary on St. John. If Ferus did not anſwer, it was not for the reaſon, which Nicholas Antonio hints (8): it was becauſe he was dead, and not becauſe he owned the charge from the bottom of his heart, or becauſe he would pretend not to be acquainted with what Soto had publiſhed. But he met with a perſon who took up his cauſe in the very country, where he was attacked. Michael Medina, a learned Franciſcan Friar, publiſhed a Book (9) intitled, *Apologia Joannis Feri in qua ſeptem & ſexaginta loca Commentariorum in Joannem, quæ antea Dominicus Soto Segovienſis Lutherana traduxerat, ex ſancta Scriptura Sanctorumque doctrina reſtituuntur.* i. e. "A Vindication of John Fe-"rus, in which the ſixty ſeven paſſages in his Com-"mentary on St. John, which Dominicus Soto of Se-"govia had formerly cenſured as favouring of Luthe-"raniſm, are proved to agree with the holy Scripture, "and with the doctrine of the Saints." This vindication was condemned by the Congregation of the *Index* (10), and the Author was obliged to give an account of his Faith (11). Whence we may infer that Ferus's orthodoxy ſeemed very doubtful to the Inquiſitors, not to ſay ſomething worſe.

(7) At Salamanca, in the year 1554.

(8) *Fero ipſo ſeu perſuaſo, ſeu diſſimulante.* Nic. Ant. *Bibliot. Script. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 257.

(9) At *Alcalade-Henares*, in Latin *Complutum*, in the year 1558.

(10) Nic. Ant. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 2. pag. 112.

(11) *Aliquando quod Joannem Ferum ſuæ ſectæ Franciſcanæ ſodalem ab impetu Dominici Soti apologetico libro defendiſſet, cauſam religionis dixit, in qua tamen ſuam innocentiam probavit.* N. Ant. *Bibl. Hiſp.* tom. 2. pag. 111.

[D] *It was ſuppoſed, that the hereticks had added ſeveral things to his writings, which were not in the original.*] The ſame Medina, with the aſſiſtance of ſome others, cut off from Ferus's Commentary on St. Matthew, all that he thought proper, and cauſed it to be reprinted at Alcala-de-Henares in the year 1562. He ſuppoſed that the paſſages which they were obliged to ſuppreſs, had crept into the work through the artifice of the Sectaries after the Author's death. *Purgavit etiam, ne id ignores, lector, Michael noſter ejuſdem Feri* Sermones, *ſeu* Commentaria in Matthæum, *quæ inedita ab eo relicta hæreticorum inter manus tabis quidquam contraxerant: quod & agnovit Sixtus Senenſis lib. VI.* Bibliothecæ Sanctæ *annotatione LXXII. Operas autem cum Medina Rodericus Vadillus Benedictinus, & Petrus Carolus Prior Ucleſienſis Ordinis Sancti Jacobi reſtituendis his mancipaverunt, Complutique edi correctiora curaverunt anno* 1662, *in* 4*to.* The Catalogue of Oxford mentions, 1. Ferus's Commentary on the Goſpel of St. John, and of the firſt Epiſtle of the ſame Apoſtle; it mentions, I ſay, that Commentary, corrected by Michael Medina, and printed at Alcala-de-Henares (12). 2. It mentions an Engliſh Book (13), the Writers of which complain, that they of the Church of Rome falſified the Authors they publiſhed, and as an inſtance of this, they quote Ferus's Commentary on the 1ſt Epiſtle of S. John.

(12) In the year 1569, and in the year 1578.

(13) Printed at London in the year 1606, and written by W. Craſhaw.

[E] *He was not far from the opinion of the Anabaptiſts, with regard to the bearing of Arms.*] I have read this in Grotius, in a paſſage where he obſerves, that a great many virtuous men conſidering how many cruelties were committed in the war, were of opinion, that a good Chriſtian ought never to bear arms. *Cujus immunitatis conſpectu multi homines minime mali eo venerunt, ut Chriſtiano, cujus diſciplina in omnibus hominibus diligendis præcipue conſiſtit, omnia arma interdicerent: ad quos accedere interdum videntur & Joannes Ferus & Eraſmus noſtras* (14), *viri pacis & eccleſiaſticæ & civilis amantiſſimi* (15).

(14) See alſo the remark [U] in the article ERASMUS.

(15) Grotius *in Prolegomenis de Jure Belli & Pacis*, num. 29.

[F] *Salmero has been his Plagiary.*] He has been at leaſt charged with it by John Gerhard, a famous Lutheran Doctor. *Salmeron*, ſays he (16), *ex fontibus Feri areolas ſuas ita irrigavit, ut pagellas integras in Commentarios ſuos ex eo tranſtulerit.* i. e. "Salmero "has ſo well known how to adorn his writings by "thoſe of Ferus, that he often tranſcribes whole "pages from him." Thomaſius ſaid nothing of this, at which I wonder; but it did not eſcape the notice of another compiler of Plagiariſm (17).

(16) *Confeſs. Cathol.* Part 1. *General.* pag. 23. *apud* Quenſtedt, *de Patr. Vir. illuſtr.* pag. 245.

(17) Joh. Albertus Faber, *in Decade Decadum*, num. 70.

FEUARDENT (FRANCIS) a famous Franciſcan Friar, was born at Coutance in lower Normandy (a) in the year 1541 (b); and he might have inherited a large eſtate, had he not choſen to wear a Monk's habit rather than a ſword (c). He took the habit of a Franciſcan in the Convent of Baieux (d), and got a much greater reputation under this dreſs, than he would have done in that of a Gentleman's. His temper agreed ſo well with his name [A], that never was the ancient maxim, *conveniunt rebus nomina ſæpe ſuis*, (the names do often very well agree with the things) never, I ſay, was this maxim more true, than with regard to him. He was one of the moſt violent adverſaries and one of the moſt bitter perſecutors the Proteſtants had ever to deal with amongſt Clergymen. And yet it is he that boaſts he had been abuſed by the Heretics [B]. He wrote Commentaries

(a) Feuardent. *Epiſt. Dedicat. Theomach.*

(b) Konig, pag. 302.

(c) Boterius, *Commentarior. de Rebus in Gallia geſtis*, lib. 17. pag. 590.

(d) Idem, ibid.

* *Feuardent* in French ſignifies *a briſk fire.*

[A] *His temper agreed ... with his name* *.] Monſr. Daillé makes the following obſervation. *Feuardentius* ſays he (1), *homo nomine ſuo digniſſimus, quem cæci irarum, odiorum, ac furiarum ignes ſic exagitabant, ut raro apud ſe eſſet.* i. e. "Feuardent a man who de-"ſerved his name perfectly well: and who was ſo "tranſported with anger, hatred, and fury, that he "was ſeldom in his right ſenſes." I have often wondered, that ſuch families as have an odious or ridiculous name, do not change it (2). Why, for inſtance, ſhould not a man change the burleſque or frightful name of *Feuardent*. I might mention an hundred ſuch other names.

(1) *De Pœn. & Satisfact.* pag. 462. *apud* Konig, *Bibl. vet. & nova*, pag. 302.

(2) Some of theſe families have changed their names. *See* Monſ. Menage's *Origines Françoiſes*, under the word *Hauteclair*. See the laſt remark of the article REGIUS.

]B] *He boaſts he had been abuſed by the Hereticks.*] If you will believe him (3) he received once a good box on the ear; he was often abuſed in the ſtreets, accuſed before the Magiſtrates, and proſecuted to death. They robbed him of his horſe, on which he uſed to ride in his old age, when he went to evangelize from place to place. One of his brothers was wounded with a gun. He did not omit what his brethren the Monks ſuffered: but he ought alſo to have related what they made others ſuffer. But this is the perpetual illuſion of paſſionate men. They tire the patience of all the world, and they meet ſometimes with impatient adverſaries, who thraſh them ſoundly; whereupon they are ſo barefaced as to complain, that they are abuſed. Do they not make a Catalogue of the wrongs they ſuffered, and omit the injuries which they made others ſuffer firſt? Moreri has followed this deceitful way of proceeding, with regard to Feuardent. *Perkins, Cocus, Rivet, and other Calviniſts*, ſays he (4), *fall into a paſſion againſt Feuardent in a manner little becoming Chriſtians: but theſe are not the Authors whom ſincere men uſe to conſult.* Was this Friar's uſage of the Miniſters very Chriſtian-like? Let his friends anſwer this queſtion for Moreri.

(3) *Theomachia Calviniſt.* lib. 13. pag. m. 160.

(4) In the article FEUARDENT.

Commentaries on ſome books of the Scripture, and tranſlated ſome works of the Fathers into French. He has given a new edition of Irenæus with notes [C], and has publiſhed ſome books of Controverſy, which the Catholics themſelves own are written with too much paſſion [D]. The Jeſuits have had reaſons to be diſpleaſed with his conduct towards Suares [E]. I forgot to obſerve, that he was one of the moſt ſeditious preachers, who

[C] *He has given a new Edition of Irenæus with Notes.*] Here follows Monſieur Du Pin's opinion of it (5). "Laſtly Feuardent, a Franciſcan Friar, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, and a learned man for his time, took this work in hand, and publiſhed it at Paris for Nivelle, in the years 1575, 1576, the five books of St. Irenæus, reviſed and corrected in ſeveral places from an ancient Manuſcript, with an addition of five intire chapters, which were in his manuſcript at the end of the fifth book. He has added, at the end of each chapter, the notes, which he thought neceſſary for the better underſtanding of his Author. They are for the moſt part uſeful and learned; but there are ſome which go beyond the bounds which a Commentator ought to ſet to himſelf; ſince his deſign muſt not be to appear learned, or to treat controverted ſubjects, but only to explain his Author, The ſecond edition of Feuardent's Irenæus, printed at Cologne in the year 1596, and again in 1630, and at Paris in 1639, is better than the firſt, becauſe it contains the Greec paſſages of St. Irenæus, which were in St. Epiphanius, and in ſome other ancient Writers." Here is great moderation. Father Labbe, exaſperated by the injuries which a Proteſtant had publiſhed againſt Feuardent's edition, has not kept his temper ſo well. *Plura nos quoque*, ſays he (6), *adverſus Centuriatores Magdeburgenſes, Nicolaum Gallaſium . . . ſed præcipue Rivetum bipedum nequiſſimum, qui priſtinæ Apoſtolorum Patrumque Doctrinæ retinentiſſimos Baronium & Poſſevinum hæreticos appellare, & de Catholicæ fidei fortiſſimo vindice hæc auſus eſt effutire;* "*Caveant* (7) *ab illis editionibus, quas impudentiſſimus ille monachus Feuardentius homo projectæ audaciæ & nullius fidei, fædè in multis corrupit, & annotationibus impiis & mendacibus (ſic Chriſtianas & Catholicas vocant deſperatiſſimæ cauſæ infelices Patroni) conſpurcavit.*" *Verum quid facias homini impudentiam ubique profeſſo, nec Deum nec homines reverito, xυνώπη κὺ κυνογλώσσῳ, cui totidem hærent infixæ cordi ſagittæ, quot pro veritate Euchariſtiæ, hujus oblatione a Chriſto Domino inſtituta, libero arbitrio, fide & operibus, principalitate Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ac ſimilibus Catholicæ Religionis aſſertis, ex Irenæi Lucubrationibus depromuntur apertiſſima teſtimonia, quæ allegatis aliorum Patrum locis firmavit & diſcuſſa novatorum caligine illuſtravit Feuardentius, nunquam non a laudatis viris laudandus.* i. e. "We have alſo made ſeveral obſervations againſt "the Centuriators of Magdeburg, Nicholas Gelaſius ". . . but eſpecially againſt Rivetus the greateſt rogue "of all the two-legged creatures, who dared to call "Baronius and Poſſevinus, who were moſt zealous for "the ancient doctrine of the Apoſtles and of the Fathers, hereticks; and blabs out the following words "againſt the moſt ſtrenuous aſſertor of the Catholick "Faith: *Let them beware of thoſe Editions which that "moſt impudent Monk Feuardent, a man of the moſt conſummate audacious neſs, and of no honeſty, has baſely "corrupted in ſeveral places, and ſpoiled with his impious and fallacious annotations* (thus theſe wretched "defenders of a deſperate cauſe ſtyle his Chriſtian and "Catholick Notes). But what will you expect from "a man, who makes every where an open profeſſion "of his impudence, who fears neither God nor men, "a dog's face and a dog's tongue, whoſe heart is pierced through with as many darts, as there are plain teſtimonies gathered out of Irenæus's works, in favour "of the Sacrament, of its oblation eſtabliſhed by the "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of free-will, of faith and good "works, of the ſuperiority of the Church of Rome, "and ſuch other doctrines of the Catholick Church, "which teſtimonies Feuardent, that man who will always be eſteemed by all praiſe-worthy perſons, has "confirmed by paſſages from the other Fathers, and "explained by anſwering the cavils of the innovators."

(5) *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1. pag. 73, 74. edit. of Amſterdam.

(6) *Diſſert. de Script. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1. pag. 630.

(7) Rivetus ſays this *in Critico Sacro*, lib. 2. cap. 6. *Oper.* tom. 3. pag. 1091.

[D] *He publiſhed ſome Books of Controverſy, which the Catholicks themſelves own are written with too much paſſion.*] Moreri is the witneſs, from whom I ſhall borrow my proofs. *There is perhaps*, ſays he (8), *ſome exaggeration in Father Gautier's aſſertion, who charges the* Calviniſts *with an hundred hereſies; they may perhaps be reduced to a ſmaller number. We may ſay the ſame of what Father Francis Feuardent a Franciſcan, and a Doctor of Paris wrote, who in his* Theomachia Calviniſtica *has pointed out one thouſand and four hundred errors of the Calviniſts.* Thus ſpeaks Moreri. This Work of Feuardent was reprinted at Cologne in the year 1629 (9). He has intitled one of his Books *Les Entremangeries & Guerres miniſtrales* (10): (The Quarrels and Wars of the Miniſters) the paſſages he tranſcribes from other Authors are in all reſpects the moſt conſiderable part of this Work.

A few days ago I caſt my eyes on his *Examen des Confeſſions, Priéres, Sacramens & Catechiſme des Calviniſtes; avec Réfutation de la Réponſe d'un Miniſtre; où ils ſont convaincus de ſix cent ſoixante & ſix tant contradictions, erreurs, que blaſphemes, contenus en iceux. Seconde Edition reveue & amplifiée par l'auteur.* i. e. "An Examination of the Confeſſion, Prayers, "Sacraments, and Catechiſm of the Calviniſts, with a "Confutation of a Miniſter's Anſwer; in which they "are convicted of ſix hundred ſixty ſix contradictions, "errors and blaſphemies contained in them. The "ſecond Edition reviſed and augmented by the Author." This Book was printed at Paris in 8vo, in the year 1601. We find in it that paſſion which is cuſtomary with Feuardent, and ſome paſſages in (11) which he relates in a prophane and obſcene manner, I know not what ſtories concerning the wives and maid-ſervants of the Miniſters. There is not the leaſt gravity in his ſtyle; he interſperſes it with jokes and phraſes intirely burleſque. An anonymous Author publiſhed an anſwer to the firſt edition of this work; this anſwer, printed at La Rochelle (12) by Nicholas Froit-d'eau * was ſent to Feuardent at Mantes towards the end of the year 1599 (13). He obſerves that it was thought Anthony de la Faye was the Author of it (14). Here follows an inſtance of his bragging. Feuardent *has preached in the largeſt Cities and moſt famous Churches of France, Brabant, Flanders, and Lorrain, where by the grace of God he has converted above ſix hundred ſouls from theſe errors to the true Faith and Catholic Religion, and has confirmed in the ſame above an hundred thouſand good Chriſtians* (15).

(8) In the article of CALVIN.

(9) I make uſe of that edition which is in 4to.

(10) I have ſeen the 3d edition, which is that of Paris printed for Sebaſtian Nivelle, in 1604, 4to.

(11) Folio 18 *verſo*, &c.

(12) It is a ſham. * *Cold Water.*

(13) Feuardent, *Examen des Confeſſions*, folio 1 *verſo.*

(14) Ibid. folio 3 *verſo.*

(15) Ibid. folio 63.

[E] *The Jeſuits have had reaſons to be diſpleaſed with his conduct towards Suares.*] The fact is as follows. Feuardent had quoted the words of Joſſe Clichthou as though it was a paſſage from St. Cyril, in order to prove the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin. This Joſſe finding that Cyril's work of St. John's Goſpel was imperfect, ſupplied the four books that were wanting, and publiſhed them with St. Cyril's. There is in thoſe ſupplements a paſſage as clear as noon-day, and peremptory for the immaculate conception. Feuardent quoted it with a triumphant air, and aſcribed it to St. Cyril. Suares gave him notice of this miſtake, and obſerved to him, that that paſſage ought to be reſtored to Clichthou, inſtead of being aſcribed to St. Cyril. Feuardent did not like this advice, and was ſo incenſed at it, that he collected all the blunders he could meet with in Suares concerning numbers, and pretended to convict him thus of a miſtake like that of which he had been found guilty. But the things are by no means of the ſame kind. To write one number for another is no great matter; it is often an error of the preſs, with which the Author ought not to be charged. But to quote a paſſage as being from St. Cyril, which yet is from an Author of our own time, and to do it with an intention to bring an unexceptionable witneſs againſt one's adverſaries, is a fault of the Author, and a great one too. Theophilus Raynaud plainly decides, that

who taught at Paris the maxims of Buchanan againſt Henry III and Henry IV (*e*). He did not ſpare even the chief of the Leaguers, when he thought him guilty of ſomething that might prejudice the cauſe of the rebels [*F*]. He died at Paris January the 1ſt 1610 (*f*). See in Moreri's Dictionary the title of ſeveral of his works, and add to them, *Hiſtoire de la Fondation de l'Egliſe & Abbaye de Mont Saint Michel, au peril de la Mer, & des Miracles, Reliques, & Indulgences données en icelle* (*g*).

(*e*) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 295.

(*f*) Boterius, *Commentarior. de Rebus in Gallia geſtis*, lib. 17. pag. 590.

(*g*) Du Cheſne, *Bibliot. des Hiſt. de France*, pag. m. 141. quotes the edition of Conſtance, 1611, in 24mo.

that Feuardent did not err through ignorance, but wilfully. *Feuardentius ad* lib. 3. S. Irenæi cap. 23. *intentus ad aſtruendum nitorem conceptionis prædictæ, allegavit locum pro ea, ipſis Solis radiis ſcriptum, ex* lib. 6. *S. Cyrilli* in Joannem cap. 15. *At non eſſe eum librum S. Cyrilli, ſed Clichtovei, qui lacunam quatuor intermediorum librorum in eo Cyrilli opere ſupplere voluit, in confeſſo eſt. Neque id ignoraſſe Feuardentium, comperta ejus eruditio dubitare non ſinit. Sed (ut dixi) ſerviens cauſæ quam tractabat, locum ex lucubratione nuperi ſcriptoris, operi S. Cyrilli intexta, meditatò ſuppoſuit S. Cyrillo, & tanquam tanti Patris dictum, protulit. Monuit de hoc loco per Feuardentium minùs aptè citato, & ad Clichtoveum, non ad S. Cyrillum referendo,* Suarez tom. 2, 3. Part. d. 3. ſ. 5. *qui eam à Feuardentio gratiam retulit in poſteriore editione commentariorum in Irenæum, ut quotquot congerere potuit menda, in numeros typographicos illapſa in Suaris operibus, ad eum ſimilis lapſus inſimulandum intorſerit. Sed eſt profectò ſumma diſparitas. Nam autorum allegationes quoad numerum arithmeticum, quæ à typographo exhibentur, nullus author præſtare queat indemnes à multis mendis, in tanta operarum oſcitantia, & emaculatorum indiligentia. At plagulæ Clichtovei prolatio nomine S. Cyrilli, ad conciliandam majorem fidem placito pro quo pugnes, non eſt erratum, vel mendum typographicum, quod in oſcitantes operas, vel in dormitantem emaculatorem poſſit referri* (16).

(16) Theoph. Raynaud, *Erotemat. X, de bonis ac malis libris*, num. 289.

[*F*] *He did not ſpare even the chief of the Leaguers, when he thought him guilty of ſomething that might prejudice the . . . . . rebels.*] The Duke of Nemours having done ſomething which the Duke of Maienne, his brother by the mother's ſide, diſliked, was taken up, and men thought that it was done by the Duke of Maienne's intrigues. "Feuardent a Franciſcan "Friar, and one of the moſt ſeditious Preachers at "Paris, was ſo bold as to give the Duke ſeveral "broad hints of it from the pulpit. The Duke ſent "for him, with a deſign to chaſtiſe him in order to "teach him better manners. Yet hearing that he "was a native of Savoy, he was pleaſed to pardon "him, as a man, who favoured a Prince of Sa-"voy (17)." Paſquier is miſtaken with regard to this Friar's native country.

(17) Paſquier, *Lett.* liv. 16. pag. 234.

FEUILLANT (LE PETIT) or the little Bernandine, a Preacher of the Leaguers. See MONGAILLARD.

FEVRE of Etaples (*a*) (JAMES LE), in Latin *Faber Stapulenſis*, was one of thoſe who began to expel the barbariſm which reigned in the Univerſity of Paris. He was a very little man, and of mean extraction (*b*), but a great genius ſupported by a great deal of learning. He became ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm, and was obliged to give way to the outrages of certain paſſionate and ignorant zealots, who ſuffered him not to reſt (*c*). He quitted the field, and retired from Paris to Meaux, where was a (*d*) Biſhop who loved the Sciences and men of true learning. The perſecution raiſed by the Franciſcans at Meaux obliged the Biſhop to be a good Catholic (*e*). Le Fevre was then forced to retire to Blois, and from thence to Guienne. Margaret Queen of Navarre, ſiſter to Francis I, honoured him with her protection, ſo that he enjoyed full liberty at Nerac till his death, which happened in the year 1537 (*f*). Some very ſingular things are related of his laſt hours [*A*]. The Parliament of Paris received orders from Francis I, to

(*a*) Etaples in Picardy is the name of the town where he was born.

(*b*) Verheiden, *in Effig. & Elog.* pag 104. Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 121.

(*c*) Beza, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* liv. 1. pag. 2.

(*d*) Named *William Bziçonnet.*

(*e*) Beza, *Hiſt. Eccl.* liv. 1. pag. 6.

(*f*) Ibid. and pag. 14.

[*A*] *Some very ſingular things are related of his laſt hours.*] Thomas Hubert, Counſellor to the Elector Palatine Frederic II, whom he attended in his journey to Spain, wrote an Account of that Journey, which was printed at Francfort in the year 1624. He relates (1) that the Elector his maſter, in his return from Spain, paſſed through France in the year 1538, and fell ſick at Paris, where Francis I, and the Queen of Navarre, viſited him often. It was in one of thoſe viſits that that Princeſs related in what manner le Fevre of Etaples ended his life. He and ſome other learned men, whoſe converſation greatly pleaſed the Queen, dined with her one day (2). In the midſt of the entertainment le Fevre began to weep, and when the Queen aſked him the reaſon of it, he anſwered that the enormity of his ſins threw him into that grief. It was not the remembrance of any lewdneſs he had been guilty of, ſince at the age of 101 (*α*) he had never known woman. With regard to the other paſſions which precipitate men into debauchery, he felt his conſcience eaſy enough; but he reckoned it a very great crime that having known the truth, and taught it to ſeveral perſons who had ſealed it with their blood, he had had the weakneſs to keep himſelf in an aſylum, far from the places where crowns of martyrdom were diſtributed. The Queen, who was very eloquent, comforted him. He made his will by word of mouth, and went to bed, where he was found dead a few hours after. The Queen cauſed him to be honourably interred under the ſame marble which ſhe had deſigned for herſelf: *Honorifice tumulari fecit & marmore quod pro ſe exſcindi fecerat contegi voluit.* He left his Books to Gerard Rouſſel, and the reſt of his eſtate to the poor.

It is hard to doubt of this Relation, and hard not to doubt of it. If the fact had been falſe, would the Queen have told it to the Elector? If ſhe had not told it him, would Thomas Hubert have dared to put it into his Hiſtory? Theſe are the motives not to doubt of it. But, on the other hand, how can we be perſuaded that ſuch a fact as this, moſt glorious for James le Fevre in particular, and for the whole body in general, ſhould be ſuppreſſed by all the Miniſters if it had been true? Whence comes it that Theodore Beza does not ſpeak of it, either in his Hiſtory of the Churches when he mentions the death of James le Fevre, or in the particular Elogy which he has given that Doctor (3), or in any other paſſage of his writings, where opportunities of relating this wonderful event frequently occurred? Whence could proceed the ſilence of Sleidan, of Verheiden, and of a million of Authors who, if they had common ſenſe, ought to have related this fact in caſe they had any knowledge of it? Theſe difficulties can no otherwiſe be ſolved than by ſuppoſing that this adventure was utterly unknown to them. But this is getting out of one perplexity to fall into another. The ſcene of this accident was the King of Navarre's Court: ſeveral learned men who dined with the Queen muſt have been witneſſes of it: the greater part of them were of the ſame opinions with the Reformed: by what ſtrange combination ſhould they have engaged not to ſpeak of it as long as they lived? By what fatality could an accident ſo public, and of ſuch a nature, have ſound the tongues of a whole Court tied up for above fifty years? They very well knew that the good old man when he was dying ſaid he left his eſtate to the poor, and they failed

(3) In *Iconibus.*

(1) Rivetus has inſerted this Hiſtory in his Letter *de Senectute bona, Oper.* tom. 2. pag. 1266. Mr. Colomiés relates it in his *Mélanges Hiſtoriques*, pag. 2, &c. Mr. Jurieu relates it alſo, *Apol. pour les Reform.* ch. 2. p. 70, and 71. I only give the ſubſtance of it.

(2) Mr. Colomiés ſuppoſes the Queen went to dine with him. The Latin of *Thomas Hubert* does not ſignify this. *Quadam autem die miſit ad eum Regina, & ſe velle cum eo prandere dixit, convocatis aliquot doctis, quorum confabulationibus mirum in modum delectaretur.*

(*α*) James le Fevre was not quite 100 years old when he died, but he wanted not much of it; witneſs theſe verſes of Macrinus, *Ævi peracto jam prope ſeculo, &c.* pag. 362. of the new *Menagiana*, Paris edit. 1715. The 173d of Mr. Bayle's Letters teſtifies that the entire piece was ſent him in the month of June 1699. CRIT. REM.

to come to no reſolution concerning le Fevre, but to wait to know his Majeſty's intentions. That Prince was then a priſoner; and the ſubſtance of his Letter is to be ſeen in Sleidan [*B*]. It was probably at the ſame time that the Sorbonne degraded Le Fevre from his Doctor's degree; but he did not leave France, as Sleidan aſſerts. I own he took a journey to Straſburg, but that was by the Queen of Navarre's order, to confer with Bucer touching the Reformation of the Church [*C*]. His natural moderation left him when he wrote againſt his old friend Eraſmus [*D*]. This quarrel did not end to his advantage.

(*g*) See above the Citation (*o*) of the Article AGRIPPA.

We have ſaid above (*g*) that he expoſed himſelf to the clamours of the Monks, for having maintained that St. Ann had been married but once. He was not leſs contradicted in the opinion he advanced, that the woman who was a ſinner, of whom St. Luke ſpeaks in the VIIth Chapter, Mary Magdalen, who is mentioned in the VIIIth Chapter of the ſame Evangeliſt, and Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus, mentioned in the XIth Chapter of St. John, were three different women. This Diſpute has been lately revived [*E*]. We muſt

(4) *Corpus humo, mentemque Deo, bona cuncta relinquo Pauperibus: Faber hæc cum moreretur, ait.* Verheiden, pag. 105. We ſhall obſerve below, Citation (27), that this was his Epitaph.

(5) Sleid. lib. 5. *ſub finem.*

(6) *Per abſentiam quoque regis captivi Pariſienſes Theologi Jacobum Fabrum Stapulenſem.... exagitabant, ita quidem ut ille deſerta Gallia migraret alio.* i. e. "Likewiſe by "the abſence of "the captive "King, the Divines of Paris... perſe- "cuted James "le Fevre of "Etaples, and "obliged him to "quit France "and retire elſe- "where." Idem, ibid.

(7) *Ad ann.* 1523, (and not 1525, as Moreri ſays) num. 15.

(8) Melch. Adam. *in Vita Capitonis*, pag. 90. He quotes *Johannes Sturmius Antipappo* 4, pag. 8.

(9) In a *Letter* dated in March 1526; it is the 26th of the 18th Book.

(10) Eraſmus, *Epiſt.* 13. lib. 19. pag. 830.

(11) Idem, *Epiſt.* 51. lib. 3. pag. 213, and 216.

(12) Idem, *Epiſt.* 33. lib. 3.

(13) See the *Letter* which he wrote him in April 1517. It is the 9th of the 3d Book. He wrote him another in Sept. following: it is the 33d of the ſame Book.

not to publiſh that circumſtance in verſe (4): whence could it happen that the reſt, which better deſerved to be declared, ſhould not be known? Add to this that it is not at all probable that le Fevre lived a whole Century; for if he had been a hundred and one years old when he died, he muſt have been born in the year 1436. He would have been above fourſcore and ſix when he ſtole away from Meaux: he would have been ninety ſix when Calvin went to pay him his reſpects at Nerac. Is ſuch a circumſtance uſed to be forgotten? do people content themſelves with ſpeaking of ſuch very old men in the vague terms of old age which Beza, Verheiden, and the other Writers of the party make uſe of with regard to this Doctor? In a word, there is no example in theſe latter ages of an illuſtrious man's living above a hundred years, without its being taken notice of by any one Author who mentions him.

[*B*] *The Subſtance of his Letter is to be ſeen in Sleidan.*] It is in elegant terms according to his cuſtom (5): but he did not know that le Fevre was retired to Nerac (6). Spondanus (7) has ſpoken very briefly of this perſon, and his degradation.

[*C*] *He took a journey to Straſburg . . . to confer with Bucer.*] I have learnt this particular in the Life of Capito. *Tanta ſtatim Capitonis & Buceri fama fuit, ut Jacobus Faber Stapulenſis, & Gerardus Rufus clam è Gallia profecti, Capitonem & Bucerum audierint, atque de omnibus doctrinæ præcipuis locis cum ipſis diſſeruerint, miſſi à Margaretha Franciſci Regis ſorore Navarræ regina* (8). i. e. "The reputation of Capito and Bucer "was immediately raiſed to ſuch a height, that James "le Fevre of Etaples, and Gerard Rouſſel, privately "leaving France, heard Capito and Bucer, and diſ- "courſed with them of all the principal points of doc- "trine, being ſent by Margaret Queen of Navarre, "ſiſter to King Francis." Eraſmus, who was not acquainted with this laſt circumſtance, imagined that le Fevre was at Straſburg as a fugitive: *Faber Stapulenſis Gallia profugus*, ſays he (9), *agit Argentorati, ſed mutato nomine quemadmodum Comicus ille ſenex*, Athenis Chremes erat, in Lemno Stilpho. i. e. "Le "Fevre of Etaples having fled from France reſides "at Straſburg, but under a different name, like the "old man in the Play, who *was Chremes at Athens*, "and *Stilpho in Lemnos*." In another Letter, dated from Baſil the 17th of May 1527, he ſays le Fevre had been honourably recalled into France. *Hinc honorifice revocatus eſt in Galliam, ceſſerat enim metu, & eſt regi chariſſimus* (10). This is ſtill the conſequence of the falſe ſuppoſition that our Doctor had fled towards the Rhine. Every body knew not the true cauſe of that journey, the private Commiſſion of Queen Margaret.

[*D*] *His natural moderation left him when he wrote againſt his old friend Eraſmus.*] He was the aggreſſor, without any other provocation than for that all his opinions as to certain paſſages of Scripture had not been adopted by Eraſmus when he publiſhed his Notes on the New Teſtament (11). He rudely attacked Eraſmus, and accuſed him of having advanced impious notions (12). Eraſmus defended himſelf; but when he had ſaid what he thought proper for the clearing of his reputation, he begged of his adverſary the continuance of his friendſhip, and aſſured him that he had always loved and eſteemed him (13). The compliments which were written to him on his Victory were not pleaſing to him, and he deſired his friends not to change their opinion of le Fevre on account of this quarrel. *Quæ ſcribis de noſtra ad* Fabrum *apologia, quanquam ſcio animo abs te ſcribi amiciſſimo, mihi tamen bis moleſta fuerunt, vel quod veterem animi dolorem refricant, vel quod tu hac occaſione minus aliquanto quam vellem videris tribuere* Fabro, *viro quo vix in multis millibus reperias vel integriorem vel humaniorem. Hac una in re ſui diſſimilis fuit, quod amicum immerentem tam atrociter impetiit. Quis autem omnibus horis ſapuit unquam? Atque utinam mihi licuiſſet adverſario parcere. Nunc duobus crucior nominibus, & quod cum tali amico coactus ſim manus conſerere, & quod intelligam quoſdam de* Fabro *minus candide ſentire, de quo cupiam omnes quam optime ſentire* (14). i. e. "What you write con- "cerning my Anſwer to *le Fevre*, tho' I know you "wrote it with a moſt friendly intention, was unwel- "come to me on a double account, both becauſe it re- "vives my paſt grief, and for that you ſeem on this "occaſion to ſpeak with leſs eſteem than I could wiſh "of *le Fevre*, a man who for integrity and humanity "has ſcarce his equal among thouſands. In this ſin- "gle inſtance he has acted unlike himſelf, in attack- "ing a friend, who deſerved not ſuch uſage, in ſo vio- "lent a manner. But what man was ever wiſe at "all times? And I wiſh I could have ſpared my ad- "verſary: but now I am afflicted for two reaſons, "both becauſe I have been conſtrained to engage ſuch "a friend, and alſo becauſe I find ſome entertain not "ſo good an opinion of *le Fevre*, for whom I wiſh all "mankind to have the utmoſt eſteem." Can there be more heroic ſentiments than theſe? Le Fevre repented of his making the attack (15), and made no reply.

(14) Eraſm. *Epiſt.* 3. lib. 3. pag. 174. He wrote it to Tonſtal, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris, in the year 1517. Several ſuch paſſages are to be found in his *Letters.*

[*E*] *He maintained that the woman who was a ſinner, . . . Mary Magdalen, . . . and Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus, were different women. This diſpute has been lately revived.*] When James le Fevre publiſhed a Book on this ſubject about the beginning of the 16th Century, both the ignorant and the learned, the common people and the Doctors, were unanimouſly of opinion that Mary, the ſiſter of Martha and Lazarus, was not a different perſon from the woman ſinner of the VIIth chapter of St. Luke, nor from her who had been poſſeſſed by ſeven Devils, from which Jeſus Chriſt freed her. The Hymns and the Office of S. Mary Magdalen in the Roman Breviary are conformable to this opinion. However, nothing hindred our le Fevre from encountring it. His Book was reprinted in the years 1518, and 1529, by the care of Jodocus Clichtoveus who followed his ſentiment, and maintained it twice againſt the attacks of Mark Grandival Canon of St. Victor. The Book which John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, wrote againſt le Fevre, to ſupport the common opinion of the identity of theſe three women, was printed at Paris in the year 1519. This diſpute terribly exaſperated people's minds, as well becauſe the leaſt innovations were ſuſpected by the Catholics at the beginning of Lutheraniſm, as becauſe they were far from being perſuaded that James le Fevre was orthodox. But when perſonal animoſities were ceaſed, his opinion began to be reliſhed, ſo that at the end of the XVIth Century, and for a long while after, it was reckoned conformable to faith and reaſon. It was permitted to be publickly maintained in the Sorbonne, provided there was added to it a ſmall diſtinction, which really overthrew the whole Decree in favour of which it had been invented. A diſputant was obliged to ſay that he did not acknowledge

(15) Eraſm. *Epiſt.* 28. lib. 7. pag. 398.

must not forget that he made a French Tranſlation of the four Goſpels, and a Latin Verſion of St. Paul's Epiſtles, with critical Notes and a Commentary, wherein he pretty frequently cenſures the Vulgate [*F*]. He made the like Notes and a like Commentary on the Goſpels, and on the Epiſtles of the other Apoſtles. All this only increaſed the ill humour of the Sorbonne againſt him, and he ſaw himſelf attacked by the formidable Natalis Beda. He did not outwardly depart from the Church of Rome, and diſapproved in ſome particulars the conduct of thoſe who eſtabliſhed the Reformation in Germany, as a little too warm [*G*]; but at the bottom of his heart he was not much of a Papiſt.

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acknowledge a triple woman, for that would be advancing what the Decree of the Faculty had condemned; but three different women, one of whom was named Magdalen (16). The matter went ſo far that the moſt able would have been aſhamed to continue in the common opinion, and that the correctors of the Breviaries of Paris, Orleans, and Vienne, put a difference between the ſiſter of Lazarus, the woman ſinner, and Mary Magdalen. Things being in this ſtate, ſome Doctors had compaſſion on the doctrine they ſaw forſaken and led in triumph by that which had appeared ſo falſe when James le Fevre ventured to ſwim againſt the ſtream (17). Father Alexander, *who has ſince printed the Reformation of the Office of Paris, after weighing . . . . the authorities and reaſons on both ſides*, concluded (*) *in favour of the opinion which makes them but one perſon. Since which* Father Lamy, Prieſt of the Oratory, *not ſatisfied with having endeavoured to reeſtabliſh that opinion in his new* Evangelical Concordance, *which he publiſhed in Latin in* 1689, *has written a particular Diſſertation in a French Treatiſe in form of a Letter printed in* 1691. . . . . *In fine, more lately yet* Father Mauduit (*a*), *alſo Prieſt of the Oratory, and* Father Pezron (*e*), ... *have each of them given a Diſſertation in a Work they have publiſhed in French on the Goſpel, wherein they defend the common opinion. . . . Mr. du Hamel* (*i*), *of the Academy of Sciences*, has retained the ſame opinion. I borrow this from a Book which Monſieur Anquetin, a Curate of Lyons, printed at Roan, in 1699, under the title of *A Diſſertation on St. Mary Magdalen, to prove that Mary Magdalen, Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus, and the woman ſinner, are three different women.* Take notice that Eraſmus wrote to the Biſhop of Rocheſter, that all the world gave him the victory; but that ſome people were concerned that he had ſo harſhly treated a perſon who had done ſo many ſervices to learning as James le Fevre (18). We find in the ſame Letter of Eraſmus, that Stephen Poncher, Biſhop of Paris, had put the Engliſh Biſhop on writing againſt this Doctor.

(16) *Negabant à ſe agnoſci triplicem ſed tres diverſas mulieres quarum una diceretur Magdalena.* Lami, *ubi infra.*

(17) Extracted from the Diſſertation of Father Lami *de Unica Maria Magdalena.* It is in the Appendix to his Commentary *in Harmoniam quatuor Evangeliſtarum*, printed at Paris 1699. See the *Utrecht Journal*, for the months of July and Auguſt 1699, pag. 448, &c.

* Natalis Alexander, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. . . . 1 Seculi*, tom. 2. folio 120.

(*a*) Mauduit, *Analize de l'Evangile, ...* printed in the year 1695.

(*e*) Dom Pezron, *Hiſtoire Evangelique . . . .* printed in 1696.

(*i*) *Theol. Cleric. Fund.* tom. 2. lib. 4.

(18) Eraſmus, *Epiſt.* 8. lib. 6. pag. 352; dated from Antwerp the 2d of April 1519.

[*F*] *He made a French Tranſlation of the four Goſpels, and a Latin Verſion of the Epiſtles of S. Paul with Notes . . . wherein he cenſures . . . . the Vulgate.*] This French Tranſlation was printed with Licence by Simon de Colines in 1523. The Author did not put his name to it; but "we learn from a Letter of Eraſ- "mus written to Bilibaldus in 1526, that it is James "le Fevre's, who was obliged to fly for having pub- "liſhed that work, as if they who tranſlated the Scrip- "tures into French were then puniſhed at Paris, by "reaſon of the diſorders which thoſe new Tranſlations "cauſed in Europe." *James le Fevre*, ſays Eraſ- "mus (†) in that place, *who had fled for fear, with- "out any other reaſon than becauſe he had put the Goſ- "pels into French, has been recalled to Court. Jacobus "Faber qui metu profugerat, non ob aliud niſi quòd ver- "terat Evangelia Gallicè, revocatus eſt in aulam* (19)." Father Simon, from whom I borrow theſe words, quotes ſeveral paſſages of this verſion, and gives his judgment of it. What he takes *from the Life of Capito collected by Melchior Adam* (20), is by no means proper to confirm what Eraſmus ſays, that *James le Fevre fled from Paris on account of his new French Tranſlation*; for it appears from this paſſage of Melchior Adam that our Doctor was at Baſil as the Delegate of Queen Margaret. See above, the remark [*C*].

(†) Eraſm. *Epiſt.* lib. 30. *Epiſt.* 44.

(19) Simon, *Nouvelles Obſervat. ſur le Texte & ſur les Verſions du N. T.* pag. 146.

(20) Simon, ibid. pag. 150.

"(21) He publiſhed ſo early as the year 1512 a "Tranſlation of the Epiſtles of St. Paul, with a "Commentary. This firſt Edition is in the King's "Library on fine vellum. He durſt not wholly reject "the Vulgate, which he has inſerted intire in his "Work, placing over againſt it his own Tranſlation, "wherein he does not greatly differ from the old one: "but he has added to his Commentary Critical Ob- "ſervations, intitled *Examinatio nonnullorum circa lite- "ram*; and it is chiefly in theſe Obſervations that he "has taken the liberty to examine and correct the old "Latin Tranſlator. Though he ſhews ſome Learn- "ing in them, and keeps his ſtyle as free as he "could from the barbariſms of the Divines of his "time, he has nevertheleſs in this Work left great "marks of weakneſs, as well with reſpect to the In- "terpretation, as to his Latin ſtyle. Eraſmus and "Stunica have learnedly criticiſed ſome of his miſtakes, "having proved, by ſeveral examples, that he was "no more than half a Grammarian, and had but "mean ſkill in the Greek tongue. Natalis Bedda, a "Divine of Paris, cenſured his Divinity as well as "that of Eraſmus. In fine, the Inquiſitors of Rome "under Clement VIII put his Commentary on the "whole New Teſtament in the Catalogue of prohi- "bited Books, till it ſhould be corrected and purged "from its errors . . . Bedda objected ſeveral errors to "him, and among others the having written on the "ninth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans, that "ſalvation did not depend on a man's will (*), *Poſſe "ſalvari non eſt in hominis voluntate, poteſtate aut ope- "ribus*. . . . The learned father Taumaſſin (22) of "the Oratory, failed not to inſert this cenſure of "Bedda in his Memoirs on grace, adding that the "Work of that Divine was in ſome ſort the Doctrine "of the Faculty of Divinity at Paris, ſince that Body "had approved the cenſure. However it be, Bedda "preſſed him very warmly on that account, as if he "had denied univerſal grace . . . . (23). I have ſeen "but one Edition of his Commentary on the Goſpels, "which did not appear till 1522, having been printed "at Meaux at the charge of Simon de Colines . . (24). "He has alſo written on the Canonical Epiſtles. He "dedicated this laſt Work to Antony du Prat, Chan- "cellor of France, whom he thanked for the pro- "tection he had given to his explication of the Goſ- "pels; which might induce one to judge that this "Author's Books were already diſpleaſing to ſome "Divines of Paris. . . . . In this laſt Commentary he "has followed the ſame method as on the Goſpels, "except only that he has placed his corrections in "the margin over againſt the text: which is more "commodious. He obſerves in a Letter prefixed to "it, written at Meaux in 1525, that the Original "Greek of the Goſpels and St. Paul's Epiſtles is more "exact than the old Latin Edition; that that Edi- "tion, on the contrary, is more exact than the Greek "in ſome paſſages of the Canonical Epiſtles." Father Simon mentions ſeveral other things to ſhew the Character of this Work, and concludes that James le Fevre *ought to be placed among the moſt able Commentators of his age. But Eraſmus, who wrote at the ſame time, and with much more politeneſs, greatly leſſened his reputation. The Works of this Divine are no longer read at Paris; whereas thoſe of Eraſmus . . . are highly eſteemed even at this day* (25).

(21) Simon, *Hiſt. Critique des Commentateurs du N. T.* chap. 34. pag. 488.

(*) Jac. Fab. *apud* Bedd. *in Cenſur. C.* 9. *Epiſt. ad Rom. Prop.* 59. Edit. Pariſ. in fol. ann. 1525.

(22) It ſhould be *Thomaſſin.*

(23) Simon, *Hiſt. Crit. des Comment. du N. Teſt.* pag. 496.

(24) Ibid. pag. 502.

(25) Ibid. pag. 503.

[*G*] *He did not outwardly depart from the Church of Rome, and diſapproved the conduct of thoſe who eſtabliſhed the Reformation in Germany.*] The ſecond of theſe two facts is contained in theſe words of Eraſmus. *De regno quod ſcripſi, plebem lingua temperare, magiſtratum nihil gerere, niſi ex ipſorum ſententia, ſenatu movere, qui à doctrina ipſorum diſſentiunt; conjicere in carcerem, qui verbo ipſos tetigerit, fœderibus ſeſe communire, an non hoc eſt regnare? Damnavit hoc in illis egregius ille vir Jacobus Faber, quum metu ceſſerat Galliis, & in Germaniam conceſſerat* (26). i. e. "As to what I "wrote concerning their affecting Sovereignty, is it "not affecting Sovereignty to govern the common "people with their tongues, to ſuffer the Ma- "giſtrates to do nothing but what they approve, "to put out of the Senate thoſe who differ from "them in point of doctrine, to caſt thoſe into "priſon

(26) Eraſm. *Epiſt. ad Fratres Germaniæ inferi.* folio m. Q. 4. *verſo.*

☞FEVRE (TANEGUI LE), in Latin *Faber*, was born at Caen in Normandy in the year 1615 of a good family [*A*]. His father determined to educate him to learning, at the ſollicitations of one of his brothers, who was an Eccleſiaſtic, and who promiſed to aſſiſt his nephew in his ſtudies, and take him into his own houſe. At twelve years of age his uncle begun to inſtruct him in the Latin tongue [*B*]; and in ſix months our Author made a greater progreſs in that language than other children generally do in two years. But his uncle being a man of prodigious ſeverity, ſtruck ſuch a terror upon him, that his father could not perſuade him to proſecute his ſtudies till he took him home, and put him under another Preceptor, who was an Eccleſiaſtic, and though well ſkilled in the Latin tongue, intirely ignorant of the Greek. But the young le Fevre already convinced of the neceſſity of the latter language, undertook to learn it of himſelf [*C*], and ſoon made as great a progreſs in it as he did in the Latin under his Preceptor. A year and an half after this his father ſent him to the College of la Fleche, where he went thro' a courſe of Rhetoric and Philoſophy. The Jeſuits uſed their utmoſt efforts to engage him to continue with them, but in vain; for as ſoon as he had paſſed thro' his courſe of Philoſophy he returned to Caen to his father, who being charmed with the genius and learning of his ſon, adviſed him to enter into holy Orders, as the readieſt way to advancement for a perſon of ſmall fortune. But our Author was inflexible in this point to the perſuaſions of his father and uncle, and having continued ſome years in Normandy, went to Paris, where he gained the friendſhip of ſeveral perſons of the higheſt diſtinction. Monſieur des Noyers recommended him to Cardinal de Richelieu, who gave him a penſion of two thouſand livres to inſpect all the works printed at the Louvre, and to chooſe ſuch of the various readings of the antient Authors, as he ſhould moſt approve of. The Cardinal deſigned to have made him Principal of the College, which he was about to erect at Richelieu, to continue his penſion, and to ſettle on him a very conſiderable ſtipend for that purpoſe. But the Cardinal's death cut off our Author's hopes; for Mazarin, who ſucceeded him, having no great reliſh for learning, the Louvre-preſs became almoſt uſeleſs, and Monſieur la Fevre's penſion was very ill paid. Upon this he quitted his employment, and continued ſome years at Paris without any occupation beſides his ſtudies, the fruits of which were ſeveral excellent works, which he afterwards publiſhed [*D*]. Some

" priſon who ſpeak a word againſt them, and to " ſtrengthen themſelves by alliances? This is what " that excellent perſon James le Fevre, who had for " fear fled from France into Germany, condemned " in them." For the firſt fact I ſhall quote a paſſage of Florimond de Remond: " Le Fevre, who bore the " ſurname of d'Etaple, the village where he was borne, " a poor child, in the utmoſt want, and owned by " nobody, lived a long time in the territories of the " King of Navarre, ſowing many doubts and ſcru- " ples in the conſciences of thoſe who would hearken " to him, pretending at the ſame time to be a Catho- " lic. I remember formerly to have ſeen his tomb, " when the Church of Nerac was ſtanding, where- " on are theſe words:

" *Corpus humo, mentemque Deo, bona cuncta relinquo*
" *Pauperibus, Faber hæc, dum moreretur, ait.*

" My corps to th' earth, my ſoul to God,
" My goods to th' poor I give:
" Thus dying Faber made his will,
" And ſtraitway ceas'd to live.

(27) Flor. de Remond, *Hiſt. de la Naiſſance de l'Hereſie*, liv. 7. chap. 3. pag. m. 846, 847.

" No change was then made in Religion, or the cere- " monies of the Church. The King and Queen of " Navarre, tho' their devotion was obſerved to be cool- " ed by having converſed too familiarly with the fu- " gitives of Meaux, continued their uſual way of " life (27)."

(1) *Segraiſiana, ou Melange d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, recüelli des Entretiens de M. de Segrais.*

[*A*] *Born . . . of a good family.*] The Author of the *Segraiſiana* (1), upon what grounds is uncertain, aſſerts that his father was a Ditcher, (*Foſſoyeur*), in the Pariſh of St. John in Caen. It is true, he had been no good œconomiſt, and was unhappily too fond of travelling, to be maſter of any conſiderable fortune (2).

(2) Niceron, *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 3. pag. 105, 106. edit. de Paris 1727.

[*B*] *At twelve years of age his uncle began to inſtruct him in the Latin Tongue.*] Before he was put to ſtudy, his uncle obſerving, that he had an excellent voice and ear, was deſirous that he ſhould learn Muſic. This was his employment from his eighth to his twelfth year. He made a great progreſs in this ſcience, and at eleven years of age ſung and played with prodigious judgment (3).

(3) Idem, ibid.

[*C*] *But the young le Fevre already convinced of the neceſſity of the latter language, undertook to learn it of himſelf.*] He was often heard to ſay, that when a perſon is maſter of a little good ſenſe and judgment, he has no occaſion for a maſter in the languages; and that the greateſt difficulty is to learn to read. When he had learned the Greek Grammar, and read ſome chapters of the New Teſtament, he began Homer and the Tragic Writers, after the example of Joſeph Scaliger (4), who began the ſtudy of the Greek Language with thoſe Writers (5).

(4) Idem, ibid.

[*D*] *The fruits of which were ſeveral excellent works, which he afterwards publiſhed.*] The Catalogue of his works is as follows: I. *Luciani de Morte Peregrini Libellus. Cum Notis Tan. Fabri.* Paris 1653 in 4to. The Dedication to Iſaac Sarravius, the ſon of Claudius Sarravius, is dated at Saumur July 23d 1653. In the Preface Monſr. le Fevre obſerves, that of all Lucian's writings there is ſcarce any one comparable to his Treatiſe *concerning the Death of Peregrinus*; and that having a deſign to publiſh an edition of all that Writer's Works, he thought proper to reviſe this Treatiſe with the utmoſt care, and print it, in order that if the learned World ſhould approve of it, he might publiſh an Edition of Lucian, which ſhould be purged from innumerable errors, with which the common Editions abound, and ſhew the negligence, or ignorance of the former Tranſlators. In his Notes (6) he remarks, that it is evident from the ſenſe being broken off in one place, that Lucian had introduced there many things againſt Chriſt, which had been caſtrated by our anceſtors, men of too great zeal and piety. We ſhall give the learned reader our Author's own words. *Iſtæc vocula γᾶν & ſenſus repente abruptus ſatis indicant multa hic a Luciano adverſus Chriſtum ſcripta fuiſſe, quæ a majoribus noſtris, hominibus nimium piis, ſublata fuere. Hinc itaque eſt quod dixerat Suidas, Lucianum καὶ θάπτεσθαι τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν καὶ αὐτὸν βλασφημεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Περεγρίνου βίῳ, (melius dixiſſet ἐν τῇ τοῦ Περεγρίνου τελευτῇ) hinc factum ut in pleriſque MSS. Codd. non amplius extet Peregrinus. Penè tamen quod hic non itidem fecere ut apud Joſephum, quem (quod mirere) Origines duobus tribuſve locis aſſerit contra Chriſtum ſcripſiſſe, & tamen hodie laudat. Quî factum? Nil enim facilius. In hunc locum κακηγορίας ſuffecere ἐγκώμιον. O timidam Pietatem!* II. *Diatribe, Fl. Joſephi de Jeſu Chriſto Teſtimonium ſuppoſitum eſſe.* Saumur 1655 in 8vo.

(5) *Vide* Joſ. Scaligeri, *Epiſt.* 1. lib. 1. pag. 46. edit. Francofurti 1628 in 8vo.

(6) Cap. 2. pag. 67.

In

Some time after the Marquis de Franciere, Governor of Langres, who was one of his friends, took him along with him to his government. It was there that he left the Church of Rome for that of the Reformed; and having taken his leave of the Marquis returned to Paris, after he had communicated with the Proteſtants at Is-ſur-Tille near Dijon. He continued but a ſhort time at Paris, and retired to Preuilly, a little town in Touraine, where he ſtaid ſome years. The Univerſity of Saumur was then in a flouriſhing

In this *Diſſertation* he endeavours to ſhew, that the famous teſtimony of Joſephus concerning our Saviour is ſuppoſititious; and obſerves, I. That there are many things in it inconſiſtent with the character of Joſephus, who was a Phariſee, a Jewiſh Prieſt, and zealous for his Religion. II. That the ſtyle of it is unlike that of Joſephus. III. He objects to theſe words Ἰησοῦς τις. and to this expreſſion, εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή, which ſeem to intimate that Jeſus was God, whereas the Jews expected their Meſſiah to be only a man. IV. That the Author of this Teſtimony did not pay ſufficient regard to the ignorance of his Gentile Readers, for whom his Antiquities appear chiefly to be written. V. That there is no mention of John the Baptiſt's going before him. VI. That the paſſage is not connected with the preceding, ſo that it appears like an interpolation. VII. That it appears from St. Jerom's words that he ſuſpected a fraud here. VIII. That it is not taken notice of by Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Theodorit, or Photius. IX. He produces two paſſages out of Origen's Commentaries on St. Matthew, and his Books againſt Celſus, in oppoſition to this Teſtimony, as it now ſtands, and endeavours to ſhew, that the contrary ſenſe was rather contained in the manuſcripts of Origen. X. That Euſebius, upon whoſe authority the Teſtimony depends, was the Author and Interpolator of it. *Poſtquam ſatis, ut videtur, à nobis probatum eſt in hoc teſtimonio Joſephi fraudem poſteris factam fuiſſe, unum nunc ſupereſſe videtur, quod quis ex me percontetur, quonam ſcilicet tempore ſuſpicer illud παρεγχείρημα admiſſum fuiſſe? Quæ res haud difficulter inveniri poteſt: id enim ab Origenis tempore ad Euſebii ætatem factum, mihi liquet dejerare. Ille autem circa annum CCXXII & paullo inferius florebat; at Euſebius ſub Conſtantino Magno. Conſtat autem ex iis, quæ ſunt à nobis ſcripta ſuperius, nondum eam corruptelam in Joſephi libros irrepſiſſe, quo tempore ſcribebat Origines. Itaque conſtet neceſſe eſt, id intra illud tempus admiſſum fuiſſe, quod ab Origine ad Euſebium fluxit. Mihi autem imprimis credibile ſit, auctorem hujus τιχογράφου eſſe Euſebium.* At the cloſe of this Diſſertation he remarks, that if any perſons ſhould cenſure him for want of piety in preſſing theſe objections, he would aſk them, what affinity there is between light and darkneſs, Chriſt and Belial; and whether the truth of the Chriſtian Religion ought to be united to the pious frauds of a jealous zeal? "Otherwiſe, *ſays he*, why do not we admit "thoſe trifling writings, commonly read under the title "of the *Sibylline Oracles*, and other pieces of that "kind, in which a great many true and glorious "things are ſpoken of our Saviour? When the Spi"rit of Divination or of Python, which we read of "in the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſtiled St. Paul and Silas "very truly *the Servants of the moſt high God*, and de"clared that they *ſhewed the way of ſalvation*; tho' "the falſe ſpirit ſpake truth, yet St. Paul did not think "that he ſtood in need of the teſtimony of the Devil, who "was a lyar from the beginning. And thus I think I "may juſtly affirm, that we have no occaſion for this "teſtimony in favour of Chriſt, which has been frau"dulently inſerted." *Si qui porro erunt, ut ſunt varia hominum judicia, qui exiſtiment, non ſatis piè feciſſe me, qui hæc moverim; ex iis perconter libens, ecquid commune eſſe putent lucem inter & tenebras, Chriſtum inter & Belialem. Nihil, ut opinor. Quid autem? Veritas Chriſtianæ Religionis cum fraudibus timidæ pietatis conjungi debeat? Ne dixeris. Alioqui nugatoria illa ſcripta, quæ vulgo ſub Sybillarum nomine leguntur, & alia id genus, quibus de Jeſu D. multa & verè & magnificè memorantur, cur, quæſo, non amplectimur? Cur olim &c.* He owns indeed, that he was greatly averſe to that gloomy and timorous kind of Religion, ſo commonly approved of; but that no perſon could ſhew that he had ever in the leaſt departed from true and genuine Religion. "I entertain, *continues he*, no "ideas of the Deity, which are low and mean, and "and depreſs him to our bodily ſervices, but on the "contrary am fully perſuaded, that thoſe people, "who diſtort their eyes and lift up their hands to "heaven in the churches with ſo much affectation, "and ſighing cry perpetually, *Lord, Lord*, and by "that means impoſe on the vulgar, cover themſelves "with the ſanction of pretended piety, while "they are really hypocrites. So much difference do "I think there is between form and true piety, be"tween the ſtage and the church, between a theatri"cal actor, and a ſincere worſhipper, who, as Chriſt "ſays in St. John, *worſhippeth the Father in ſpirit and* "*in truth.*" *Scio equidem, & ultro confiteor, longè me ab illâ lacrymoſâ & meticuloſâ pietate, quam hodie video in vulgus tantopere placere, naturâ & moribus abhorrere, ut qui maximè; ſed veræ tamen ſinceræque pietatis officio digreſſum unquam fuiſſe, me qui probet, hominem ſcio natum neminem. Videlicet de Deo nil parvum, nil humile ſentio; nihil, quod eum ad corporis noſtri miniſterium deprimat. Quin contra, mihi planè perſuaſum iſtos, qui in templis orantes ſibi oculos miſerè pervertunt, manuſque ad cœlum perpetuo jactant, qui ſuſpirabundi identidem exclamant, Domine, Domine, illaque ratione popello imponunt, falſo ſe religionis nomine tutari; uſque adeo magnum intereſſe diſcrimen arbitror inter geſticulationem & germanam pietatem, inter theatrum & templum, inter ſcenicum artificem & ἀληθινὸν προσκυνητὴν, ὅσις, ut ait Chriſtus apud Joannem, τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνεῖ.* This Diſſertation of our Author is particularly anſwered by the learned Mr. Charles Daubuz in his Treatiſe, intitled, *De Teſtimonio Flavii Joſephi de Jeſu Chriſto Libri duo.* III. *Luciani Timon*, with a Latin Verſion and Notes. He eſteemed his Edition of Lucian *de Morte Peregrini* much more than this of *Timon*, probably becauſe the former is much more correct than the latter. IV. *Epiſtolarum pars I.* Saumur 1659 4to. *Pars II. cui accedunt Ariſtophanis Concionatrices Græcè & Latinè cum Notis.* Saumur 1665 in 4to. Theſe Letters are intirely Philological. We find in them a great number of corrections of paſſages in antient Authors; but complaints have been made againſt the boldneſs of theſe corrections, which are not all founded upon the authority of Manuſcripts, which Monſieur le Fevre never gave himſelf the trouble to conſult, but only upon his own imagination. Let us ſee what Monſieur Gallois writes in the *Journal des Sçavans* (7). "All the ſub- (7) Du May 3, 1666.
"jects, which the Author treats of here, are almoſt
"intirely critical. We ſee here a great many paſſages
"of the Antients explained with a good deal of
"learning, ingenious conjectures in order to reſtore
"places which appeared to be corrupted, and fine re-
"marks relating to Hiſtory and Chronology. But it is
"difficult to ſay, whether this critical talent of Monſr.
"le Fevre is of more advantage or prejudice to the
"Authors of whom he treats. For if he has il-
"luſtrated ſeveral paſſages of their Works, he has
"diſcovered a great many conſiderable defects in
"them, and even pretended to ſhew that they fre-
"quently did not underſtand the language which they
"made uſe of in their Books, nor the Authors cited
"in them; and among others mentions as inſtances
"of this, Livy, Terence, Ariſtotle, Horace, Taci-
"tus, Euſebius, Euſtathius, &c. Nor is he ſatisfied
"to correct the Hiſtorians and Poets, but has carried
"his criticiſm even into the Scripture itſelf, in which
"he has touched upon many places, changing the
"words, tranſpoſing the Periods, and ſometimes cut-
"ting off intire lines, and this without bringing any
"proof of what he advances, except that it ſeems to
"him that the ſenſe would be better and more intel-
"ligible. In the Comedy of *Ariſtophanes*, which he
"has ſubjoined to the *Second Part*, with a Latin Ver-
"ſion and very learned Notes, he might have omit-
"ted to explain with ſo much diligence certain ob-
"ſcenities, in which the Poet himſelf had affected to
"be obſcure. At leaſt it will appear abſurd to find

riſhing ſtate, and great care was taken to admit none for Profeſſors, but thoſe who were eminent for their learning. While Monſieur le Fevre lived in Touraine, the place of Regent of the third Claſs fell vacant, and being offered to him, he accepted it preferably to the Profeſſorſhip of Greek at Nimeguen, to which he was invited at the ſame time. His merit was ſoon known, and drew to him from all parts of the Kingdom, and even foreign countries, a great number of ſcholars, many of whom boarded at his houſe. He had afterwards a conteſt with the Univerſity and Conſiſtory of Saumur, on account

" in the ſame Volume an explication of ſeveral paſſa-
" ges of Scripture, and of the moſt ſhocking expreſſions
" of Ariſtophanes, that is, of the moſt impure writing
" among the Pagans, and of what is eſteemed the
" moſt ſacred by Chriſtians." V. *Journal du Journal, ou Cenſure de la Cenſure.* Saumur, 1666 in 4to. The judgment paſſed upon his *Letters* in the *Journal des Sçavans*, cited above, was too ſevere upon him, not to raiſe his reſentment. He ſhews by the vivacity of this piece, that he was extremely piqued. Monſr. Gallois (8) in his account of this Anſwer in his Journal did not at all ſpare our Author; and this drew upon him as keen a reply, which was intitled, VI. *Seconde Journaline.* Saumur 1660 in 4to. VII. *Dionyſii Longini de ſublimi Libellus, Græcè & Latinè, cum Notis.* Saumur 1663, in 12mo. Theſe Notes of Monſieur le Fevre upon Longinus were his favourite piece. Monſr. Graverol was of opinion, that it was this which procured him a penſion of five hundred crowns, which the King, to whom it was dedicated, gave him (9). Monſieur Boileau in the *Preface* to his *Tranſlation of Longinus* tells us, that our Author's ſhort Notes upon that Writer were of great uſe to him. Monſieur le Fevre had promiſed to write larger Notes upon Longinus; but they were never publiſhed. VIII. *Phædri Fabulæ cum notis & Gallicâ Verſione.* Saumur, 1664 in 12mo. IX. *Lucretius cum conjecturis, emendationibus, & notulis perpetuis.* Saumur 1662 in 4to. The ſecond Edition, to which are added *Obertus Giphanius's Life of Lucretius* and *Dionyſius Lambinus's Index*, was publiſhed at Cambridge in 1686 in 12mo. Our Author dedicated this Work to Monſieur Peliſſon, when he was in the Baſtille; which was an effect of his gratitude. Monſieur Peliſſon had given him a penſion of an hundred crowns, which was paid him by Monſieur Menage, becauſe Monſieur Peliſſon was not willing it ſhould be known that it came from him. It was paid for four years till the impriſonment of that Gentleman, when Monſieur Menage acquainted Monſieur le Fevre with the name of his benefactor, who was no longer capable of ſerving him (10). X. *Abregè des Vies des Poetes Grecs. Le Marriage de Belfegor, nouvelle Italienne, traduite en François. La Vie de Theſée, traduite du Grec de Plutarque en François.* Saumur 1665 in 12mo. *The Lives of the Greek Poets* are written according to Monſieur Sallo (11), " in a very agreeable manner,
" and were received with ſo much the more applauſe,
" as there was nothing written in the French Lan-
" guage upon that ſubject." But Monſieur Baillet (12) adds to this judgment, that *as taſtes are different, the ſame ſtyle, which is agreeable to ſome, appeared very diſagreeable to others, who thought it extremely low, and full of an affectation, which, in their opinion, ſavoured a little of pedantry. Beſides, the Author might have ſaid much more upon the ſubject than he has done. However*, continues Monſieur Baillet, *there is a great deal of Learning in this collection; and it is a pity that he did not inform us of the vaſt aſſiſtance which he received from the Work of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi.* Monſr. de la Monnoye obſerves upon this paſſage of Baillet that " Monſieur le Fevre ſometimes inclined to ſhew
" himſelf a man of wit and humour, but never the
" pedant. His deſign in his *Short Account of the Lives*
" *of the Greek Poets*, was at once to inſtruct and divert
" the young Count de Limoges, to whom it is ad-
" dreſſed. As he went immediately to the ſame ſources
" with Giraldi, he could not avoid agreeing with him;
" and upon the ſame account he did not think himſelf
" obliged to cite him." Mr. Reland republiſhed this treatiſe at Amſterdam 1700 in 12°, with a ſmall number of learned Notes, but without the two other pieces which have no relation to it. *The Marriage of Belfegor* is a Novel tranſlated out of the Italian of Machiavel, in which that Author ſhews in an ingenious manner, that there are women ſometimes to be found, who are worſe than the Devil, and even bad enough to provoke the Devil himſelf. *The Life of Theſeus* is not a mere Tranſlation of Plutarch; but our Author has inſerted divers ſupplements extracted from various Writers, in order to render this Life compleat. But he has taken care to diſtinguiſh by a different character what does not belong to Plutarch. XI. *Le Feſtin de Xenophon, traduit en François.* Paris 1666 in 12mo, XII. *Premier Alcibiade de Platon mis en François.* Paris 1666 in 12mo. Monſieur le Fevre has added Notes at the end of this Tranſlation, in which he has reſtored ſeveral paſſages, which Marſilius Ficinus and Serranus did not underſtand. XIII. *Traitè de la Superſtition compoſé par Plutarque, & traduit en François, avec un Entretien ſur la vie de Romulus.* Saumur, 1666 in 12mo. The Diſcourſe on *the Life of Romulus* contains the Hiſtory of that King only till the Rape of the Sabine Women. XIV. *Cl. Æliani variæ Hiſtoriæ, Græcè & Latinè, emendatæ à T. Fabro.* Saumur, 1667 in 8vo. XV. *Eutropii Hiſtoria Romana, cum Viris Illuſtribus Aurelii Victoris, cum brevibus Notis.* Saumur, 1667 in 8vo. XVI. *Juſtini Epitome Hiſtoriarum Univ. Trogi Pompeii cum Emendationibus & Notis.* Saumur, 1667 in 12mo. XVII. *Terentii Comœdiæ ex recenſione & cum Notulis T. Fabri.* Saumur 1671 in 12mo. The Dedication to Cardinal Bouillon is dated at Saumur in May 1671. At the end of the Notes is ſubjoined a Tranſlation by our Author in Latin Verſe of Bion Smyrnæus's *Lamentatio Veneris ad Adonin.* XVIII. *Q. Horatii Flacci Opera cum Notulis.* Saumur 1671 in 12mo. XIX. *Apollodori Athenienſis de Deorum origine Libri III. Græcè & Latinè recenſiti, & Notis illuſtrati.* Saumur 1661, in 8vo. XX. *La Vie d'Ariſtippe, traduite du Grec de Diogene Laerce.* Paris 1667 in 12mo. Inſerted in the *Memoires de Literature de Salengre*, Tom. II. part 2. XXI. *Virgilii Opera cum Notis.* Saumur 1675 in 12mo. XXII. *Plinii Panegyricus ex recenſione Tan. Fabri.* Saumur 1671 in 12mo. XXIII. *Dionyſii Alexandrini de ſitu Orbis Liber, Græcè & Latinè, ex recenſione Tan. Fabri.* Saumur 1676 in 8vo. XXIV. *Methode par commencer les Humanitez Grecques & Latines.* Inſerted by Monſieur de Sallengre in his *Memoires de Litterature*, Tome II. part 2. It was reprinted at Paris in 1731 in 12mo with Remarks by Monſieur *Gaulher.* This piece was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. *J. T. Philipps*, now Preceptor to his Highneſs Prince William; and publiſhed in a Book, the ſecond Edition of which was printed at London in 1723 in 12mo under this title: *A compendious Way of teaching antient and modern Languages, formerly practiſed by the learned* Tanaquil Faber, *in the Education of one of his ſons, and of his daughter the celebrated Madam* Dacier, *and now with little Alteration ſucceſsfully executed in London. To which are added ſome Tracts and Obſervations on the ſame ſubject, by ſeveral eminent men, viz.* Roger Aſcham, *(Tutor to Queen* Elizabeth), Richard Carew. *Mr.* Milton, *Mr.* Locke, *&c. With an Account of the Education of the Dauphin by* J. B. Boſſuet, *Biſhop of Meaux.* XXV. *Anacreontis & Saphonis Carmina, Græcè & Latinè, cum Notis.* Saumur 1680 in 12mo. The Latin Notes in this Edition have been joined to the French Tranſlation of theſe Poems by Madam Dacier in the Amſterdam Edition of 1716 in 8vo. XXVI. *Scaligerana, ou bons mots, rencontres agreeables, & remarques judicieuſes & ſavantes de J. Scaliger, avec des Notes de* Tanneguy le Fevre, *& de* Paul Colomiez. Groningen 1669 in 12mo. Cologne 1695 in 12mo. This *Scaligerana* is intitled *prima*, to diſtinguiſh it from another, which was printed before, that is in 1666 under the title of *Scaligeriana, ſive Excerpta ex ore Joſephi Scaligeri. Per F. F. P. P.* (13); but was not made till after. That publiſhed by Monſieur le Fevre is intirely in Latin, whereas the other is a mixture of Latin and French. Francis Sigonius being deſirous of printing it ſhewed it Monſieur le Fevre and Monſieur Colomiez, who added Notes to it, which is an advantage that the other Collection wants. XXVII. *Fabulæ ex Locmanii Arabico Latinis Verſibus redditæ.* Saumur 1673 in 12mo.

(8) *Journal des Sçavans*, du 12 Juillet 1666.

(9) Niceron, pag. 121.

(10) *Menagiana*, tom. 2.

(11) *Journal des Sçavans*, du 12 Janvier, 1665.

(12) *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. pag. 59. edit. Amſterdam 1725, in 4to.

(13) i. e. *Fratres Puteanos.*

account of his having written in one of his books, that he could pardon Sappho's paſſion for thoſe of her own ſex, ſince it had inſpired her with ſo beautiful an Ode upon that ſubject, which Catullus has tranſlated almoſt intire. Upon this diſpute he would have reſigned his place, if he could have procured one elſewhere. At laſt in 1672 the Prince Palatine invited him upon very advantageous terms to the Univerſity of Heidelberg; and our Author was preparing to remove thither, when he was ſeized by a fever, which proved fatal to him in eleven days. He died September the 12th 1672, aged fifty ſeven years (*a*). Monſieur Huet, Biſhop of Avranches, tells us (*b*), that he had almoſt perſuaded our Author to reconcile himſelf to the Church of Rome, and that he ſignified to him his reſolution to do ſo in a Letter written a few months before his death, which prevented him from executing his deſign. He was agreeable in his perſon, and his ſtature was above the common ſtandard, but he was a little ſtiff in his behaviour. He was good-natured, but ſomewhat blunt in his converſation. He had an averſion to a lie, and could not bear great talkers. He was very charitable and compaſſionate; and though he had broken off almoſt all converſation to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, yet he had a great affection for his friends, and took prodigious pleaſure in ſerving them. As he was a man of vaſt fire, he ſoon fell into ſtarts of paſſion in his family, but they were over in a moment. His books, his children, and his garden, in which he cultivated all kinds of flowers himſelf, were his ordinary diverſions. He eat little, and was employed almoſt always while he was eating. He ſlept likewiſe very little. In his youth he went late to bed; but he afterwards changed that method. For the laſt ten years of his life he went to bed at nine, and frequently at eight. The leaſt noiſe would awake him, and whenever he awoke he roſe, whatever the hour was. This manner of living, with the cuſtom, which he gave into in the latter part of his life by the advice of his Phyſician, of drinking his wine unmixed with water, inflamed his blood, and occaſioned the fever, which put an end to his life. In this fever, though he was for the moſt part of the time delirious, he tranſlated into Latin verſe eighteen Fables of Locman, the Eaſtern Sage. Beſides his invitations to Nimeguen and Heidelberg, he was offered the Profeſſorſhip of Greek at Utrecht and at Leyden. He was juſt ready to accept of the latter offer, and to diſpoſe of his eſtate for that purpoſe, when he was diverted from it by a letter of Mr. Diodati to him from Geneva. But others affirm, that an amour of his at Saumur had more effect upon him than Diodati's letter; and it is reported that this amour diverted him from accepting another offer at Paris [*E*]. We ſhall give the character of him as a ſcholar in the note [*F*]. By his wife Mary Olivier he had a ſon named *Tanegui le Fevre*, Author of

(*a*) See his *Eloge* by Monſ. Graverol; *and* Monſ. Huet's *Hiſtoire de la Ville de Caen*; *and* Niceron, *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 3. pag. 105, & *ſeqq.* edit. Paris 1727.

(*b*) *Demonſtr. Evangel.* pag. 30. & *Comment. de Rebus ad eum pertinent.* lib. 4. pag. 249. edit. Amſtelod. 1718.

[*E*] *It is reported, that this amour diverted him from accepting another offer at Paris.*] Having taken a journey to Paris, Monſr. Colbert, who was deſirous of fixing him there, made him very advantageous offers, which had a great effect upon his mind. But of a ſudden, when his friends leaſt expected it, he went away to Saumur. It was believed, that his impatience to ſee his miſtreſs induced him to depart ſo abruptly. He was very near being drowned in this journey in the Loire, the boat being leaky on all ſides. When he had eſcaped the danger, he wrote a Diſtich, of which Madam *Dacier*, his daughter, could repeat only the laſt verſe to Monſr. *Graverol*; but Monſr. Cappel ſupplied the firſt in this manner:

Quid juvat haud periiſſe tuis, Ligurine ſub undis,
Si pereo flammis, O Ligurina, tuis.

His miſtreſs's name was Mademoiſelle *Liger*. This ſudden departure greatly diſpleaſed Monſr. Colbert: and Monſr. le Fevre ſoon after loſt his penſion of five hundred crowns, which the King had granted him for ſome years. It is not known whether this gallantry of his made him liberal, or whether he was naturally ſo; but it may be ſaid, that he was very expenſive with regard to his pleaſures. He was always very elegant in his dreſs, and as highly perfumed as Anacreon himſelf. He ſent conſtantly to England for whole boxes of gloves, ſilk-ſtockings, and pins, and to Paris and even Rome for all ſorts of eſſences, perfumes, and powders, which he diſtributed among his friends.

(14) Hierozoic. 2. 18.

[*F*] *We ſhall give the character of him as a ſcholar in the Note.*] Monſr. Bochart (14) ſtyles him a man excellently ſkilled in the Latin and Greek learning, and of uncommon ſagacity and penetration. *Non ſolum Græcis & Latinis Literis egregiè eſt imbutus, ſed & rarâ valet ἀγχινοίᾳ.* James Tollius tells us (15), that he was a perſon of great wit and pleaſantry, and wonderfully poliſhed by all the elegance of the Greek and Roman Literature. *Tanaquillus Faber, homo, dum vixit, perfacetus fuit, omnique Græcâ & Latinâ urbanitate mirificè excultus.* Dr. Guy Patin (16) in a Letter dated at Paris Sept. 21. 1666 gives him the character of an excellent perſon, and one of the firſt rank of learned men of that age, and obſerves that he was juſt then returned from Paris to Saumur. Nicholas Heinſius (17) repreſents him as a man of learning and genius, but very opinionated of himſelf. Daniel Morhof (18) ſays, that he "was very learned, a good Philologer, well "ſkilled in the Greek Language, of a very fine and "enterprizing genius, who from his own imagination "made a great many alterations in Authors, though "deſtitute of manuſcripts; which raſhneſs however "ſometimes ſucceeded very well with him, who by "his own ſagacity ſaw what others ſearch for with "great labour in manuſcripts. But he is more than "once ſeverely animadverted upon by other Writers "on account of his preſumption; for he frequently "corrects at his pleaſure corrupt paſſages, and makes "prodigious alterations in Writers. Many of his con"jectures are contained in his Epiſtles, of which "there are two Books, in which he explains the paſ"ſages of the ancients contrary to the opinion of eve"ry body; tho' he is highly to be valued on account "of the elegance and acuteneſs of his genius." *Tanaquillus Faber, vir doctiſſimus fuit, Philologus, Græcarum Literarum peritiſſimus, velocis ſed & audacioris ingenii, Salmurienſis Academiæ Profeſſor; multa ex ingenio ſuo in Autoribus repoſuit, etſi manuſcriptis libris deſtitutus; quæ tamen ipſi temeritas nonnunquam feliciter ceſſit, ingenii ſolertiâ ſæpe percipienti, quod alii magno labore in manuſcriptis requirunt. Non ſemel tamen aliis ob audaciam ſuam vapulat ſcriptoribus; nam corrigit ſæpe pro libitu mendoſa loca,*

Deſtruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.

Multa ſuarum conjecturarum complexus eſt Epiſtolis ſuis, quarum libri duo ſunt, quibus autorum veterum loca adverſus omnium ſententias explicat, ob feſtivitatem ingenii & acumen magno in pretio habendus. Monſr. Huet, Biſhop of Avranches, aſſures us (19), that our Author was anciently ſkilled in the Greek and Roman, and all the ancient learning: *Græcis Latiniſque Doctrinis, omniſque*

(17) *Not. in Ovid. de Arte Amandi*, lib. 2. ver. 660.

(18) *Polyhiſt.* pag. 297, 298.

(19) *Commentar. de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. 4. pag. 249. edit. Amſtelod. 1718.

(16) *Lettres choiſies de feu Monſ. Guy Patin*, Let. 148. pag. 416. edit. Francfort 1683.

(15) *Fortuit.* pag. 320.

(c) Printed at Amſterdam 1697 in 12mo.

of a ſmall Tract *de Futilitate Poetices* (c), who was a Miniſter in Holland, and afterwards fifteen or ſixteen years at London, and in 1697 went to Paris, where he embraced the Romiſh Religion; and two daughters, one of whom was the celebrated Madam Dacier, and the other married to Paul Bauldri Profeſſor at Utrecht. A letter of John Henry Horbius dated January the 6th 1700, and inſerted in the *Acta Literaria* of Struvius (d) is full of miſtakes [G].

(d) *Faſc. VI.* pag. 45.

omniſque antiquitatis peritia inſigniter excultum. Father Niceron obſerves (20), that "his Latin ſtyle is fine "and delicate, without any points or affectation; "every thing is expreſſed very happily in it. He "had likewiſe a good genius for Greek and Latin "Poetry; and his Verſes are worthy of the better "Ages. His French ſtyle has not the Graces of his "Latin. He knew well enough the rules of our lan-"guage, but he did not truly underſtand the true ge-"nius and natural propriety of it. As he lived in "the Province, that is, almoſt out of the world, he "wrote more by ſtudy than cuſtom, and he has not al-"ways obſerved the French turn and idiom. Be-"ſides he ſpoiled his ſtyle by a vicious affectation, en-"deavouring to mix the ſerious of Balzac with the "humour and pleaſantry of Voiture. Notwithſtand-"ing theſe defects, what he has written in our lan-"guage will ſtill pleaſe; and if his Tranſlations have "not all the elegance poſſible, they ſupport them-"ſelves by their accuracy, and the learned Remarks, "which accompany them." Mr. William Baxter in the Dedication of his edition of Anacreon (21) ſtiles him *futilis Gallus*, and affirms that our Author in his Notes upon that Poet every where trifles, and with all his ſelf-conceit and vanity has ſhewn himſelf abſolutely unfit for that taſk. *Satius duxerim aliquantulum ingenio meo indulgere, atque adeò pro audaculo à nonnullis cenſeri, quam cum futili Gallo (Tanaquillum Fabrum dico) quicquid non intelligerem pro falſo vel ſuppoſititio habere; quem quidem virum ubique ineptiiſſe, & nihil uſquam μετὰ τοσαύτης οἰήσεως καὶ δυκησισοφίας videre potuiſſe, verum in omnibus prorſus fuiſſe ὄνον πρὸς λύραν, quod Græcis dicitur, non ſine ſummâ indignatione admiror.* In another place (22) he writes thus; *Nugatur etiam* Tanaquillus Faber, *ut ſolet*; in another place (23) he ſtyles him *Criticaſter Gallus*.

(20) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 117.

(21) Printed at London 1695, in 12mo.

(22) Note 24, pag. 13.

(23) Note 40. pag. 19.

[G] *A Letter of* John Henry Horbius *relating to our Author . . . is full of miſtakes.*] Horbius's words are as follow. *In Galliâ* Tanaquillus Faber *defendit Copiſtas, ita vocat, Codicis ſacri non majorem Spiritus Sancti habuiſſe aſſiſtentiam, quam qui Pindarum deſcripſerunt, aut Ovidium, & contrarium urget Dominus* Gepé *Pariſienſis. Occaſio Litigii hinc ſumma, quod* Faber *in Epiſtolarum opere aliqua Novi Teſtamenti loca correxerit; quod cum reprehendiſſet Dominus* Gepé, *Criticæ arti infenſus, adverſarium laceſſivit eruditiſſimum, qui hoc anno duos contra ipſum libellos edidit, & in his non ſolum Dominum* Gepé, *ſed & Collegium ipſum, cujus membrum eſt*; des Sçavans, *ſive eruditorum Pariſienſium refutavit, horumque conamen in cenſendis aliorum operibus fruſtraneum eſſe dixit; addens erudite quid ad hoc requiratur, ſi eruditorum opera judicari debeant, quod cum deſit bonis illis viris, nihil boni ab ipſis expectandum eſſe.* i. e. "In "France *Tanaquil Faber* aſſerts, that the Copyiſts of "the holy Scriptures had no more aſſiſtance of the "Holy Ghoſt, than thoſe who tranſcribed Pindar or "Ovid; and the contrary is maintained by Monſr. "Gepé of Paris. The chief occaſion of the diſpute "aroſe from this, that Faber in his *Epiſtles* corrected "ſome paſſages of the New Teſtament; which being "cenſured by Monſr. Gepé, who is an enemy to cri-"tical learning, and who exaſperated his very learn-"ed Antagoniſt, Faber publiſhed this year two Books "againſt him, in which he confuted not only Monſr. "Gepé, but likewiſe the whole College *des Sçavans* or "learned men at Paris, of which he is a Member, "and aſſerted that their attempt to paſs a judgment up-"on the works of others is to no purpoſe, ſhewing "with great erudition what qualifications are neceſſary "for paſſing a judgment upon the writings of learned "men; which being wanting in thoſe honeſt Gentle-"men, nothing valuable is to be expected from them." What a number of errors are here in a few words? I. Who could diſcover Monſr. *Gallois* under the name of Monſr. *Gepé*, whom Horbius thro' a pleaſant miſtake thought proper to make an Author, becauſe Monſr. *Gallois* has prefixed to his *Journal des Sçavans* the two Letters *G. P.* which ſignify *Gallois Prêtre?* II. Horbius gives us to underſtand that there was then a ſociety conſiſting of ſeveral perſons engaged in writing that Journal. But this was not the caſe in Monſieur Gallois's time. III. It ſeems by what he ſays of Monſieur Gallois, that this learned man abſolutely rejected Criticiſm; which is falſe, ſince he only condemned the abuſe of it. IV. The two pieces publiſhed by Monſr. le Fevre are not of the year 1670, but of 1666. T.

FEVRET (*a*). Monſieur Charles Fevret, ſon of Monſieur James Fevret, the King's Counſellor in the Parliament of Dijon, was born at Semur in Auxois in the year 1583.

(a) See the Advertiſements concerning the 2d edition of Monſ. Bayle's Dictionary.

The famous Monſieur Genebrard, Archbiſhop of Aix, and Prior of our Lady at Semur, was an intimate friend of James Fevret, whom he ſtiles in his works, *Patronum rebus omnibus ornatum*, i. e. "his Patron adorned with all kind of perfections." He deſired him to ſuffer his ſon to accompany him in his journey to Rome; but this Prelate was found ſuddenly dead in his bed by his ſervant, who went to call him up the very morning he was to ſet out.

Monſieur Bongars, ſo well known to all men of letters, and by his works, was alſo one of James Fevret's friends. He wrote to him to aſk him his ſon Charles, who went to meet him at Mets in the year 1602, and attended him in his journey into Germany, whither King Henry IV ſent him Reſident from France to the Electors and Princes of the Empire.

Charles left him to go and ſtudy the Law at Heidelberg a famous Univerſity of Germany. Monſieur Godefroy was at that time Law Profeſſor there. He took great care of Charles Fevret, who was recommended to him by ſeveral perſons of quality and merit; he took him into his own houſe, and made him hold public diſputations with great applauſe.

In the year 1607 Charles Fevret returned to Dijon, where he married Miſtreſs Ann Brunet of Beaulne, by whom he had nineteen children. They brought up fourteen of them together during eight years. After his wife's death, which happened in the year 1637, he cauſed his bed to be made one half narrower, and did never marry again.

He gained great reputation at the Bar at Dijon, where he pleaded a great while with much eloquence and ſtrength, and did ſeveral public actions, for which he was univerſally eſteemed.

He was choſen Counſellor to the three eſtates of the Province.

In

In the year 1629 King Lewis XIII being come to Dijon in order to puniſh the Authors of a popular inſurrection, Charles Fevret was choſen to petition the King that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to pardon the guilty. He ſpoke for all the Corporations, and made ſuch an elegant diſcourſe, that the King commanded him to print it, and to ſend it to him at Lyons. His Majeſty pardoned the authors of the ſedition, and granted to Charles Fevret the place of Counſellor in the Parliament of Dijon. But as the performance of a Prince's command often depends on his Miniſters, Charles Fevret was given to underſtand, that the King's intention was, that he ſhould exerciſe himſelf the office of Counſellor, which his Majeſty had granted to him; but he refuſed it, becauſe he would not quit his profeſſion of an Advocate, of which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much glory and reputation. He was therefore obliged to be content with the poſt of King's Counſellor Secretary to the Court, with a penſion of nine hundred livres, which he obtained gratis.

As he was frequently ſent a Deputy to the Court, he was known to Monſieur de Marillac keeper of the Seals of France, who honoured him with his friendſhip.

As early as the years 1626, and 1627, Monſieur, the King's brother, had choſen him for his Counſellor in ordinary in all his affairs, and the Prince of Condé had made him Intendant of his houſe, and of his affairs in Burgundy.

He was continued in the ſame poſt by his ſon Lewis de Bourbon Prince of Condé, and during the life of theſe two Princes he was honoured with their favour in a very diſtinguiſhed manner. Frederic Caſimir Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and his conſort Amelia Antwerpia, born Princeſs of Orange, did alſo chooſe him for their Counſel and their Intendant for their affairs in Burgundy.

Charles Fevret had a particular correſpondence with all the learned Civilians in his time.

He publiſhed in 1645 a ſmall Latin Treatiſe, *De claris Fori Burgundici Oratoribus.* i. e. "Of the famous Lawyers belonging to the Court of Burgundy.

The firſt edition of his famous Treatiſe of Abuſes, and of the true Subjects of Appeals called by that name of Abuſe, was publiſhed in 1653. He enlarged it by half, which occaſioned a ſecond edition of it, publiſhed in 1667 after his death. The ſame Treatiſe has been reprinted a third time in 1677. He made an excellent Tranſlation of Pybrac's Quatrains in Latin Verſes, printed at Lyons in 1667, with a Commentary under this title, *De Officiis Vitæ Humanæ, ſive in Pybraci Tetraſticha Commentarius.*

Several Authors have mentioned him and his works in honourable terms. His motto was, *Conſcientia Virtuti ſatis amplum Theatrum eſt.* i. e. "Conſcience is a ſcene large "enough for virtue.

He died at Dijon in the year 1661, aged threeſcore and ſeventeen years: he left two ſons, both Counſellors in the Parliament of Dijon, and two grandſons, one of whom is alſo Counſellor in the Parliament of Dijon, and the other is Counſellor in the Parliament of Mets.

☞FIDDES (RICHARD) a learned Divine and polite Writer of the eighteenth Century, was born of reputable parents at Hunmanby near Scarborough in Yorkſhire, in 1671. From his infancy he diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to letters; to cultivate which he was more eſpecially encouraged by his uncle the Reverend Mr. Fiddes of Brightwell in Oxfordſhire, who was as a father to him. After having read the uſual Claſſicks at a private ſchool at Wickham, in the neighbourhood of Scarborough abovementioned, he was admitted into Corpus Chriſti, and then into Univerſity College in Oxford, where his genius, his ſprightly converſation and winning behaviour gained him many friends. Having taken his Bachelor's degree with applauſe in 1693, and exerciſed the genteel employment of Collector in the Univerſity abovementioned he returned to his friends, and married the ſame year Mrs. Jane Anderſon, a Gentlewoman well deſcended and of a good fortune. The year after he was ordained Prieſt by Dr. Sharp Archbiſhop of York; who being pleaſed with his behaviour and abilities, honoured him with his familiarity, and was very kind to him. Not long after he was preſented to the living of Halſham (about ninety pounds *per ann.*) in Holderneſs in Yorkſhire, where his affable behaviour, and his cloſe application to the duties of his function, endeared him to his pariſhioners. Here he was ſo unhappy as to be deprived in a great meaſure of his ſpeech [*A*], till which misfortune he had been admired for the ſweetneſs of his voice and the gracefulneſs of his delivery, the people ſome miles round flocking to his Sermons. He had ſo happy a memory,

[*A*] *To be deprived, in a great meaſure, of his ſpeech.*] Halſham being ſituated in a marſh, is conſequently very unhealthy, as our Author found to his misfortune, himſelf and his family being frequently afflicted with agues there. Going one Sunday afternoon to preach for a friend, whoſe living was two miles from his own, his ſpeech was almoſt taken from him at the cloſe of the Sermon, after which he had a violent fit of ſickneſs, and was ſcarce ever able to ſpeak but with the utmoſt ſlowneſs, and that very inarticulately. As Halſham was ſo prejudicial to our Author and his family, his Dioceſan, Dr. Sharp Archbiſhop of York, diſpenſed with his reſidence at his benefice for the future; upon which he removed to Wickham and continued there ſome months. A remarkable circumſtance was, that on ſome occaſions, as when he was in chearful company, which he liked, two or three glaſſes of wine (for he never was a drinker) would elevate his ſpirits in ſuch a manner, that he would deliver himſelf with the ſame fluency, and almoſt as articulately, as before the unhappy accident abovementioned.

a memory, that he retained every thing he read [*B*], and therefore never made uſe of a book in preaching. Being no longer able to diſplay his talents in the pulpit, and having a very numerous family, he reſolved to apply himſelf entirely to writing, and coming to London in 1712, was exhorted by many very ingenious men to devote himſelf to that way of life. By the favour of Dr. Swift Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin [*C*], he was introduced to the late Earl of Oxford, who gave him the moſt kind reception, and appointed him one of his Chaplains. He would certainly have riſen in the Church, had it not been for the impediment abovementioned; the late Queen, to whom he was introduced on occaſion of his publiſhing a volume of Sermons [*D*], expreſſing great eſteem for him. She ſoon after appointed him Chaplain to the Garriſon at Hull, and would have made an handſome proviſion for him and his family, had ſhe not been ſnatched away ſo ſuddenly. At this time he was perſonally acquainted with and very much eſteemed by many of the fineſt Writers his contemporaries. By the generoſity of his friend and relation the late Dr. Ratcliff, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and was afterwards complimented by the Univerſity of Oxford with his Doctor's Degree, in conſideration of his great abilities as a ſcholar (*a*). The firſt work by which he more immediately diſtinguiſhed himſelf was a Body of Divinity [*E*], which, as well as his Sermons, was publiſhed by ſubſcription. Loſing his patrons upon the change of the Miniſtry in 1714, he loſt the Chaplainſhip of the garriſon abovementioned [*F*], and his family increaſing in proportion as his circumſtances leſſened, he was obliged to apply himſelf to writing with greater aſſiduity than ever. He now compiled the Life of Cardinal Wolſey [*G*], for which he had a large ſubſcription; a conſiderable number of perſons

(*a*) The Doctor himſelf takes notice of this, in the dedication of one of his Sermons, where he ſays, "It affords "me an opportunity of paying my moſt "humble and "public acknowledgments for the "Diploma I "lately had the "honour of receiving from "thence (the "Univerſity of "Oxford) and "after the moſt "honorary manner." Fiddes's vol. of *Sermons*, pag. 568. folio.

[*B*] *He had a very happy memory.*] By this faculty eſpecially he was enabled to preach a Sermon without the leaſt preparation for it. Being at Eberſtone church in Yorkſhire, a little after he had taken Orders, the Clergyman who was to have officiated that morning, happening to be taken ill, and there being no other to be immediately procured, the Churchwarden went to the pew where Mr. Fiddes ſat, and acquainting him with the accident, deſired him to ſupply the Gentleman's place. Our Author had no Sermon about him; he would willingly, at firſt, have been excuſed; but at laſt, yielding to intreaties, he went up into the pulpit; opened a Bible; and after meditating a few minutes, made an *ex tempore* Sermon which gave great ſatisfaction to his auditors.

[*C*] *By the favour of Dr. Swift.*] This very ingenious Gentleman had a great eſteem for our Author; and recommended his intereſt with the warmth and cordiality of a ſincere friend, on all occaſions, as appears from the following paſſage. "If this prefatory "addreſs may be of any uſe, which you are the beſt "able to determine, I ſhall be glad to ſee it made "public; tho' from no other motive of vanity, ex"cept that of being thought to have a ſhare in your "friendſhip; and to have received the moſt ingenuous, "the moſt ſenſible, and ſeaſonable proofs of it. In "particular, from your recommending me to that "noble Mecænas of the age (*), who diſpenſes his fa"vours with a magnificence, &c (1).

(*) The late Earl of Oxford.

(1) *A Prefatory Epiſtle concerning ſome remarks to be publiſhed on Homer's Iliad &c. By R. Fiddes, B. D.* pag. 3, 4. Lond. 1714, 12°.

[*D*] *On occaſion of his publiſhing a volume of Sermons.*] The title is, *Fifty two practical Diſcourſes on ſeveral ſubjects; Six of which were never before publiſhed.* By *Richard Fiddes D. D. Rector of Halſham, and Chaplain &c.* It is in folio, and was printed in 1720 (2). The Collection in general is dedicated to Dr. Wake the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to Sir Arthur Kaye, Member of Parliament for the County of York. Eleven of theſe Sermons, which had been publiſhed before, are inſcribed to particular perſons. In the Dedication to Sir Arthur, the Dr. obſerves, that "the "end of his making theſe Diſcourſes public, being to "expoſe ſome of the prevailing errors and vices of the "Age, and to perſuade men to be ſolidly good and "religious, I thought it might be very ſubſervient to "this end to prefix a good name to them (3)."

(2) The peruſal of theſe Sermons is recommended, pag. 32. of *Advice to a young Student; with a method of Study for the firſt four years.* London 1730.

(3) Dedicat. pag. xxiii.

[*E*] *The firſt work by which he more immediately diſtinguiſhed himſelf, was a Body of Divinity.*] It is in two volumes in folio, the firſt of which is entitled, *Theologia Speculativa; or the firſt part of a Body of Divinity under that title: wherein are explained the principles of natural and revealed Religion. By Richard Fiddes, B. D. Rector of Halſham, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl of Mortimer.* London 1718. fol. It is dedicated to Sir William Dawes, late Archbiſhop of York, and, as the Author tells us, was written principally to promote true and ſolid piety, upon clear and convincing reaſons (4). As this work, which met with a very favourable reception from the public, is eaſily met with; and a good extract of it was given in Mr. de la Roche's *Bibliotheque Angloiſe* and *Memoirs of Literature* (5), I ſhall not ſay much of it here. The Doctor in the courſe of his Preface tells us, that he had conſulted, eſpecially on matters of greater importance, and difficulty, the beſt Authors (6): and gives his reaſons why he choſe to compoſe his Syſtem of Divinity from his own ſtudy and obſervation, rather than extract it from our Engliſh Sermons (7). "However, *continues* "*he*, if there be any perſon, who in purſuance of a "method ſo often talk'd of, may think proper to ex"tract a Body of Divinity out of our Engliſh Sermons; "as he may be ſupplied with materials for his pur"poſe, eſpecially as to modern performances, at a "very eaſy rate; ſo his pains in putting them toge"ther, may deſerve, for any thing I know, to be "very well received by the public (8)." As the reverend Mr. Stackhouſe has compoſed his Body of Divinity on this plan, what is here ſaid by our Author, might poſſibly induce him to ſpeak ſo unfavourably of the Doctor's work, at the cloſe of an Encomium which he at the ſame time makes on his ſtyle and manner of writing. "Doctor Fiddes, *ſays he*, was "a polite rather than a learned man, and his want of "Books, and other proper encouragements, put him "under the neceſſity of entertaining us with a fine ſtyle, "and manner of expreſſion, whereof he was certainly "a very great Maſter, when he knew himſelf inſuf"ficient to go to the bottom of his argument. It is "a melancholy reflection that a perſon of his genius "ſhould be ſo far neglected by the world, as to live "in want of any thing; but while we lament his "misfortune in this reſpect, we cannot but, at the "ſame time, in ſome meaſure, condole with his rea"der, who, in the latter part of his work more eſpe"cially, to his great joy, will meet with abundance of "excellent words; but as he reads over a page or two, "to his great ſurprize and diſappointment, will meet "with words only (9)." Doctor Fiddes's ſecond volume is entitled, *Theologia Practica*, or *the ſecond part of a Body of Divinity under that title; wherein are explained the Duties of natural and revealed Religion:* London 1720. fol.

(4) Dedication to the Archbiſhop, vol. 1.

(5) See the note [*X*].

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. pag. xv, xvi. The great Lord Bacon adviſed the compiling of a Body of Divinity after this method, as the Rev. Mr. Stackhouſe obſerves.

(8) Ibid. pag. xvii.

(9) Introduction pag. ii. to a *Complete Body of ſpeculative and practical Divinity.* By Tho. Stackhouſe, A. M. Vicar of Beenham in Berkſhire, 2d edit. London 1734, folio.

[*F*] *Upon the change of the Miniſtry in* 1714, *he was removed from the Chaplainſhip of the garriſon abovementioned.*] The late Earl of Oxford had been chiefly inſtrumental in procuring it him. Upon the Doctor's loſing it, Archbiſhop Dawes, and Biſhop Smalridge waited on his late Majeſty, who thereupon reſtored him. But he did not enjoy his Chaplainſhip the ſecond time above a month; a Gentleman at Court getting him removed in favour of one whom he patronized.

[*G*] *He now compiled the Life of Cardinal Wolſey.*] The title is, *The Life of Cardinal Wolſey. With ſeveral copper*

ſons diſtinguiſhed for their learning and titles, honouring him with their names and intereſt on that occaſion. This work being attacked with great ſeverity in the London Journal, and the Author charged with being a Papiſt, the Doctor wrote a Vindication both of his Work and of himſelf [*H*]. The great encouragement which

copper plates. By Richard Fiddes, D. D. &c. London 1724. folio. It is dedicated to the *Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, the Doctors, with the other Members of the two Univerſities.* In the Preface, the Doctor * expatiates on the occaſion of his compiling this Work, the method and ſtyle of it, the principles on which he proceeds, the materials wherewith he was furniſhed, and the defects relating to it. The Reader will find ſeveral particulars relating to this Work in the following Note, &c.

* There are two folio editions of this work.

[*H*] *This Work being attacked with great ſeverity in the London Journal, the Doctor wrote a Vindication &c.*] This was written but a little before his death, and is intitled, *An Anſwer to Britannicus, compiler of the London Journal. By the Compiler of Cardinal Wolſey's Life, lately publiſhed.* London 1725. This Anſwer conſiſts of two Letters, in the firſt of which our Author, to obviate the charge of Popery which had been brought againſt him, ſays, " It may not be improper to de-" clare, that I do not think my ſelf affected by any " thing you have ſaid, or can ſay to my prejudice, " in relation to your chimerical charge of Popery: if " by Popery you mean (what you can only mean by " writing againſt the Life of Cardinal Wolſey, pub-" liſhed by me) either the true primitive doctrine of " the Church of England, as contained in the wri-" tings of her genuine ſons, and her public confeſſions; " or elſe the true principles of Chriſtian morality, " by which, I have every where endeavoured to ſhew " in that *Life*, all the counſels and actions of men, " whether in a public or private capacity, are to be " inviolably directed... But if you intend, that every " man is a Papiſt or Popiſhly affected, who aſſerts " any of the following propoſitions; that God is the " author of peace and not of confuſion; that the " Chriſtian Church is a regular and viſible ſociety, " founded by the Son of God; that there is a conti-" nued ſucceſſion of Paſtors in it, who derive their " powers from Chriſt, and which no human authority " can either confer, or alter the original method of " conveying; that ſuch Paſtors have certain inaliena-" ble, inherent, and therefore independent Rights, " which the Civil Magiſtrates, as ſuch, cannot exer-" ciſe, and of which the Civil Magiſtrate here in " England have diſclaimed all right of exerciſing. " If this is your notion of Popery, the wit of man " cannot contrive any method in order to introduce " Popery, ſo effectual as by propagating this no-" tion (10). Again, in reſpect to morality, if you " infer that every man is a Papiſt, or ought to be " reputed a Papiſt, who endeavours to obviate popu-" lar and unjuſt calumnies, how general ſoever; who " diſcovers in what he writes any ſentiments of hu-" manity or good nature; who thinks it an act of " hiſtorical juſtice to repreſent both the vices and vir-" tues of great men, without diſtinction of parties, " in a true light, eſpecially their virtues; though I " know it is more agreeable to a certain malignity " of temper in ſome men, to vilify and traduce all " thoſe who are not in their own narrow way of think-" ing, whatever good qualifications they may other-" wiſe poſſeſs: or, if to decry corruption and breach " of truſt, cruelty and oppreſſion, and all falſe poli-" ticks, diſhonourable to God, reproachful to human " nature, deſtructive to the ſtate, and commonly in " the event, by ſome ſecret over-ruling diſpoſition of " Providence, to the authors of them: in a word, if " to expreſs a juſt indignation at the abuſe of power " in any kind, or in any ſtation; if this, Sir, is your " notion of Popery, conſidered in relation to moral " life, I will readily own, that there is ſcarce a page " in the Life of the Cardinal, which does not afford " clear and undeniable evidence, whereby your charge " againſt me may be directly ſupported (11)." The Doctor afterwards ſays, " to fly out with ſo great fury, " to vilify and traduce me, without any notice given, " or the leaſt opportunity of explaining my ſelf; this, " I conceive, is neither reconcileable with the maxims " of common probity, or of Chriſtian piety (12). " There is a vile inſinuation, which you ſeem much " inclined to improve as far as you are able, as if I had " advanced ſome things in prejudice to the royal ſu-" premacy; againſt which, as I have not ſaid any thing " that can render me obnoxious, ſo I ſhall always be " ready to aſſert it, in the ſenſe of our Articles and " other public Teſts (13). All I have done in relation " to this nice point of ſupremacy, is, to mention it in " general, without determining any thing upon it, " or even deſcending, as I had once deſigned, to ſpe-" cify the particular arguments on both ſides of the " queſtion relating to it (14)." Our Author, after declaring his opinion with regard to *non-reſiſtance*, takes notice of an error he had been guilty of, in his Life of Cardinal Wolſey. " Upon the faith, *ſays* " *he*, of the printed copies of that Life by Caven-" diſh, without collating them in that particular, as " I ought to have done, with the Authentick Manuſ-" cripts, which I had the opportunity of conſulting, " I have made uſe of an expreſſion which ſeems to " import, that the Cardinal *poiſoned himſelf*; and from " whence it has been the vulgar opinion, that he " actually poiſoned himſelf. I have endeavoured to " prove, indeed, from the circumſtances he was in, at " the time he is ſuppoſed to have done it, that the " expreſſion ought not to be taken in the moſt ſtrict " and literal ſenſe; but the true anſwer to all captious " and malevolent Readers of that paſſage is, that we " do not find it in the written Manuſcripts of the " Cardinal's Life by Cavendiſh, which are of the beſt " authority; but it has been maliciouſly inſerted in " the printed copies by ſome enemy (15)." Our Author, in his ſecond Letter to Britannicus, declares it his opinion, that every man has an inalienable right of judging for himſelf, " but this, *continues he*, can " give no private perſon a commiſſion to diſturb the " peace of the ſociety, whereof he is a member. I " am ſtill of opinion that men ought to proceed even " in the reformation of public abuſes in a regular " way; and that the church being a ſociety founded " by Chriſt, till the providence of God open ſome " regular method of reforming ſuch abuſes as may " have crept into the Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration, it " is not in the power of any private member whatever " arbitrarily to introduce a change in it (16)." He next ſpeaks of the impartiality with which (as he declares) he drew up the Life of Cardinal Wolſey. " Though he had ſome great and generous qualities, " I was far, when I wrote his Life, from deſigning " a perfect character. I charge him with ſeveral " faults, but was willing, conſidering ſome popular " unjuſt prejudices, under which he has all along " ſuffered, to obviate them, ſo far as they might be " obviated, upon juſt and reaſonable grounds: and " after all the noiſe that has been made concerning " my partiality to him, I have not yet been charged " upon ſufficient evidence with one falſe fact, or with " one falſe inference from any true fact, or facts re-" lating to him. And, I believe, it will be diffi-" cult for you to find many inſtances of my failure " in either kind, though ſome poſſibly may be found " in both. However, had I really been under ſome " favourable prejudices in compiling the Life of ſo " great a Prelate and Miniſter of State, who em-" ployed all his Eccleſiaſtical revenues not in a ſa-" crilegious application of them to private uſes, and " all the revenues ariſing from his civil employments, " not to aggrandize his own family, but in acts of " public munificence, eſpecially towards the advance-" ment of Learning; which glorious deſign both our " Univerſities have ſo often and ſo juſtly celebrated; " though in this reſpect I had not indeed written " Cardinal Wolſey's Life, according to the ſtrict rules " of hiſtorical juſtice; yet an error, which for the " ſake of ſo many beneficent actions, had inclined me " to cover even a multitude of faults, would certainly " have been more pardonable, than the method ac-" cording to which, I perceive his Life would have " been written, under your direction, with all bitter-

(10) *Anſwer to Britannicus*, pag. 6, 7.

(11) Idem, pag. 8.

(12) Idem, pag. 16.

(13) Idem, pag. 18.

(14) Idem, pag. 19.

(15) Idem, pag. 30.

(16) Idem, pag. 35.

which his Cardinal Wolſey met with, prompted him to undertake the Life of Sir Thomas More, and that of Dr. John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter; but when he had gone thro' a great part of this work, his manuſcript was loſt [*I*]. He left behind him a widow and ſix children [*K*]. Beſides the works abovementioned, he wrote an Epiſtle concerning the Iliad of Homer [*L*]; a Defence of the Latin Epitaph, which John Sheffield late Duke

" neſs and wrath, and anger and clamour and evil " ſpeaking (17)." Our Author then declares, that his Life of Cardinal Wolſey was not written under any *direction*, as had been objected by Britannicus (18); and afterwards proceeds to vindicate the charge brought againſt him by that Writer, with reſpect to pious foundations. Dr. Knight Prebendary of Ely, having referred to the Life of Cardinal Wolſey in queſtion, at the cloſe of a Sermon, where he has theſe words; " How ſhould we... ſhew our indignation at thoſe, " who, though they call themſelves Proteſtants, yet " are highly engaged in ſapping the very foundations " of their own Religion, and do all they can to render " thoſe Tenets, which we have all abjured, palatable " and plauſible to unthinking minds, by throwing " dirt upon the happy Reformation of Religion " amongſt us, as has been lately done by ſome " Writers (19)." In anſwer to this, our Author only refers Dr. Knight to what he had addreſſed to Britannicus in the Pamphlet in queſtion. Dr. Knight, a little after our Author's death, attacked him in the ſevereſt terms, accuſing him of ſpeaking irreverently of Eraſmus, *probably*... ſays he, *becauſe he had by his writings favoured the Reformation*.... *He* (Dr. Fiddes) *cenſures the Reformation*... *and to give it the more home ſtrokes*.. *goes to the very root of it, and does all he can to evince the unjuſtifiable grounds it proceeded upon; ridicules the inſtruments of it; and would inſinuate that there was a change made for the worſe, and therefore palliates ſome of the moſt abſurd Doctrines of the Church of Rome, which were happily thrown off at the Reformation* (40). He afterwards goes much farther, in the latter part of Eraſmus's Life, aſſerting among other particulars, that our Author *has moſt partially, and indeed ſcandalouſly reflected upon the opening the Reformation, laying on the groſſeſt colours to hide the deformities of Popery. But all this*.... *plainly ſhows, how little regard the Author* (Dr. Fiddes) *had to truth, and how good an inclination to Popery* (21). Dr. Knight then proceeds *to give the true* (as he aſſerts) *riſe and occaſion of writing this Life of Wolſey* (22), which he declares to have been at the ſollicitation of the late Biſhop Atterbury, on occaſion of the diſpute in which he was engaged with Dr. Wake the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Dr. Knight ſays that " Biſhop Atterbury " ſupplied our Author with his own collections." (for the writing the Life of Cardinal Wolſey) " directed " him to the ſtock of others, procured him the whole " party of ſubſcribers, entertained him at his Deanery " at Weſtminſter, ſuggeſted matter and method, " turned him to authorities and conjectures, and laid " the whole plan for forming ſuch a Life as might " blacken the Reformation, caſt lighter colours upon " Popery, and even make way for a Popiſh Pre- " tender (23)." As our Author himſelf has endeavoured to anſwer much the ſame charge when brought againſt him by Britannicus, I ſhall only refer the reader back to it, and to the aſſeverations of his friends, mentioned in the text. Dr. Fiddes indeed had given occaſion for part of this ſurmiſe, by his ſaying in print, *a very learned Prelate generouſly offered ... to let me compile the Life of Cardinal Wolſey ..... in his houſe... I ſhould under ſuch a Direction not only have had the benefit of many curious and deep reſearches into Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, but of the beſt and moſt uſeful inſtructions both in reſpect to the matter and the conduct of my work.... But... I had not thoſe aſſiſtances which were expected from a perſon, able, as I had grounds to believe, above any other to direct me in a work, which he had ſometimes thoughts of undertaking himſelf* (24). This ſuſpicion was likewiſe heightned by the elogium he made of Biſhop Atterbury a little before his deprivation. " I ſhall not *ſays our Author*, " incur any cenſure for paying a debt of gratitude to " a learned Prelate, under his preſent circumſtances, " or for celebrating thoſe great talents, wherein, as " a perſon of capacity and letters, his moſt inveterate " enemies muſt allow him to excel... It is ignoble " and unjuſt, becauſe men are charged with high " crimes either to refuſe them thoſe grateful acknow- " ledgments which are due to their beneficial actions, " or to deny their extraordinary and diſtinguiſhing " abilities, on other accounts (25)." But our Author was miſtaken in imagining, that he would not incur any cenſure on this account; no circumſtances having, perhaps, contributed more to raiſe up a ſpirit of indignation againſt him. This was owing to the complexion of the times, and might be very neceſſary, conſidering the dark things which were ſuppoſed to be then hatching, though unknown to our Author. Another thing which gave no little umbrage was, Dr. Fiddes's attending regularly on the late Earl of Oxford during his confinement in the tower; the Doctor thinking himſelf eſpecially obliged to attend on his Patron at ſuch a juncture, when men are often deſerted by thoſe who call themſelves friends, and ſtand in the greateſt need of conſolation.

[*I*] *He loſt his manuſcript.*] An Advertiſement was publiſhed, but without effect, a little after the Doctor's death, by the reverend Mr. Barcroft, his ſon-in-law, offering a reward to any perſon who could produce the manuſcript. In the propoſals for this undertaking, it is ſaid, " that the compiler of Cardinal Wolſey's Life, " having in the progreſs of that work, met with ſeveral " curious Memoirs relating to the character and conduct " of Sir Thomas More, ſometime Chancellor of Eng- " land, and John Fiſher of Rocheſter, cotemporaries " with the Cardinal, hath been adviſed to publiſh the " Lives of thoſe two great men; and doth according- " ly propoſe to publiſh them in Michaelmas Term " 1725, upon a proſpect that an attempt of this kind " may be of ſome ſervice, towards a better illuſtrati- " on of the hiſtory of the time wherein they flouriſh- " ed, both in reſpect to the political and eccleſiaſti- " cal ſtate of affairs (26)." Theſe two Lives were to make about 120 ſheets in a large letter; and the four firſt ſheets, which are in the hands of one of the Doctor's intimate friends, are written in a ſtyle ſuitable to the dignity of hiſtory; and ſhew that he had not been ſparing in his reſearches. The late Mr. Oldiſworth, who had ſeen the manuſcript in queſtion, offered to complete the two Lives, in caſe they ſhould be found. Some perſons now living have ſeen a great part of this manuſcript.

[*K*] *He left behind him a widow and ſix children.*] His eldeſt daughter was married to the late ingenious and reverend Mr. Barcroft, Curate of St. George's Hanover Square, who abridged Biſhop Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, or Rule of Conſcience, and publiſhed it in two volumes 8vo. His eldeſt ſon lives in a reputable way, and his youngeſt ſon is now an undergraduate in Hart-Hall, Oxford.

[*L*] *He wrote an Epiſtle concerning the Iliad of Homer.*] Here follows the title *A prefatory Epiſtle concerning ſome Remarks to be publiſhed on Homer's Iliad: occaſioned by the propoſals of Mr. Pope towards a new Engliſh Verſion of that Poem. To the reverend Doctor Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. By Richard Fiddes B. D. Chaplain to the right honourable the Earl of Oxford.* London 1714. It is a pamphlet in twelves, and contains 108 pages. After the prefatory compliments, in which an Elogium is made of Mr. Pope's genius, and the motives that prompted our Author to draw up this piece, he tells Dean Swift, " What I propoſe here, by " the way, prefatory to the Remarks is,... in the " firſt place to ſay ſomething more particularly in de- " fence of ſo bold an undertaking. Secondly, to give " a general idea of Homer's character, from the great- " eſt authorities and beſt Criticks among the ancients; " thence I ſhall proceed to ſhew the uſefulneſs of my " deſign: and laſtly the method wherein I thought " proper to purſue it (27)." With regard to the firſt head, the Doctor ſays, as an apology for his undertaking, " I am in hopes of ſaying at leaſt ſomething new

(17) Ibid. pag. 39, 40.

(18) Ibid. pag. 40.

(19) A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, before the Mayor, &c. On Tueſday Octob. 20, 1724. By Samuel Knight, D. D. London 1724.

(20) *The Life of Eraſmus, more particularly that part of it which he ſpent in England &c.* Introduction, pag. xv, xvi. Cambridge, without date (it muſt be 1725 or 1726) 8vo.

(21) Idem, pag. 381.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Idem, pag. 382.

(24) Introduction, pag. 12, 13. of the *Life of Cardinal Wolſey, by Dr. Fiddes.*

(25) Idem, pag. 13.

(26) Copied from the Propoſals now before me.

(27) *A prefatory Epiſtle... on Homer's Iliad,* pag. 10, 11.

Duke of Buckingham, compoſed for his own monument [*M*]; a Treatiſe of Morality.

" new upon my ſubject, and am aſſured of writing " ſeveral that are new to myſelf, which did not " occur to me in reading what others have written " upon the ſubject, but were the reſult of my own " obſervations; and ſeemed naturally, in my way of " thinking, to ariſe out of the paſſages which occa- (28) Idem, pag. 11, 12. " ſioned them (28)." And afterwards, " Were the " Writers upon Homer more numerous than they are; " yet as in perſons who have much the ſame features, " there is a different air of the face or manner of ad- " dreſs, whereby other people are differently affected; " ſo among writers on the ſame ſubject, could we ſup- " poſe them to write with an equal propriety of " thought and expreſſion, ſtill there is a certain ſpirit " peculiar to every one of them, which diſtinguiſhes " him, and ſometimes renders even what is leſs regu- " lar and beautiful in the compoſition, yet more agree- " able to thoſe who like his way, or are inclined to (29) Idem, pag. 14, 15. " favour him (29). On the ſecond head the Doctor, " ſpeaking of Homer's character, obſerves that he who " could accommodate what he wrote to the different taſte, " manners, and inclinations of men, and in different " ages, muſt have been a perfect maſter in the art of " writing, and the knowledge of things. None but " an univerſal genius could have pleaſed all men, at (30) Idem, pag. 18. " all times (30)." Under this head our Author expa- tiates particularly on the great veneration which the Antients had for Homer; the homage Ariſtotle paid to his writings; and the objections that were made to them by Plato, which the Doctor endeavours to an- ſwer. He then proceeds to his third head, to ſhew the uſefulneſs of his deſign, on which occaſion he ſays, " Though Homer has been commented upon by " a great many learned men, who, as their genius or " method of ſtudy led them, have taken his works as " it were to pieces, and ſeverally conſidered him with " reſpect to his Stile, his Grammar, his Philoſophy, " and Geography, and almoſt all the bright and pro- " per characteriſtics of an Author; yet none, that I " know, has written a critique upon him, ſo uſeful " as might be wiſhed, and which preſents us, in one " entire view, with a draught of his greateſt beau- (31) Idem, pag. 74, 75. " ties (31)." Something like this obſervation is made in the Notes on Mr. Pope's noble tranſlation of the Poet in queſtion. " Of all the Commentators " upon Homer, there is hardly one whoſe principal " deſign is to illuſtrate the poetical beauties of the " Author. They are voluminous in explaining theſe " Sciences which he made but ſubſervient to his Po- " etry, and ſparing upon that noble art which conſti- (32) *The Iliad of Homer, tranſlated by Mr. Pope*, vol. 1. *In the Obſervations on the 1ſt Book*, pag. 1. " tutes his character (32)." The Doctor then re- marks " That though Homer is to be admired for " theſe and all other beauties of ſtyle, yet his ſenti- " ments are ſtill more admirable for the entertainment " and inſtruction they afford us; eſpecially at an age " when this Poet is uſually read, and a competent " ſkill in the language ſuppoſed, it may be proper to " engage youth in the more manly and generous ex- " erciſe of their thoughts upon him, and to ſhew " them thoſe maſter ſtrokes of his wit, wherein he " ſhines and ought to be imitated. It is an error to " think, that to be able to render Homer in Latin or " Engliſh is to underſtand him. Though he is one " of the moſt clear and perſpicuous Writers in the " world, yet his deſign and the ſublimity of his " thoughts are not always diſcoverable at firſt (33) *A prefatory Epiſtle .... on Homer's Iliad*, pag. 82, 83. " view (33)." After a variety of reflections, our Author proceeds to his fourth and laſt head, viz. the method in which he intended to purſue his undertak- ing, and on this occaſion he tells us his deſign was *Firſt*, " To examine the Iliad by the rules of Epic " Poetry, and to conſider in general the other poetical " beauties of it; more eſpecially with reſpect to the " noble ſimplicity, harmony, and perſpicuity of the (34) Idem, pag. 104. " Poet's diction (34)..... *Secondly*, to conſider the " moſt material objections that have been raiſed againſt " Homer, with reſpect to the Iliad, by antient and " modern critics, or which, *ſays he*, might ariſe from (35) Idem, pag. 206, 107. " my own obſervation (35)." And laſtly, " to defend " Homer, but ſo far only as he appears defenſible, " from the ſeveral charges that have been brought " againſt him, and particularly by Plato and Scali- " ger (36)." The Doctor concludes with expreſſing (36) Idem, pag. 113. his thanks to Dr. Sherlock the preſent Biſhop of Saliſbury, for *his general directions*; and Dr. Prat, Pro- voſt of Dublin, for his approbation of his work (37). (37) Idem, pag. 117. It may not be improper to obſerve, that our Author had not leiſure to go through with his deſign.

[*M*] *A Defence of the Latin Epitaph which the Duke of Buckingham compoſed for his own monument.*] It is a pamphlet, a ſmall octavo, and contains ſixty pages. The complete title of it is. *A Letter in anſwer to one from a Free-thinker: occaſioned by the late Duke of Buckinghamſhire's epitaph: Wherein certain paſſages in it that have been thought exceptionable, are vindicated; and the Doctrine of the ſoul's immortality aſſerted. To which is prefixed, A verſion of the* EPITAPH, *agreeable to the explication given of it in the Anſwer. With an Introduction, containing Extracts of two Letters relating to the conduct of that noble Lord. By Richard Fiddes. D. D. London* 1721. Here follows the famous Epitaph, and the verſion which our Author gave of it.

Pro rege ſæpe, pro republica ſemper:
Dubius, ſed non improbus vixi.
Incertus morior, ſed inturbatus.
Humanum eſt errare, & neſcire.
Chriſtum adveneror, Deo confido,
Omnipotenti benevolentiſſimo.
Ens Entium miſerere mei.

" Much for the prerogative, ever for my country:
" I lived irregular, not profligate.
" Tho' going to a ſtate *unknown*, I dye reſign'd.
" *Frailty* and ignorance attend on human life.
" Religiouſly I worſhip Chriſt, in God confide
" Almighty, and moſt merciful.
" O thou principle of all beings, and firſt of
" Cauſes, have compaſſion on me."

This tranſlation, which, at firſt ſight, will not be thought faithful in ſeveral places by many, occaſioned a free-thinker to write a Letter to the Doctor, to which the latter anſwers, " What I deſign in the firſt place, " is to convince you, if I can, that your judgment " concerning the Epitaph which gave occaſion of your " writing to me, is precipitate and groundleſs; and " that ſuppoſing it were really well grounded, yet the " conſequences which you would draw from it, will by " no means follow in a juſt and ſtrict way of reaſoning. " When I have laid before you, what it may be pro- " per for me to ſay in reference to theſe two particu- " lars, I ſhall examine whatever may deſerve to be " further conſidered in your Letter, with an impartia- " lity, of which no *free-thinker*, in the ſenſe accord- " ing to which you declare yourſelf one, can have any " cauſe to complain. I only deſire, as to the firſt ar- " ticle, this very reaſonable conceſſion may be made " to me, that the late Duke of Buckingham was ca- " pable of expreſſing himſelf *conſiſtently*, and that he " would be particularly careful to do ſo in an Inſcrip- " tion, compoſed by himſelf in order to be placed on " his monument. If this, (and certainly no one can " deny me the benefit of it,) be granted; and if I " can ſhew, there is nothing in that Inſcription, but " what may be explained in a good ſenſe, and what " ought not to be otherwiſe explained, ſuppoſing a " due conſiſtency in the ſeveral parts of it; then, Sir, " this concluſion will inevitably follow, that the cen- " ſure which you have paſſed upon it is raſh, and " withal highly injurious to the memory of that no- " ble Peer. I ſhall not here deſcend to examine every " branch of this remarkable Epitaph, after a particu- " lar and diſtinct manner, but only conſider thoſe ar- " ticles of it, which are chiefly pretended to have " given cauſe of offence, to ſome pious, learned, and " good men (38)." The Doctor then proceeds to his (38) *A Letter occaſioned by the late Duke &c.* pag. 25, 26. Examination. He had before given the following Ex- tract of a Letter written to him by a Gentleman, *upon whoſe integrity he could depend* (39). " I can aſſure (39) Ibid. pag. 7. " you that my Lord Duke had conſtantly Prayers at " his own houſe, and that I was often with his Grace " at them; that, as to the Sacrament, he took it at

Morality [*N*]; and a book on the Sacrament [*O*]. He died in 1725, aged fifty four years, at Putney, at a country ſeat of his good friend John Anſtis Eſq; the preſent Garter King at Arms (*b*), and was buried in Fulham Church-yard, near the remains of the excellent Dr. Compton Biſhop of London, to whom he had been very much obliged. With regard to the aſperſions that were caſt upon him, both in his life time and after his death, as being a writer of no abilities, and one who would not ſcruple to proſtitute his pen; the firſt is ſufficiently invalidated by the compliment which was paid him by the Univerſity, by the great regard which ſo many ingenious men had for him, and by the works he has left; as the latter is, in a great meaſure, by the whole tenor of his life, in every part of which he ſhewed the utmoſt diſintereſtedneſs [*P*]. The Doctor was probably ſincere in the notions which he entertained of the hierarchy [*Q*]. His misfortunes in the latter part of his life, were chiefly owing to his too ſtrong attachment to a party which he thought the moſt juſt, without knowing the violent

(*b*) I write this in 1736.

" leaſt four times every year, and ſometimes oftner... " And farther, I can particularly aſſure you, he took " it at Church ſix weeks before his death (40)." The inference which our Author draws from this paſſage is as follows. " How any perſon who did not retain in his " mind ſome lively and powerful ſenſe of Religion, and " of the Chriſtian Religion, could ſo frequently, and " upon no viſible motive, but a conviction of Duty, " attend the worſhip of God, and communicate in " the moſt ſolemn *inſtituted* rite of it; but eſpecially " how ſuch a perſon could upon any grounds be ſup- " poſed to queſtion the truth of the *Chriſtian* Revelation " in general, let thoſe judge, I do not ſay, who regulate " their judgment by Chriſtian Principles, but by the " maxims of common candour and ingenuity (41)." He ſays in another place, " to ſhow what diſpoſition " ſome perſons, out of their great humanity were in " to fix the worſt ſenſe upon this inſcription, they " made no ſcruple in ſeveral copies that were diſperſed " abroad, to add to the original text, *Deo confido*, by " inſerting the word *ſolo*, which had been indeed " more excluſive of our Lord's Divinity, but not *ab- " ſolutely* ſo: for it cannot be juſtly inferred that any " perſon does not believe in *Chriſt*, as *God*, from an " expreſſion which yet may properly be uſed on ſup- " poſition that Chriſt is really God (42)," Our Author concludes his defence of his Tranſlation in theſe words. " If I have erred in this occaſional defence of " a noble Lord, diſtinguiſhed by many ſhining and " ſuperior talents, or in any part of it, my error has " been on the charitable ſide; and I ſhall humbly " ſubmit every thing I have ſaid to correction, eſ- " pecially where it may proceed from a zeal for Reli- " gion, ſo fervent as I know it to be in perſons who " have taken a diſtaſte at this Epitaph. I would not, " upon any motive whatever, be chargeable with de- " ſigning the leaſt prejudice or diſſervice to the cauſe " of true piety: but we are obliged by all the rules " of candour and common ingenuity to put the moſt " favourable conſtruction on the words, as well as on " the actions of men, which they will reaſonably " bear. And the obligation we are under of con- " forming to thoſe rules is ſtill more powerful, where " we are to ſpeak the ſenſe of thoſe perſons who are " no longer capable of ſpeaking for themſelves (43)."

(40) Idem, ibid.

(41) Idem, ibid. and pag. 8.

(42) Idem, pag. 39.

(43) Idem, pag. 41.

[*N*] *A Treatiſe of Morality.*] The title is this, *A general Treatiſe of morality formed upon the principles of natural Reaſon only; with a Preface in anſwer to two Eſſays lately publiſhed in* the Fable of the Bees, *and ſome incidental remarks upon an* Inquiry concerning Virtue, *by the Right Honourable Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury. By Richard Fiddes D. D.* It is in octavo, and printed in 1724. Our Author ſays in his Preface. " My deſign in the following Treatiſe is to eſtabliſh " the great truths of morality upon their proper and " natural principles. I have therefore conſidered " them without drawing any proofs in the proſecu- " tion of my ſubject from Divine Revelation. For " though ſeveral paſſages are occaſionally cited by me " from the holy Scriptures, yet they are not propoſed, " as having the ſanction of Divine Authority, but " only, as conveying to the mind certain natural " truths, relating to morality, in a better light; and " expreſſing them with a more peculiar and irreſiſtible " force. I was principally induced to undertake this " work upon the two following motives; a deſire of " obviating ſuch ill effects as might ariſe from the " dangerous tendency, if not the formed deſign, of ſe- " veral Pieces that have been lately publiſhed towards " ſubverting the very principles of natural Religion: " and a proſpect at the ſame time, of ſupplying in " ſome meaſure, what has been reckoned among the " things that are wanting, a general Treatiſe of mo- " rality in the Engliſh tongue. For though we a- " bound with great variety of practical Diſcourſes, " and many of them very excellent as to particular " moral ſubjects; yet I do not know one Engliſh " Writer who has undertaken to ſtate the principles " of morality in one intire ſyſtem from natural reaſon " only, or to reſolve them into their diſtinct and pro- " per grounds. None of the antient moraliſts have " treated this ſubject in its due extent, or after a " manner wherein there is nothing defective. Cicero, " in his admirable Book of Offices, has gone farther " than moſt, if not than any of them, towards eſta- " bliſhing moral duties, upon the natural aptitude, " beauty and decency of them. He was a lover of moral " truth, and had devoted himſelf much to her ſervice; " but he did not follow her to the place of her habi- " tation. He ſought her every where upon earth, " in ſolitary life, in private families, and in the pub- " lic Adminiſtration of Affairs; but ſhe is only to be " found in Heaven, and by contemplating there, the " moral perfections of the Divine Nature, the rule " and model of perfection to all other intelligent " Beings (44)." The Doctor in the courſe of his Preface undertakes the defence of ſome of the opinions of the noble Author of the *Characteriſticks*, in oppoſition to the Author of the *Search into the nature of Society*; and afterwards attempts a vindication of Dr. Ratcliff from the aſperſions caſt upon him on account of his benefaction to the Univerſity of Oxford.

(44) Preface, pag. ii, iii, iv.

[*O*] *A Book on the Sacrament.*] It is dedicated to the preſent Lady Kaye, and intitled, *Dr. Fiddes's preparative to the Lord's Supper; or a Diſcourſe, wherein the nature of this holy Sacrament, the ends for which it was inſtituted, and the duties required, in order to a more worthy receiving of it, are conſidered, and certain prejudices are obviated. To which is added, an Appendix, with Meditations and Prayers formed on the principal parts of the Diſcourſe; with Devotions proper before and at the time of receiving the holy Sacrament, and after it.*

[*P*] *In every part of which he ſhewed the utmoſt diſintereſtedneſs.*] Few people who have a true paſſion for ſtudy, are ſtrongly attached to the good things of this world. The pleaſure they meet with in Books is ſo exquiſite, that it will allow them but little time to purſue any other. It is all things to them, and therefore no wonder that ſuch perſons are not ſollicitous for preferment. Had our Author been eager after it, he might have embraced ſome opportunities that offered themſelves, and which he neglected purpoſely to ſerve his friends. It is well known that he was ſtrongly invited to ſtand for the headſhip of Univerſity College in Oxford, but that he declined it purely to oblige a friend.

[*Q*] *The notions which he entertained of the Hierarchy.*] The Doctor himſelf has the following words on this " occaſion. If I have been, (tho' I am not conſcious " of it).... ſometimes tranſported with an exceſs of " zeal for the eſſentials of the Chriſtian Church, or " ſuch as I ſincerely, and in my conſcience, believed " to be ſo; this will (nay I have a right to expect " it ſhould) more eaſily recommend me to the favour " of thoſe, who make ſincerity the only condition of " recommending all men to the Divine favour (46)."

(45) *Fiddes's Body of Divinity*, vol. 2. in the Introduction, pag. iv.

violent lengths they were going [*R*]. All who were intimately acquainted with him declare, that he expreſſed his averſion to Popery on all occaſions, and preached many Sermons in oppoſition to the Romiſh tenets; and there is now extant a long manuſcript letter, in his own hand, written a few months before his death to a Proteſtant Lady, to diſſuade her from turning Roman Catholic [*S*]. His application to his ſtudies was

[*R*] *Without knowing the violent lengths they were going.*] This has been the caſe of many honeſt and ingenious men, of which numberleſs inſtances are to be found in hiſtory. Virtue and probity, it is well known, are not attached to any Party, Sect or Religion, but are blended more or leſs in all. "There "are, we charitably hope, ſome perſons who have "honour and probity, of all perſuaſions, prejudices "of education, and circumſtances of life; method "of ſtudy or choice of particular books, reaſons of "dependance and gratitude, of friendſhip and al"liance... have too viſible a power... So that ma"ny perſons of excellent and ſuperior qualities, "both intellectual and moral, are yet ſometimes ob"ſerved to be moſt unhappy in the choice of their "party, of their friends and converſation.... We "ought nevertheleſs duly to acknowledge to them "thoſe good qualities wherein they excell; and they "who would confine all merit within their own pale "diſcover a narrowneſs of mind which is not to be "endured in private converſation, but muſt neceſſa"rily deſtroy the credit of a public Hiſtory, by "rendring it ſuſpected to perſons of the greateſt can"dor and ingenuity (46)."

(46) *Introduction to the Life of Cardinal Wolſey. by R. Fiddes*, pag. xix.

[*S*] *A Letter to a Proteſtant Lady, to diſſuade her from turning Roman Catholic.*] Since my drawing up the text of this Article I have been favoured with the Original Letter in queſtion. As it was written only for private uſe, it conſequently will give us a better idea of the Doctor's real opinion with regard to the ſubject treated of in it, for which reaſon I ſhall tranſcribe ſome part of it.

"Madam,

"I ſhall make no apology for diſcharging my "duty which I could not have diſpenſed with my ſelf "in omitting, on the laſt occaſion of my waiting "on you. Neither can I have any apprehenſions, "that a perſon animated with ſo juſt ſentiments of "piety would take the leaſt umbrage at a freedom "which was really owing to pious motives, and upon "a ſubject of the laſt importance.

"I now proceed directly to the queſtion you were "pleaſed in particular to propoſe, and ſhall ſpeak to "it with that impartiality which a matter of ſo great "conſequence requires, without conſidering my ſelf in "the leaſt as perſonally affected with it, on account "of my ſacerdotal character.

"The queſtion is, *How it appears that ſuch of the "Biſhops in this Kingdom, who ſeparated from the "Communion of the Romiſh Church, at the time of the "Reformation, could validly ordain?* I made no diffi"culty of aſſuring you, in general, that the proofs "whereby we make the validity of their ordinations "appear, are as full and ſatisfactory as the nature of "hiſtorical proofs will admit. It is at preſent in"cumbent on me to confirm in a more particular "manner what was then ſaid upon this Article."

The Doctor, after having fully anſwered the following objections made to the ordination of the firſt reformed Biſhops, viz. "that they gave no expreſs "power to thoſe whom they ordained of conſecrating "the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt... That the "Civil Power has too great a ſhare in electing perſons "to the Epiſcopate... And, what neceſſity was there "for an Act of Parliament for the making and conſe"crating the Engliſh Archbiſhops and Biſhops, if the "validity of their orders had not been in ſome mea"ſure at leaſt doubted, even by thoſe who had made "it?" Our Author, I ſay, after anſwering theſe objections, proceeds, in the ſecond place, to conſider ſome of the moſt popular objections that have been made againſt the ordination of our reformed Biſhops, with reſpect to the regularity of them.

Firſt, ſays the Doctor, "It is pretended that they "were done in oppoſition to the Biſhop of Rome, "and ſo were uncanonical.

"I cannot here enter into the detail of the con"troverſy about the extent of that Biſhop's power, "and muſt therefore ſatisfy myſelf with ſome general "reflections, as they occur to my thoughts, upon "which I ſhall be ready at any time to make a par"ticular explication, when you may think fit to ho"nour me with your commands to that end. And,

"1ſt, I would obſerve, that all Biſhops were "ever acknowledged by the Catholick Church as equal "in power, tho' a ſuperiority of Order according to "that of the Roman Cities was granted to the Biſhops "of thoſe Churches, which were planted in them. "And therefore the Biſhops of Antioch and Alexan"dria were declared in the firſt general Council, to "have the ſame authority over the Churches ſubor"dinate to them, that the Biſhops of Rome had within "their own precincts."

"2dly, That the Patriarchal Power depending on "the conſtitution of the Roman Empire, whatever "pretence there might be, for the Supremacy of the "Biſhop of Rome over theſe Weſtern parts of it, "while they continued under one head; yet when it "was afterwards broken into ſeveral diſtinct ſovereign"ties, the very reaſon upon which that Patriarchal "Authority was firſt inſtituted ceaſing, all obligation "to canonical obedience to that Biſhop, as Patriarch "of the Weſt, of conſequence ceaſed with it.

"3dly, If after the Kings of England became in"dependent of all foreign Power, the Pope was ſtill "by their connivance permitted to interpoſe by his "authority here, in affairs of an eccleſiaſtical nature; "this would be no reaſon why ſucceeding Princes "might not, eſpecially upon wiſe and juſt conſidera"tions, reſume their right, and exclude that Biſhop "from exerciſing a power which he held by the mere "favour of their predeceſſors.

"4thly, If it ſhould be ſaid, that the Patriarchal "Dignity was at leaſt an inſtitution of prudence, and "ought for that reaſon to have had a due regard paid "to it, even after the diſſolution of the Roman Em"pire: We anſwer, that no prudential inſtitution is "to be extended beyond the reaſons of making it, and "ought always to give way to ſuperior reaſons of pie"ty, when a truſt which was originally repoſed, and "ſtill ſubſiſts in any perſon, by mere occaſion, for "the better edification of the Church, is employed to "favour any dangerous errors and corruptions in it; "ſuch an authority not only may, but ought to be "deſtroyed in conſequence of thoſe very reaſons, upon "which it was originally granted." The Doctor, afterwards anſwers the objection made to us, viz. "that "the Biſhops by whom Archbiſhop Parker was conſe"crated were not canonically qualified for performing "that office."

Our Author then concludes in this manner. "I "have exceeded the bounds I propoſed to my ſelf in "this Letter; but I was deſirous of giving you all "the ſatisfaction I could in a point, concerning which "the conſequences of a miſtake may prove extremely "dangerous: And I cannot think of it without a moſt "ſenſible concern, that the Church wherein you were "born and educated, ſhould loſe ſo bright an orna"ment. Not that I am of opinion, theſe conſidera"tions can be any reaſon for your continuing in an "erroneous belief or practice; yet ſo much regard is "at leaſt due to them, that both to avoid the impu"tation of levity, and to ſatisfy our own conſciences, "we ought not without impartially examining upon "what principles we have hitherto acted, implicitly "to part with them. And if ſuch an examination be "made, as I aſſure my ſelf from your piety it will; "I am alſo at the ſame time ſo confident of your mak"ing a true judgment, that I may ſafely leave you "to prefer any other communion to that of our moſt "excellent Church if you can. I ſhall bleſs God more "and more for that good providence, which afforded "me this occaſion of communicating my thoughts to "you, if they may be of any uſe towards removing "your preſent doubts, and retaining you within the "boſom of the Church, which I verily believe to be

was so great [T], that he would frequently pass whole nights in writing, which, together with his misfortunes, did not a little contribute to hasten his death [V]. He had led a life of the utmost sobriety, and was remarkable for his patience [W], and submission to the divine will. He had been presented to two considerable livings (to one of them by the University) but lost both (c). Some of the foreign Journals take notice of our Author and of his works [X].

(c) These particulars, and all such in the notes, as are not transcribed from printed books, were communicated to me by persons who were very intimate with our Author.

" the best constituted in the world, whether with re-
" spect to its faith and worship, its doctrine or admi-
" nistration.

" I shall conclude with my fervent prayers to God,
" that he would in every case of difficulty be your
" light and your guide, and give you a right under-
" standing in all things. I am,

" Madam,

" Your most faithful and obedient servant

R. Fiddes.

[T] *His application to his studies was great.*] They seemed to engross his whole soul, whence he would frequently discover such an absence of mind with regard to exterior objects, and things relating to common life, as surprized all about him, and sometimes occasioned very whimsical incidents: but the following which happened to him, rouzed him for some days from his lethargy. Our Author, about a year before his death, being in Oxford, had invited several persons of consequence in that University to sup with him at his lodgings. The guests came, the entertainment was got ready and spoilt, but the Doctor could not be met with in any of the Colleges. At last however he appeared; when it was found that he had been so much wrapt up in contemplation in the Bodleian Library, that he did not take notice of the shutting it up; and might have spent the whole night there, had not the inarticulate noise he made from the window occasioned a Student who was passing by to take notice of him, and procure his release by the assistance of the Janitor.

[V] *Did not a little contribute to hasten his death.*] It is a very melancholy circumstance when a man of genius and learning is forced to sit day and night with his pen in his hand, to support a numerous family. On one side, to have these calling upon him perpetually for a support; and on the other, to have Fame whispering for ever in his ear, that he must endeavour to make his productions worthy of immortality. These are circumstances that are hardly consistent; and therefore a fine genius in distress, has very aptly been shadowed under the emblem of a beautiful woman in a poor habit, having her right hand chained to a huge stone lying on the ground; whilst her left hand, round which are a pair of wings, is held aloft: signifying the ardor with which a genius aspires to the noblest things, whilst the unhappiness of his condition keeps him for ever low.

[W] *Was remarkable for his patience.*] Our Author, though he had ever been enabled to support his family with decency, had yet struggled with many disappointments, to all which he submitted with such a chearfulness, as raised the strongest admiration and pity in his friends, and particularly on one occasion, when his wife bursting into tears at a melancholy revolution in their affairs, the Doctor embraced her in the most affectionate manner, and cried, *How! the wife of a Philosopher, and weep!*

[X] *Some of the foreign Journals take notice of our Author and of his Works.*] Mr. de la Roche, in his *Bibliotheque Angloise*, and *Memoirs of Literature*, has given two large extracts of our Author's *Body of Divinity*. This Journalist says, that it was his opinion, Dr. Fiddes had refuted the Calvinists, the Roman Catholicks, the Socinians and Deists in a genteel and polite manner, worthy of a true Christian (47). Afterwards observing from Dr. Fiddes, that many persons ridiculed the Fathers of the Church because of their allegories; but that we ought to acknowledge the strength of their arguments, when they reason more justly; and should acknowledge that there are many beauties scattered up and down their works, he says, " I shall subjoin to Dr. Fid-
" des's reflection, that a judicious man of letters ought
" never to discover a contempt for the Fathers of the
" ancient Church, particularly because this contempt
" may cast an odium on the Christian Religion. We
" are allowed to point out the errors and false reason-
" ings of the Fathers, but then we ought to shew the
" highest regard to their persons (48)." Mr. de la Roche is of opinion, that the Doctor has refuted the Duke de la Rochefoucault, Mr. Bayle and Mr. Esprit with the utmost candor and politeness (49). He thinks that one passage in the Doctor's *Body of Divinity*, will excite the indignation of many readers, viz. his not believing that the ordination of the Ministers of Christ is valid, unless they are ordained by Bishops whose succession was never interrupted (50). Here the Journalist tells us, that the arguments which the Doctor has built on this hypothesis, appear to him too rigid. " I own, *says Mr. de la Roche*, that all Protestants
" ought to have preserved Episcopacy; but then we
" ought not to exclude from the advantages of the E-
" vangelical Alliance, those who were not so happy
" as to retain the ancient government of the Church.
" I add that the Protestants of this Age ought not to
" be responsible for the faults of their forefathers; and
" that it would be extremely difficult to introduce any
" alterations in Church Government (51)." Mr. de la Roche takes notice, that " Dr. Fiddes cites Mr.
" Jurieu so often, and speaks in such advantageous
" terms of him, that he seems to be one of his fa-
" vourite Authors (52)." It appears from almost every part of the Doctor's writings, that he was very fond in general of those of Father Malbranche. The Authors of the *Bibliotheque Raisonnée*, in giving an account of Dr. Knight's Life of Erasmus, have translated most of those passages which bear hard on the memory of Dr. Fiddes; but we are assured by the friends of the latter, that both Dr. Knight, and these Journalists after him, are mistaken particularly in two assertions. First in declaring that Bishop Atterbury *had entertained Dr. Fiddes at his Deanery at Westminster* (53); which the Journalists translate thus; *Il le logea dans ses appartemens de Doyen de Westminster* (54). i. e. " He lodged him (Dr. Fiddes) in the a-
" partments belonging to him as Dean of Westmin-
" ster." On this occasion the friends of Dr. Fiddes declare, that if by the word *entertain* Dr. Knight understood, as the Journalists translate it, *lodged*; it is a direct falshood, Dr. Fiddes having never lain at the Deanery of Westminster; nor even so much as studied there, as they firmly believe. With regard to the other assertion, where Dr. Knight represents Dr. Fiddes as being in the most miserable circumstances, and capable of engaging in any undertakings, which the Journalists have translated, *un Auteur* (Dr. Fiddes) *que la misere rendoit capable de tout* (55); they answer, that tho' the Doctor, in some parts of his life, was not over happy in his circumstances, yet his family were never in want of a decent support, so far from being reduced to the extremes of misery as Dr. Knight would insinuate. I.

(47) *Bibliotheque Angloise*, pag. 410. tom. 3. Amsterdam, 1718, in 12mo.

(48) *Memoires Literaires de la Grande Bretagne*, pag. 479, 480. Hague 1720, 12mo.

(49) Ibid. pag. 486.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Ibid. pag. 488.

(52) Idem, ibid.

(53) See citation (54).

(54) *Bibliotheque Raisonnee*, pag. 46. tom. 1. Amsterdam 1728, 12mo.

(55) Ibid. pag. 47.

FINE' in Latin *Finæus* (ORONTIUS) Professor of Mathematics in the Royal College at Paris, was the son of a Physician, and was born at Briançon in Dauphiné in the year 1494 (a). Being still very young when his father died, he went to Paris, where he studied with the greatest application. Anthony Silvestre who was a native of Briançon (b), and taught the *Belles Lettres* in the College of Montaign, was a very good friend to him, and procured him a place in the College of Navarre. The young man applied himself there to polite Literature and Philosophy (c); and though he carefully attended the Lectures of his Professors, yet he applied himself more particularly to the Mathematics,

(a) Thevet, *Eloges des Hommes illustres*, tom. 7. pag. m. 313.

(b) Launoius, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* pag. 646.

(c) Idem, ibid. pag. 678.

Mathematics, for which he had naturally a very ſtrong inclination (*d*). He was not diſcouraged either by the contempt that Science was in then, or by the neceſſity he was under of ſtudying it by himſelf, without the aſſiſtance of any maſter; and notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, he made a very conſiderable progreſs in them (*e*). He acquired a great knowledge in the Mechanics, and as he had both a genius proper to invent inſtruments, and a ſkilful hand to make them himſelf (*f*), he gained very great reputation by the ſpecimens he gave of his ingenuity. The firſt works by which he made himſelf known, was his publiſhing and correcting John Martin Siliceus's Arithmetic, and the *Margareta Philoſophica* [*A*]. He read afterwards private Lectures on the Mathematics, and then he taught that Science publickly in the College of Gervais (*g*). He acquitted himſelf of that function with ſo much reputation, that he was recommended to Francis I as the moſt proper man to teach the Mathematics in the new College, which that Prince founded at Paris (*h*). He omitted nothing to ſupport the glory of his profeſſion; and though he inſtructed his ſcholars with great aſſiduity, yet he found time to publiſh a great many books (*i*) upon almoſt every part of the Mathematics. He boaſted that he had found out the *Quadrature* or Squaring of the Circle [*B*]. What the Author of his Elogy ſays upon this ſubject will furniſh us with materials for a remark. I am very much miſtaken if he is not the perſon who is mentioned in Agrippa's Letters, as a man who was a long time in priſon, becauſe he had foretold ſome things which were not acceptable to the Court of France [*C*]; for at that time moſt of the Aſtronomers and Geometers would meddle with Aſtrology. In order to have a notion of his ſkill in Mechanics you need only conſider the clock which he invented in the year 1553, and of which there is a deſcription in the Journal of Amſterdam for March the 29th 1694. His genius, his labours, his inventions, and the eſteem which an infinite number of perſons ſhewed him, could not ſecure him from that fate which ſo generally befalls men of letters; he was obliged to ſtruggle all his life-time with the inconveniencies of poverty [*D*]; and when he died he left a numerous family deeply in debt. It is true that the memory of his merit was more ſerviceable to his children, than his merit itſelf had been to him. There happened to be ſome Mecænas's, who for his ſake aſſiſted his family

(*d*) Thevet, *Eloges*, tom. 7. pag. 314.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 315.

(*g*) Launoi, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* pag. 679.

(*h*) Thevet, *Eloges*, pag. 314, 315. Launoius, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* pag. 679.

(*i*) See a catalogue of them in Mr. Teiſſier's *Addit. aux Eloges de Mr. de Thou*, tom. 1. pag. 110.

[*A*] *The firſt work by which he made himſelf known was his ... correcting the...* Margareta Philoſophica.] Monſieur de Launoi acquaints me with this. *Et primo quidem*, ſays he (1), *nomen ſuum ab edendis corrigendiſque aliorum operibus illuſtre fecit. Nam anno* 1519 *è Navarra ſua Joannis Martini Silicei Hiſpani Arithmeticam typis commiſit, mendiſque pluribus expurgavit, & anno* 1523 *dum adhuc in Navarra cum Antonio Silveſtro degeret, Philoſophicam Margaretam, quæ rationalis ac Moralis Philoſophiæ principia duodecim libris complectitur, recognovit & prælo mandari curavit.* i. e. "He made "himſelf famous at firſt by correcting and publiſhing the works of other Authors. For in the year "1519 being ſtill in the College of Navarre, he "publiſhed the Arithmetick of John Martin Siliceus "a Spaniard, in which he had corrected a great many errors, and in the year 1523, living ſtill in the "ſame College with Anthony Silveſter, he reviſed "and ſent to the preſs the Philoſophical Pearl, which "contains the principles of Logic and moral Philoſophy in twelve Books."

(1) Laun. *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* pag. 678, 679.

[*B*] *He boaſted that he had found out the Quadrature of the Circle.*] Sammarthanus aſſerts, that Orontius Finé boaſted without reaſon that he had found it, and that Providence deſigned that glory only to Joſeph Scaliger. *Cum .... inter cætera volumina peculiari quodam libro quadraturam illam circuli à multis fruſtra quæſitam ſe tandem aliquando reperiſſe gloriaretur. Hoc enim de ſe facile credebat homo ſummæ doctrinæ ſibi conſcius, cùm tamen veram hujus admirabilis inventi gloriam uni Joſepho Scaligero faciliora numina reſervarent* (2). i. e. "Amongſt his other volumes he wrote "a particular Book, in which he boaſted that he had "found out the Quadrature of the Circle, after which "a great many perſons had laboured in vain. He "was eaſily inclined to believe this of himſelf, being "conſcious of his great learning; though a kinder "fate deſigned the glory of that admirable diſcovery "to Joſeph Scaliger alone." Sammarthanus is in the right to ſay that Orontius Finé boaſted without reaſon, that he had invented a method to ſquare the Circle: but he is ſtrangely miſtaken, when he pretends that Scaliger is the only perſon who diſcovered that ſecret. For it is ſo far from being true that this privilege was deſigned for Scaliger alone, that it may be aſſerted this great man was farther from it than ſeveral others.

(2) Sammarth. *Elog.* lib. 1. pag. m. 28.

[*C*] *I believe that according to Agrippa, he was a long time in priſon, becauſe he had foretold ſome things which were not acceptable to the Court of France.*] Agrippa's words, which I ſhall quote, are taken from a Letter in which he complains of his misfortune, which he aſcribes to a Horoſcope by which he had found that the Conſtable de Bourbon would ſtill be victorious in the year 1526. The Queen Regent was very angry with the Aſtrologer for it, who ſaid thereupon, that he did not think he was to make uſe of his art in order to tell lies, and that he did not think time enough of the fate which befel a great Mathematician. I think he means Orontius Finé. *Sed & neſciebam me prædario Aſtrologum conductum, quodque mihi, quod ars illa dictat, monendi dicendique jus relictum non eſſet; occurritque extemplò Orontius Parrhiſiorum inſignis Mathematicus & Aſtrologus, qui dum veriora, quàm poterat, vaticinaverat, iniquiſſima captivitate diutinè vexatus eſt* (3). i. e. "I did not think that I was hired to "foretel falſities, nor that it was not lawful for me "to publiſh and declare thoſe things which I diſcovered by my art: and hereupon I called immediately to mind the fate of Orontius, a celebrated "Mathematician and Aſtrologer of Paris, who having "foretold truer things, than he might do, laboured "for a long while under a very unjuſt captivity."

(3) Agrippa, Epiſt. lxii. lib. 4. pag. m. 831. This Letter is dated from Lyons Nov. 3, 1526.

[*D*] *He was obliged to ſtruggle all his life-time with the inconveniencies of poverty.*] He had gone through the whole courſe of his ſtudies without receiving from his family that aſſiſtance which a ſcholar wants: his father was dead, and his relations neglected him (4). One can eaſily conceive that this is a very uneaſy ſituation. Thevet aſſerts (5), that Orontius Finé *was ſo far from* covetouſneſs, *that by philoſophizing he did indeed pleaſe his mind, but did not fill his purſe. But I cannot think it was his fault, conſidering the complaints he often made to ſeveral Lords of the poverty to which he was reduced; but they did not ſeem to underſtand him; ſo that the good Orontius had nothing at his death but a great many debts, in which (to his great ſorrow) he left his dear wife Deniſa Blanch engaged, who had five ſons and one daughter to provide for. Men have a great eſteem for ſome Orators, Philoſophers and other learned perſonages, ſome of whom ſwam in riches, and others threw theirs into the ſea, as though they had been an obſtacle to their philoſophizing. The learned Finé belonged to neither of theſe* (6), *yet he had ſomething common with the latter, who after they had rid themſelves of their eſtates, happened to be poor with regard to riches.* Let us add to theſe words what the ſame Thevet obſerves in Peter Danes's Elogy. "I cannot forbear complaining "of

(4) I do not deſign to relate the glory which from his anceſtors reflected upon him; but only that which he acquired by himſelf, without the aid, aſſiſtance, or ſupport of his relations, of which the good man complains ſomewhere in his works. Thevet, *Eloges*, tom. 8. pag. 314.

(5) Ibid. pag. 319.

(6) This is the third time that Thevet refutes in this paſſage what he had aſſerted, that Orontius was very far from covetouſneſs. It is not being far from it, to be poor againſt one's will.

mily in their want [*E*]. I ſhall quote an Author who charges him with plagiariſm [*F*]. You will find in Moreri that he died October the 6th, 1555. The Abbot de Brianville, who invented a kind of cards to teach Heraldry, and wrote ſome books for the uſe of the Dauphin under the reign of King Lewis XIV, was of the ſame country and of the ſame family with Orontius Finé (*k*).

(*k*) Allard, *Biblioth. du Dauphiné*, pag. 106.

" of the ingratitude and unthankfulneſs of ſeveral " Cardinals, Abbots, and other Prelates, who have " ſeen and heard to what poverty and want ſome men " of virtue and eminent learning were reduced, ſuch " as Iodelle, Orontius Finé, Poſtel, Regius, Belle " Foreſt, and a great many others, who after their " death did not leave wherewithal to bury them, and " yet theſe Prelates were ſo little compaſſionate, that " they did not deign to offer theſe learned men one " poor penny (7)."

(7) Thevet, tom. 2. pag. 22.

[*E*] *There happened to be ſome Mecænas's who aſſiſted his family in their want.*] Let us continue tranſcribing Thevet. He had a great many children, who being deſtitute of their father and mother, and of all means to ſupport themſelves, yet did not want aſſiſtance; for after his death ſeveral generous Lords exerted their charity for the ſupport, maintenance, and defence of the children of that man, whom they had very much loved and eſteemed in his life-time. Two of his children applied themſelves not only to the ſtudy of the Mathematicks, but alſo the one to Divinity and the other to the Law, and they have both taken their degrees in their reſpective faculties (8). In page 312 Thevet mentions John Finé Doctor of Divinity, ſon of Orontius. *I have received ſome memoirs*, ſays he, *from his ſon John Finé Doctor of Divinity, who hearing that I was writing a ſhort account of the lives of illuſtrious men, took all the care he could to engage me to give a place in it to his father.* He ſays in another place. *Though his ſons have compoſed very beautiful and excellent epitaphs, yet I did not dare to inſert them, leſt it ſhould be thought, that though they be well done and contain nothing but the truth, yet they are of no weight, ſince they come from his children, who are not the proper perſons to bear witneſs to their father's reputation* (9). Monſieur de Launoi (10) tells us, that this John Finé ſtudied in the College of Navarre, that he taught Philoſophy for ſome years in the College of Harcourt, that he commenced Doctor of Divinity in the year 1565, that he was afterwards Canon of Meaux, and that in the year 1608 he was Senior or Dean of the faculty of Divinity.

(8) Ibid. tom. 1. pag. 320.

(9) Ibid. pag. 321.

(10) Laun. *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* pag. 679.

[*F*] *I ſhall quote an Author, who charges him with plagiariſm.*] John Baptiſt Benedictus declares in the Preface to his Book of Sun-dials, that he has ſaid nothing of what others had very well explained, and that he confined himſelf to this method, becauſe he would not invade other people's property, and alſo becauſe he would not prevent any perſon from reading the Books of others. He adds that other Writers have not been ſo ſcrupulous, and names Munſter and Finé. *Quis enim Sebaſtiani Munſteri, & Orontii Phinei horologiographias legit qui non animadverterit quam multa præter neceſſitatem de verbo ad verbum in poſterioris opere ſint tranſlata quæ poterant majori cum utriuſque laude apud priorem videnda relinqui, aut potius ab utroque prætermitti, cum alter alterius imprudens calcaverit veſtigia, & quandoque eodem errore ambo ducti cæcutientes in eandem foveam ſeſe præcipites egerint ut factum eſt, præcipue ubi agunt de deſcriptione horarii ſuper globo aut ſphærica ſuperficie convexa* (11). i. e. " Who is there " that read the deſcriptions of dials by Sebaſtian " Munſter and Orontius Finé, and did not obſerve " that there are a great many things needleſsly tranſcribed word for word in the Book of the latter, " which had they been left to be read in the Book " of the former, it had been more to the reputation " of both; nay it had been better had they been " omitted by both; for as they follow each other's " footſteps, they often fall into the ſame error, and as " the blind leading the blind they throw each other " into the ditch; this happens eſpecially where they " mention the deſcription of a dial on a globe, or on " a convex ſpherical ſurface." There are two things to be conſidered here, the one is a matter of fact, namely that Finé's Book contains ſeveral Remarks tranſcribed word for word from Munſter; the other is Benedictus's way of arguing. He ſuppoſes that if Finé had not tranſcribed from Munſter it had been more to the reputation of both. He is in the right in ſome reſpects: but his reflection is ill grounded if it be conſidered in a certain light; however he ought to have explained it in a clearer manner. He ſuppoſes afterwards that they have tranſcribed each other without being aware of it. He ought therefore to have ſaid, that Munſter pirated the ſame Authors whom Finé pirated afterwards, and he ſhould have told us who theſe Authors were.

(11) Joannes Baptiſta Benedictus, *Patricius Venetus, in Præfatione Libri* de Gnomonum Umbrarumque ſolarium Uſu. *This book was printed at Turin*, 1574, in folio.

FLACIUS (MATTHIAS). See ILLYRICUS.

FLAMINIUS (MARK ANTHONY) was one of the beſt Latin Poets in the ſixteenth Century, and alſo a good Humaniſt. He was born at Imola in Italy, and was the ſon and grandſon of very learned men (*a*). See an account of him in Monſieur Teiſſier (*b*), which is more complete than that which Moreri has given. I ſhall touch only upon one particular, which they have not mentioned. The Pope had choſen him Secretary to the Council in the year 1545 (*c*), but Flaminius refuſed that noble employment, becauſe he favoured the new opinions, and would not therefore employ his pen for an Aſſembly, in which he knew that thoſe opinions were to be condemned. This is Cardinal Palavicini's conjecture, who ſpeaking of the honours which the Pope deſigned to confer on Flaminius, did not forget to cenſure Father Paul [*A*]. He heard that Flaminius had the happineſs to find out his errors ſince that time, by his intimacy with Cardinal Pool, and that he wrote and died like a good Roman Catholic. Thuanus was not

(*a*) See the remark [*C*].

(*b*) *Eloges tirez de Mr. de Thou*, tom. 1. pag. 36, &c.

(*c*) See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *Cardinal Palavicini . . . ſpeaking . . . of Flaminius did not forget to cenſure Father Paul.*] He charges him (1) with falſely affirming that the Pope ſent the Legates word, that it was not neceſſary the Letters ſhould be diſpatched in the name of the Council, and that thoſe which he ſhould write himſelf, or which the Legates ſhould write in their own name would be ſufficient. In order to prove that this is falſe, Cardinal Palavicini obſerves, that the Pope expreſly told the Legates how the Letters, written in the name of the Councils, ſhould be directed, and ſigned. He adds, that the drawing up of ſuch Letters, and of the decrees of the Council ought to have been part of the functions of the Secretary to the Council, and that the Pope propoſed Mark Anthony Flaminius for that employment (2). *Adunque il Papa fè proporre al Concilio per Segretario Marcantonio Flaminio, chiaro frà gli Scrittori Latini di quell' età, come dimoſtrano i ſuoi verſi. Ma egli ſcuſoſſi dal peſo, forſe perchè gia covava* (3) *nella mente l'affezione à quelle dottrine in condannazion delle quali gli ſarebbe convenuto d'eſercitar quivi la penna: auvenga che* (*) *in fine de gli anni ſuoi la ſalutevol converſazione del Cardinal Polo in Viterbo il faceſſe ravvedere, e ſcriver' e morir cattolicamente.* But the ſtrongeſt argument this Chapter of the Cardinal contains againſt Father Paul is, that upon the Fathers of the Council's complaint that the Pope choſe himſelf the Officers of that Aſſembly, he left them a full liberty to chooſe whom they pleaſed for their Secretary, whereupon they choſe Angelo Maſſarelli proviſionally (4), and afterwards for the whole ſeſſion (5).

(1) *Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. 6. cap. 1. num. 4.

(2) Ibid. num. 5.

(3) This expreſſion ſeems wrong to me, for Flaminius went backwards rather than forwards in Lutheraniſm, from the year 1545 till his death in 1551.

* *Sta nella* vita del Polo *ſcritta dal* Baccatello.

(4) That is to ſay till Priuli, who had been choſen perpetual Secretary, ſhould take poſſeſſion of his poſt, but he refuſed that employment.

(5) Palavicini, *Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. 6. cap. 1. num. 8.

not ignorant of Flaminius's inclination for the Reformed party, with regard to ſome doctrines, but he excepts the article of the Lord's Supper, and I do not find that Simler contradicts him [B]. Longolius has greatly commended our Flaminius [C]. The latter's piety did not prevent him from *writing a great many very tender love-verſes*, though he was a Clergyman (*d*).

(*d*) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 2. pag. 337.

The weakneſs of his conſtitution obliged him to keep ſuch a ſtrict courſe of diet, that he refuſed to ſup with Corradus, becauſe he feared leſt ſome other perſons might have been invited (*e*).

(*e*) Sebaſt. Corradus, *in Brutum Ciceronis*, pag. 43.

[B] *I do not find that Simler contradicts him.*] Thuanus ſpeaks of Flaminius in ſuch a manner as to make him appear a Janſeniſt rather than a Proteſtant. He ſays, that amongſt thoſe in Italy, who thought it was neceſſary to procure an effectual Reformation, there aroſe controverſies concerning faith, good works, grace, free-will, election, vocation, and glorification, and that moſt of them had ſuch opinions upon all thoſe ſubjects, as were very different from thoſe that were generally received, and that they ſupported their opinions by St. Auguſtin's authority. It was for this reaſon, adds Thuanus, that Auguſtin Fregoſe Soſteneo publiſhed at Venice in the year 1545 ſome ſmall pieces taken from that Father's works. Flaminius admitted thoſe opinions, but for the reſt he did not follow the doctrines that had been ſpread through Germany; he plainly ſhewed in a Letter that with regard to the Lord's Supper he was of the opinion of the Church; nor did he leave his native country, like ſome other perſons, with whom he had lived in friendſhip, for the ſake of Religion; of this number was Galeazzo Caraccioli Marqueſs del Vico (6). Monſ. Teiſſier has confuted this account. *If we may believe Joſias Simler*, ſays he (7), *Thuanus was miſtaken when he wrote, that Flaminius did not approve the doctrine, which Luther had ſpread through Germany; for Simler* (8) *places Flaminius amongſt thoſe, who having embraced the Religion of the Proteſtants, engaged Peter Martyr Vermil, who has been ſince Miniſter at Zurich, to follow their example, and to forſake the Church of Rome.* I have read the whole Life of Peter Martyr in Melchior Adam (9), and I have found there only the following particular concerning Flaminius. Peter Martyr being Superior of the Monaſtery at Naples found the truth out by reading ſome Books, and had ſeveral conferences upon religious ſubjects with ſome pious perſons, who were very zealous for the pure Religion. Mark Anthony Flaminius was one of the chief of thoſe, with whom Peter Martyr conferred upon thoſe ſubjects. I do not find any thing in this, that is contrary to Thuanus's account; and after all Simler rather deſerves to be cenſured than this great Hiſtorian, ſince Flaminius's Letter is authentick, and it is unqueſtionable that he lived and died in Italy. I have ſaid it a thouſand times; a man might acknowledge there were an hundred abuſes and diſorders in the Church of Rome, and ſeveral excellent truths in Luther's works, without thinking himſelf obliged to retire into Germany, and without pretending, that the Roman Catholicks were in the wrong in all that the Lutherans blamed (10). Monſieur Teiſſier objects againſt Thuanus Flaminius's Epigram on Savonarola's death. But this is no proof at all; an infinite number of Dominicans, tho' very good Papiſts, might ſubſcribe to that Epigram. The Letter inſerted in the Life of Galeazzo Caraccioli ſhews a great deal of piety, but we do not find any thing in it relating particularly to the profeſſion or approbation of Lutheraniſm.

(6) *Cui ſententiæ accedebat Flaminius, cum in ceteris fidei capitibus doctrinæ per Germaniam tunc diſſeminatæ minime adſtipularetur. Nam & luculentum ipſius exſtat inter vulgareis clarorum virorum Epiſtolas de ſacroſancto Euchariſtiæ myſterio ex Eccleſiæ ſenſu ſcriptis mandatum teſtimonium, itaque cum alii, quibuſcum religionis cauſa amicitiam coluerat, atque in primis Galeacius Caracciolus Vici Marchio, patriam reliquiſſent &c.* Thuan. lib. 9. pag. m. 177.

(7) *Elog. tirez de Mr. de Thou*, tom. 1. pag. 39.

(8) *In Vita P. Martyr.*

(9) He gives us that which Joſias Simler wrote.

(10) See amongſt other paſſages the remark [Q.] in the article CASTELLANUS at the *a-linea*.

[C] *Longolius has greatly commended our Flaminius.*] Monſieur Teiſſier quotes theſe words from Longolius (11). *Know, that for a great many ages there has not been one perſon equal to Flaminius, with regard to wit, learning, virtue, and probity. I am wont to ſay, when I ſpeak of him, that I do not know, at this time, a man who has more merit, and is more unfortunate than he.* I have met with other paſſages (12), in which Longolius ſhews a particular eſteem and friendſhip for Flaminius. Here follows one, which has ſome affinity to that quoted by Monſieur Teiſſier. *Ego nihil ad Flaminium ſcripſi, quod neque ſcirem ut cum ipſo ageretur, neque certi quicquam haberem, ad quod literas meas accommodarem. Quin ingenio, induſtria, virtute æquales ſuos omnes longe ſuperarit, plane non dubito; ne fortuna tantæ indoli maligne reſponderit, etiam atque etiam timeo. Sed tamen velim ut animo maximo ſit, optetque ſemper ſecunda, cogitet adverſa, ferat qualiacunque acciderint, neque ſibi præſtandum quicquam præter culpam exiſtimet; à quâ Janè tam longè abeſt quam ab ea ætate, quæ vel culpam adhuc præſtare debeat* (13). i. e. "I have not "wrote to Flaminius, becauſe I did not know in what "condition he was, nor where to direct my Letters "ſafely. I do not doubt but by his genius, ſkill and "virtue he excells all his contemporaries; but I "fear very much that his circumſtances will but ill "anſwer his great merit. Yet I would have him "pluck up a good heart, hope for proſperity, think "of adverſity, and ſuffer what happens, nor let him "think that he may venture upon any thing but what "is criminal; and indeed he is as far from doing any "thing unhandſome, as he is from that age in which "it is pardonable." Flaminius was at that time but a young ſcholar, and conſequently it could not be reaſonably ſaid of him, that he was the moſt unfortunate of all men. To ſay that of a man, one muſt have ſeen him turn himſelf every way, and always unſucceſsfully. Yet this paſſage acquaints us with Flaminius's ill fate; he was a young man in very bad circumſtances, for his friends were obliged to ſupply his wants, and to endeavour to procure him cloaths by recommendatory Letters. *De Flaminio quod benigne polliceris, reſpondes illi omnino, quam de prolixa iſta tua atque benefica in ſtudioſos omnes natura ſemper habui, opinioni: ſed nihil eo quod oſtendis etiam nunc eſt opus. Inita eſt enim a nobis ratio, quemadmodum hic adoleſcentem tueamur. In veſtiario tantum laboramus; in quo ſi adjutus a te fuerit, otium ejus liberalitate tua conſtitutum eſſe judicabo* (14). i. e. "Your kind promiſe with regard "to Flaminius does perfectly anſwer the opinion I "have always had of your good nature and generoſity "towards Men of Letters. But we have no occaſion "at preſent for what you propoſe; for we have "formed a ſcheme for maintaining that young man "here: we want only to provide for his cloathing; in "which if you aſſiſt him, I ſhall think that your libe-"rality gave him leiſure to ſtudy." By a certain Letter he wrote, he made himſelf an enemy; who reviled him in a terrible manner ſpeaking to Longolius, and who maintained in that converſation, that it was impoſſible to diſcover any virtue or wit in Flaminius, ſince he was the ſon and the grandſon of a Pedant, and a Pedant himſelf. *Erras, inquit, Longoli, erras, ſi quod te vel ingenii vel virtutis lumen in eo perſpexiſſe putas, qui & ipſe pædagogus ſit, & pædagogo patre & avo natus* (15). As for our Flaminius's father, I am not unacquainted with him: his name was JOHN ANTHONY FLAMINIUS. He taught the Belles-Lettres at Bologna for ſeveral years (16), and died there in the year 1536 after he had publiſhed ſome works (17). Moreri has mentioned him. As for the grandfather I know nothing of him: he is perhaps the ſame with SEBASTIAN FLAMINIUS, a native of Imola (18), and Author of the Life of Ambroſe of Sienna, a beatified Dominican.

(11) He quotes Longol. *Epiſtol.* lib. 3. See his *Additions*, tom. 2. pag. 395.

(12) *See* lib. 2. folio 190. *and* lib. 3. folio 240.

(13) Ibid. lib. 2. folio 183 *verſo*.

(14) Ibid. lib. 4. folio 271.

(15) Ibid. lib. 2. folio 202 *verſo*.

(16) Leand. Albert. *Deſcript. Italiæ*, pag. m. 493.

(17) *See* Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 682.

(18) Idem, ibid. pag. 678.

FLAMINIUS (ANTHONY) a learned Profeſſor of Literature in the College of Rome towards the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, was born in Sicily. He was ſuch a lover of a retired life, that he took no delight in talking either with the learned, or with the ignorant. He never invited any perſon to his houſe, and would not be invited by any. He had neither a man nor a maid-ſervant. He uſed to buy his victuals daily at a neighbouring tavern. The miſtreſs of the tavern obſerving that he had been

three days without aſking for any thing, and even without appearing, entered into his room through the garden-window, and found him dead amongſt his books. He uſed to lie down upon the ground when he ſtudied (*a*) [*A*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Pierius Valerianus, *de Literatorum infelicitate*, lib. 1. pag. m. 23.

[*A*] *He uſed to lie down upon the ground when he ſtudied.*] This was not the leaſt proof of his odd ſingular temper. *Is inopinata præventus morte a caupone vicinia, qui quotidiana edulia homini venditabat, contentionem admirante, quod jam triduum non apparuiſſet, & per hortuli feneſtellam quandam ingreſſo, inter libros quos humi ſtratos, ſtratus & ipſe lectitare conſueverat, ſempiterno oppreſſus ſomno repertus eſt* (1). He had taught a long time at Rome with very deep learning. *Cujus prælectionibus Roma longa annorum ſerie nihil habuit eruditius* (2).

(1) Pierius Valerianus, *de Literatorum infelicitate*, lib. 1. pag. m. 23.
(2) Idem, ibid.

☞FLAMSTEED (JOHN), an eminent Engliſh Aſtronomer in the eighteenth Century, was born at Denby in Derbyſhire Auguſt the 19th 1646 (*a*). His father, whoſe name was Stephen, was third ſon of Mr. William Flamſteed of Little Hallam in that county. His mother was Mary (*b*) daughter of Mr. John Spateman of Derby Ironmonger. Our Author had from his infancy a natural weakneſs of conſtitution, which he could never ſurmount. He was educated at the free-ſchool of Derby, where his father lived; and at fourteen years of age, when he was newly raiſed to the head of that ſchool, he was viſited with a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, which was followed with a conſumption, and other diſtempers; which however did not ſo much obſtruct his progreſs in learning, but that he ſtill kept his ſtation till the form broke up, and ſome of his fellows went to the Univerſity; to which, tho' he was deſigned for it, his father thought it not adviſeable to ſend him on account of his diſtemper. Being thus taken from ſchool in 1662, within a month or two after he had John de Sacroboſco's book *de Sphæra* put into his hands, and this occaſioned him to ſtudy Aſtronomy [*A*]. He had already read a great deal of Hiſtory both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical; but this was a new ſubject to him, and he found great pleaſure

(*a*) Moſt of the particulars of the text of this article are extracted from two manuſcripts written by our Author, and communicated by the very learned and ingenious Mr. James Hodgſon, F. R. S. and Maſter of the Royal Mathematical School at Chriſt's Hoſpital in Lond. One of theſe manuſcripts is intitled, *The ſelfe-inſpections of J. F. being an account of himſelfe in the the actions and ſtudies of his twenty one firſt yeares, written at ſeverall times by his owne hand.* The other is intitled, *Hiſtorica Narratio Vitæ meæ ab anno* 1646 *ad* 1675.

(*b*) She died Sept. 7, 1649.

[*A*] *Occaſioned him to ſtudy Aſtronomy.*] In the text of this article we have given an account of his progreſs in that ſcience in his younger years, as it is repreſented in a manuſcript of his written in 1707, and intitled, *Hiſtorica Narratio Vitæ meæ ab Anno* 1646 *ad* 1675. But we ſhall give a more particular account of his ſeveral ſteps in that ſtudy from another manuſcript of his dated May the 8th 1667, and intitled, *The Selfe-Inſpections of* J. F. *being an account of himſelfe in the Actions and ſtudies of his twenty one firſt yeares; written at ſeverall times by his owne hand.* He tells us, that in 1662 he had *Sacroboſco's* Book *de Sphæra* lent him, which he ſet himſelf to read without any Director in it, but not unſucceſsfully, for here he laid the ground of his mathematical knowledge. In that winter before Chriſtmas his father taught him Arithmetic and the Doctrine of fractions, and the golden Rule of three direct and converſe. At Chriſtmas or a little after he went to Utoxeter for his health, and took with him Mr. Thomas Fale's *Art of Dialling* (1); and having ſeen a Quadrant formerly, whoſe fabric, as he was informed, was laid down in that book, he ſet himſelf immediately to calculate a Table of the Sun's Altitudes at all hours in the Equator, Tropics, and ſome intermediate parallel in the latitude of 53 degrees, by Mr. *Fale's* Tables of natural Sines; which our Author performed in Lent of that year, without any help, and before he had heard of any artificial Tables; and accordingly framed himſelf a Quadrant. The reſt of the Winter he was greatly indiſpoſed, and his diſtemper continued violent upon him the ſummer of the year 1663, when it abated a little, and ſuffered him to proſecute his ſtudies. For upon his return home, he was brought into company with Mr. Elias Grice, who told him of the artificial Tables, and ſhewed him *Wingate's Canon*. He procured likewiſe Mr. *Stirrup's Art of Dialling*, which he read this Summer with ſome other Authors on mathematical Subjects, as Mr. *Gunter's Sector and Canon*; and ſoon after he obtained Mr. *Will. Oughtred's Canon: in all which*, ſays he, *I read ſome parts curſorily, not abiding a tedious prolection of any throughout, without the help or directions of any one, not being permitted (becauſe they were ſcarce to be met with) the help of any one ſo much as to expound a term unto me.* His ſtudies were diſcountenanced by his father; but his natural inclination forced him to proſecute them thro' all impeding occurrences. Having got the artificial Canon he calculated ſeveral both general and particular Tables, fitting the particular ones to the latitude of Derby, viz. 53 Degrees. He collected alſo a calculative Method of Dialling from Mr. *Gunter's Sector*, and tranſcribed it (with a method for the conſtruction of the Quadrant, and Tables fitted thereto, calculated with his own hand,) in a ſmall paper book. In this taſk, and in peruſing ſome other Authors on various ſubjects he ſpent his vacant hours this year and the beginning of 1664. In 1664 he became acquainted with Mr. George Linacre, and Mr. Will. Litchford, deſiring the friendſhip of the former on account of his knowledge of the fixed Stars; and of the latter on account of his knowledge of the Planets. Mr. Flamſteed being deſirous to eſſay all ſorts of mathematical ſcience, and unwilling to be ſeen with Mr. *Gadbury's* Book, which contained *Horrox's Tables*, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected to ſtudy Aſtrology, bought Mr. *Street's Caroline Tables*, intending when he had an opportunity, not only to learn to calculate the places of the Planets, but alſo to ſtudy their motions, and underſtand their theory; but was prevented from executing this deſign for that year. January 1ſt 1665, he applied himſelf to calculate the true places of the Planets to a given time, by his Tables abovementioned; and accordingly effected it, tho' not ſo exactly as by his following calculations, yet ſo auſpiciouſly as gave him a further encouragement to proſecute theſe endeavours; *in which*, ſays he, *I obſerve, it was my fault to err more thro' want of care than knowledge; which ſince I animadverted, I have ſtriven with double care to prevent.* He employed himſelf afterwards in writing an *Almanac* for the year 1666; but never offer'd it to the preſs. He had in the Summer of the preceding year calculated ſeveral new Tables, and digeſted ſome of them into a convenient Book; and this year he added ſome more unto it. He likewiſe calculated the Nativities of ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance. He wrote alſo a piece upon the conſtruction and uſes of a Quadrant with neceſſary Tables for the framing of the ſame, and of a Rule, which he had drawn, fitting both to the latitude of 53 degrees. He began this piece Auguſt 8th, and finiſh'd it on the 24th of the ſame month, intitling it his *Mathematical Eſſays*; and it was the firſt piece which he wrote. Auguſt 26th he ſet out for Ireland, in order to be touch'd by Mr. *Valentine Greatraks*, but receiving no benefit, returned to Derby September 23d following. Soon after he added an *Appendix* to his *Mathematical Eſſays*, and the Projection of an univerſal Dial, and a Catalogue of 70 of the Fixed Stars, with their right Aſcenſions, Declinations, Longitudes, and Latitudes to the year 1701, which he had compoſed by the Tychonic places, and allowing the annual proceſſion of the Fixed Stars 50″. He alſo proceeded to perfect the Calculation of the Solar Eclipſe, which was to happen June 22d 1666 in the morning, according to the *Caroline Tables*. In the Lent Aſſizes in 1666 he became acquainted with Mr. Emanuel Halton of Wingfield Mannor, who lent him the Richleian Tables compoſed by Natalis Durret, a Frenchman; the introduction to which Mr. Flam-

(1) This was printed at London 1626 in 4to.

ſteed

pleaſure in it; and having tranſlated ſo much as he thought neceſſary for his uſe into Engliſh, he proceeded to make Dials by the directions of ſome ordinary books; and having changed a piece of Aſtrology found amongſt his father's books for Mr. Street's *Caroline Tables*, he ſet himſelf to calculate the places of the Planets by them, and to inquire into the reaſons of them, in which he found little ſatisfaction, that Author being very conciſe and ſhort, and leaving the reaſons of his proceſſes to be learned from others. Having calculated by theſe Tables an Eclipſe of the Sun, which was to happen June the 22d 1666, he imparted it to a relation of his, who ſhewed it to Mr. Emanuel Halton of Wingfield-Manor, who coming ſoon after to ſee him, and finding that our Author was not acquainted with the Aſtronomical performances of others, ſent him *Riccioli's Almageſt*, and *Kepler's Rudolphine Tables*, with ſome other mathematical books, to which he was before a ſtranger. Mr. Halton, who was a good Algebraiſt, endeavoured to draw him into the ſtudy of Algebra by propoſing little problems to him, which, having not long before made himſelf acquainted with Euclid, he gave geometrical ſolutions to, and never troubled himſelf with Algebra till he removed to London. He now proſecuted his ſtudies in Aſtronomy with great vigour [*B*]; and in 1669 collected ſome remarkable Eclipſes of the fixed Stars by the Moon, which would happen in 1670, and calculated them from the *Caroline Tables*, and directed them to the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society [*C*]. This piece being read before that Society was highly approved, and procured him letters of thanks from Mr. Oldenburg (*c*) their Secretary, and Mr. John Collins (*d*), one of their members, with the latter of whom our Author held a correſpondence for ſeveral years, and wrote a great many letters to him, moſt of which are now in the hands of William Jones Eſq; F. R. S. and of which we ſhall give the reader ſome extracts, ſince they will ſhew the progreſs of our Author's ſtudies till his ſettlement at Greenwich in 1675 [*D*]. From the time of the abovementioned piece's being

(*c*) His letter was dated Jan. 14, $16\frac{72}{73}$.

(*d*) His letter was dated Jan. 15, $16\frac{72}{73}$.

ſteed tranſlated into Engliſh, and corrected the errors of it. Mr. Halton ſoon after communicated to him *Ricciolus's new Almageſt* in Latin, which our Author was extremely glad to receive, becauſe it ſhewed a method of finding the Sun's true Parallax by obſervations of the Moon's Dichotomy, which he was very deſirous of inveſtigating at that time. He ſpent likewiſe ſome part of his time in Aſtrological Studies, *but ſo*, ſays he, *as my labours were rather Aſtronomical. Amongſt others I ſpent ſome time on Mr.* Linacre's *and another great perſon's ſchemes; yet could I not any ways ſatisfy my ſelf in the Arcs of Directions for the meaſuring of time, nor am I yet perfectly ſatisfy'd: yet I think Kepler's meaſures moſt rational and beſt grounded, tho' in the great perſon's nativity, which I directed, I uſed Naboyd's meaſure, which is moſt in uſe amongſt Aſtrologers. In fine, I found Aſtrology to give general ſtrong conjectural hints, not perfect declarations.* After Mr. Flamſteed had received *Ricciolus's Almageſt*, he read it over with great attention. In 1667 ſome conſiderations of the different Equations of time uſed by ſeveral Aſtronomers, tho' well demonſtrated by none, cauſed him to endeavour after a demonſtrable Equation. He was at firſt of opinion, that the natural days were always equal; and that there needed no Equation of time; but whilſt he was endeavouring to demonſtrate this, he proved the contrary; firſt, that the Excentricity of the Earth's Orbit from the Sun's Center cauſed an inequality; and afterwards that the Ecliptic's Obliquity cauſed another inequality of the apparent day; which two cauſes applied together would make the abſolute Equation of time. He wrote a Letter of three ſheets to Mr. Halton upon this ſubject. He likewiſe endeavoured ſomething with regard to the Obliquity of the Ecliptic, the Sun's true Diſtance from the Earth, and the mean Length of the Tropical year, in April 1667.

[*B*] *Proſecuted his ſtudies in Aſtronomy with great vigour.*] He employed himſelf in calculating the places of the Planets obſerved by Hevelius, and related in his *Mercurius ſub ſole viſus*, from the *Caroline Tables*; whereby Mr. Flamſteed found that they agreed not ſo well with the Heavens, as he preſumed they had; and that further obſervations were requiſite to correct them. An Eclipſe of the Sun happening Octob. 25th 1668, he had calculated the times of the appearance from the *Caroline Tables*, and afterwards obſerved it: but not being yet furniſhed with convenient inſtruments for meaſuring and correcting the times, he could not believe it accurate enough to be publiſhed, tho' he found by this, that the Tables differed very much from the Heavens.

[*C*] *In* 1669 *he collected ſome remarkable Eclipſes of the Fixed Stars by the Moon, which would happen in* 1670, *and calculated them from the* Caroline Tables, *and directed them to the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society.*] He ſpeaks of this in the Appendix to his *Selfe-Inſpections* in theſe words: *At the latter end of the year* 1669, *I wrote an Almanac for the following year, not after the uſual method, but much more accurately, inſerting an Eclipſe of the Sun, that might have been obſervable, but was omitted in the Ephemerides; and five Appulſes of the Moon to Fixed Stars. But this being rejected as being beyond the capacity of the Vulgar, and returned me, I excerped the Eclipſe and Appulſes, and addreſſed them with ſome Aſtronomical Speculations to the Royal Society, ſuppreſſing my name under my anagram. My little labour was better accepted than I expected. I received a Letter of thanks from Mr.* Oldenburge, *the Secretary of the Society. My papers I ſent to Mr.* Stanſby: *he delivered them to Mr.* Aſhmole, *that great lover of curioſity, and he preſented them to the Royal Society.* The original manuſcript of this piece is now in the hands of the learned and ingenious William Jones Eſq; F. R. S. and is inſcribed thus: *To the Right Honourable* William *Lord Viſcount* Brounker, *Preſident of the illuſtrious Royal Society; as alſo the right worſhipful, worthy, and truly ingenious* Henry Oldenburg *Eſq;*, Chriſtopher Wren, *M. D. and all other the Aſtronomical Fellows of the ſaid Society:* J. F. *humbly preſents this Epiſtle.* At the cloſe of it he writes thus; *Excuſe, I pray you, this juvenile heat for the concerns of ſcience, and want of better language from one, who from the ſixteenth year of his age to this inſtant hath only ſerved one bare apprenticeſhip in theſe arts, under the diſcouragements of friends, the want of health, and all other inſtructors except his better genius. I crave the liberty to conceal my name, not to ſuppreſs it. I have compoſed the Letters of it written in Latin in this ſentence:* In Matheſi a Sole fundes. *I had many materials to add, but they would have ſwelled my Letter beyond its preſcribed limits. If I may underſtand, that you accept of theſe, or think them worth your notice, you ſhall e'er long hear more from yours &c.* J. F.

[*D*] *We ſhall give the reader ſome extracts of his Letters to Mr.* John Collins, *ſince they will ſhew the progreſs of our Author's ſtudies till his ſettlement at Greenwich in* 1675.] In his Letter dated at Derby January 24th $16\frac{72}{73}$ he writes thus: "Yours of the 15th "I received; by which I underſtand, that my pa- "pers, however unworthy, were read in the Royal "Society; an honour, which I could as little either "expect or deſerve, as it merited their applauſe, or I "their thanks. My intent in addreſſing thoſe *Calculi* "to his Lordſhip (2), was only to give notice what "*Phænomena* the Heavens were about to afford us, "which, ſince I was not accommodated with inſtru- "ments ſufficient to obſerve them with the requiſite "accuracy myſelf, I made bold to preſent to his ho- "nour, whom I ſuppoſed to be amply accommodated "for ſuch obſervations. But preſcribing the uſe of a "Teleſcope

(2) Lord Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society.

ing read to the Royal Society, he began to have accounts ſent him of all the mathematical books which were publiſhed either at home or abroad. And in June 1670 his father taking notice of his correſpondence with ſeveral ingenious Gentlemen, whom our Author had never ſeen, adviſed him to take a journey to London, that he might be perſonally acquainted

" Teleſcope before other inſtruments, and taking occaſi-
" on thereon to urge ſomething too boldly on Mr. *Hook*,
" and in another on Mr. *Street* concerning the Ephe-
" merides, being likewiſe conſcious of my rude addreſſes
" to thoſe worthy perſons with my papers, and fear-
" ing that my heat for the promotion of ſcience might
" be worſe taken by them than I intended; knowing
" alſo the ſmallneſs of my merits, I reſolved to ſup-
" preſs my name, till I underſtood how it was like to
" ſpeed with my papers. I fear I addreſſed myſelf
" too rudely to his Lordſhip; but ſince he is pleaſed to
" take notice of thoſe unpoliſhed papers, and enquire
" after their Author, you may pleaſe (if you have not
" already) to tender my humble and ſincereſt ſervices
" with my name to his Lordſhip, and deſire his excuſe
" for me, that I have not explained my Method of
" Calculation. I ſuppoſe it cannot be hid to thoſe,
" who are verſed in Trigonometry. It is the accurat-
" eſt I could chooſe, and the numbers were twice, ſome
" thrice repeated, for more certainty. If any deſire
" to be more fully ſatisfied, I hope I ſhall anſwer
" their expectations in an Epiſtle to the excellent *He-*
" *velius*, containing a Commentary on, and a correc-
" tion of ſeveral particulars in his *Mercurius ſub ſole*
" *viſus*, and Commentary on Mr. *Horrox's Venus ſub*
" *ſole viſa*; which I have lying by me, written in
" Latin about half a year ſince. But my ſtyle not
" pleaſing ſome of my more judicious friends, I have
" ſince then given my ſelf to the peruſal of the Claſ-
" ſic old Roman and ſome modern Authors, that ſo I
" may beſtow a better language on it before I expoſe
" it to the view of ſuch ſeverities as I ſhall be ſure to
" meet with. I intend to preſent it with an Epiſtle
" *de Æquatione Temporis* to the view of the Royal So-
" ciety before I commit it to the public; but by rea-
" ſon of my frequent diſtempers, my parents affairs,
" and the coldneſs of the ſeaſon, I ſhall be forced to
" protract the time I have ſet my ſelf for the peruſal
" of my papers, which yet I hope to preſent you with
" compleated within theſe ſix months. I have *Solar*
" *Tables* by me compoſed above two years ſince, to
" wit, before I was twenty one years of age; which
" I intend to expoſe with my Epiſtle *de Æquatione*
" *Temporis*, directed to Mr. *Street*, whom on occaſion
" you may let know I ſhall write to him before the
" Term be over by my kinſman, an Attorney. But
" I ſhall be forced to trouble you with the Letter, be-
" cauſe I know not the place of his habitation. I de-
" ſire to tranſact things fairly with him, as I have
" done with his deceaſed antagoniſt, Mr. *Wing*,
" with whom I had a fair correſpondence; and tho'
" we differed *de Parallaxi & Æquationibus Syſtematis*
" *Solaris*, and ſeveral other things, yet our diſſent
" made us not the leſs friends. And tho' I may not ſub-
" ſcribe to Mr. *Street's* opinions *de Fixatione Aphelio-*
" *rum & Nodorum in ſuperioribus, & de Æquationibus*
" *Lunæ oſcillatoriis*, yet I hope that he will not re-
" fuſe, that we may friendly communicate by letters
" of ſuch things, as concern the Heavens and our Stu-
" dies. As to the ſeverity of Calculations, I ſuppoſe,
" that if the Artiſt be but careful and curious enough,
" we have canons ſufficiently large. In the ſtudy of
" my eſpecial friend Mr. *Halton* I once ſaw one of *U-*
" *laccus* to every ten ſexagenary ſeconds. And if
" our ſupputations be exact to ſeconds, I think it is
" enough, and more than ever we may hope by inſtru-
" ments to obtain from the Heavens; I mean in de-
" fining the places of the Luminaries, fixed, and the
" Planets. As for their Diameters, I dare not deny,
" but that by the help of glaſſes we may be enabled to
" define them to ſeconds or ſmaller parts, eſpecially if
" a ſhort Teleſcope may be made to perform as much
" as a long one; which you ſay that Mr. *Newton* hath
" not only proved by demonſtration, but fact. Sir,
" if it be no concealed ſecret, if you have the liberty,
" and may do it, I deſire that you would pleaſe to in-
" form me of what glaſſes his ſmall Teleſcope is com-
" poſed, how or in what figures ground, and how diſ-
" poſed in the tube. I intend to work ſome for my
" own uſe, and am framing ſuch an engine as Mr.
" *Hooke* deſcribes for the grinding and poliſhing of
" them. I intend to grind with ordinary fine
" ſand dreſſed, and poliſh firſt with chalk, and
" after with putty. I know no better powders, but
" would be much obliged to any one, that would
" inform me that or any thing elſe either concerning
" the uſual method or neceſſaries for grinding and po-
" liſhing them: if you know any thing, which you
" may freely impart, I ſhould be much obliged by a
" communication."

In his Letter dated at Derby July the 16th 1670 he writes thus. " I have received another Letter from
" you ſince, with an account of *Gaſſendus's* obſervation,
" and an information of *Mengolus's* Book, for which
" I am obliged to you. Pray when it is known, let
" me underſtand his opinion of the quantity of the
" ſun's horizontal parallaxes. and the refractions, and
" what refraction he allows the ſun in the altitude of
" 20 gr. I ſuſpect, and have good reaſon for it,
" that in inland places it is nothing, or not ſenſible in
" that altitude; for by ſome of Mr. Wright's obſer-
" vations the ſun at noon had no refraction the
" 15th of December in altitude 15 gr... I thank you
" for the advice of writing to Mr. *Townley*. I am
" at preſent calculating the moon's appulſes for the
" next year; which when I have finiſhed, I will
" ſend him a ſpecimen of to make way for our fu-
" ture correſpondence.... As for what I have noted
" in *Ricciolus*, beſides the frequent errors of his ſchemes,
" you may note theſe. P. 161, he applies the horizontal
" parallax of the ſun in all altitudes, as if it was the
" ſame both in the zenith and the horizon, and ſo
" gathers the ecliptic's obliquity 20″ more than his
" own obſervations permit. *P.* 435, he in his ſecond
" example is guilty of the higheſt diſingenuity; for
" he firſt lays down a vicious obſervation, by which
" he thruſts the ſun's place above ten minutes further
" than either *Street's* or my Tables afford, and then
" derives a right aſcenſion almoſt two minutes larger
" than his obſervation will allow; as I can eaſily
" prove, but that I have neither time nor room at
" preſent. If you deſire it, I ſhall make it good
" hereafter. *P.* 477, in his catalogue of the fixed
" ſtars he protrudes the right ſhoulder of Auriga 1 deg.
" 20′ forwarder than his own obſerved diſtances from
" Capella, the brighteſt of the Pleiades, and Procyon
" will permit, that he may make his catalogue agree
" with the Tychonick, from which, he was ſo con-
" ſcious of his own defects, he ſcarce has dared any
" where to recede; ſo that he ſeems to me rather to
" affect the name of having corrected our Tables than
" really to have amended what was faulty in any
" one. I had firſt notice of this ſtar's varying from
" the Tychonick Canon in *Hevelius's Mercurius ſub*
" *ſole*, but found it abſolutely confirmed by the *Ricciolan*
" obſervations. In his *Appendix p.* 733. *Prob.* 3. he
" teaches how to correct the apparent time of the
" Quadrature, as if the parallax cauſed the moon to
" be really cave, when ſhe was apparently ſemi-illu-
" minated. But this correction is needleſs, and all
" that is ſaid in that column and the two next abſo-
" lutely to be rejected, ſince the parallax cannot vary
" the phaſis at all, as I can eaſily prove, and will ap-
" pear to any one that duly conſiders what he there
" lays down. Laſtly, he is wholly inclined to the
" Peripatetics againſt all other Philoſophy, and on
" this account favours *Claramontius* againſt *Tycho*,
" *Kepler*, and reaſon itſelf. And tho' he proteſts againſt
" it, yet I fear he was partial to *Tycho*, becauſe a
" Calviniſt, and propenſe to *Claramontius*, as one that
" was a Prieſt of his own Order, and in his princi-
" ples a rigid Peripatetic, and one that had left ſome
" perſons his relations of, and well deſerving from,
" their ſociety."

In a Letter dated at Derby Sept. 19, 1670 he writes as follows. " I ſat up this laſt night waiting to obſerve
" the eclipſe of the moon. The Heavens were clear
" till midnight, after which they were by little and
" little covered over with thick whitiſh clouds, thro'
" which, when our clocks ſtruck one, I ſaw the
" moon

acquainted with them. He gladly embraced this offer, and viſited Mr. Oldenburg, and Mr. Collins, who introduced him to Mr. Jonas Moore, who preſented him with Mr. Townley's Micrometer, and undertook to procure him glaſſes for a Teleſcope at a moderate rate. At Cambridge he viſited Dr. Iſaac Barrow, and Mr. Iſaac Newton, and Dr.

" moon eclipſed almoſt a digit; but I could not find " a convenient ſtar to take its altitude, being on one " ſide prohibited by the buildings, and the Heavens " all covered with the white clouds, that none of the " bigger ſtars, or any almoſt, removed from the me- " ridian, appeared; and the moon was ſcarce an hour " removed from the noonſtead; ſo that it was in vain " to think to take her's amongſt the clouds. The " Heavens continued covered with theſe till morning, " and the moon appeared very rarely through the " clouds, ſo that deſpairing of any good obſervation, " and ſeeing the Heavens thicken, I left off, and " went to my reſt, when I had ſeen the cuſps paral- " lel to the horizon, and the ſiniſter end had covered " the occidental ſpot or *Palus Mæotidis* of *Hevelius*, " but could not note the time. I wrote to Mr. *Hooke* " about the obſerving this eclipſe. Pray, if you " chance to meet him, enquire whether he obſerved it " or not: if he did, and the Heavens ſmiled on his " endeavours, deſire him to be pleaſed to communi- " cate his obſervations to me; for I think the Heavens " anteverted our calculations ſome minutes; which if " ſo, favours an equation I have long ſince conceived " ought to be induced into the Lunar Syſtem ..... I " hope ſpeedily to preſent you with the Phænomena " of the next year, for I have as good as finiſhed my " calculations."

In his Letter dated at Derby October the 1ſt the ſame year he writes thus. " If the Lunar Eclipſe " laſt hath been obſerved by any in London, if you " can procure the obſervation without trouble, pleaſe " by your next to communicate it to me. I have " now finiſhed my calculations, and am writing them " out, but cannot tell what tongue to expoſe them " in, Engliſh or Latin. Let me have your opinion; " that ſhall rule me. The appearances are treble the " number I calculated laſt year, and moſt of them " ſome way truly notable. I have read a part of " Fabri's Optics. I was much pleaſed with his " acuteneſs and accurateneſs at firſt, but coming to his " 43d Propoſ. I find it loſt; for in his VI, VII, and " VIII ſections he demonſtrates not what he intends, " but by drawing his 90 and 91 ſchemes too cloſe " deceives and mocks his reader."

In his Letter dated at Derby December the 1ſt following he writes thus. " I hope you have re- " ceived my laſt with my calculations of the laſt year's " appearances; in my introduction to which if I ſeem " to have aſſerted too boldly againſt our Aſtronomical " Tables, I have now received an obſervation of my " Couſin Wilſon, that will fully confirm my affirma- " tions, which I ſend you incloſed. I cannot but " congratulate you for your happy correſpondence with " P. Bertet, and I am much pleaſed to hear of De " Mouton's Book *de menſurâ Diam. Solis & Lunæ*, " one of which, when they come to your hands, I de- " ſire you to ſend me, and pay your ſelf out of what " you have in your hands. If the piece be well done " it will conduce no little to the correction of Aſtro- " nomical Lunar Tables. When I have received " and peruſed it, I ſhall, according to your directions, " write to *De Mouton*; till then not having any occa- " ſion offered, I ſuppoſe you will neither hold it con- " venient nor neceſſary. Sir, you once, I remember, " proferred to lend me Mr. *Horrox*'s Papers, which " are now in your hands. If, Sir, you have not pro- " cured them yet to be printed, nor any Bookſeller " offers to undertake them, I would accept of the " offer gladly, for I have leiſure now to peruſe any " Author, and I would gladly try if that deviation, " which is now very perceptible in the motion of Sa- " turn, was not in his time ſenſible: for if I remember " aright, one of his Books contains the obſerved " diſtances of the planets from the fixed ſtars with " other his obſervations, from which nothing as yet " hath been deduced."

(3) Afterwards Sir Jonas Moore. F. R. S. and Surveyor General of his Majeſty's Ordnance.

In his Letter dated at Derby January the 30th 167⅘, he writes as follows. " I have lately written " to Mr. *Moore* (3), from whom I have received an " anſwer full of his natural civility and generoſity. " By this advice I have likewiſe wrote to Mr. *Townley*, " from whom I cannot yet expect an anſwer by rea- " ſon my Letter went but on Tueſday laſt, and can " ſcarce yet reach his hands... I have the Tranſac- " tion (4), in which Mr. *Oldenburg* hath printed the " ſhort Abſtract of my calculations, which give the " obſervers notice of ſuch appearances; but the other " requiſites of the ſupputations being wanting, they " will be put to a ſecond trouble of calculating to gain " the Anomalies and other parts of the calculation, " before they can be able to gueſs how or where " any thing in our numbers are to be corrected. I " am framing Tables of oblique aſcenſions for the lati- " tudes of London, Dantzick, and Derby, ſuppoſing " the declination 23 gr. 30′-00″ to ſecond minutes, " the old ones falſely ſuppoſing it 23 gr. 31′ ½; to " which I intend to add the angle orient, which " will not little aſſiſt calculations, and ſuch as are " minding to make Aſtronomical predictions, or com- " pare Cæleſtial obſervations with our numbers."

(4) *Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

In his Letter dated at Derby March the 20th 167⅘ he writes thus. " I have both your Letters... I am " exceedingly pleaſed to hear that Mr. *Horrox*'s Pa- " pers will be printed, and I ſuppoſe the *Venus ſub* " *Sole* with them; to which, having well peruſed it, " I know not what can be added. The Notes of " Hevelius I find generally needleſs, and thoſe on the " *ſixth chapter page* 124 abſolutely falſe, conceding " his own parallax, becauſe he hath taken the Angle " of the Poſition of Venus, which is made by a line " drawn through her's and the Sun's Center, inſtead " of the Angle of the Vertical Circle *per Centrum Vene-* " *ris*, with the Ecliptic, or the Parallactical Angle; " whence he not only vitiates the truly computed " Parallaxes of Mr. *Horrox*, but alſo ſuppoſing the " Parallax of Venus from the Sun in altitude 1. 57, " he falſely calculates theſe Parallaxes.

	h ′	Of Long.	Of Lat.	Par. Long.	Par. Lat.
Horr.	3-15	1′-20″	1′-27″	which 0′-32″	1′-50″
	3-35	1-17	1-28	ought 0-42	1-49
	3-45	1-15	1-29	to be 0-44	1-48

" So that what he hath deduced from theſe his vitious " Parallaxes ought, if his Comment be printed with " the Original, to be corrected. Of this you may " pleaſe to inform the Doctor. You wrote that " Dr. *Wallis* deſired my Comment on the *Mercurius* of " *Hevelius* might be printed with *Horrox*'s Papers. " When I received your Letter, I looked up my Pa- " pers, but find that I ſhall ſcarcely have time to " tranſcribe, and fit them for the preſs, partly becauſe " my occaſions, but more frequently my diſtempers " withraw and detain me from my pen-endeavours. " For the ſpring coming on, my blood increaſes, " which, if I ſhould not exerciſe ſtrongly, I ſhould " ſpit up, or receive into my ſtomach with great de- " triment to my health. When I return from exer- " ciſe, other occaſions are ready to detain me. Far- " ther I have received a Letter from Mr. *Oldenburg*, " who is not willing that I ſhould advert too plainly " on *Hevelius*, leſt he ſhould recede from his correſ- " pondency, and detain his obſervations from us, if " he be diſguſted. However, if I might but know " by what time Mr. *Horrox*'s Papers would be ready " for the Printer, I would endeavour to get my Notes " ready to ſucceed them; for I am reſolved not to de- " ſiſt, if my diſtemper will be forced to intermit by " my uſual remedies, which I much queſtion not, " God permitting. In the mean time I am pre- " paring caſes for my glaſſes, for which I hope to " raiſe a pole to elevate them on this evening, and " then I ſhall endeavour when I have leiſure to ob- " ſerve the Heavens, that I may ſome ways benefit the " ſcience. I am enamoured of Aſtronomy... I have " received and returned Letters to Mr. Townley, from " whom I have an account of the Solar Eclipſe of " 1668 October the 25th, and the Occulation of An-

Dr. Wroe, then Fellow of Jeſus College there, with whom he correſponded frequently for the four following years. He alſo entered himſelf a Student of Jeſus College. In the ſpring of the year 1672 he excerpted ſeveral obſervations from Mr. Gaſcoigne's and Mr. Crabtree's Letters, which had not been made public, and which he tranſlated into Latin.

" tares on May the 23d 1670, of which I deſire you " to procure me Mr. Hook's obſervation if he made " any; for I fear Mr. *Street*'s is wreſted a little."

In his Letter dated at Derby May the 3d 1671 he writes as follows. " I have yours of the 27th laſt " paſt, for the communications in which I heartily " thank you. I am glad to hear, that Mr. *Horrox*'s " Papers are gone to the preſs. I ſhall againſt that " time they may be almoſt finiſhed have retranſcribed " my Notes on *Hevelius's Mercurius ſub Sole*, which " leſt I may offend, I ſhall willingly ſubmit to the " Caſtigations and Corrections of Dr. *Wallis* or any " other ingenuous perſon. My diſtempers and affairs of " late have been ſo intermutually urgent, that I have " performed little. I have by me a ſheet or two, " which I wrote ſome five years agone *de æquatione* " *temporis aſtronomica*, which I have laſt ſummer made " Latin, and would gladly it might ſee the light. It " being readieſt, I intend firſt to abſolve and ſend it " to you, to be diſpoſed of as you ſhall think moſt " meet. What you write of Mr. *Horrox*'s Papers " being in Mr. *Townley*'s hands I am well pleaſed to " hear of; and I hope I may do you ſome ſervice " in that buſineſs; for Mr. Townley correſponds with " me very familiarly, and promiſes me all the ſer- " vices he can do me in my ſtudies. But before this " comes to your hands, I ſuppoſe you may hear of him " in London, for he wrote to me ſome ten days " agone, that he would ſet forward on Munday laſt " for the city, which I ſuppoſe he will reach by this " week's end. I am to go into Lancaſhire, and near " his houſe the latter end of this month, where I " intend to call, if he be returned into the country. " In the mean time, if you or Mr. *Jonas Moore* can " meet with him, you may do well to urge him in " this buſineſs; and if I can do any thing when I go " into Lancaſhire, let me have your directions, and " you ſhall not want my endeavours, either for collect- " ing or methodizing any Papers that may fall or be in- " truſted into my hands. I deſire you Sir, to let me " hear from you concerning theſe things within this " fortnight, for I cannot know preciſely what time " this month I ſhall take my journey. I muſt before " I end, acknowledge myſelf much obliged to you " and Mr. *Hooke* for procuring me my glaſſes. They " ſerve well in a tube of $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but caſt ſome co- " lours, which will not be eaſily removed, though I " put on a narrow aperture to the object glaſs.... " Pray preſent my ſervice to Mr. *Moore*. I am read- " ing his *Algebra*, and find it not very difficult unto " me; and intend, when I ſhall have ſpare time, to " make ſome progreſs in Geometrical ſtudies."

In his Letter dated at Derby May the 13th 1671 he writes thus. " Having written to Mr. *Oldenburg*, " I thought convenient to incloſe this... I have ſent " Mr. *Oldenburg* my obſervation of the moon's appulſe " to the ſtar in Virgo 9°-53′ whoſe latitude is 1°-20′ " North of the 4th light, which I ſaw covered by the " dark ſide of the moon in ſomething leſs latitude " than the loweſt part of the *Propontis*, when Jupiter " was elevated 32°-52′; whence I deduced the hour " 9-16′-30″. The preciſe emerſion I ſaw not, for I " was elſewhere then engaged, but coming to the " tube I found that the ſtar was the breadth of the " Caſpian ſpot or *Palus Mæotis* diſtant from the " moon's limb, and higher than the ſupreme part of " the ſaid ſpot its whole length. Whence turning " to my Quadrant, I took the height of the moon's " ſupreme limb 31°-54′: therefore the ſtar's height " was 71°-45′, and the hour 10-24′-36″. I noted " the height of Jupiter to be 22°-36′, and find the " hour thence 10-25′-00″. I am perſuaded that the " times are pretty exactly taken, for they ſhew partly " the ſame duration, and all things conſidered as the " tables; but at leaſt 10, if not 15 minutes later. I " deſire to hear from you whether any of your ac- " quaintance have obſerved this appearance, of which " the Calculus is with the reſt in the *Tranſactions*. " If you have any obſervations, pray favour me ſo " far as to impart them to me. I have given Mr. " Oldenburg a calculation of the moon's tranſit by Ju- " piter on the 20th of September next at ſun-riſe, which " I ſuppoſe he will, if you deſire, impart to you; " for I have not time to tranſcribe it at preſent, " but you ſhall command it when you pleaſe."

In his Letter dated at Derby July the 10th 1671 he writes thus. " I have finiſhed my Tranſcript of " my Solar Tables, which I wait but for an oppor- " tunity to tranſmit ſafely unto you...Laſt week here " I ſaw a Boy, one Smedly, about 14 years old, who " has two perfect rows of teeth on the upper ſide of " his mouth round, ſave that the third tooth on each " ſide from the foreteeth are lately come forth; and " has a third half cut and coming forth more inwards " towards the roof of his mouth. Of theſe two inwards " extraordinary rows, the two foremoſt teeth of the ſe- " cond row came firſt not a year agone; the reſt all " within this half year or leſs... The boy is of a " good complexion, and heathful; only in his child- " hood he was lamed in his knee."

In his Letter dated at Derby Auguſt the 1ſt 1671 he writes as follows. " With theſe I ſend my pro- " miſed Solar Tables by my ſchoolfellow Mr. *Sergeant*: " though I have not added the ſun's diameters, yet I " intend before theſe may be printed to ſend them to " you to be annexed to them, or included with the " reſt... My occaſions are ſo frequent, and I am ſo " much forced from my ſtudies, that I fear I can " ſcarce get any time to tranſcribe what I have written " on Monſieur *Hevelius*, it being ſo prolix, that it " will coſt me more time than I can poſſibly ſpare to " abbreviate it. I eſteem myſelf obliged to continue " my annual præadmonitions of the Lunar Appearances, " which is a work not only neceſſary, but, if I flat- " ter not myſelf too much, ſomething honourable for " our countrymen, and therefore not to be diſconti- " nued. Sir, my ſpare hours betwixt my indiſpoſi- " tions and affairs being now but few, and likely to " be much leſs, I cannot poſſibly perform both theſe " taſks; therefore deſire you to excuſe me my Papers " upon *Hevelius*, by which perhaps I might diſoblige " him to the Engliſh ſociety, which he honours; and " permit me only to make my new calculations, " towards which I have not as yet wrote one figure. " If you think them not ſo neceſſary, I ſhall for- " bear thinking of them, and perform my Notes " on *Hevelius* with all ſpeed and ſweetneſs poſſible. " I ſhall have e'er long an opportunity of ſending " to Dantzick, when perhaps I ſhall write to him, " and inform him civilly of his errors myſelf. In " the mean time I ſubmit my intentions to your diſ- " cretion, and reſolve in this to be ruled by your ad- " vice.... I cannot but joy with you in the know- " ledge of your French correſpondence; but I fear " you have given them an account of my abilities " beyond what they will prove. I deſire to know if " you ever communicated any of my calculations or " my few obſervations unto any of them, and what " you have in return. As for the correſpondence of " the French Aſtronomers, I ſhall gladly undertake " it with the firſt convenient opportunity, but not " over haſtily. I have ſeveral obſervations of the " moon's tranſits by the fixed ſtars, and her diameters " made by Mr. *Gaſcoigne*, and related in his Letters, " which yet (the like for accuracy not being to be " had amongſt the French) I think not fit to commu- " nicate, nor buy their acquaintance with them. As " for my exerciſe *de æquatione Temporis*, I have no " perfect copy of it, ſo I cannot ſend one; but " ſhall (if you have not already) inform them of my " obſervations of the laſt viſible ſolar eclipſe, and the " lunar tranſit, and ſome admonitions of future ap- " pearances."

In his Letter dated at Derby November the 8th " 1671 he writes thus. " I have now ſomewhat ex- " traordinary to furniſh your correſpondencies, and " ſhall

Latin. He finiſhed the tranſcript of Mr. Gaſcoigne's papers May the 12th 1672. Amongſt that Gentleman's letters he found ſome, in which Mr. Gaſcoigne ſhewed how the images of remote objects were formed in the diſtinct baſe of a convex object-glaſs. From theſe our Author got his Dioptrics in a few hours, having read Des Cartes's Dioptrics before, but learned little from them, becauſe Des Cartes diſcourſes not of this ſubject, his main buſineſs being to ſhew how by elliptical or hyperbolar glaſſes all the rays of light, which fall on the object parallel to the axis, may be collected into one point of the image in the diſtinct baſe, ſuppoſing all the rays of light of the ſame ſpecies, and liable to the ſame law of refraction, which yet Mr. Iſaac Newton has demonſtrated they were not, by many experiments publiſhed in this year's *Philoſophical Tranſactions*. "And this, *ſays our Author*, is the only thing that I can perceive, for which Des Cartes's "Dioptrics have been ſo celebrated." The ſpare hours of the remaining part of the year 1672 were employed in his obſervations, as the weather permitted, and in preparing

" ſhall have every day more and more. Laſt Octo-
" ber I obſerved with my fourteen foot tube and the
" *Towleian* micrometer the underwritten diſtances of
" the Pleiades, which I have compared with thoſe I
" find in Mr. *Gaſcoigne*'s Papers, and thoſe of *Mutus*
" in *Ricciolus*." Here Mr Flamſteed incloſes a ſcheme of the Pleiades.

In his letter dated at Derby January the 31ſt 167½ he writes thus. " I have ſeen the December *Tranſ-*
" *action*, in which Mr. Oldenburg has tranſcribed
" ſome lines from my letters concerning the appear-
" ance of Saturn, which I am glad to find agree ſo
" well with the like of the French Aſtronomers. You
" may further intimate, that I viewed the ſame Pla-
" net on New-year's day at night with my long tube
" and more convex eye-glaſs. But neither my ſelf
" nor a young man with me could diſcern any anſes,
" although the appearance was ſufficiently clear. I
" have ſeveral times meaſured the ſun's ſemidiame-
" ters, which none of my obſervations allow leſs in
" *Perigæo* than 16′, 24″ or 25″, I think I communi-
" cated to you ſome meaſures of his diameters when
" he appeared elliptical. If I have not, I ſhall,
" when you pleaſe to command them, for I owe,
" and eſteem a good part of my endeavours a debt to
" you. I am now excerping ſome obſervations from
" Mr. *Gaſcoigne*'s and *Crabtree*'s reciprocal Letters,
" in which I find exact obſervations of the moon's
" eclipſe December the 10th 1638, and the ſun's
" May the 22d 1639; this by Mr. *Gaſcoigne*, that
" by *Crabtree*; which if they were not in Mr. *Hor-*
" *rox*'s Papers, and Mr. *Townley* would permit, might
" do well if they were added to them; of which I de-
" ſire to hear how many are printed by the next....
" If Mr. *Jonas Moore* give any attendance on the
" Heavens, I ſhall early enough let him know of
" ſome obſervable appearances not publiſhed nor cer-
" tified in the *Tranſactions*, with ſome obſervations
" made with the micrometer he gave me, and there-
" fore a due debt to him. I have read *De Mouton de*
" *æquatione temporis* &c. whoſe Notes upon the Equa-
" tions of others might eaſily be redargued, but that
" I would ſpare your correſpondents; of whom if
" any now will agree to obſerve the diameters of the
" planets (the ſun and moon eſpecially) with the Sa-
" tellite appearances of Jupiter, I ſhall not fail, as the
" weather and my diſtempers permit, to do my endea-
" vour to make reſpondent obſervations. All the times I
" have viewed the ſun I could never ſee any *macula*
" upon him, but his whole diſk perfectly clear....
" I had ſent you a draught of my new micrometer,
" but that I lately ſent one to Mr. *Townley*, whoſe
" ſentiments I expect concerning it before I mind it
" ſhould travel further."

In his Letter dated at Derby February the 10th 167½ he writes thus. " I have wrote to you lately
" ſo have not much to write at this time... The
" Heavens of late have not favoured me with any
" ſerenity more than ſerved one night, viz. Feb. 1.
" to obſerve the immerſion of the firſt Satellite into
" the ſhade of Jupiter, and the application of the third
" to his limb, of which I gave Mr. Oldenburg an
" account in a late letter. I am now excerping ſome
" things from Mr. Gaſcoigne's letters to Mr. Crab-
" tree, and his anſwers; but find ſome ſchemes and
" papers wanting, of which Mr. Crabtree could not
" be careleſs, but they are ſuppoſed to be fallen into
" Mr. Jonas Moore's hands. Pray let him know
" what I am doing when you ſee him; they can be
" of no concern by themſelves, wherefore he may do
" well to put them into Mr. Townley's hand, who
" owns the letters referring to them." In this letter he likewiſe ſends the Sun's diameters on January 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 1ſt of February 167½.

In his Letter dated at Derby February 20th 1672, he writes as follows: " Mr. *Halton* is tranſlating *Kink-*
" *huyſen's Moone-wiſer* into Engliſh, that I may have
" a view of it: and at Mr. *Townley*'s requeſt I have
" lately wrote and ſent him the *Hiſtory of Malting*. I
" have begun that Tract concerning the Diſtances and
" Diameters of all the Planets, which I promiſed in
" my Letter to Mr. *Oldenburg*; but ſhall go but very
" ſlowly forward by reaſon that ſometimes my infirmi-
" ties, oftner affairs interrupt me. But this I have
" certainly learn'd from my obſervations, that the
" Sun's Parallax is not above 10″, yea probably but
" 7″, and his diſtance *a terrâ* 26000 ſemidiameters;
" which is a diſtance, to which none ever durſt re-
" move him yet, and thrice as far as I ſuppoſed him
" formerly in my *Solar Tables*."

In his Letter dated at Derby April 1ſt 1672, he writes thus. " The included paper contains the laſt
" obſervation of Jupiter's tranſit by a Fixed Star, and
" another ſince made, with my deductions therefrom.
" Theſe, (being buſy at this time of the year) to ſave a
" labour of tranſcription I ſend through the hands of
" Mr. Oldenburg, that ſo you may have the peruſal
" of them. I hope you had my laſt informing you,
" that I have received Mr. *Horrox's* papers, and ſa-
" tisfying you concerning the contents of my laſt Let-
" ter. I have peruſed *Horrox's Venus ſub Sole*, and find
" he needs no comment, ſave in this: he has taken
" the Sun's Semidiameter leſs by 20″ or more than
" really it was, ſo that his calculations will need ſome
" little correction, which, if you think fit, I ſhall give
" them by way of comment. He has aſſumed the
" Diameters of the Fixed Stars too large, which *He-*
" *velius* has only well corrected; and his Diameters of
" the Planets are much amiſs. But not having ob-
" ſerved them all my ſelf, as I intend (if God afford
" me opportunity) I ſhall not meddle with them; yet
" only to you I may ſay, that thoſe ſettled in *Helve-*
" *lius*, except in Venus and Mercury, are as erroneo-
" ous as thoſe of Mr. *Horrox*. *Hevelius* is much
" miſtaken in the Parallactical Angle in his *Venus ſub*
" *Sole*; but it is ſo eaſily proved, that I cannot think,
" but if ever he again read over that piece and his
" notes, he could not but ſee his miſtake. I find by
" my frequent obſervations, that the remoteſt Satellite
" of Jupiter goes not 23 Semidiameters only from
" him, as Caſſini has it, but rather 24½ or ¼, as Mr.
" Townley gave it me in a looſe Note; and this you
" may prove by an obſervation March 19th amongſt
" the reſt, if you have it. I think thoſe obſervations the
" exacteſt that ever were had of this Planet; and if we
" had but a few more ſuch in ſeveral places of his Orbit,
" I ſhould not doubt but to reſtore his motions more ac-
" curately than we have yet done, or perhaps can ex-
" pect. I cannot think the Satellites of Jove ſubject
" to any great inequalities in their motions, ſince I
" find their diſtances from Jupiter on each ſide him
" equal in their greateſt Elongations. If I had but
" the opportunity of obſerving one tranſit of Mars in
" his Achronical Appearance from a Fixed Star, I
" ſhould not doubt but to derive the Sun's Parallax and
" Diſtance *a terrâ* as well, if not better, therefrom,
" than from any obſervations as yet we poſſeſs. This

" I expect

ing advertiſements of the appulſes of the Moon and Planets to fixed Stars for the following year, which were printed by Mr. Oldenburg in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, with ſome obſervations of the Planets, which Mr. Flamſteed imparted to him. In 1673 he wrote a ſmall Tract in Engliſh concerning the true Diameters of all the Planets, and their viſible, when at their neareſt diſtances from the earth, or their greateſt removes from it; "which I lent, *ſays he*, to Mr. Newton in 1685, who has made uſe of it in "the fourth book of his *Principia Phil. Nat. Mathemat.*" By Mr. Oldenburg's means he exchanged ſome letters with Monſieur Caſſini. In 167$\frac{3}{4}$, beſides his uſual taſk, he wrote an *Ephemeris*, in which he ſhewed the falſity of Aſtrology, and the ignorance of thoſe who pretended to it, and gave a Table of Moon's riſing and ſetting carefully calculated, together with the Eclipſes and Appulſes of the Moon and Planets to fixed Stars. This fell into the hands of Sir Jonas Moore, for whom, at his requeſt, Mr. Flamſteed made

"I expect, and have forecaſted for; but by an acci-
"dent the courſe of my obſervations are and will be a
"little interrupted, for being laſt Thurſday night pre-
"paring to obſerve the Diameter of Jupiter, I took
"my object-glaſs of my long tube to ſmear it, as I
"had often done before, at my candle. As I was
"holding it over the light, it gave a crack, and a
"little piece ſplinter'd from it in the middle, and the
"glaſs cleft clear through. I durſt not remove it out
"of the box, becauſe I was afraid I could not ſo well
"make it cloſe again. I keep it by me, but dare not
"adventure to make any obſervations by it, though
"I have viewed the Moon with it, and find it does
"not perform much worſe, if any, than it did."

In his Letter dated at Derby April 17th 1672 he writes as follows: "I have yours of the 12th inſtant, "whereby you intimate your deſire to have me ſay "ſomething farther concerning the Lunar Theory of "Mr. *Horrox* for the ſatisfaction of Dr. *Wallis*. I "am content, and therefore ſhall e'er long ſend you "the whole calculation of the Moon's place at her laſt "tranſit over the Pleiades after his method, with my "further thoughts upon it. I am very deſirous to be "framing Lunar Numbers, but want obſervations of "her Apogæon Diameters, which the inconveniency "of my dwelling permits me not to make, becauſe the "Apogeon Moon in Sagittarius goes ſo very low this "year, and further the Refractions in her low meri-"dional heights would greatly diminiſh her vertical "Diameters, which upon continual experience I find "can only be taken to the requiſite exactneſs; ſo that "I fear I muſt wait till the year 1674 or 1675 e'er I "can well obſerve them. I cannot but much approve "of the form of Mr. Horrox's Theory, and having "conſidered it ſeveral times I find that we might al-"moſt as eaſily compute her place in her orb as the El-"liptical place of any other Planet, if Tables were "fixed to his Method; which therefore for facility of "calculation I intend to propoſe to my ſelf to correct, "when I ſhall gain ſo much leiſure, and I hope this "Summer may afford it me. . . . . The Heavens ne-"ver ſince I broke my glaſs afforded me any oppor-"tunity for obſervation till yeſterday, when at noon "(having covered the broken part of my glaſs with "the bigger piece) I took the Sun's Diameter 5325 "= 31′—58″; which ſtill conſpires for the ex-"actly biſected Excentricity, and the Perigeon ½ "Diameter 16′—25″." In this letter there are ſome remarks upon Mr. *Newton's* letter concerning *Colours*.

In his Letter dated May 6th 1672 he writes thus: "I have received two Letters from you, conveying the "moſt current news; for which I am bound to give "you hearty thanks. . . . . I hope you have by this "time received a Letter from me by Mr. Sargeant. . . . "I intimated by that Letter, that I would ſend you "the *Lunar Tables* by Monday next."

In his Letter dated at Derby May 13th following he writes thus: "With this you will receive the pro-"miſed *Lunar Tables*, to which I have added an *Epi-"logus* directed to yourſelf. But my deſire of brevity, "and not to meddle where Mr. *Horrox* had done any "thing himſelf, reſtrained my thoughts in that place. "Here with your leave I ſhall enlarge. How the *A-"pogee* of the Moon is librated, Mr. *Horrox* has ſhewn "us very well; but why it ſhould be ſo librated, me-"thinks he ſhews no good reaſon. What he ſays of "the Sun's attracting that end of the Axis of the Sy-"ſtem next him, is framed from *Kepler's* groundleſs "notions." Mr. Flamſteed then propoſes his own ſolution, and afterwards proceeds thus: "You have "ſometimes deſired to know what I found amiſs in the "*Hevelian* Edition of *Horrox's Venus ſub Sole*. I am "not willing to let all be known I have againſt that "great man; but in his Comments on that Treatiſe "the main cauſe of his error there is, that he hath "miſtaken the Parallactical Angles calculated by Mr. "*Horrox* at

h		°			°	
3	15′	70	56′	and us'd inſtead of them	46	34′
3	35	68	53		48	37
3	45	67	55		49	35

"which were the Angles made by a line paſſing thro' "the centers of the Sun and Venus with the Ecliptic; or "that he hath uſed the ∠∠ECV inſtead of ∠∠NCL; "whence have proceeded all thoſe faults and faulty "corrections of Mr. *Horrox*'s works, which are found "every where in the ſucceeding Comments. He finds "fault with Mr. *Horrox* for having framed the Diame-"ter of the Planets amiſs, whilſt his own, if well conſi-"dered, tho' ſomething alike in proportion to each "other, are not leſs erroneous in quantity. His great-"eſt Diameter of Jupiter is but 24″½; yet I find that "Mr. *Gaſcoigne* once obſerved it 51″; he ſays accu-"rately. I have ſeen it above 46″, and Mr. *Townley* "no leſs; and that it is wholly ſo much, the obſerv-"ed Elongations of the Satellites from Jupiter's center "taken in minutes and ſeconds, compared with the "eſtimated Diameters, do plainly evince. But Mr. "*Horrox* hath erred himſelf in the Sun's Diameter, "which he ſtates only 31′—30″; which my obſerva-"tions warrant 32′—42″. Hevelius has ſtated it "32′—30″. He has likewiſe in his Comment on "the *ſixth* chapter *p.* 124. delivered the Parallaxes of "Longitude and Latitude in his own Hypotheſis, "which ſuppoſed the Sun's diſtance from the earth "5064 ſemidiameters of the earth, and its horizon-"tal Parallax 41″. I know not what warrant he "may have for this, ſince he ſays nothing of it in his "works that I have ſeen; but I hope at this next A-"chronical Apparition of Mars, or at the latter end "of September next to make thoſe obſervations of "him, which may ſhew his Parallax, and by conſe-"quence the Sun's. I hoped to have obſerved him "this morning, but the ſkies are clouded; yet if they "clear before Tueſday, I doubt not to gain another "accurate obſervation of him, and to meaſure his diame-"ter, which yet I could never do conveniently. I have "obſerved the Return of Jupiter to the Star in Virgo "9°—58″. If you deſire it, I ſhall ſend you both "it and what I obſerve of Mars, when I have "heard from you. . . . . Since I wrote this, I have re-"ceived yours of the 13th inſtant. I have therefore "paſted new Radixes to the Meridian of Derby, that "ſo they may comply the better with the Solar "Numbers. I have ſo paſted them, that if you turn "them up, you may find thoſe for London under: "but if you approve the Radixes to Derby, that ſo they "may comply the better with my ſolar Numbers; the "title may be written thus: *Lunares Numeri ad novum "Lunæ Syſtema excogitatum ab Aſtronomo peritiſſimo* "Jeremia Horroxio, *ad Meridianum Derbiæ notiſſimè "Coritanorum oppidi in ipſo ferè totius Angliæ umbilico "ſiti, accommodati ab* J. F."

In his Letter dated at Derby May 20th 1672 he writes thus: "I have lately obſerved the diſtance of "Mars from a fixed Star very accurately. Laſt week "I made Equations for Mr. *Horrox's* greateſt Excen-"tricity of the Moon: for the leaſt, I have them "made ready to my hands. This week I will more "accurately calculate the Equations of the Apogeon

made a Table of the Moon's true ſouthings for that year, from which and Mr. Philips's Theory of the Tides, the High-waters being made, he found that they ſhewed the times of the turn of the Tides very near, whereas the ordinary ſeamens coarſe rules would err ſometimes two or three hours. In the ſummer of the year 1674, our Author paſſing through London in the way to Cambridge, Sir Jonas Moore informed him, that a true account of the Tides would be highly acceptable to his Majeſty, and offered the help of his ſervant to make the Table or any other work of the like nature. Upon this they reſolved to compoſe a ſmall Ephemeris for the King's uſe, which was in good part finiſhed before Midſummer, but not compleated till near Chriſtmas after, by reaſon of Mr. Flamſteed's return to Derby about Michaelmas. Sir Jonas had heard him often diſcourſe of the weather-glaſs or Barometer, and the certainty of judging of the weather by it. Mr. Townley having communicated to our Author his obſervations and the rules deduced from

" and Excentricities, and reduce the mean motions to " current time. So that you may within a fortnight, " or three weeks at fartheſt, expect the Lunar Tables " from me, if God ſpare me health. I ſhall now " have more time than formerly. I intend likewiſe " to note the erroneous places in Hevelius's Notes on " the *Venus ſub Sole*, and ſend them as ſoon as I have " finiſhed the new Lunar Tables. My obſervation of " Mars I intend not to ſend you till I have made " ſome more, which I expect about the middle of the " next month."

In his Letter dated at Derby May 30th 1672 he writes thus: " I have this morning compleated my " Numbers for *Horrox's* Theory, which I ſhall tranſcribe, and ſend you with ſome little account of the " Method of Calculation, as my leiſure and occaſions " will permit. Theſe I hope to ſend you on Monday come ſevennight. I have late obſerved the Return " of Jupiter to the Star in Virgo 9°—58″; but have " not yet had time to commit it to my Book, and " calculate the times from the obſerved altitudes; but " with the Lunar Tables you may expect them."

In his Letter dated at Derby June 12th 1672 he writes as follows: " I had delivered my Lunar Tables " after Mr. Horrox's Syſtem to our Carrier laſt Monday, but that ſome employments caſt upon me ſince " the death of my uncle put me ſo behind hand, that " I have finiſhed but this morning. However I hope " they will be no whit the later in your hands, for I " ſhall procure one of our Attorneys to deliver them " to you either the end of this week, or the beginning of the next. I have wrote in Latin an Epiſtle to you, containing what I have altered in their " form, and what I think concerning the Equation of " time, and alteration of the Excentricity and the " Variation. I ſuppoſe you print Mr. *Crabtree*'s Letter, which contains this Theory, with Mr. *Horrox*'s " works; for the Theory contained in the Letter of " Decemb. 10th 1638, as I find in ſome looſe papers " and the exerciſes, is not that, which *Horrox* reſolved upon, and further in it the optical part of the " Equation varies not, but only the Focus of the mean " motion, and the phyſical equation, ſo that the diſtance of the Moon *a terrâ* varies not above five ſemidiameters of the Earth, which in his later papers " he ſays all Eclipſes require to alter above ſeven. " You have done well therefore to omit that Letter; " but in the room of it I ſuppoſe you will give Mr. " Crabtree's, which will lead to mine."

In his Letter dated at Derby July 10th 1672 he writes thus: " Included I ſend you the Catalogue I " promiſed. I have choſen thoſe towns, where celeſtial obſervations have been made; and where I have " found none I have ordered them by comparing their " poſitions to one another in our maps; which yet I " dare not truſt, for by celeſtial obſervations of the Pole's " height and eclipſes made in ſeveral places at once " compared together, I find they place Italy too near, " and all the towns of Poland, Germany, and France " over remote. The maps I uſed were Speed's, where " I wanted, but I find them not good. . . . . I would " gladly make ſome further enquiry into the nature " of light and colours, but want a priſm for experiments, which may have two faces of an equal " breadth, the third not half ſo broad as either of " them; that ſo the angle included by the broader " faces may be leſs than 30 *gr*. It needs not be large, " ſo it be but clear glaſs and well wrought. If you " can procure me ſuch an one, provide it me againſt " the latter end of the next week."

In his Letter dated at Derby July 23d 1672 he writes thus: " I have received Dr. *Wallis*'s Letter to " you of the 18th of this month, which finding me at " an unuſual leiſure, I thought fit not to delay an anſwer, that might give you ſatisfaction, tho' I hope " you are ſatisfied already. The difference of the " leaſt and greateſt Excentricities in my Tables is as " the Doctor makes it 2323 $\frac{5}{\sqrt{}}$ *qualium Radius* " 100000$\frac{\circ}{\sqrt{}}$. That I wrote 22235, was a miſtake " in the firſt tranſcript of my Number, and ought to " be made every where 2323 $\frac{5}{\sqrt{}}$; for that I have " uſed in all my calculations, and the Table of Equations is framed upon that difference, elſe the greateſt " diſtance could not be 7°—40′, as I have calculated " it. The other faults of my copy pray correct after " the Doctor's intimations. You need alter nothing " in the example of the calculation; for the fault exceeds not one ſecond; which ſince we cannot obſerve with ſuch exactneſs, I willingly yield in any calculation, and few expect that ſeverity. I mention in " my *Epilogus* the letter, in which you have an account " of Mr. Horrox's Theory; I mean that you ſent " me the copy of the Theory from, which, if I remember, you wrote me word, that Dr. *Wallis* had " long ſince tranſlated. This, I ſuppoſe, you intend " to print; and it is neceſſary to be placed before my " Tables; and ſuppoſing that you intend it, I have " ſaid nothing of any thing contained in that Letter, " but only of ſuch things as Horrox has ſaid nothing " of. . . I have lately procured ſome *Lough-water*, (ſo " the Miners call it) for one *Webſter*, the Author of " the *Metallographia*. It is found in the midſt of " a firm ſtone in the lead-mine. This I have is very " tranſparent, but looks a little whitiſh, and ſmells " of ſulphur. I am promiſed ſome ſtones, which being made of water, that congeals as it drops, are " yet all of them hollow in the middle. Theſe are " rarities ſeldom met with or heard of."

In his Letter dated at Derby Auguſt the 5th 1672 he writes thus. " Your laſt I received on Wedneſday, " and having then a Letter new written to Mr. " *Townley*, I ſent the included Papers of yours to him, " according to your deſire. When he returns them, " I ſhall impart them to Mr. *Halton*, to whom I believe they will be as welcome as to my ſelf . . . . . " But the buſineſs of this Letter is to let you know, " that you miſtook my meaning concerning the Letter I mentioned in my *Epilogus*, which was not " that of *December the* 20*th* 1638, but one of *Crabtree*'s to Mr. *Gaſcoigne* dated *Junii* 21 1642, in " which he deſcribes Mr. *Horrox*'s ſyſtem upon the " Author's ſecond thoughts, which he might find in " his exerciſes and his calculations on ſome looſe Papers. This differs much from that in the December Epiſtle; for 1, In that he makes the greateſt " Equation of the Apogeon leſs than in his later Papers. 2, The greateſt phyſical Equation 5° -10′, " the greateſt optical 2°-30′; whereas afterwards he " made either of them 3°-50′ equal to each other. " 3, In that Epiſtle he directs to take $\frac{1}{6}$ of the Tychonic variation; but on after-thoughts he aſſumes " $\frac{2}{10}$. Laſtly, that calculation is compiled by aid of " Lanſberg's and Kepler's Tables, which in this Epiſtle is done more artificially by Trigonometry. " Add that he directs no correction of the mean motions, which yet I find in his exerciſes and in *Crabtree*'s Letter. Theſe conſidered, the difference betwixt this firſt ſyſtem of Mr. *Horrox* in the Letter " of December the 20th 1638, and that collected " from his later Papers by Mr. *Crabtree* is ſo wide,

from them, Mr. Flamſteed ſet up a Barometer at Derby, where for three years together before this he had noted thrice a day commonly the height of the Mercury in the Barometer, and of a tinged ſpirit in the Thermometer, and found, conſidering the different ſituation, that Mr. Townley's remarks agreed very well with his, which were; That upon every ſinking of the Mercury the air was more moved, and that either wind or rain followed, not the ſame day always, but one, two, three, or four days after, according to the time and height it had been ſtationary at. Something of this had been noted by Mr. Boyle, but not proſecuted by reaſon that the daily watching its motions, and noting

" that I believe you would not think fit to be placed " before Tables, from which they differ ſo much. I " have therefore tranſlated ſo much from that Epiſtle of " *Crabtree*, as contains the ſyſtem and Trigonometri- " cal method of calculation, which you may cauſe to " be printed before the Tables, which are framed " from them, and agree punctually with them."

In his Letter dated at Derby Auguſt the 13th 1672 he writes thus. " I have yours of the 10th inſtant... " I am glad you are ſatisfied of *Horrox*'s ſyſtem by " the Letter I ſent you. The precepts I found tran- " ſlated by the ingenious Mr. *Shakerly*, which I tran- " ſcribed from him, becauſe I thought them clearer " expreſſed than the Engliſh ones in *Crabtree*'s Letter, " though they are in ſubſtance the very ſame. I re- " member not that he bids any where double the co- " ſine of an arch, or that he uſes natural numbers at " all. I doubt you miſtake, and that the 3d precept " may have cauſed the error. It is *Duplicetur argu- " mentum annuum & duplicati co-ſinui*; and the laſt " two words I fear you read, *to the doubled co-ſine*, " by which nothing can be underſtod but *to the co- " ſine of that argument doubled*, which is clear another " ſenſe, and ſound enough. For his method of cal- " culating the Proſthapheireſis of the Orb, it is ſo " framed as that it may include that little arch, " which *Street* applies at the Focus of mean motion, " and calls the variation; otherwiſe the difference be- " twixt *Anomalia media & Anomalia Excentri* doubled, " as *Crabtree* finds it, will give Biſhop *Ward*'s Ellip- " tick Equation, or *Street*'s without that variation. " As for that inequality in the moon's motion, which " *Horrox* calls the variation, and in his Letter of De- " cember the 20th confeſſes he knew not how to ap- " ply, and *Crabtree* alike in that of June the 21ſt " 1642, I eſteem it purely phyſical, and have not " forgotten to ſay ſomething of it in the *Epilogus* to " the Tables, as you will find, if you peruſe it again. " Nor can *Horrox* be thought to have judged it " otherwiſe on his after thoughts, ſince he makes no " uſe of it in computing the moon's diſtance from " the earth, which if it were not only phyſical, it " muſt neceſſarily vary. I thought *Crabtree*'s pre- " cepts ſufficiently clear for calculation. If they ſhall " not be ſo to ſome, our tabular method and direction " will explain them, and render them eaſy, though " we need not fear that any will give themſelves the " trouble to calculate by them trigonometrically, when " the tabular calculation is ſo eaſy, accurate, and ex- " peditious. I think it is not any ways evident from " *Crabtree*'s Letter that his friend Mr. *Horrox* died " not the 3d of January 1640, except I have amiſs " tranſlated ſomething. Pray peruſe it again, and let " me know, for beſides the Note on the back of the " Letters, I find that in a Letter of *Crabtree*'s to " *Gaſcoigne* dated March the 18th $164\frac{0}{1}$ he much " laments the death of *Horrox*. Mr. *Gaſcoigne* was " ſlain in our wars, I believe in the year 1642; for " I find no Letters either of his or *Crabtree*'s to him " after that of *Junii* 21 1642, if I have not miſ- " written. *Crabtree* lived much longer; I believe till " 1652, if his neighbour Mr. *Wroe* informed me " truly. I ſhall write to morrow to Mr. *Townley*, " and will make one part of my deſires to be aſcer- " tained of the time of his death." In the Poſtſcript he writes thus. " When I came to compare *Horrox*'s " own ſyſtem in the Letter of December the 20th " 1638 with his in *Crabtree*'s Letter June the 21ſt " 1642, I found that *Crabtree* had demonſtrated it in " *Horrox*'s own words from that Letter in December " 1638; I mean the Libration of the Apogeon, con- " cerning which, what I have written to you for- " merly, I intended once to have compoſed into " the *Epilogus*, but upon ſecond thoughts judged it " better to take your opinion of it. I conſent that " you ſhould inſert it, ſince I perceive you eſteem " of it not amiſs, and I doubt not but hereafter to " have ſomething that may further illuſtrate and con- " firm it if occaſion be given."

In his Letter dated at Derby May the 5th 1673 he writes as follows. " I received the ſheet omit- " ted in Mr. *Horrox*'s Book, without which I " think it may do as well as with it; for the cor- " rections in *Crabtree*'s Letter, I find by Mr. *Horrox*'s " exerciſes, are the very ſame he intended; only by " this addition we ſhall ſee the progreſs of *Horrox*'s " endeavours, and how he framed that in the rough, " which he after mended, but left to his ſuc- " ceſſors to poliſh and perfect. I have ſpent my " ſpare hours of late in correcting *Kepler*'s numbers " in the planet Mars, ſo as they may repreſent my " obſervations; which I think they will do very ac- " curately, I mean thoſe of September laſt, which I " made for finding his Parallax and the ſun's. To " make them fit all others is impoſſible, by reaſon " that the places of the fixed ſtars are erroneouſly " ſometimes ſtated by *Tycho*. But if we ſhould once " be ſo happy as to have them reſtored by Teleſcope- " obſervations on large inſtruments as *Tycho*'s, I ſhould " not doubt in a ſhort time to frame numbers, that " ſhould repreſent all the cœleſtial appearances, at " leaſt of one age, and perhaps the next, very exact- " ly. What I have done, I think will fit all obſerva- " tions as well as any; but my great deſire is to have " them repreſent my own well, which being made " with larger and more accurate inſtruments than were " ever uſed before Mr. Townley's time, muſt needs be " more exact than any before his. I hoped to have " had many accurate obſervations this ſpring of all " the planets, but the clouded Heavens have almoſt " conſtantly deprived me of my foreſeen opportunities " in all but Jupiter, of whom what I have obſerved, " Mr. *Oldenburg* can now inform you."

In his Letter dated at Derby July the 7th 1673 he writes thus. " I wrote to you about a week agone... " I might have informed you in my laſt, that after " I had diſcovered the ſun's diſtance in September " laſt to be near 21000 ſemidiameters, I place it juſt " ſo much in perigeo: then will his Parallax be juſt " 9″-82, which is preciſe the hundredth part of the " ſun's ſemidiameter there, i. e. 16′-22″; ſo that I find " the earth is but the millioneth part of the ſun. This " cauſed me to think of putting it in a Problem, which " I did to puzzle ſome boaſting pretenders to ſkill. " Thus the ſun's diſtance from the earth is 21000 of " the earth's ſemidiameters; whoſe body is but the " $\frac{1}{1000000}$ part of the ſun. Quære, *What is the ſun's " ſemidiater?*"

In his Letter dated at Derby July the 26th 1673 he writes thus. " Thurſday laſt I received a Let- " ter from Mr. *Gregory* (5) about the Scotch obſerva- " tory and inſtruments. I had written a good way " of an anſwer; but when I came to deſcribe my " new micrometer, I find my papers, in which I had " deſcribed it, removed. I have not time to ſearch " for it at preſent, and am on Munday next to go " ſome 30 miles from home, but ſhall return within " three days, God willing. After I ſhall ſearch for " my Papers, and return him an anſwer in the mean " time. Yeſterday I wrote to Mr. *Townley* to ſend " you his advice, and think it convenient you would " viſit Sir *Jonas Moore*, who has one of Mr. *Townley*'s " micrometers, which Mr. *Gregory* may there ſee fit- " ted to the tube better, if I miſtake not, than by " Mr. *Hook*'s."

(5) Mr. James Gregory, Author of the *Optica Promota*.

In

ing them was thought perhaps a trouble, which ſuch a trifling ſubject as the weather did not deſerve. But now at Sir Jonas Moore's requeſt Mr. Flamſteed ſet up for him a pair of theſe Glaſſes, and left him materials for making more. It had been long ſettled fair weather, when Mr. Flamſteed left London; ſoon after which the Mercury in the Glaſſes began to ſink, but no rain followed till the fourth or fifth day after. This made Sir Jonas eſteem the glaſſes and rules very much, of which informing the King and Duke of York, he was ordered to prepare them the next day, which he did together with Mr. Flamſteed's directions for judging of the weather from their riſing or falling. Sir Jonas had ſhewed the King and Duke our Author's Teleſcopes and Micrometer before; and whenever he acquainted them with any thing which he had gathered from Mr. Flamſteed's diſcourſe, he told them frankly from whom he had it, and recommended him to the Nobility and Gentlemen about the Court. Mr. Flamſteed having taken his degree of Maſter of Arts at Cambridge, deſigned to enter into Orders, and to ſettle in a ſmall living near Derby, which was in the gift of a friend of his father's, and therefore went to Okeham in order to proceed to Peterborough at Chriſtmas; but it happened that there was no ordination there. In the mean time Sir Jonas Moore having been informed of his deſign, wrote to him to come to London; upon which he returned thither in the beginning of February $167\frac{4}{5}$, and was entertained in the houſe of that Gentleman, who deſigned an employment for him, wherein Mr. Flamſteed might have been aſſiſtant to his ſon, for whom Sir Jonas had procured the reverſion of his place, which, though in nothing like his father, he enjoyed for the few years he lived. But Sir Jonas finding Mr. Flamſteed perſiſt in his reſolution to take Orders, and that his ſon's temper was ſuch as would make him as uneaſy as himſelf, he did not diſſuade him from his intent. March the 4th following he brought Mr. Flamſteed a warrant to be the King's Aſtronomer, with the ſalary of an hundred pounds *per ann.* payable out of the Office of Ordnance, to commence from the Michaelmas before. The Eaſter following our Author was ordained at Ely-Houſe by Biſhop Gunning, who ever after converſed freely with him, and particularly upon the new Philoſophy and opinions, though that Prelate had always maintained the old. Auguſt the 10th 1675 the foundation of the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich was laid [*E*], and during the building of it Mr. Flamſteed lodged at Greenwich, and his

In his Letter dated at Derby Auguſt the 20th 1673 he writes thus. "If *Ulac's Canon* would be had for "a crown or a noble, I ſhould be glad of it, but I "cannot go beyond that rate, for my father takes "notice of my expences, and I am at the outſide of "my allowance. I have more than half finiſhed my "*Hecker*, for ſo I call my *Ephemeris*; and after the "next week hope to get time to conclude him ſo "that you may have him before Michaelmas. My "ſervice to Mr. *Gregory*, if he be ſtill in the City. "I ſhall be glad to know what inſtruments and books "he takes into Scotland with him."

In his Letter dated at Derby September the 29th 1673 he writes thus. "This day I have received one "from you, by which I underſtand you have found "thoſe *Tables* of *Ulack's* I deſired. . . . I am very "well pleaſed with the news of *Hugenius's* Treatiſe "being come over; but more to hear of *Caſſini's* "Book of *Refractions* being expected. I am of his "opinion, that they ought to be continued to the "Zenith, becauſe the refractive air reaches ſome "height above our heads. But from *Tycho's* obſerva-"tions, ſuch as I find in *Ricciolus's Almageſt*, and "ſome late experiments of mine own, which I in-"tend to repeat as ſoon as I can borrow a convenient "room, I have good reaſon to think, that he makes "them too large a little in the Horizon, and their "decreaſe over flow, or themſelves much too big in "altitudes above 30 degrees. I ſhall ſhortly write "to Mr. *Townley* to engage him to make ſome ſuch "experiments as I have thought of, and perhaps if "mine own ſucceed, I ſhall in the mean time let you "know the event of them. . . . I wiſh I could have "any ways aſſiſted Mr. *Sherburne's* Catalogue (6) "with particulars of Mr. *Gaſcoigne's* Life, who, I "believe, was the firſt that applied ſcrews to Teleſ-"copes. He made with them ſeveral curious ob-"ſervations *ab anno* 1638 *to* 1642. Such as could "be found in his Letters, I have digeſted into a ſmall "book with notes of my own to them, where they "were needful for my own uſe. But I fear we have "loſt many more, and that paſt hopes of recovery."

(6) Subjoined to his Tranſlation of *Manilius*.

In his Letter dated at Derby December 27th 1673 he writes thus. "Yours informs me of the reaſons "why my *Ephemeris* is not printed; with which I "am very well ſatisfied. But if you have not already "done it, I would not have you propoſe the printing "it at the charges of the Royal Society, leſt they loſe "by it, to whom I am ſo much already obliged for "their reſpects, that I deſire not to be made their "further debtor. As for Mr. *Gregory*, after I wrote "the letter to him, with the deſcription of the Mi-"crometer in it, I never heard any thing from him, "and therefore forbore to write, ſuppoſing he would, "if deſirous to have any correſpondence with me, "have given me an occaſion to continue it by ſome "anſwer to mine. I deſire to know from you what "inſtruments he took into Scotland. If he deſire any "intercourſe of letters, if he pleaſe to give me a good "occaſion, he ſhall ever find me ready to ſatisfy and "comply with his deſires."

There is another Letter of his from Derby, but without any date, in which he writes thus. "I in-"tend to ſend you my *Hecker*, which I hope to finiſh "either this day or to morrow. If that my father's "affairs had not preſſed me extraordinarily, I had "long ſince finiſhed it, but hope now will be ſoon "enough. I find a table of the Equation of natural "days in *Hugenius's* piece ſeemingly much different "from mine, from which it keeps a conſtant diſtance "of about fourteen minutes of time, which that in-"genious perſon has ſo contrived, that the Equation "may always be of the ſame ſpecies. I doubt not "but that though it be ſeemingly different, I ſhall "find it on further examination to agree exactly with "ours, but not fit to be applied to aſtronomical cal-"culations, or any experiments but thoſe about his "watches; but of theſe more hereafter. In the "mean time when you find an opportunity to write "to me again, I ſhall be glad to know what Mr. "*Gregory* has done in reference to the inſtruments he "was about procuring, and what is the opinion about "my alteration of Mr. Townley's Micrometer."

[*E*] *Auguſt* 10*th* 1675 *the foundation of the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich was laid.*] Betwixt Mr. Flamſteed's coming up to London in Feb. and the Eaſter following, an accident happened, which haſtened, if not occaſioned the building of the Obſervatory. The *Sieur de St. Pierre*, a Frenchman, who had ſome ſmall ſkill in Aſtronomy, and made an intereſt with the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, propoſed no leſs than the diſcovery of the Longitude, and procured a kind of Commiſſion from King Charles II to the Lord Brouncker, Dr. Seth Ward Biſhop of Sarum, Dr. Chriſtopher Wren,

his Quadrant and Teleſcopes being kept in the Queen's houſe there, he obſerved with them the Appulſes of the Moon and Planets to the fixed Stars. In 1681 his *Doctrine of the Sphere* [*F*] was publiſhed in a poſthumous work of Sir Jonas Moore, intitled, *A new Syſtem of the Mathematics* printed at London in 4to. We may expect a new and accurate edition of this Treatiſe of Mr. Flamſteed with a great many alterations and additions by him, from the very ingenious Mr. James Hodgſon, F. R. S. About the year 1684 he was preſented to the Living of Burſtow near Blechingley in Surrey, which he enjoyed

Sir Charles Scarborough, Sir Jonas Moore, Colonel Titus, Dr. Pell, Sir Robert Murray, Mr. Hooke, and ſome other ingenious perſons about the town and court, to receive his propoſals, with power to elect and receive into their number any other ſkilful perſons; and to give the King an account of them with their opinion. Sir Jonas Moore carried Mr. Flamſteed to one of their meetings, where he was choſen into their number. The Frenchman's propoſals were then read; which were, I. To have the year and day of the obſervations. II. The height of two Stars, and on which ſide of the Meridian they appeared. III. The height of the Moon's two Limbs. IV. The height of the Pole. All of them to degrees and minutes. It was eaſy to perceive from theſe demands that the Sieur knew not, that the beſt Lunar Tables differed from the Heavens, and that therefore his demands were not ſufficient for determining the longitude of the place, where ſuch obſervations were or ſhould be made from that to which the Lunar Tables were fitted. This Mr. Flamſteed immediately repreſented to the Company. But they conſidering the intereſt of his Patroneſs at Court, deſired to have the Sieur furniſhed according to his demands. Mr. Flamſteed undertook it, and having gained the Moon's true place by obſervations made at Derby Febr. 23d 1672 and November 12th 1673, gave him obſervations ſuch as he demanded. The Sieur did not think that they could have been given him; but anſwered that they were feigned. Mr. Flamſteed delivered them to Dr. Pell February 19th 167$\frac{4}{5}$, who returning him his anſwer ſome time after, Mr. Flamſteed wrote a Letter in Engliſh to the Commiſſioners, and another in Latin to the Sieur, to aſſure him that they were not feigned, and to ſhew, that if they had been ſo, yet had we Aſtronomical Tables, which would give us the true places of the Fixed Stars, and Moon's true places both in Longitude and latitude nearer than to half a minute, we might hope to find the longitude of places by lunar obſervations, but not by ſuch as he demanded; but that we were ſo far from having the places of the Fixed Stars true, that the Tychonic Catalogues often erred ten minutes or more; that they were uncertain to three or four minutes by reaſon that Tycho affirmed a faulty Obliquity of the Ecliptic, and had employed only plain ſights in his obſervations; that the beſt Lunar Tables differed $\frac{1}{4}$, if not $\frac{1}{3}$ of a degree from the Heavens; and laſtly, that he might have learned better methods than he propoſed from his countryman *Morinus*, whom it was proper to conſult before he made any more demands of this nature. Mr. Flamſteed heard no more of the Sieur after this, but was informed that his Letters being ſhewn King Charles II, he was ſtartled at the aſſertion of the places of the Fixed Stars being falſe in the Catalogues, and ſaid with ſome vehemence, that *he muſt have them anew obſerved, examined, and corrected for the uſe of his ſeamen*. And further when it was urged to him how neceſſary it was to have a good ſtock of obſervations taken for correcting the motions of the Moon and Planets, with the ſame earneſtneſs he declared, that *he muſt have it done*; and being aſked who could or ſhould do it, replied, *The perſon, that informs you of them*. Upon this Mr. Flamſteed was appointed, with the allowance abovementioned, and aſſurances at the ſame time of ſuch further additions as ſhould be found requiſite for carrying on the work. The next point to be thought of was a place to fix in. Several were propoſed, as *Hyde-Park*, and *Chelſey College*. Mr. Flamſteed went to view the ruins of the latter, and judged it might ſerve the purpoſe; and the better becauſe it was near the Court. Sir Jonas Moore inclined to Hyde-Park; but Dr. Chriſtopher Wren mentioning Greenwich, it was reſolved on. The King allowed five hundred pounds in money, with bricks from Tilbury Fort, where there was a ſpare ſtock, and ſome wood, iron, and lead from a gate-houſe demoliſhed in the Tower, and promiſed to grant what more ſhould be neceſſary.

[*F*] *His* Doctrine of the Sphere &c.] In the *Preface* he obſerves, that in this Treatiſe he has ſhewn how all the diurnal appearances of the Suns and Stars are naturally made; and how laying aſide all thoſe old projections of the Sphere, which falſly ſuppoſe the Earth's Stability, they may be repreſented, and the problems concerning them anſwered by new ones, grounded on that true Syſtem of the World, which ſuppoſes the annual and diurnal motions of the Earth, propoſed at firſt by *Pythagoras*, aſſerted by *Copernicus*, demonſtrated by *Kepler*, and as moſt agreeable to reaſon and experience approved and entertained by the ableſt Aſtronomers of our times. He tells us, that in the *ſecond part* he has taught how to find within what ſpace of the Earth the Solar Eclipſe is viſible, and where the principal Phaſes appear, by calculation; as alſo how all the Requiſites of the ſame Eclipſe may be found, for any given place, without the calculation of Parallaxes; *which uſeful invention*, ſays he, *having never appeared in public before, I find myſelf obliged to give the following account of its original, that I may not hereafter be accuſed of injuſtice to two of my ſingular good friends, the admirably ingenious Sir* Chriſtopher Wren, *Maſter-Surveyor of his Majeſty's Buildings, and our Southern* Tycho, *Mr.* Edmund Halley. It was in the Winter of the year 1676, that Mr. Flamſteed light upon this Method. The Autumn before ſome ſpots had appeared in the Sun, and then he was obſerving a compact one, that made more than two intire Revolutions before it was wholly extinct. Examining his obſervations to find the reaſon of their different appearances, he collected from them, that the ſpots adhered to the ſuperficies, and that they were carried round his center once in 25 days and a quarter, the Northern half of that Axis, on which this Revolution was performed, being inclined about eight degrees to the Plane of the Ecliptic, between the 12th and 18th degrees of Virgo; which being concluded, he found that allowing what alterations muſt neceſſarily happen in their appearances by reaſon of the Earth's diurnal progreſs in her Orbit, all his obſervations would be repreſented as nearly as he could expect. And now having ſeen how the Poles, Axis, Equator, and Parallels in the Sun altered their appearances to the eye placed on the Earth, according as ſhe changed her place in her Orbit, and *being ill of the ſtone, that he might have ſomething to think of beſides his pains, he ſet himſelf to conſider* (7) how the Axis of the earth and the ſeveral Paths and Parallels imagined on it, would appear from the Sun, and how the diurnal Phænomena would be repreſented by an orthographical projection of our globe on a plane ſtanding at right angles to the Ecliptic, and the line connecting the centers of the Sun and Earth. Here he found what he has delivered in the *firſt Section* of his Treatiſe of the *Doctrine of the Sphere*, viz. how the Parallaxes of Altitude, Longitude and Latitude were made and given by conſtruction; and upon a little farther conſideration how the times of any appearance of a Solar Eclipſe, the parts then darkened, with the inclination of the Cuſps, might be determined, without any calculation of them, by the help of a projection. Much pleaſed with this diſcovery he immediately conſtructed an Eclipſe, which he had obſerved at Derby Octob. 25th 1668; and with a brief deſcription of the Method tranſmitted it to his kind friend and patron Sir *Jonas Moore*, by whom it was communicated to the Royal Society at one of their meetings. It happened that Sir Chriſtopher Wren was there preſent, who having viewed the figure only, told Sir Jonas that himſelf had known the ſame Method ſixteen years before; and to aſſure him of it ſent him ſoon after a like projection neatly drawn on paſtboard, and fitted with ſeveral ingenious contrivances of numbers and ſcales for the conſtruction of Solar Eclipſes in our Latitude. This Sir *Jonas* brought to Mr. *Flamſteed*, then labouring

(7) Theſe words in Italic are an addition by Mr. Flamſteed's own hand in the margin of the *Preface* of the *Doctrine of the Sphere* in Mr. Hodgſon's poſſeſſion.

joyed to his death, which happened December the 31ſt 1719, being occaſioned by the ſtrangury, under which he had laboured for three days. He was married, but never had any children. His *Hiſtoria Cœleſtis Britannica* [G] was publiſhed at London 1725 in 3 vol. fol. and dedicated to the King by his widow, Mrs. Margaret Flamſteed, and Mr. James Hodgſon. A great part of this Work was printed off before his death, and the reſt compleated, except the *Prolegomena*, prefixed to the third volume. In the preface we are informed, that in 1704, he having communicated by a friend an account of his collection of obſervations to the Royal Society, they were ſo highly pleaſed with it, that they recommended the Work to his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, who ordered Francis Roberts Eſq; Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr. David Gregory, and Dr. John Arbuthnot, to inſpect Mr. Flamſteed's papers; and accordingly a report was made in their favour. Upon this ninety ſeven ſheets were printed at the Prince's expence before his death; after which the remainder was publiſhed at the charge of our Author and his executors. Mr. Hodgſon has in his poſſeſſion above twenty letters of Sir Iſaac Newton to our Author from the year 1680 to 1699 (*e*); and a great many others to him from Monſieur Caſſini, Dr. Edmund Halley, William Molyneux of Dublin, Eſq; Dr. John Wallis, and other great men. Mr. Wotton (*f*) ſtyles our Author *one of the moſt accurate obſervers that ever was*, and obſerves, "that he calculated Tables of the Eclipſes "of the ſeveral Satellites, according to which Aſtronomers in different quarters of the "world, having notice of the preciſe time when to look for them, have found them to "anſwer to his predictions, and publiſhed their obſervations accordingly." William Molyneux Eſq; in his *Dioptrica nova* (*g*) gives him a great character, and in the *Admonition to the reader* (*h*) prefixed to that Work obſerves, that *the geometrical method of calculating a Ray's progreſs, is wholly new and never before publiſhed; and for the firſt intimation thereof*, ſays he, *I muſt acknowledge myſelf obliged to my worthy friend Mr. Flamſteed, who had it from ſome unpubliſhed papers of Mr. Gaſcoigne.* Dr. John Keil (*i*) tells us, that

(*e*) We ſhall give ſome of them in the article of NEWTON (Sir Iſaac).

(*f*) *Reflections upon antient and modern Learning*, cap. 15. pag. 175. edit. London 1694, in 8vo.

(*g*) Cap. 6. § 11. pag. 270, 271. 2d edit. London 1709, in 4to.

(*h*) Dated April 17, 1690.

(*i*) Preface, pag. xii, xiii. to his *Introduction to the True Aſtronomy*, edit. London 1721, in 8vo.

labouring under ſome diſtempers, to Greenwich, whereby the latter was ſatisfied that the honour of the firſt diſcovery of this uſeful invention was abſolutely due to Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, whom of all mortals he believed to have been the firſt, who knew how to find the times of the beginning, middle, digits then darkened, inclination of the cuſps at any Phaſis, and end of a Solar Eclipſe, without the calculation of Parallaxes. In ſome diſcourſe, which our Author had with Mr. Halley, before he went to obſerve the Southern Conſtellations at St. Helena (8), the latter mentioned the conſtruction of Eclipſes as poſſible, *but out of a tender affection*, ſays Mr. Flamſteed, *to his own inventions, or for what other reaſon, I know not, he was pleaſed to conceal his Method both from me, who then thought it ſcarce poſſible, and, for ought I can underſtand, from all others. Nor is it to be wondered at, that three of us ſhould make this diſcovery ſeverally, and without any intimation of the Method from each other. For to me it ſeems very unlikely, that any one, who admits the Motion of the Earth, and apprehends how the Moon paſſing between the Sun and it, eclipſes ſome part of him to all thoſe people, who lie under its paſſage, ſhould ever miſs of it. But we might rather admire (had I not intimated the reaſon of it in the fifth* Section *of the* ſecond part) *that the acute wit of the ſagacious* Kepler *ſhould overlook it, when he had diſcovered the method of finding by calculation within what ſpaces on our Globe the Solar Eclipſe is bounded, and where the principal Phaſes of it would appear.* Mr. Flamſteed then tells us, that he had almoſt finiſhed what he had here delivered concerning the conſtruction of Eclipſes, when it was intimated to him by his ingenious friend Mr. *Perkins*, that there was little extant in the Engliſh Tongue concerning the general Method of Calculation abovementioned, and that therefore he might do well to explain it. He conſider'd then that this might be performed more eaſily than is taught by the firſt famous inventor, and without his Nonageſimary Table. Waving therefore his firſt intent, which was not to engage himſelf in any thing, which had been expreſly handled by others before him, he thought it neceſſary to undertake this further taſk, and accordingly wrote the precepts relating to that ſubject after, tho' for method's ſake, they are inſerted before the conſtruction of the Solar Eclipſe. He obſerves likewiſe, that in 1670 he firſt publiſhed Predictions of the Moon's Appulſes to Fixed Stars, which he continued eight years after ſucceſſively, firſt in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, after in the *Royal Almanack*, propoſing them as an uſeful, and the moſt practicable expedient for finding the *Longitude*, or difference of Meridians betwixt any two places, by reaſon both of their frequency, and that a ſingle perſon might obtain whatever is required in obſervations of them with a ſmall apparatus of inſtruments. But the calculation of Parallaxes required in their application cauſed them to be leſs regarded than he hoped they would have been. He has therefore ſhewn how this tedious labour may be avoided, and the Occultation or Emerſion of a Star from the Moon, or Time of its viſible Conjunction with the Center, and Diſtance then from her next Limb, may be found by Conſtruction, as the Phaſes of a ſolar Eclipſe; and the Difference of Meridians betwixt two diſtant places, by Obſervations of the ſame Appulſe made at each. *And now*, ſays he, *the main difficulty being removed, I would again recommend this Method to the ſtudy and practice of the ingenious Aſtronomer and Navigator.*

(8) He went thither in 1677.

[G] *His* Hiſtoria Cœleſtis Britannica &c.] The *firſt* Volume contains the Obſervations of Mr. *William Gaſcoigne* (the firſt Inventor of the way of meaſuring Angles in a Teleſcope by the help of ſcrews, and the firſt, who applied teleſcopical ſights to aſtronomical inſtruments) taken at Middleton near Leeds in Yorkſhire, betwixt the year 1638 and 1643, excerpted from his Letters to Mr. *Crabtree*; with ſome of Mr. *Crabtree*'s Obſervations of the ſame year; as alſo Obſervations of the Sun's and Moon's Diameters, Configurations and Elongations of Jupiter's Satellites from him, ſmall diſtances of Fixed Stars, with appulſes of the Moon and Planets to them, obſerved with a Teleſcope and Micrometer at Derby by Mr. Flamſteed betwixt the years 1670 and 1675; with the larger intermutual Diſtances of fixed Stars, and of the Planets from them; Eclipſes of the Sun, Moon, and Jupiter's Satellites, Spots on the Sun, Comets, and Refractions, taken with a Sextant of near ſeven foot Radius, a voluble Quadrant, and the abovementioned Inſtruments, betwixt the years 1675 and 1689 at the Royal Obſervatory, rank'd under proper heads, with the Places of the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, deduced from the Obſervations, and alſo neceſſary Tables to be uſed with them. The *ſecond* Volume contains his Obſervations (made with a mural Arch of near ſeven foot Radius, and 140 Degrees on the Limb) of the meridional Zenith Diſtances of the fixed Stars, Sun, Moon, and other Planets, with the Time of their Tranſits, over the Meridian, together with Obſervations of the Sun's and Moon's Diameters, Eclipſes of the Sun, Moon, and Jupiter's Satellites, Variations of the Compaſs from 1689 to the end of the year 1719, &c. Tables ſhewing how to render the Calculation of the Stars and Planets Places from the Obſervations, eaſy, and expeditious; to which are

that our Author " with indefatigable pains, for more than forty years, watched the mo-
" tions of the Stars, and has given us innumerable obſervations of the Sun, Moon, and
" Planets, which he made with very large inſtruments, exactly divided by moſt exqui-
" ſite art, and fitted with teleſcopial ſights. Whence we are to rely more on the obſer-
" vations he hath made, than on thoſe that went before him, who made their obſerva-
" tions with the naked eye, without the aſſiſtance of Teleſcopes. The ſaid Mr. Flam-
" ſteed has likewiſe compoſed the Britiſh Catalogue of the fixed Stars, containing about
" three thouſand Stars, which is twice the number that are in the Catalogue of Hevelius;
" to each of which he has annexed its longitude, latitude, right aſcenſion, and diſtance
" from the Pole, together with the variation of right aſcenſion and declination, while the
" longitude increaſes a degree. This Catalogue, together with moſt of his obſervations,
" is printed on a fine paper and character, at the expences of the late Prince George of
" Denmark."

added the Places of the Moon, (at the Oppoſitions, Quadratures, and on her Limits, &c.) and the Places of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, derived from the abovementioned Obſervations. The third Volume contains a Catalogue of the right Aſcenſions, Diſtances from the Pole, Longitudes, and Magnitudes of near 3000 fixed Stars, with Variations of their right Aſcenſions and Diſtances from the Pole, whilſt they change their Longitudes one degree, whereby the right Aſcenſions and Diſtances from the Pole of the Stars and Planets being given, their Longitudes and Latitudes may be found by inſpection. To this Volume is prefixed a very large Preface, containing an account of all the Aſtronomical Obſervations made before his own time, with a Deſcription of the Inſtruments made uſe of; as alſo an account of his own obſervations and inſtruments, together with a new Latin Verſion of Ptolomy's Catalogue of 1026 fixed Stars from the Greek; and Uleg-beig's Places annexed on the Latin page, with the Corrections; ſmall Catalogues of the Arabs; Tycho Brahe's of about 780 fixed Stars, in a proper order; the Landtgrave of Heſſe's of 386; Hevelius's of 1534, in a proper order. A Catalogue of ſome of the Southern fixed Stars, not viſible in our Hemiſphere, reduced to right Aſcenſion, Diſtance from the Pole, Longitude and Latitude, with Variations of right Aſcenſions and Diſtances from the Pole; calculated from Obſervations made by Dr. Halley at St. Helena, and Mr. Flamſteed's Stars's Places, and fitted to the year 1726. T.

FLAVIGNY (VALERIAN DE) Doctor of Divinity of the Houſe and Society of Sorbonne, King's Counſellor and Profeſſor of the Hebrew Tongue in the Univerſity of Paris, and Senior of the King's Profeſſors in the Royal College of France (*a*). Add to what has been ſaid of him in Moreri and above (*b*), that he was engaged in a very great controverſy with ſome Divines of the Faculty of Paris, becauſe he had approved a theſis concerning Epiſcopacy, which Lewis de Cleves Bachelor of Divinity had maintained in a public diſputation, which he held according to cuſtom November the 4th 1667. Complaints were made againſt two propoſitions contained in that Theſis [*A*], and it was not ſuffered, " that this Bachelor, who had finiſhed his time after which he was to be a Li-
" centiate, who had been preſented to the Chancellor of the Church and Univerſity of
" Paris, who had been paranymphed (*α*), and was appointed by the ſaid Chancellor to
" have the place, rank, and apoſtolical bleſſing of the Licentiates on the third of Febru-
" ary laſt, like the others who have likewiſe finiſhed their time, ſhould receive the ſaid
" bleſſing, which is the reward of the Student's application to their ſtudies, and a teſti-
" mony of their learning (*c*)." Flavigny adviſed him, *only for the ſake of peace, and to avoid the offence which this diviſion might give, to ſubſcribe the declaration, explanation, and explication of the ſaid two propoſitions, as it was required of him* [*B*]. He drew up a long vindication which was printed at Tournay in the year 1668, with this title, *Ad Theſim Cleveſianam ubi de Epiſcopatu expectatæ vindiciæ.* i. e. " The expected vindication of
" the de Cleves's Theſis concerning Epiſcopacy." It is a pamphlet in 4to of 128 pages, in which the Author quotes an infinite number of Authors, who have aſſerted the ſame doctrine which Lewis de Cleves maintained, namely, that Epiſcopacy, conſidered as being to himſelf the liberty of aſſerting and cauſing to be regiſtred in the Rolls of the Faculty at the meeting of the firſt of March following, that the ſaid explanation ſhould not in the leaſt prejudice the probability, or apparent truth of the doctrine contained in it, as alſo *of remonſtrating* &c. The Declaration which was extorted from this Bachelor was as follows. *Non intendo negare abſolutè Epiſcopatum eſſe Sacramentum; imò agnoſco in collatione Epiſcopatûs dari Gratiam Sanctificantem.* Ad ſecundam Propoſitionem. *Cùm dixi,* Aliquandò negatum videri Preſbyteratum prævium eſſe debere ad Epiſcopatum, *non intendi,* Epiſcopatum conferri poſſe per ſaltum; *imo exiſtimo* non poſſe Epiſcopum conſecrari, niſi ſit Preſbyter. i. e. " I do not deſign to deny ab-
" ſolutely, that Epiſcopacy is a ſacrament; nay, I
" acknowledge that a ſanctifying grace is given to the
" Order of Epiſcopacy. And with regard to the ſe-
" cond propoſition, when I ſaid, that it has been
" ſometimes denied, that one muſt be a Prieſt, be-
" fore he can become a Biſhop, I did not mean, that
" Epiſcopacy can be conferred by a Skip; nay I
" think, that one cannot be conſecrated a Biſhop un-
" leſs he be a Prieſt."

(*a*) Theſe are the titles which are given him in a deed made by a Notary, which he ſigned Auguſt 3, 1668, and which is prefixed to his *Vindiciæ ad Theſim Cleveſianam.*

(*b*) In the remark [*F*] of the Article ECCHELLENSIS.

(*c*) See the ſame deed.

[*A*] *Complaints were made againſt two propoſitions contained in that Theſis.*] The firſt propoſition was, *Preſbyteratum veſtiri ratione ſacramenti certum: Epiſcopatum ea decorari quicunque negat, probabiliorem tenet ſententiam.* i. e. " It is certain that the Order of Prieſt-
" hood is conferred as a ſacrament: but they who de-
" ny that Epiſcopacy is a ſacrament, hold the moſt
" probable opinion." The ſecond propoſition was, *Ad Epiſcopatum præviuſne Preſbyteratus? Aliquando negatum videtur.* i. e. " Muſt one always be a Prieſt
" before one can become a Biſhop? It ſeems to have
" been ſometimes denied."

(*α*) *Paranymphed.*] This is ſaid of a ceremony which is uſually obſerved in favour of the Licentiates of Divinity, when they commence Doctors. All the Sovereign Courts of Judicature &c. are invited by Latin Orations, which are delivered before the reſpective Courts, and to which the Preſident anſwers in the ſame language *. CRIT. REM.]

* Furetiere, *Dictionary* under the word *Paranymphe.*

[*B*] *Flavigny adviſed de Cleves . . . to ſubſcribe the* " *declaration, explanation and explication . . . as it was required of him.*] He added in the deed, from whence I tranſcribe theſe words, the following clauſe: *Keep-*

ing distinct from Priesthood, is not a Sacrament. To this vindication are prefixed some letters, in one of which we read, that Valerian de Flavigny, *Presbyter Laudunensis*, a Priest of Laon, had been forty years ago a Reader of the Sorbonne.

FLEETWOOD (WILLIAM), a very learned English Divine and Bishop in the beginning of the eighteenth Century was descended from an antient family in Lancashire, where he had an estate, now in the possession of his son Dr. Charles Fleetwood. He was son of Mr. Jeffery Fleetwood [*A*], by Anne, daughter of Mr. Richard Smith (*a*), formerly Prothonotary of the Poultry-Compter. He was born in the Tower of London on New-year's day 1656, and educated at Eaton school, and from thence elected to King's College in the University of Cambridge (*b*). About the time of the Revolution he entered into holy Orders, and commenced a celebrated Preacher at his first setting out. Having preached the Anniversary Sermon on the Founder's Day before the University in his own College March the 25th 1689, it fell to his turn to preach before them on the Sunday following at St. Mary's, when the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges desired him to print both Sermons, but he declining one part of the honour printed only the first of them, on 2 *Cor.* ix. 12. [*B*]. He was soon after made Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary; and by the intereſt of Dr. Godolphin, late Provost of Eton, and Dean of St. Paul's, (at that time Vice-Provost of one, and Residentiary of the other) he was made Fellow of that College, and Rector of St. Austin's London, which is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. His own great merit brought him soon after into the Lecture of St. Dunstan's in Fleetstreet. He distinguished himself during King William's reign by his *Inscriptionum antiquarum sylloge* [*C*] printed at London 1691 in 8vo; by several *Sermons* preached upon public occasions, and afterwards published [*D*]; and by his *Essay upon Miracles* [*E*] printed at London 1701 in 8vo. The

(a) *Desiderata Curiosa*. By Francis Peck, M. A. vol. 2. lib. 14. pag. 37. edit. London 1735, in fol.

(b) See *an Account of his Life and Writings*, prefixed to *Proposals for printing by Subscription a compleat Collection of the Sermons, Tracts, and pieces of all kinds, that were written by the Right Reverend Dr.* William Fleetwood, *late Lord Bishop of Ely*. These Proposals are dated, London Jan. the 23d 173$\frac{5}{6}$.

[*A*] *Son of Mr. Jeffery Fleetwood.*] He died in the Tower of London August the 18th 1665, leaving his widow with six small children (1).

(1) See the *Extract* of Mr. *Richard Smith's Obituary* in the *Desiderata Curiosa*, published by *Francis Peck*, M. A. vol. 2. lib. 14. pag. 37. edit. London 1735, in fol.

[*B*] *Printed only the first of them, on* 2 Corinth. ch. ix. v. 12.] It was printed at Cambridge in 4to. 1689, pagg. 27, under the following title: *A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge in King's College-Chapel, on the 25th of March* 1689; *being the Anniversary for Commemoration of King* Henry VI, *the Founder. By* William Fleetwood, *M. A. Fellow of King's College.* The *Imprimatur by* Dr. John Covel, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Copleston, Dr. John Spencer, and Dr. Humphrey Gower, is dated March the 27th 2689.

[*C*] *His* Inscriptionum antiquarum Sylloge.] It consists of two parts. The *first* contains remarkable Pagan Inscriptions collected from Gruter, Reinesius, Spon, and other Writers, and it is digested into five classes; the first of *Gods*; the second of *public Works*; the third of *Emperors*; the fourth of *Priests, Magistrates, Soldiers*, &c. and the last of various persons, as *parents, children, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters*, &c. The *second* part contains the antient Christian monuments. The Notes are very concise, and partly formed from the observations of others, and partly our Author's own. If there should ever be published another Edition of this Book, it would be of great advantage to the Reader to give accurate Indexes, especially of the proper names; for there is at present only one, which may be styled a Glossary of the antiquities which occur in the monuments. It would likewise be very proper to add to the titles of the inscriptions the letter *G* or *R*, or *S. A. B. P. F* or *W*, in order to shew whether they were taken from *Gruter*, or *Reinesius*, or *Spon*, *Aringhus*, *Baronius*, *Papebroch*, *Ferretius*, *Wheeler*, &c. For by this means we might have recourse to the sources themselves, if there should be any suspicion of a typographical mistake, or we should be desirous of a more particular account of them (2).

(2) See *Acta Eruditorum Mensis Julii* 1691, pag. 327.

[*D*] *Several Sermons preached upon public occasions, and afterwards published.*] 1. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at St. Mary le Bow, April the 11th, 1692. 2. A Sermon preached at Guildhall Chapel, December the 11th 1692. 3. A Sermon preached before the Queen at Whitehall, February the 12th 169$\frac{2}{3}$. 4. A Commemoration Sermon preached before the Governors of Christ's Hospital London, 1693. 5. A Sermon against Clipping, preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall Chapel, December the 16th 1694, upon *Genes. xxiii.* 16. 6. A Sermon of the Education of Children, preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall Chapel, November the 1st 1696. 7. A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral January the 30th 169$\frac{8}{9}$ before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen on 1 *Sam. xxvi.* 10, 11. 8. A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, November the 5th 1700. 9. A Sermon preached before the Gentlemen educated at Eton College, December the 6th 1701.

[*E*] *His Essay on Miracles.*] It was printed under the following title: *An Essay upon Miracles, in two Discourses. By* William Fleetwood, *Fellow of Eton College, and Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty.* London 1701 in 8vo pag. 277. Mr. Fleetwood tells us in the Epistle Dedicatory, that he has been "free "enough to blame those who have gone before him, "whether Antients or Moderns, without distinction "or respect to any name how great soever; some, "for their downright begging the question in debate; "others, for their neglect, or slight solutions of con"siderable difficulties; others for attributing so great a "power to the Devil, as seemed to him utterly in"sistent with the maintenance of Christianity up"on the foot of miracles; and most of them, for "leaving us schemes very defective in some parts, "and very undefensible in others." He owns, that he has walked in by-paths, and advanced something new on this argument, and thereby may possibly have fallen into mistakes; but he declares withal, that he shall be very ready to retract his errors upon the first kind discovery which shall be made of them. Lastly he assures us, that he has made very fair war with such as are adversaries to Revealed Religion, allowing them all that they can ask in the matter in debate; and that he has made such concessions as by unconsidering people will perhaps be suspected sooner than approved. This Treatise is divided into two Dialogues, managed in a familiar way by two Speakers; the one is *A*, who raises objections against, and desires to be satisfied in the doctrine of Miracles; the other is *B*, who maintains and illustrates this doctrine, and undertakes to solve the difficulties raised against it. Mr. Fleetwood defines a Miracle to be *an extraordinary operation of God, against the known course and settled laws of nature, appealing to the senses.* In the *first Dialogue* he treats of the Miracles wrought by Moses; and in the *second* of those wrought by Jesus Christ. Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, now Bishop of Winchester, soon after published *A Letter to Mr.* Fleetwood, *occasioned by his late* Essay on Miracles. London 1702 in 8vo. This Letter is reprinted in Mr. Hoadly's *Tracts* at London 1715 in 8vo. The Author of the *Account of the Life and Writings of Bishop* Fleetwood above quoted observes (3), "that it has been often affirmed, and (3) Pag. ix.
"passes with some for a certain truth, that the Bishop
"in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. Hoadly... had
"given up his scheme. But this the Reader may be
"assured is a report altogether false. Nor is the
"Bishop's not replying any just ground for such a
"surmise; for it was almost a principle with him
"never to enter into controversy, to which he had an ex-

The preferments abovementioned were all that he had during King William's reign [*F*]; having received no recompence for his long ſervice and attendance as Chaplain till within a week of that Prince's death, when he was nominated by the King to a Canonry of Windſor, at the recommendation of the late Lord Godolphin. The grant not having paſſed the ſeals before the King's death, the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the Queen to give that Canonry to their Chaplain; but that affair having been opened to the Queen by the Lord Godolphin, ſhe ſaid, that if the King had given it to Mr. Fleetwood, he ſhould have it (*c*), and accordingly he was inſtalled into the Canonry in 1702 (*d*). In 1704 he publiſhed a piece without his name, intitled, *The Reaſonable Communicant* [*G*]; and the year following he publiſhed with his name *ſixteen practical Diſcourſes upon the relative Duties of Parents and Children, Huſbands and Wives, Maſters and Servants; with three Sermons upon the Caſe of Self-murther*. About the year 1705 he took a reſolution to retire from the noiſe and hurry of the City, much to the grief and concern of his friends and admirers there. His pariſhioners of St. Auſtin's were ſo ſenſibly affected at the thought of loſing him, that they made very moving applications to him to continue longer among them. They offered to keep a Curate for him at their own expence, and to come into any meaſures that would make him eaſy. But nothing could divert him from a reſolution, which had been long and deeply grounded in his mind. He gave up his preferments in the City, and withdrew to Wexham, a ſmall Rectory of about ſixty pounds a year in Buckinghamſhire, where he enjoyed the eaſe and pleaſure of that privacy, which he had ſo much longed for, in a neat commodious houſe and gardens; and that which made this retirement more agreeable, was its nearneſs to his beloved Eton. In 1707 he publiſhed without his name his *Chronicon precioſum* [*H*]. In 1708 upon the death of Dr. William Beveridge Biſhop of St. Aſaph, he was nominated by the Queen to that See, without any knowledge or ſollicitation of his own, ſo that, as he aſſured a friend of his, the firſt intelligence he had of his promotion was from the Gazette. He was but juſt gone out from waiting as Chaplain when his predeceſſor died; upon which one of the Ladies of the bed-chamber aſking the Queen whom ſhe intended to make Biſhop of St. Aſaph, her

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglican.* pag. 388.

" treme averſion; the acrimony with which diſputes " were too often carried on being not all agreeable " to the calmneſs and meekneſs of his temper; for " which reaſon he would not be drawn to defend what " he had written. *I write my own ſenſe as well as I* " *can*, was his ſaying upon ſuch occaſions: *If it be* " *right, it will ſupport itſelf; if it be not, it is fit it* " *ſhould ſink.*" In 1706 there was printed at London in 8vo. *Reflections upon Mr.* Fleetwood's Eſſay on Miracles, *ſhewing the Abſurdity, Falſhood, and Danger of his Notions. With a Supplement, wherein is repreſented the Extent and Strength of the Evidence, which Miracles give to Revealed Religion. By* John Gilbert, *a Preſbyter of the Church of England.* Mr. *Jenkins* likewiſe in his *Obſervations on the Life of Apollonius Tyanæus* makes ſome Animadverſions upon the Principles, which Mr. *Fleetwood's Eſſay* proceeds upon, but without naming the Author or the Book.

[*F*] *The preferments abovementioned were all that he had during King William's reign.*] It often puzzled Mr. Fleetwood's friends to find a reaſon why he was ſo long neglected by the Biſhops and thoſe great men, who were intruſted with the diſpoſal of Eccleſiaſtical preferments in that King's reign. Perhaps from his retired manner of Life, and his appearing ſeldom or never in places of public reſort, they had conceived ſome doubt of his principles, in relation to the Government, as it afterwards appeared ſome in the city had done for no better reaſons; of which he takes notice in the *Preface* to his *Four Sermons*; where he tells us (4), that he publiſhed thoſe Sermons, that he might *ſatisfy thoſe people who have*, ſays he, *objected a Change of Principles to me, as if I were not now the ſame man I formerly was. I never had but one opinion of theſe matters; and that I think is ſo reaſonable and well grounded, that I believe I never can have any other.* But let the cauſe be what it will, it is moſt certain, that he never entertained any notions againſt the intereſt or liberty of his country. He was hearty and zealous for the Conſtitution, in which the Revolution and ſubſequent ſettlements of the ſucceſſion to the crown left the State, as his firſt *Preface* to his *Sermon* on the Duke of Glouceſter's death, and his two *Sermons* on the 30th of January ſhew. And as for the eſtabliſhed Church, his three ſeveral charges to his Clergy ſufficiently atteſt his attachment to it. He was for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion's taking place in its due time; witneſs his *Defenſe of Lay Baptiſm*, and afterwards his famous *Preface*. He was for ſupporting the Houſe of *Hanover* on the throne, when they were come to it, as his Sermon at Ely Houſe on the Thankſgiving for the ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion teſtifies. He ſtood firm to the excluſion our Laws had made of Papiſts from the throne; and was always quick to obſerve and to expoſe the attempts, whether covertly or openly made to conciliate the nation to that line; as, beſides the pieces abovementioned, his Preface to the *Life of St.* Winefrede, and other Tracts written at proper ſeaſons, ſhew. In ſhort he never had but one and the ſame judgment of matters with relation to Government, as will very fully appear by a paſſage taken out of one of his Sermons, preached before the Lord Mayor ſo early as 1692. The paſſage runs thus: *Here likewiſe are the Laws and Government ſo famous over all the world for liberty without licentiouſneſs, for monarchy without tyranny, and for ſubjection without ſlavery. Here are the fortunes and eſtates the beſt ſecured that can be, not ſubject to the aſſeſſment or taxation of an arbitrary lawleſs Prince alone, whoſe vanity or folly, bad deſigns or wantonneſs might drain the labouring induſtrious ſubject; nor yet ſo much the private maſter's own, as that he ſhould deny the uſe of what the public finds is neceſſary to diſcharge its duty. Here laſtly are the cities of our God, the beſt Religion in the world, founded and built upon the Laws of God, and eſtabliſhed by thoſe of the land.* The Writer of the *Account of his Life* above quoted obſerves, that two of thoſe Biſhops, if they once thought not ſo well of him as he deſerved, lived long enough to ſee their miſtake; they acknowledged his great merit, and gave him frequent teſtimonies of a ſincere and valuable friendſhip to the end of their lives. Dr. Teniſon, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in particular, took much pains to fix him in the See of Ely, upon the death of the late Queen in 1714.

(4) Preface, pag. 6. 2d edit. London 1712, in 8°.

[*G*] *In* 1704 *he publiſhed a piece without his name, intitled,* The Reaſonable Communicant.] The whole title is: *The Reaſonable Communicant; or, an Explanation of the Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in all its parts, from the Communion Service.* There have been ſeveral Editions of it. It was aſcribed to another hand, and is expreſly given to Mr. Theophilus Dorrington, Rector of Wittreſham in Kent, and Author of *A Vindication of the Chriſtian Church in the baptizing of Infants, drawn from the holy Scriptures*, printed at London 1701 in 8vo, in the Catalogue of the Tracts diſtributed by the *Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge.*

[*H*] *His* Chronicon Precioſum.] It was printed under the following title: Chronicon Precioſum: *or an Account of the Engliſh Money, the Price of corn, and other commodities, for the laſt* 600 *years. In a Letter to a Student of the Univerſity of Oxford.*

her Majeſty replied, " One whom you will be pleaſed with, whom you lately heard " preach; I intend it for Dr. Fleetwood;" and immediately ordered him to be ſent for to Court. It was this circumſtance, his having been called to that Biſhopric by the Queen's own choice, that greatly contributed, as himſelf ſaid to ſome of his friends, to conquer the averſion he had expreſſed againſt returning again into the world. He thought he ſaw the hand of God in it, and ſo ſubmitted (*e*), and was conſecrated June the 6th 1708 (*f*). In this ſtation he acted in the moſt exemplary manner [*I*]; and in 1710 publiſhed his *Charge to the Clergy* of his *Dioceſe*. The change of the Queen's Miniſtry that year gave him great regret [*K*]. The ſame year he publiſhed without his name a pamphlet, intitled, *The 13th Chapter of the Romans vindicated from the abuſive ſenſes put upon it* [*L*]. February the 16th $17\frac{10}{11}$ he preached a Sermon before the Society for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts upon *Acts* xxvi. 18. which Sermon was printed at London 1711 in 8vo. He publiſhed at London 1712 in 8vo, without his name, *A Sermon on the Faſt-day January the 16th* $17\frac{11}{12}$ *againſt ſuch as delight in war* [*M*], which

(*e*) *Account of his Life &c.* pag. 3.

(*f*) Le Neve, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 23.

[*I*] *In this ſtation he acted in the moſt exemplary manner.*] The Author of the *Account of his Life* tells us (5) that " he had a very difficult part to act, coming into " this Dioceſe but juſt before that ſpirit of rage and " madneſs broke out in 1709, which continued to the " end of the Queen's reign, when party-rage ran " higher, and the ſpirit of Jacobitiſm was more in- " ſolent and bare-fac'd, than in any former time, ſince " the Revolution, and more in that part of the King- " dom than in moſt others. Yet his great and clear " reputation, his uncommon abilities and unblemiſh'd " life, which ſet off the epiſcopal character with much " luſtre, his obliging and eaſy deportment, free from " the leaſt tincture of pride, or ſhew of ſuperiority, " did not only place him above all indecent treatment, " which was a great point gained in thoſe unequal " times, but procured much reverence and affection to " his perſon from a Clergy, that almoſt to a man dif- " fered from him in principle."

(5) Pag. 3, 4.

[*K*] *The change of the Queen's Miniſtry that year gave him great regret.*] He could not be drawn to give any countenance to the meaſures of the new Miniſtry, tho' endeavours had been uſed, and intimations given by the Queen herſelf, who had a great value for him, how pleaſing his frequent coming to Court would be to her. But his ſentiments will beſt appear from his own words in a Letter to a Friend, to whom he uſed to ſpeak and write his mind freely. *When my duty*, ſays he, *to the Queen and the good of my Country will permit it, my gratitude will never let me vote againſt my friends; when I have ſaved my conſcience, I give up my ſelf to what I call my honour; and therefore under all the diſcouragements I can be, I ſhall always be on the ſide of the late Miniſtry, becauſe I know they ſerved the Queen and Nation ſo well, that I am morally aſſured they never will be ſerved better; and whenever they are, I ſhall certainly be on their ſide, who do that ſervice. I think I may be allowed to act as clear and diſintereſted a part as any man of our Order; for ſure if I could ſhift my ſide, I might be well accepted, conſidering what relation I have had to one* (the Earl of Rocheſter) *who governs all, and who is very civil to me upon all occaſions. But the meaſures we are in are by no means pleaſing to me, as what will never do the Nation's buſineſs; and I foreſee that all our millions and our blood ſpent for theſe twenty years paſt, will end in a deſpicable peace, which yet we muſt pitifully ſue for too.* When he was aſked about two years after his opinion of the ſituation of our public affairs, his anſwer was; " I have been, and am ſtill " in ſo ill humour with relation to them, that I hard- " ly can endure to think of them. We were in the " greateſt honour abroad of any nation in the earth; " we are now the ſcorn of all people. Our friends " hate us, and our enemies laugh at us. We ſhall nei- " ther have a good peace, nor a good war. France " will not give us the firſt, and we ourſelves have cut " off the means of the laſt. The diſgrace of the " Duke of *Marlborough* was worth a million at leaſt; " and yet I do not hear we got a farthing by it; " which I impute not to our honeſty and virtue, but " to our folly, malice, infatuation, and the great haſte " we are in to be undone. The Parliament has paſ- " ſed ſuch a cenſure upon the Duke, that I dare aver " no equal number of men in all the world, of what " Nation or Religion ſoever, would have done. But " the laying him aſide is ſo ſtrange a thing, that peo- " ple are put to all their ſhifts to account for it; and " to make it go down with the world, muſt invent, " exaggerate, and ſay and do any thing to make him " appear worthy of ſuch uſage. But I expect it will " turn to his enemies miſchief, as it certainly does to " his honour, that after ſo keen and malicious an in- " quiſition into his conduct, their great maſter ſhould " be able to accuſe him of nothing, but of doing " what all Generals have done before him, and what " King *William* always did."

[*L*] *A Pamphlet intitled,* The thirteenth Chapter to the Romans vindicated from the abuſive ſenſes put upon it.] The whole title of it is, *The thirteenth Chapter to the Romans vindicated from the abuſive ſenſes put upon it. Written by a Curate of Salop, and directed to the Clergy of that County and the neighbouring ones of North-Wales, to whom the Author wiſheth patience, moderation, and a good underſtanding for half an hour.* London 1710 in 8vo, pagg. 22. In this pamphlet his deſign is to ſhew (6), that this Chapter of St. Paul " requires of no people any more ſubmiſſion to the " higher powers than the laws of their ſeveral Coun- " tries require; that it exacts no other obedience than " the laws exact; that it forbids no other reſiſtance, " than the laws of that Country forbid; and that it " damns no man for making ſuch reſiſtance as the " laws of his Country allow him to make, be it more " or leſs;" or, as he expreſſes it at the concluſion of his Tract, *that the Word of God obliges all ſubjects to ſuch obedience, and no other, as the laws of their Country have obliged them to, and has forbidden ſuch reſiſtance, and no other, as the laws of their Country have forbidden.*

(6) See pag. 13.

[*M*] *He publiſhed at London 1712 in 8vo without his name,* A Sermon . . . againſt ſuch as delight in war.] The title of it is: *A Sermon on the Faſt-Day January the ſixteenth* $17\frac{1}{12}$ *againſt ſuch as delight in war. By a Divine of the Church of England,* London 1712 in 8vo, pagg. 23. The text is, *Pſalm* lxviii. 30. Towards the end he has the following paſſage (7): " The " war we are engaged in is acknowledged to be juſt, " and the ſucceſſes God has crowned it with, have " been aſtoniſhingly great. And therefore they who " now tell us, that we entered *wrong into it*, are thoſe, " I doubt, who would have us go *wrong out of it*. Or " if they mean that we have been at too great charge, " it is manifeſt they know not how to value thoſe ſuc- " ceſſes. But I would ſpeak to *Engliſhmen*. Theſe " great ſucceſſes, it is plain, have not been overbought, " becauſe we are told, *it is by them, that the enemies " have been ſo far reduced, as to make propoſals for " treating of a general peace.* Would they have done " it then without theſe great ſucceſſes? Or could we " have obtained theſe great ſucceſſes at a leſs expence? " I am as glad to confront ſo ſenſeleſs a ſlander with " ſo great an *authority*, as I am to ſay, that our " enemies have been at as great expence at leaſt, to " loſe their country, cities, and their armies, as we " have been to win them, take them, and overcome " them; and that their children, and their children's " children will be paying debts (if arbitrary Govern- " ments pay debts) contracted by diſgraces, loſſes and " defeats, which left them fighting ſtill in *chains* and " *ſlavery*, while our poſterity ſhall be diſcharging " debts contracted by their fathers, to leave them the " *Proteſtant Religion*, a *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and " (which muſt keep them both) *their Liberties*. Our " enemies themſelves will hardly have the malice, or

(7) Pag. 21, 22, 23.

which Sermon was to have been preached by him before the Houſe of Lords, to which office he had been appointed by that Houſe; but the new Miniſtry fearing that he had drawn his pen againſt the peace, deprived him of the opportunity of preaching it, by adjourning the Houſe deſignedly beyond that day. The Printer, who then knew not the Author, had omitted ſeveral paſſages in the copy delivered to him, out of dread of the Miniſtry (*g*). The ſame year he publiſhed without his name, *The Judgment of the Church of England in the caſe of Lay-Baptiſm and of Diſſenters Baptiſm: in two parts* [*N*]; and, with his name, *Four Sermons. I. On the Death of Queen Mary*, 1694. *II. On the Death of the Duke of Glouceſter*, 1700. *III. On the death of King William*, 1701. *IV. On the Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne, preached in* 1703: the Preface to which Sermons was ordered in May 1712 to be burnt by a vote of the majority of the Houſe of Commons [*O*]. In 1713 he publiſhed

(*g*) *Account of his Life*, pag. 9.

" or the confidence to ſay, this Nation is an enemy " to peace; or that whatever could be done, has not " been done in order to the obtaining it. But we " ſhall alſo give them cauſe, I hope, to ſay, that all " that can be done in order to the carrying on the war, " is alſo done. The firſt, without the laſt, would only " give them a pleaſure, that we owe them not, and " make us their ſcorn, who have been hitherto their " terror." *But let us not ſo much as preſage the leaſt evil. I know very well in whoſe hands, under God, we are. This is a peace or war, that is not like any other peace or war, that we or our fathers have ſeen. It is one of the greateſt misfortunes, that could befal a Nation at this time, if people's conſideration can be ſo ſhort and ſlight, as to think this Treaty will determine only whether they ſhall ſave a little money by peace, or ſpend a little more by carrying on the war. Whereas it will determine, in all likelihood, whether they ſhall ever have abilities and power again, of giving or refuſing. I do not mean that we ſhall* article *for or againſt a new Religion, a new Government, and a new King; but I mean, that unleſs the peace be good, thoſe things will certainly follow in their time, without and againſt all articles. And therefore no man can be too ſollicitous about this great event, that will determine the fortune of Europe for many years, and it may be for many Ages; and for our own particular determine, in its conſequence, of all we have. And therefore, they who are in earneſt zealous* for the glory and the ſafety of the Queen, the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and for the Engliſh laws and liberties, *will certainly beg of God ſo to direct, guide, and aſſiſt thoſe, whom the Queen employs in this moſt nice and perillous affair of treating, that ſuch a peace may be obtained, as will ſecure them all to us and our poſterity: or (ſhould the war be ſtill found neceſſary) that he would go forth with our armies in the moſt glorious and ſurprizing manner he hath hitherto done, and raiſe us up (he only can)* a General wiſe, *and* brave, *and* fortunate, *as was our laſt.*

[*N*] *His* Judgment of the Church of England, *&c.*] The whole title of the *Firſt Part* is, *The Judgment of the Church of England in the caſe of Lay-Baptiſm and of Diſſenters Baptiſm. By which it appears, that ſhe hath not by any public Act of hers made or declared Lay-Baptiſm to be invalid. The ſecond Edition. With an additional Letter from Dr.* John Coſin, *afterwards Biſhop of Durham, to Mr.* Cordel, *who ſcrupled to communicate with the French Proteſtants upon ſome of the modern pretences.* London 1712 in 8vo. The title of the *Second Part* is, *The Second Part of the Judgment of the Church of England in the caſe of Lay-Baptiſm and Diſſenters Baptiſm.* London 1712 in 8vo. In the Preface to the *Firſt Part* he obſerves, that he knows not whether reaſon, judgment, learning, perſpicuity, and all the qualities that a good Writer ought to have, would ſignify much, if once the word were given out among the *Holy Brotherhood*, that ſuch a Book was written *againſt* (what they are pleaſed to call) *the Church.* " And indeed, *ſays the Biſhop*, this argu- " ment is ſo ſtrong, that I my ſelf am forced to ſub- " mit to it. As free as I am from any of the afore- " ſaid reſtraints, under which the Clergy lie; as " little as I have to hope for, or to fear, on ſecular " accounts; yet I do not dare to own my ſelf the " Writer of this Paper, by ſetting my name before it. " The deſign I have is as good as the heart of man " can frame: the cauſe I plead for is that of the " *Church of England*, of which I ever was, and am, " and ever ſhall be by the Grace of God, a very " faithful and ſincere member; and am, I think, re- " tained in this good cauſe by juſtice and great cha- " rity; and I believe I have maintained it well, and " like an honeſt and reaſonable man. But yet I own, " the dread of drawing down the indignation of the " Church-rabble upon me is ſo great, that I will not " have it ſo much as whiſpered, where I live, nor of " what profeſſion I am. My reaſons and my argu- " ments have ſo far favoured the *Diſſenters*, that " (whatever my intentions were) they have proved " them to be *Chriſtians* in the opinion of the *Church* " *of England*; and that I perceive will not go well " down, nor be digeſted well (the more is the pity) " by abundance of Smatterers, and young Students in " Divinity, who would give more credit to Doctor " *H.* (7) in this caſe, recommending a Layman's (7) Hickes. " Treatiſe, that condemns them all, than to a hun- " dred other Laymen's Treatiſes, endeavouring to " make them Chriſtians, though they ſhould come " into the world with the approbation of *the majority* " *of the Biſhops*. And this is another cauſe of my " concealment, becauſe I have no heart to engage with " ſuch a wrathful Generation."

[*O*] *In May* 1712 *his* Preface *to his* Four Sermons *was ordered to be burnt by a Vote of the majority of the Houſe of Commons.*] This Preface is dated May the 2d 1712. We ſhall give a paſſage or two out of that Preface. *Although in the conſtant courſe of my Miniſtry, I have never failed, on proper occaſions, to recommend, urge, and inſiſt upon the loving, honouring, and the reverencing the Prince's perſon, and holding it, according to the Laws, inviolable and ſacred, and paying all obedience and ſubmiſſion to the Laws, though never ſo hard and inconvenient to private people; yet did I never think myſelf at liberty, and authorized to tell the people, that either Chriſt, St. Peter, or St. Paul, or any other holy Writer, had, by any doctrine delivered by them, ſubverted the Laws and Conſtitutions of the country, in which they lived, or put them in a worſe condition, with reſpect to their civil liberties, than they would have been, had they not been Chriſtians. I ever thought it a moſt impious blaſphemy againſt that holy Religion, to father any thing upon it that might encourage tyranny, oppreſſion, or injuſtice in a Prince, or that eaſily tended to make a free and happy people* ſlaves *and* miſerable. *No, people may make themſelves as wretched as they will; but let not God be called into that wicked party. When force and violence, and hard neceſſity have brought the yoak of ſervitude upon a people's neck, Religion will ſupply them with a patient and ſubmiſſive ſpirit under it till they can innocently ſhake it off; but certainly Religion never puts it on. This always was, and this at preſent is, my judgment of theſe matters; and I would be tranſmitted to poſterity (for the little ſhare of time ſuch names as mine can live) under the character of one, who loved his country, and would be thought a* good Engliſhman, *as well as a* good Clergyman. At the end of the Preface having mentioned the glorious ſucceſſes of the war in the firſt ſeven years of the Queen's reign; he proceeds thus: " We were, as all the world imagined " then, juſt entring on the ways that promiſed to " lead to ſuch a peace, as would have anſwered all " the prayers of our Religious Queen, the care and " vigilance of a moſt able Miniſtry, the payments of " a willing and obedient People, as well as the " glorious toils and hazards of the Soldiery; when " God for our ſins permitted the *Spirit of Diſcord* to " go forth, and by troubling ſore the camp, the city, " and the country, (and Oh, that it had altogether " ſpared the places ſacred to his worſhip!) to ſpoil " for

liſhed without his name *The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with her Litanies. With ſome Hiſtorical Obſervations made thereon* [*P*]; and a *funeral Sermon* upon the death of Mr. *Noble*, who was executed at Kingſton for the murther of a Gentleman, with

" for a time this beautiful and pleaſing proſpect, and " give us, in its ſtead, I know not what. —— Our " enemies will tell the reſt with pleaſure. It will " become me better to pray to God to reſtore us to " the power of obtaining ſuch a peace as will be to " his glory, the ſafety, honour, and the welfare of the " Queen and her dominions, and the general ſatiſ- " faction of all her High and Mighty Allies." This Preface was reprinted in the *Spectator* (8) on May the 21ſt following. Our Author wrote the following Letter to Biſhop Burnet on the occaſion of burning his Preface.

(8) Num. 384. vol. 5.

June the 17th 1712.

" My Lord,

" I received the favour of your Lordſhip's Letter, " and took it as I know it was intended, very kindly. " The manner of my receiving the indignity put up- " on my Preface, was neither like a Chriſtian nor " Philoſopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew " the whole proceſs, and knew it to be a piece of *re-* " *venge* taken by a wicked party, that found them- " ſelves ſorely ſtung; and it affected me accordingly, " i. e. very little. I am not one that love to be the talk " of the town; and in this part, I confeſs, I was uneaſy, " although I think the talk was very much in my fa- " vour. The complaint was made by *Hungerford*, " and ſeconded by *Manley*, (people that ſhould indeed " have been ordered to have burnt it) and thirded by " what we call the *Court*, and carried by numbers, " without a wiſe word ſaid againſt it. Sir *Peter King*, " Sir *J. Jekyll*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and others of the " robe, were very ſtrenuous advocates in its behalf, " and ſo were other Gentlemen, but to no great pur- " poſe, for the Court divided 119, and my friends " but 54. If their deſign was to intimidate me, they " loſt it utterly; or if to ſuppreſs the Book, it hap- " pens much otherwiſe; for every body's curioſity is " awakened by the uſage, and the Bookſeller finds his " account in it above any one elſe. The *Spectator* " has conveyed above 14000 of them into other peo- " ple's hands, that would otherwiſe have never ſeen " nor heard of it. In a word, my Lord, when I " conſider that theſe Gentlemen have uſed me no " worſe than, I think, they have uſed their own " country, the *Emperor*, the *States*, the *Houſe of Ha-* " *nover*, and all our Allies abroad, as well as all the " braveſt, wiſeſt, and the honeſteſt men we have at " home, I am more inclined to become vain, than " any ways depreſſed at what has befallen me, and " intend to ſet up for a man of merit upon this very " ſtock. But Pleaſantry apart, my heart is wounded " within me, when I conſider ſeriouſly whereabouts " we are, and whither we are tending. The Court-Party " do now own publickly, that except the Allies accept " of the conditions, that are offered them, King " *Philip* is not to make any *Renunciation*; and cer- " tainly the Allies cannot accept of thoſe conditions, " unleſs they are diſtreſſed to the laſt degree. We " muſt and ſhall have a ſeparate peace in ſpite of all " that can be ſaid, and that muſt be without a *Re-* " *nunciation* on the part of France, and without a " Guaranty from the Allies; and what a peace is that " like to be? It is now ſaid that England is to con- " ſtrain the King of France to content the *States* with " a Barrier to their liking, and that the reſt will " come in, or ſtand out without any danger. But I " am afraid England has loſt all her conſtraining " power, and that France thinks ſhe has us in her " hands, and may uſe us as ſhe pleaſes, which, I " dare ſay, will be as ſcurvily as we deſerve. What " a change has two years made? Your Lordſhip may " now imagine you are growing young again; for " we are fallen, methinks, into the very dregs of " Charles the Second's Politicks; ſaving that then " they were more reaſonable, becauſe our enemy was " then in ſo full power and luſtre, as might both " terrify and dazzle a poor luxurious Prince, that " would not be diſturbed, nor ſeemed to care much " what become of England after he was gone. The " preſent times may put you in mind of thoſe, with " this bad difference ſtill, that now the ruinous effects " of thoſe advices ſeem to be taking place after an in- " terval of five or ſix and twenty years, and after " ſuch an interruption as one would have thought " ſhould have quite baffled and deſtroyed them. I " find, my Lord, upon reading my Letter, that I have " entered upon deep matters, which conſidering the " times, and the *Spâ* waters I have taken, I ought " not to have done. You will, I hope, excuſe me, for " methought I was talking with you, who, I believe, " favour me. I have, I thank God, an intire truſt " in his goodneſs, and know he has hitherto preſerved " us beyond all reaſonable hopes, without and againſt " all our deſervings; but will he ſtill go on to ſave " us againſt our will, and in the midſt of our en- " deavours to deſtroy our ſelves? I hope he will, for " elſe I think we are a loſt people. I pray God to " preſerve your Lordſhip and all your family.

" I am, my Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant.

" W. Aſaph."

The *Revenge*, which the Biſhop points at in this Letter, was dealt out to him in remembrance of the Sermon which he had publiſhed a few months before *againſt ſuch as delight in war*. The *Preface* above-mentioned was immediately attacked in *A Letter to a Friend; occaſioned by the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph's Preface *to his Four Sermons. By a true born Engliſhman* (9). Dated June the 10th 1712. In the Poſtcript we are told that *this Letter was* bonâ fide *finiſhed, as you ſee it, before the Author heard of the damnatory and flagrant ſentence paſſed on his Lordſhip's performance* (ſecundum uſum Sarum) *by the Commons of Great Britain.* This Pamphlet begins thus: " When Simeon and Levi, " Whigs and Diſſenters, men of ſome, and men of " no ſenſe, with an eager and unuſual applauſe, exor- " bitantly recommend to the nation the performance " of a Religious and Political Biſhop, we may ſafely " conclude from never-failing obſervation the Epiſco- " pal labour to be extremely irregular and indefenſible. " And this I take to be the caſe of the patronage of the " Biſhop of St. Asaph's *Preface* to his *Four Sermons*, by " that ſort of men. They would impoſe it on the world " as a conſummate and celebrated piece in defenſe of " our Religion and Government, when I cannot but " think it an aukward and backſide compliment to " both . . . Had not his Lordſhip put his name and title " in the front, with the Printer's and Publiſher's names " ſubjoined, I ſhould have feared an enemy had ſur- " reptitiouſly publiſhed the Sermons with a Preface " on purpoſe to diſgrace him. Doth not his Lord- " ſhip know, that abſolute non-reſiſtance to the ſu- " preme power of every nation (whether ſeated in " one or more) is, ever was, and ever will be a funda- " mental Law? Reſiſtance in any caſe againſt the " power ſupreme, is, and ever will be High-Treaſon " in all States and Governments."

(9) London, 1712 in 8vo, pagg. 24.

[*P*] The Life and Miracles of St. *Wenefrede*, &c.] In the *Preface to the Reader* the Biſhop makes ſome obſervations on the third chapter of *Bollandus's* general Preface to the *Acta Sanctorum Januarii*, printed at Antwerp in 1643, wherein that Jeſuit lays down ſeveral rules concerning the credibility of Hiſtory in general, but, as his work led him, with a more particular regard to the credit of ſuch as have written *the Lives and Miracles of Saints and Martyrs*. The Biſhop afterwards obſerves (10), that the Proteſtants urge in juſtification of their not praying to Saints, that they do not know, nor have any means of knowing, whether the Saints above know any thing of our affairs below. " A man would not, *ſays he*, pray to " God himſelf, unleſs he was ſure that God could " hear his prayers, and knew his wants, and was " able to relieve him, if he ſaw fit. Now the very " reaſons that induce a Proteſtant to pray to God, " muſt hinder him from praying to Saints and An- " gels. He does not know that Saints or Angels un- " derſtand his wants; he does not know that they " can hear his prayers, if he ſhould make them; nor " does he know that they can help him in his neceſ- " ſities, although they heard his prayers. In a word, " he knows nothing of ſouls departing in the favour

(10) Pag. 13.

with whoſe wife he had criminal converſation. The text was 2 *Sam.* xii. 5. In December 1714 he was tranſlated to the Biſhopric of Ely (*h*), *without any ſingle ſtep of his direct or indirect* (*i*). The year following he publiſhed without his name, *The Counſellor's Plea for the Divorce of Sir G. D. and Mrs. F.* [*Q*], and in 1716 a Thankſgiving Sermon on *Pſalm* cvii. 2. preached at Ely-Houſe Chapel June the 7th 1716, upon the ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion. The ſame year he publiſhed his *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Ely at Cambridge Auguſt the 7th* 1716 *at his primary Viſitation* [*R*], London

(*h*) He was confirmed on the 18th of that month. *See* Le Neve's *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglican.* pag. 71.

(*i*) See his *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Ely at Cambridge, Aug.* 7, 1716, *at his primary Viſitation*, pag. 1.

" of God, but that they are happy. When it is " made very plain, that the Saints above know our " affairs below; when it is made very plain, that " they can hear the prayers of ſuch as call upon " them from all parts of her Majeſty's dominions at " one and the ſame time; and when it is made plain " that they cannot only hear, but grant our requeſts " of what kind ſoever; when theſe things are made " plain, the Proteſtants will not, I think, be back- " ward to call upon the Saints. All theſe powers are " manifeſt in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; " upon them we are bid to call, and upon them we " call with all aſſurance of being heard. God is in " every place, and therefore all the ends of the earth " may pray to him at once. God knoweth every " thing, and therefore knows what every one ſtands in " need of; and God is able to do what he pleaſes, and " therefore able to grant us every thing we aſk, if " he ſees fit. Let but the Saints be proved to be om- " nipreſent, omniſcient, and omnipotent, and they " will then, and not till then, deſerve to be the object " of prayer. And ſince we have a God thus quali- " fied to pray to, what need have we to ſeek for any " other?"

[*Q*] *His* Counſellor's Plea, for the divorce of Sir *G. D.* and Mrs. *F.*] The caſe, upon which this *Plea* was formed, was as follows: " I. *G. D.* without the " knowledge and conſent of his father (then alive; but " accounted not of ſound judgment) was at the age " of fifteen, by the procurement and perſuaſion of " thoſe, in whoſe keeping he was, married, accord- " ing to the Church-Form, to *M. F.* of the age of " thirteen. II. This young couple was put to bed in " the day-time, according to cuſtom, and continu'd there " a little while, but in the preſence of the company, who " all teſtify they touched not one the other: and after " that they came together no more; the young Gen- " tleman going immediately abroad, the young wo- " man continuing with her parents. III. *G. D.* af- " ter three or four years travel, returned home to En- " gland, and being ſollicited to live with his lawful " wife, refuſed it, and frequently and publickly de- " clared he never would compleat the marriage. IV. " Fourteen years have paſſed ſince this marriage-cere- " mony was performed; and each party having (as is " natural to think) contracted an incurable averſion " to each the other, is very deſirous to be ſet at liberty; " and accordingly application is made to the *Legiſla- " tive Power*, to diſſolve this marriage, and to give " each party leave, if they think fit, to marry elſe- " where." The reaſons urged againſt ſuch diſſolution were, Firſt, That each party was conſenting to the marriage; and was old enough to give ſuch conſent, according to the known laws of the Kingdom; the male being fifteen years old, the female thirteen; whereas the years of conſent are by law fourteen and twelve. Secondly, they were actually married according to the Form preſcribed by the Church of England, the Miniſter pronouncing thoſe ſolemn words uſed by our Saviour, *Thoſe whom God has joined let no man put aſunder*. They are therefore man and wife both by the laws of God and of the Land; and ſince nothing but *adultery* can diſſolve a marriage, and no *adultery* is here pretended, the marriage continues indiſſoluble. Our Author propoſes a variety of arguments in favour of the divorce; and obſerves (11), that what makes the *marriage-contract valid and obliging, is that a male and female ſhould be at age to conſent, and at liberty to conſent, and ſhould actually conſent, to give to each other the uſe and dominion of each other's body, excluſively to all the world beſides, as long as they both ſhall live. This is properly the marriage-contract, and common to all Nations and Religions; and all beyond this is matter of ceremony, decency, and prudence, and ordered by the Legiſlative Powers of different Countries, as they ſee convenient.* He afterwards ſhews (12), that this was not a compleat marriage, becauſe it never was conſummated. " The love and the deſire, *ſays he*, that men and wo- " men have each of the other, is what is implanted " in the hearts of all of them, and is therefore as in- " nocent an appetite as any elſe they have; and it has " (as every other appetite) its proper ſatisfaction pro- " vided for it by the good Creator; and when it fixes on " its proper object is ſatisfied as innocently as the de- " ſire of meat, or drink, or ſleep can be. Marriage " is fixing the deſire upon its proper object; and this " deſire is never to be ſatisfied with innocence but in " the marriage-bed. The end of marriage therefore " is the ſatisfaction of this appetite. This is the end and " purpoſe of God in making them male and female; this " is the way, the only way, of their becoming *one fleſh*. " And therefore till the end is anſwered, where it can " be anſwered, marriage is not perfect and compleat. " God cannot properly be ſaid to have joined thoſe to- " gether, who never joined themſelves together in the " natural way of his appointment. And therefore, " under favour, it is a great miſapplication of thoſe " ſacred words to the caſe before us, where the two " parties never *came together* in the ſenſe intended by " thoſe words. What can be plainer than this propo- " ſition? The end of marriage by God's inſtitution, " is, that two ſhould become one fleſh. The two " before you in the Bill were never yet *one fleſh*. Your " Lordſhips will make the concluſion. *Thoſe whom God " has joined let no man put aſunder*. The two before " you in the Bill were never yet conjoined by God in " the true meaning of thoſe words: they may there- " fore as yet be put aſunder by *men*." He next conſiders the great argument of all, which was brought to prove a marriage *compleat*, tho' its effect never follow; and that is, that *Joſeph* and the *Bleſſed Virgin* were, and are often called, in the Holy Scripture, *man* and *wife*, altho' we are ſure by *Scripture* they never came together *till* the Holy Child was born; and by *Tradition*, ſure they never came together *after* it was born. But our Author ſhews (13), that the marriage of Joſeph with the Bleſſed Virgin was all (as the antient Chriſtian Writers call it) *according to œconomy. It was to ſave appearances; to cover both the Mother and the Son from the reproaches of ignorant malicious people, till it ſhould pleaſe God, in his own good time, to manifeſt the truth more clearly to the world; and therefore tho' it might be wrapped in Prophecies before his Birth, yet it was not till after his Death that it became an Article of Faith, that he was* conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, *and* born of the Virgin Mary. *During the life of Chriſt, Joſeph was the* ſuppoſed huſband *of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the* ſuppoſed father *of her Bleſſed Son, and under cover of that relation was to take upon him, under God, the care and protection of them both. Will any man, after this, pretend to ſay, that this was* a compleat marriage, *as marriage is the ordinance of God? It was compleat to all the ends and purpoſes, that God intended by it. It ſcreened the Mother and Son from blame and ſlander; and it provided for them ſuch defence and maintenance as was convenient. But what is this to God's original Inſtitution? Or how can ſuch a thing be drawn into example?*

[*R*] *His* Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Ely &c.] In this Charge he treats of the *Dignity* and *Difficulties* of the *Paſtoral Office*. He obſerves (14), that " as for all the attempts of the profane, the " ſcornful, the witty, and malicious ſpirits of the " age, to vilify and bring it into diſrepute, they are " no other than what have always been, and al- " ways are to be expected. Our care, *ſays he*, muſt " only be, that we ourſelves contribute nothing to it " by our imprudence or our negligence, our ignorance " or ill behaviour of ourſelves. Religion is ſo uſe- " ful and ſo neceſſary to the well-being of the world, " and ſo perfective of human nature, that it com- " mands the eſteem of all men, and obtains it of all " that

(11) Pag. 13. 2d edit. London 1715, in 8vo.

(12) Pag. 15.

(13) Pag. 22.

(14) Pag. 5.

London 1716 in 4to; and the year following a Pamphlet, without his name, intitled, *Papiſts not excluded from the Throne upon the account of Religion. Being a Vindication of the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Bangor's* Preſervative &c. *in that particular. In a ſhort Dialogue.* London 1717 in 8vo. The reſt of his works we ſhall give an account of in the note [*S*]. He died Auguſt 4, 1723, in the 67th year of his age, and was interred in the Cathedral Church of Ely, where a monument is erected to his memory [*T*].

By

" that are reaſonable. There never was a country in " any manner civilized without Religion; nor have " any of our travellers in their diſcoveries either of the " old or new world found any populous town or city " without a temple or place of public worſhip. Nor " was there ever any Religion profeſſed without its " Prieſts and Miniſters; nor Prieſts and Miniſters " without their honours, privileges, and revenues. " Nor, I may alſo add, were ever any Prieſts and " Miniſters without their enviers, maligners, and tra- " ducers; who yet were never able to perſuade the " world out of their Religion, or the neceſſity of per- " ſons ſet apart for the adminiſtration of its offices. It " is by no means new, or of yeſterday's growth, that " men employed in ſacred offices, ſhould be inſulted, " injured, railed upon, and evil ſpoken of. Com- " plaints of that kind are as old as any accounts we " have, and that, in all places, and under all Religi- (15) Pag. 13. " ons." He afterwards obſerves (15), that as to the qualifications, which are requiſite to make a compleat Clergyman, if we ſhould conſult the writings of ſome very famous Chriſtian Biſhops, and others, of old, and be obliged to believe them, without departing from them in the leaſt, we ſhould find them ſo great, ſo many, and ſo hard to be obtained, *that as I am ſure,* ſays he, *for my own part, ſo I may reaſonably fear, that many of this Aſſembly, deſpairing of ſuch attainments, muſt have betaken ourſelves to other callings, who yet, I hope, ſhall give a good account to God, each of our Stewardſhip. . . . . According to the flights and exaggerations of thoſe devout and over fervid ſpirits, a very few people, were they ſerious, would ever go into holy Orders; which ſhould it ever happen, would be very prejudicial to Religion, tho' overſtocking the Church is alſo not without its miſchief. There was ſomething like this happened in the matter of the bleſſed Sacrament, which may partly account for it. For the two or three firſt Centuries the generality of Chriſtians did frequently, even every Lord's Day, partake of the Lord's Supper; but this their frequency did naturally abate much of their devotion, in the performance of that holy ſervice; which godly zealous men perceiving, ſet themſelves to write and preach upon that ſubject; and to raiſe the people's devout affections, and revive their ancient fervours, ſaid ſo many fine exalted things, uſed ſo many ſtrong and bold alluſions, and lively figurative repreſentations, both of the* Prieſt, *and* Sacrifice, *and* Preſence, *that they quickly made the duty of preparation ſo difficult, and the danger of coming to that Table ſo great and dreadful, that even good people were afraid to venture, and rather choſe to ſtay away, altho' invited to that Supper, than come without what was then made to be the wedding garment. Thus, good well-meaning men do often cure one miſchief by another, and till they have tried, they know not which is greater.* The Biſhop remarks (16), " that it is very well for us, that theſe great (16) Pag. 16. " men's *examples* relieve us againſt the rigour of their " *rules* and *inſtructions*; for after all they have ſaid, they " were themſelves *Biſhops* and *Preſbyters*, and though " very learned and very good, yet not ſo ſuperlatively " ſo, but that others might and did equal them." In the *Poſtſcript* to this *Charge*, dated at Ely Aug. 30th, 1716, he obſerves, that before theſe ſheets were quite finiſhed at the preſs, he received a Letter from the *Deputies of the Epiſcopal Reformed Churches in Great Poland, and Poliſh Pruſſia*, and of the *Epiſcopal Betlenian College* in *Tranſylvania*, wherein they earneſtly entreated him, after the example of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, to recommend the moſt deplorable eſtate thoſe Churches and that College were then in, to the charitable conſideration of the Clergy of his Dioceſe. *The Requeſt*, ſays he, *was ſo reaſonable, and the example ſo good, that I complied with it, and followed it immediately. . . . . The* Brief *will come amongſt you about a month hence; but I hope and deſire you will, in ſome of the interim, uſe your endeavours to diſpoſe your people to a more than ordinary liberality in contributing to the neceſſities of theſe our* Chriſtian Brethren *of the* ſame houſhold of Faith *with us.* This Charge of the Biſhop was attacked in *A Letter to the Biſhop of* Ely *upon the occaſion of his ſuppoſed late* Charge *(ſaid to be delivered at* Cambridge, *Auguſt 7th* 1716*) as far as relates to what is therein urged* againſt *frequent* Communion; *and for the (pretended) Epiſcopal Reformed Churches of* Tranſylvania, Great Poland, *and* Pruſſia. *By* Philalethes. London 1717 in 8vo. pagg. 31. This Letter is ſaid to have been written by Mr. Matthias Earbery, who obſerves (17), (17) Pag. 2. that " the *Charge* contains very ſlight expreſſions " of the *Holy Sacrament* of the *Euchariſt*, ſuch as in- " deed, *ſays he*, made my blood chill in my veins. " I was told therein, that the miſchief of indevotion " at that ſacred myſtery was cured by another miſ- " chief more fatal, viz. the exhorting people to fre- " quent the Communion. I could not find a name " hard enough for ſuch a monſtrous poſition. Surely, " ſaid I, this man has but aukwardly imitated a " Chriſtian Biſhop in making him detract from " the ſolemn myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. " Surely he was but indifferently acquainted with ei- " ther firſt inſtitution of the *Euchariſt*, when our Bleſ- " ſed Saviour was pleaſed to call it his Body, even his " Fleſh and his Blood; or with the writings of St. " Paul. He never turned over 1 *Cor.* xi. 26, 27, 28, " 29. *For as often as ye &c.* Was here no tropes, " no metaphors, no bold expreſſions, as this mock " Biſhop would pretend to call them? Were the pri- " mitive Chriſtians ſingular in their devout Encomi- " ums upon the *Euchariſt?* The learned, the judicious " Biſhop of Ely could never talk at this rate." The Author of the *Letter* then remarks (18), that the Wri- (18) Pag. 3. ter of the *Charge* has *found out a new race of Epiſcopal Beggars, which were never known in the world before, which require ſome ſevere reflections. For firſt, It is falſe as to fact, that ſuch Epiſcopal Churches are in the world. They ſet forth in their Petition publiſhed in the* Daily Courant *of Monday Septemb.* 17*th* 1716, *that* Wicliff *was their Reformer. But I ſhall lay down before the Reader, what notions* Wicliff *entertained of Epiſcopacy.* This the Author does from Orthuinus Gratius's *Faſciculus*; and then proceeds (19) to the Hiſtory (19) Pag. 7. of the Conſtitution of thoſe Churches, in order to ſhew what manner of Epiſcopacy was ſettled therein. He repreſents Wicliff as a *Traitor* (20), and an *Arch-* (20) Pag. 25. *Heretic* (21), and treats all the foreign Proteſtant Churches with a peculiar ſeverity. (21) Pag. 26.

[*S*] *The reſt of his works we ſhall give an account of in the note.*] A *Sermon* preached September the 7th 1704, being the day for the Thankſgiving. A *Faſt-Sermon* preached before the Queen at St. James's April the 4th 1705. A *Sermon* preached before the Queen at Windſor, June the 17th 1705. *A Thankſgiving Sermon* preached before the Queen at St. Paul's Auguſt the 19th 1708. A *Sermon* preached before the Queen at St. James's April the 17th 1709. A *Sermon* preached before the Lords January the 30th $17\frac{0}{10}$. A *Sermon* preached before the King in the Royal Chapel at St. James's on March the 2d the firſt Sunday in Lent 1717. *A Letter from Mr.* John Burdett *(who was executed at Tyburn for the murder of Captain* Falkner*) to ſome Attorneys Clerks of his acquaintance, written ſix days before his execution.* London 1717, without our Author's name. *A Letter to an Inhabitant of the Pariſh of St.* Andrew's Holborn, *about new Ceremonies in the Church.* London 1717 in 8vo without our Author's name, *The Juſtice of paying Debts. A Sermon preached in the City.* London 1718. *A Defence of praying before Sermon, as directed by the LVth Canon.* London 1720 in 8vo without his name, *A Sermon upon ſwearing.* London 1721 without his name. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of Ely in Auguſt* 1722. London 1723 in 8vo. *A Plain Method of Chriſtian Devotion tranſlated and reviſed from the French of Monſieur* Jurieu. This Tranſlation was done, when he was young; and there have been 26 Editions of it.

[*T*] *Interred in the Cathedral Church of Ely, where a monument is erected to his memory.*] His Epitaph is as follows.

H. S. E.

By his Lady he left one ſon, Dr. Charles Fleetwood, Rector of Cottenham in Cambridgeſhire. Our Author's character was in all reſpects incomparable [*V*].

H. S. E.
GULIELMUS FLEETWOOD.
Hujus Eccleſiæ, olim Aſaphenſis Epiſcopus,
Pridie Non. Auguſti. A. D. MDCC XXIII^o;
Suæ Ætatis LXVII^m
Nondum pervectus obiit, gravi jam ſenectute innumeris
Laborum ſtudiis approperatâ;
Quorum ſanè recenſioni neque ulla ſatis patet Tabula;
Nec morum ſanctimoniam, candorem ingenii, rerumque
Divinarum & Humanarum ſcientiam, hic commemorare
Opus erat; neque verò ineluctabilem (ſuaviſſimæ tamen)
Eloquentiæ vim, Religioni, Patriæq; Sacramento
Semper fido, militantis; nec Robur illud Pectoris ultro
Sævientibus formidoloſæ Potentiæ minis atq; flammis
Oppoſitum, pro Domo nunc Regiâ, hoc eſt, pro legibus
Ipſaque Populi ſalute, & civili & ſempiternâ;
Iſta enim ad omnem memoriam ipſe quam plurimis
Conſignavit, expreſſitque monumentis ſuis,
Qualia non ponimus ſuperſtites.
Sed hoc teſtari conjux dilectiſſima ſuam uniciq; filii
Venerationem voluit, & Deſideria atq; luctus inſanabiles
ſolari.

[*V*] *Our Author's character was in all reſpects incomparable.*] The Author of the *Account of his Life* above cited tells us, that "he lived an uſeful, ſtudious, "exemplary life, ſo conſtantly employed in the good "way of his profeſſion, that no man had fewer idle "hours to anſwer for. He had a juſt ſenſe of "the duty of his office, and lived up to the dignity "of it. He was conſtant in preaching, which duty "he diſcharged for many years three times a week. "It may be truly ſaid, he was the moſt celebrated "Preacher of his time. I need not ſay how uſefully "he employed his talent, or with how much Elo"quence. His Sermons fully ſpeak it; which he ſet "off with ſuch a ſweetneſs of voice, and ſuch a graceful "delivery, that he charmed his hearers into the warm"eſt attention, and left a laſting impreſſion on their "minds. And that which made his Sermons more "uſeful was the fine vein of caſuiſtry that ran thro' "moſt of them, wherein he diſplayed a peculiar ta"lent in making things plain and eaſy, which ſeemed "to many difficult, and gave diſturbance to weak "and honeſt minds. He informed the judgment, "and then ſet the mind at reſt. To which may be "added, what many of his auditors have often ſaid, "that they ſeldom heard him preach, but they learned "ſomething from him, that they never had obſerved or "heard before. He was a diligent viſiter of the ſick, "and a ſkilful healer of the wounds of conſcience; "for the cure of which ſad malady he was often ap"plied to by many, who were not properly under his "care, to whom he was a willing and a wiſe in"ſtructor. And theſe good offices he diſcharged in "ſo affectionate and tender a manner, that beſides the "inward ſatisfaction he had of doing much good, "many of thoſe who had applied to him expreſſed "the grateful ſenſe they had of this his labour of "love, which he beſtowed upon them, by kind lega"cies bequeathed to him; ſome of which came to "his hand after he was a Biſhop." In this ſtation he did not ceaſe to be a Preacher; he was a conſtant one at St. Aſaph, where the Choir was well ſuited to his voice: not ſo at Ely, where the Church was much too large for it; but in his own Chapel at Ely-Houſe, ſo frequent in the diſcharge of that good part of his office, though in the cold ſeaſon of the year, that he ſometimes preached four and twenty Sermons in the ſpace of ſix months. He was a great lover of antiquities, eſpecially of thoſe of his own country; but that did not caſt a ruſt upon his parts, or ſpoil his ſtyle; an effect which it often has upon thoſe, whoſe genius leads them early into that kind of ſtudy. He was an uſeful antiquarian, and at the ſame time a fine Preacher. The filling of the Churches in the Dioceſe of St. Aſaph, where he was almoſt the General Patron, with virtuous and worthy men, was what lay next his heart. He often expreſſed the great ſatisfaction he had in beſtowing preferments on worthy Clergymen, and was extremely pleaſed when upon experience and obſervation he found that the care of their people was matter of conſcience to them: "ſo may it always be, "(he uſed to ſay) and with increaſe; for without that "there was no living, but he was ſure, no dying with "comfort." He paid little or no regard to the importunate ſollicitations of the great men of that Dioceſe, if the perſon recommended was not found upon due enquiry, to be of an unblemiſhed life. And tho' he could not have the ſatisfaction he wiſhed of filling his Churches with men, whom he thoroughly approved in other reſpects, yet he took much pains to fill them with men of virtue; and if ever he was moved beyond his uſual temper, it was when he found that he had been deceived by teſtimonials, which had little or no truth in them. He had a generous heart; his hands were always open to thoſe in want, eſpecially to the poorer Clergy, to whom he often gave money or books, beſides the remiſſion of their fees. He was a liberal encourager of every charitable deſign, which came in his way, never ſhewing any deſire to be rich, except in good works; and he was much pleaſed, when he heard, that any rich man had left ſomething to good uſes, ſaying ſometimes upon that occaſion, "it were almoſt reaſonable there ſhould be a "moderate Purgatory for ſuch as live and die ſo "wealthy, without doing any good to any body but "their children, when there was ſo much want and "miſery in the world." He was much concerned to ſee ſo much paſſion and uncharitableneſs raiſed by difference in opinion in matters of Religion; and thought that mere miſtakes, and ſuch differences as did not influence practice, were to be born with. He was modeſt and humble even to a fault, qualities rarely to be found in a breaſt ſo replete with knowledge as his was; and as he fled from his juſt praiſes, and was always uneaſy under them, ſo he was backward to cenſure others. His temper was ſweet and even, and calm and meek, ſo that hardly any thing could diſcompoſe him; no paſſion, no reſentment, no partial mixtures could find a place in his breaſt. To this happy temper of mind was joined a good degree of cool and ſedate courage, which he did not fail to ſhew whenever a proper occaſion called for it. And to crown all his other good qualities, ſo much innocence of life, integrity of heart, and ſanctity of manners hardly ever met in any one man in a fuller meaſure, than they did in him. In a word, this good Biſhop excelled in every virtue, that conſtitutes a wiſe man, and in every grace, that diſtinguiſhes a Chriſtian (21). T.

(21) *Account of his Life*, ubi ſupra, pag. 6, 7, 8.

☞FLETCHER (JOHN), an excellent Engliſh Poet of the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Dr. Richard Fletcher Biſhop of London [*A*], and born in 1576.

[*A*] *Son of Dr.* Richard Fletcher, *Biſhop of London.*] He was born in Kent, and educated in Bennet-College in Cambridge (1). He was made Dean of Peterborough in 1583, and was preſent with Mary Queen of Scots, when ſhe ſuffered death at Fotheringay in Northamptonſhire in February 1586. In December 1589 he was advanced to the See of Briſtol, and about that time made Lord Almoner. In 1593 he was tranſlated to the Biſhopric of Worceſter, and from thence in the end of the year 1594 to London (2). At length he married a ſecond wife, the Lady *Baker*, (a handſome widow;) at which marriage the Queen was greatly diſpleaſed (3). He died ſuddenly in his houſe at London June 15th 1596, and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Paul's (4). He had a brother named GILES FLETCHER, who was educated in Eaton School, and elected Scholar of King's College in Cambridge in 1565, where he became a learned man, and an excellent Poet, and took the Degree of Doctor of Laws. He was afterwards ſent Commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany,

(1) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 107.

(2) Godwin, *De Præſulibus Angliæ*, and Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(3) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

1576 [*B*]. He was educated in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*a*), and died of the plague at London in 1625, being 49 years of age, and was interred at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark, on the 29th of Auguſt that year (*b*). Sir Aſton Cockaine Bart. among his *Poems* (*c*) hath an epitaph on our Author and Mr. Philip Maſſinger (*d*), who, as he tells us, "lie "buried both in one grave in St. Mary Overy's Church in Southwark;" but the Regiſter of that Church ſaith, that Maſſinger was buried in one of the four yards belonging to that Church (*e*). Mr. Edward Philips obſerves (*f*) he was "one of the happy Tri- "umvirate (the other two being *Johnſon* and *Shakeſpeare*) of the chief Dramatic Poets "of our Nation in the laſt foregoing age; among whom there might be ſaid to be a "ſymmetry of perfection, while each excelled in his peculiar way; *Ben Johnſon* in his "elaborate pains and knowledge of Authors; *Shakeſpeare* in his pure vein of wit, and "natural poetic height; and *Fletcher* in a courtly elegance and gentile familiarity of "ſtyle, and withall a wit and invention ſo overflowing, that the luxuriant branches "thereof were frequently thought convenient to be lopt off by his almoſt inſeparable "companion *Francis Beaumont*." But with regard to his character and writings, the reader may conſult the article of BEAUMONT (*g*). Mr. Rymer, as we obſerved in that article (*h*), attacked our Author's and Mr. Beaumont's Plays with great ſeverity [*C*]. Fuller tells us (*i*), that Mr. Fletcher meeting once at a Tavern to contrive a rude draught of a Tragedy, undertook to *kill the King* therein; and his words being overheard, he was ſeized and charged with High Treaſon, till the miſtake ſoon appearing, ſince the plot was only againſt a dramatical and ſcenical King, it occaſioned a great deal of mirth. He wrote in conjunction with Ben Johnſon (*k*), Philip Maſſinger (*l*), Thomas Middleton (*m*), and James Shirley, who, as Mr. Dryden was informed (*n*), "after Mr. Beaumont's "death was conſulted by Fletcher in the plotting of ſeveral plays."

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 524. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. *and* Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, pag. 206. edit. Oxford 1691, in 8vo.

(*c*) *Choice Poems of ſeveral ſorts, &c.* pag. 180. edit. London 1658, in 8vo.

(*d*) He died ſuddenly in March $16\frac{32}{40}$, at his houſe on the Bankſide in Southwark, near the Play-Houſe, and was buried on the 18th of that month.

(*e*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) *Theatrum Poetarum*; *Modern Poets*, pag. 108, 109. edit. London 1675.

(*g*) Vol. 3.

(*h*) Ibid. pag. 121.

(*i*) *Worthies*, in *Northamptonſhire.*

(*k*) Langbaine, pag. 298.

(*l*) Idem, pag. 353.

(*m*) Idem, pag. 370.

(*n*) See the *Preface*, pag. xxvii. to vol. 1. of *Beaumont's and Fletcher's Works*, printed at London in 7 volumes in 8vo, 1711.

Germany, and the Low-Countries, and Embaſſador to Ruſſia; and was appointed Secretary to the City of London, and Maſter of the Requeſts. He publiſhed a Diſcourſe *Of the Ruſſian Commonwealth* at London 1591 in 8vo, which was immediately ſuppreſſed, leſt it might give offence to a Prince in amity with England (5). It was reprinted in 1643 &c. in 12mo. He died in the Pariſh of St. Catherine Coleman-Street in London in February 1610. He left behind him a ſon of both his names, Bachelor of Divinity of Trinity College in Cambridge, who died at Alderton in Suffolk in 1623; and another ſon, named *Phineas Fletcher*, of King's College in the ſame Univerſity, who was eſteemed an excellent Poet. He was beneficed at Hilgay in Norfolk, and wrote ſeveral Books, particularly *The Purple Iſland*, a Poem, *Piſcatory Eclogues*, &c.

(5) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *Born in* 1576.] He was forty nine years of age when he died in Auguſt 1625. Fuller (6) places him in Northamptonſhire, where it is probable he was born.

(6) In his *Worthies.*

[*C*] *Mr.* Rymer . . . . *attacked our Author's and Mr.* Beaumont's *Plays with great ſeverity.*] Mr. Rymer's Book is intitled, *The Tragedies of the laſt Age conſider'd and examin'd by the practice of the Antients and by the common ſenſe of all Ages. In a Letter to* Fleetwood Shepheard *Eſq*;. *By* Thomas Rymer *of Gray's-Inn Eſq*;. London 1678 in 8vo. The Plays of Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Beaumont, which he examines, are *Rollo, Duke of Normandy*; *King and no King*; and *The Maid's Tragedy*. With regard to *Rollo*, Mr. Rymer obſerves (7), that "the ſucceſs of this Play is due chief- "ly to the Scenes for laughter, the merry Jig un- "der the gallows; and where the Tragedy tum- "bles into the kitchin among the ſcoundrels, that ne- "ver ſaw Buſkin in their lives before. There the "Pantler and the Cook give it that reliſh, which ren- "ders it one of the moſt followed entertainments of "the town." With reſpect to *King and no King*, he tells us (8), that in the *fable of it are many improbabilities, and thoſe of the worſt ſort, becauſe they contribute nothing to the wonder*; and that *the characters are all improbable and unproper in the higheſt degree*. With regard to *The Maid's Tragedy*, he remarks (9), that "no- "thing in Hiſtory was ever ſo unnatural, nothing in "nature was ever ſo improbable, as we find the whole "conduct of this Tragedy, ſo far are we from any "thing accurate and philoſophical as Poetry requires." He concludes with obſerving (10), that "the Drolls "in this Play make not ſo much noiſe as in the two "former; but are leſs excuſable here. In the former "they keep their diſtance, and make a ſort of inter- "lude; but here they thruſt into the principal places, "when we ſhould give our full attention to what is "Tragedy. When we ſhould liſten to a lute, our "ears are rapt with the Tintimar and twang of the "Tongs and Jewſtrumps. A man may be free to "make a jeſt of his own misfortunes; but ſurely it is "unnatural and barbarous to laugh when we ſee an- "other on the ſcaffold." H.

(7) Pag. 55.

(8) Pag. 59.

(9) Pag. 106, 107.

(10) Pag. 139.

FLORA, if we believe Lactantius, was a Lady of Pleaſure [*A*], who having gained large ſums of money by proſtituting herſelf, made the Roman people her heir, and ordered that the produce of a certain fund, which ſhe appointed, ſhould be employed in ſolemnizing her birth-day. She deſigned that that day ſhould be remarkable every year, by the Games that were to be exhibited to the people, and which were to be named *Floralia*, from her name. Theſe games were celebrated in a very ſcandalous manner,

[*A*] *If we believe Lactantius, ſhe was a Lady of pleaſure.*] He upbraids the Heathens with the exceſſive abuſes of their Deifications after the following manner. *Jam quanta iſta immortalitas putanda ſit, quam etiam meretrices aſſequuntur? Flora (cum magnas opes ex arte meretricia quæſiviſſet) populum ſcripſit hæredem, certamque pecuniam reliquit, cujus ex annuo fœnore ſuus natalis dies celebraretur, editione ludorum, quos appellant Floralia* (1). i. e. "What immortality muſt we think "that to be, which is conferred even on Curtezans? "Flora having gained great riches by her wicked "trade, made the people her heir, and left a certain "ſum of money, the yearly produce of which was to "be employed in public games, which were to be ce- "lebrated on her birth-day, and are called *Floralia*." Neither Arnobius (2) nor St. Auguſtin (3) ſay any ſuch thing concerning Flora, tho' they reproach the Heathens with the laſciviouſneſs of the Floral Games; but ſhe is ſtiled a Curtezan in Minutius Felix's Dialogue (4). St. Auguſtin muſt no doubt have found, that this ſtory of Lactantius was ill grounded. I have read in the Scholiaſt on Juvenal (5), that the Floralia were eſtabliſhed to the honour of the Goddeſs Flora, by the Curtezan Flora. This proves nothing in favour of Lactantius's aſſertion. We ſhall ſee in the following article, that there has been a famous Curtezan, whoſe name was Flora, but it is not true, that ſhe eſtabliſhed the Floralia. The Scholiaſt on Juvenal is miſtaken, and after all he does not ſay, that the Curtezan Flora founded the Floral Games for herſelf.

(1) Lactant. *Divin. Inſtitut.* lib. 1. cap. 20. pag. m. 60.

(2) Arnob. lib. 3. pag. m. 113. *and* lib. 7. pag. 238.

(3) Auguſt. *de Civitat. Dei*, lib. 3. cap. 27, *& alibi paſſim. See* Coquæus's Notes upon that paſſage.

(4) Pag. m. 233, 234.

(5) In Sat. 6. ver. 249.

manner [*B*], they were in ſome ſenſe the feſtival of the Curtezans [*C*]. Lactantius adds, that the Senate endeavoured to hide from the people how a feſtival, which had ſuch a ſhameful origin, came to be eſtabliſhed [*D*], and making an advantage of this Curtezan's name, they made the people believe, that Flora was the Goddeſs who preſided over the Flowers, and that in order to have a good crop it was neceſſary to honour that Goddeſs every year, and to render her propitious. There are reaſons to doubt whether Lactantius had this from authentic memoirs; for ſince the worſhip of Flora was eſtabliſhed at Rome by Tatius (*a*) King of the Sabines, and Romulus's Collegue, this Goddeſs muſt have been worſhiped by the Sabines, before the City of Rome was built. It was not therefore a Curtezan who made the Roman people her heir. They did not begin to celebrate the Floral Games before the year 513 ſince the building of Rome [*E*]. And

(*a*) Varro aſſerts it lib. 4. *de Lingua Latina*. *See* Voſſius, *de Orig. Idolol.* lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. m. 93.

[*B*] *The Floralia . . . were celebrated in a very ſcandalous manner.*] Lactantius is here in the right. *Celebrantur ergo hi ludi cum omni laſcivia convenientes memoriæ meretricis. Nam præter verborum licentiam, quibus obſcœnitas omnis affunditur, exuuntur etiam veſtibus populo flagitante meretrices, quæ tunc mimorum funguntur officio, & in conſpectu populi uſque ad ſatietatem impudicorum luminum cum pudendis motibus detinentur* (6). i. e. "Theſe games therefore are celebrated with the "utmoſt laſciviouſneſs ſuitable to the memory of a "proſtitute. For beſides the looſe and obſcene diſ"courſes, the proſtitutes, at the people's requeſt, un"dreſs themſelves, and act the Pantomimes, and con"tinue to exhibit their ſhameful motions before the "people till the lewd ſpectators be perfectly ſatiated "with the ſhew." St. Auguſtin has very well expoſed this lewdneſs and thundered againſt it in ſeveral paſſages. I ſhall tranſcribe but one of them (7). *Horum plane florum non terra fertilis, non aliqua opulens virtus; ſed illa Dea Flora digna mater inventa eſt, cujus Ludi Scenici tam effuſiore & licentiore turpitudine celebrantur, ut quivis intelligat, quale Dæmonium ſit, quod placari aliter non poteſt; niſi illic, non aves, non quadrupedes, non denique ſanguis humanus, ſed multo ſceleſtius pudor humanus tanquam immolatus intereat.* i. e. "It is not the earth, nor ſome plentiful power that "produces theſe flowers; but the Goddeſs Flora has "been thought a worthy mother for them, whoſe thea"trical Games are celebrated with ſo much debauchery "and diſſoluteneſs, that it is eaſy to underſtand what "evil ſpirit it is, whom men cannot appeaſe unleſs "they offer up to him as a ſacrifice, not birds, nor "cattle, nor even human blood, but what is more a"bominable, men's chaſtity itſelf." The Heathen Authors do not deny, that in the Floralia women were ſhewed naked before the people, and they relate that Cato being once preſent at thoſe games, and obſerving that his being there prevented the people from aſking for the ſhameful ſhew of thoſe naked women, he went away, that he might not ſpoil the ſport. The people loaded him with praiſes by their acclamations for his complaiſance, and after he was gone, the games were celebrated as uſual. *Eodem* (Marco Catone) *Ludos Florales, quos Meſſius ædilis faciebat, ſpectante, populus ut Mimæ nudarentur poſtulare erubuit: quod cum ex Favonio, amiciſſimo ſibi, una ſedente, cognoviſſet, diſceſſit e theatro, ne præſentia ſua ſpectaculi conſuetudinem impediret. Quem abeuntem ingenti populus applauſu proſecutus, priſcum morem jocorum in ſcenam revocavit; confeſſus plus ſe majeſtatis uni tribuere, quam univerſo ſibi vindicare* (8). i. e. "The ſame (Marcus Cato) being "preſent at the Floral Games, which Meſſius the Æ"dile gave, the people were aſhamed to aſk that the "Actreſſes ſhould undreſs. Cato being told of it by "Favonius his particular friend, who ſat near him, "went away from the theater, that his preſence might "not prevent the cuſtomary ſhew. The people hav"ing applauded him wonderfully as he was going a"way, reſtored the ancient cuſtom of the games; "having acknowledged by their conduct, that they "reſpected the gravity of one ſingle man more, than "they minded the pleaſure of themſelves in general." Martial has very well ridiculed this conduct of Cato. Why did he go to thoſe games, ſince he knew what was practiſed there? Did he go thither only with a deſign to retire? This is the Poet's cenſure of him (9). He forgot the moſt material obſervation, which is, that Cato ought not to have gone away, ſince he knew that his preſence was ſo uſeful to reform a bad cuſtom. Juvenal gives us in three words a moſt terrible notion of the diſſoluteneſs of the Floralia:

(6) Lactant. *Divin. Inſtitut.* lib. 1. cap. 20. pag. m. 60.

(7) Auguſt. Epiſt. 202. pag. m. 865.

(8) Val. Maxim. lib. 2. cap. 10. num. 8. Seneca, Epiſt. 47. mentions the ſame thing; *Catonem illum, quo ſedente negatur, populus ſibi permiſiſſe poſtulare florales jocos nudandarum meretricum.*

(9) *Noſſes jocoſæ dulce cum Sacrum Floræ Faſtoſque luſus & licentiam vulgi, Cur in theatrum Cato ſevere veniſti? An ideo tantum veneras ut exires?* Mart. *Epig.* 3. lib. 1.

——— ——— *Digniſſima prorſus*
Florali matrona tuba (10).
That is,
"A woman worthy to appear on the Stage at the Flo"ral Games."

(10) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 249.

[*C*] . . . *They were . . the Feſtival of the Curtezans.*] Though this be ſufficiently plain from the paſſages which I quote in the foregoing remark, yet I ſhall add to them the following verſes from Ovid.

Turba quidem cur hos celebrent meretricia ludos
Non ex difficili cauſa petenda ſubeſt.
Non eſt de tetricis, non eſt de magna profeſſis,
Vult ſua plebeio ſacra patere choro.
Et monet ætatis ſpecie, dum floreat, uti,
Contemni ſpinam cum cecidere roſæ (11).
That is,
"It is not difficult to gueſs, why theſe games are ce"lebrated by the herds of proſtitutes; this Goddeſs is "not of the grave, nor of the heroical Deities; ſhe will "have her Feſtival to be celebrated by the women of "pleaſure; and ſhe warns them, to employ their "youth, whilſt it is in its bloom, and tells them, that "when the roſe is decayed the thorn is deſpiſed."

(11) Ovid. *Faſt.* lib. 5. ver. 349.

This is a fine moral indeed. The Goddeſs Flora would have the curtezans to keep her Feſtival, becauſe it is reaſonable to let the women know, that they muſt make a good uſe of their beauty, whilſt it is in its prime; for if they let youth fly away, they will be deſpiſed as a roſe, which has nothing left but thorns. But how abominable ſoever this moral be, it is publickly ſung amongſt the Chriſtians in thoſe aſſemblies, which are honoured with the protection of the ſovereign authority (12).

(12) The Plays and Operas abound with thoſe maxims.

[*D*] *The Senate endeavoured to hide from the people, how a feſtival ſo ſhameful . . . came to be eſtabliſhed.*] I ſhall quote Lactantius's words (13), *Quod quia Senatui flagitioſum videbatur, ab ipſo nomine argumentum ſumi placuit, ut pudendæ rei quædam dignitas adderetur Deam finxerunt eſſe, quæ floribus præſit, eamque oportere placari, ut fruges cum arboribus, aut vitibus benè proſperèque floreſcerent. Eum colorem ſecutus in Faſtis Poeta non ignobilem Nympham fuiſſe narravit, quæ ſit Chloris vocitata, eamque Zephyro nuptam quaſi dotis loco id accepiſſe muneris a marito, ut haberet omnium florum poteſtatem.* i. e. "The Senate finding that this was "abominable thought fit to add ſome dignity to a "ſhameful thing, by making an advantage of her "name. They feigned that ſhe was a Goddeſs, who "preſided over the Flowers, and who was to be "made propitious, that the fruits of the earth with "the trees and the vines might blow well and ſucceſs"fully. The Poet following this hint in his *Faſti*, "relates that Flora was a celebrated Nymph, who "was called Chloris, and being married to Zephy"rus, received from him as a jointure, the power "over all the Flowers."

(13) Lactant. *Divin. Inſtit.* lib. 1. cap. 20. pag. m. 60.

[*E*] *They did not begin to celebrate the Floral Games before the year* 1513 *ſince the building of Rome.*] This is Voſſius's opinion (14). Pliny corrected by F. Hardouin confirms it. Before that Jeſuit's Edition of Pliny, that paſſage ſtood thus. *Floralia quarto Kalendas ejuſdem* (Maii) *inſtituerunt Urbis anno DXVI. ex oraculis Sibyllæ, ut omnia bene defloreſcerent* (15). i. e. "They eſtabliſhed the Floralia April the 28th "in the year DXVI ſince the building of Rome, "according to the Sibylline Oracles, that all things "might blow well." But Father Hardouin, both by means of manuſcripts, and by chronological arguments,

(14) Voſſ. *de Orig. Idolol.* lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. 93.

(15) Plin. lib. 18. cap. 29. pag. m. 527.

And the method of paying the charges of thoſe games is a new argument againſt Lactantius [*F*]. Since that time, till the year 580, they were not celebrated annually, but only when bad ſeaſons required it, or when it was commanded by the Books of the Sybils (*b*). This is another argument againſt Lactantius. Laſtly, in the year 580 it was thought proper to publiſh an Edict, by which it was ordered, that thoſe Games ſhould for the future be celebrated annually [*G*]. This Edict was occaſioned by the bad weather in the ſpring, of which the Romans had often felt the ill conſequences. Voſſius's Reflection upon Lactantius's objection is not generally approved [*H*]. There is a paſſage in that Father which he did not underſtand [*I*]. You will find Moreri's blunders below [*K*].

(*b*) Voſſius, ibid.

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has reſtored the number DIV in this place (16). There is a paſſage in Paterculus, which has been of great uſe to him. It is as follows. *Proximo anno Torquato Sempronioque Coſſ. Brundiſium* (colonis occupatum) *& poſt triennium Spoletium: quo anno Floralium ludorum factum eſt initium* (17). i. e. "The next year Torquatus and Sempronius "being Conſuls, a Colony was ſent to Brundiſium, "and three years after to Spoletium; in which year "the Floral Games were firſt celebrated." According to Livy's and Pliny's Chronology, Torquatus and Sempronius were Conſuls in the year 510 ſince the building of Rome. *Incidit prior ille conſulatus in annum Urbis DX. ex Liviana Plinianaque Chronologia, quo fit ut triennio interjecto Floralium celebritas ludorum incurrat in annum DXIV* (18). Since therefore the Floralia began to be celebrated three years after, we muſt place the beginning of them in the year 513. Father Hardouin chooſes to place it in the year 514, becauſe he imagines, no doubt, that from the end of that Conſulſhip there paſſed three full years before a Colony was ſent to Spoletto. At this rate it would be true that the Floral Games began the fourth year after that Conſulſhip, that is to ſay, in the year 514. It is, I think, more natural to ſay, that a thing, which happened three years after the year 510, happened in the year 513. Obſerve that according to Pliny, the Floral Games were eſtabliſhed by an order from the Sibyl; it was not therefore, in order to perform the laſt will of a Curtezan. Father Hardouin has ſeen ſome medals of the family of the Servilii, which have this inſcription. FLORA. PRIMUS, that is to ſay, according to him, *Floralia primus edidit* (19). i. e. "He is the firſt that celebrated the Floralia." Whence he infers, that the firſt, who celebrated theſe Games, was of that family. But if we may give the leaſt credit to Ovid (20), we ſhall be convinced, that the firſt who celebrated thoſe Games, were the Ædiles of the family of the Publicii. The medals confirm this (21); and Tacitus adds a great weight to it, when he tells us, that Lucius and Marcus Publicius built the Temple of Flora, whilſt they were Ædiles (22).

(16) *Prius DVI. permutatis annorum numeris legebatur: nos tum ex veſtigiis veterum codicum, tum ex indubitata temporum ratione locum eum ſanavimus.* Harduin. *in Emendat.* lib. 18. Plin. num. 40.

(17) Paterc. lib. 1. cap. 14.

(18) Harduin, *in Emendat.* lib. 18. Plinii, num. 40.

(19) Idem, ibid. pag. 557.

(20) *Faſtor.* lib. 5.

(21) *See* Voſſius, *de Orig. Idolol.* lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. 93.

(22) Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 2. cap. 49.

[*F*] *The method of paying the charges of thoſe Games is a new argument againſt Lactantius.*] They who had uſurped the lands belonging to the Commonwealth, were condemned to pay a fine, and that money was applied to pay the charges of the Floralia. *Non ex Flora vel meretricis cujuſquam hæreditate, ſed ex pecunia multaticia eorum qui peculatus damnati forent quia publicum populi Romani agrum occupaſſent* (23). It was not therefore the money which Flora, or any other Courtezan had left.

(23) Voſſius, *de Orig. Idolol.* lib. 1. cap. 12. *ex* Ovidio, *Faſt.* lib. 5.

[*G*] *In the year* 580 *of Rome ... an Edict was publiſhed, by which it was ordered, that thoſe Games ſhould for the future be celebrated annually.*] Ovid furniſhes us with the proof of this, for he makes the Goddeſs Flora relate, that ſhe ſuffered the bloſſoms of the trees and vines to periſh, to revenge herſelf of the Romans, becauſe they did not celebrate the Floralia every year; by which conduct ſhe obliged the Senate to order by a decree, that if there was a good crop the Floralia ſhould be celebrated annually. The crop happened to be good, and the decree began to be obſerved under the Conſulſhip of Poſtumius and Lænas.

Convenere Patres, & ſi bene floreat annus,
Numinibus noſtris annua feſta vovent.
Annuimus voto. Conſul cum Conſule ludos
Poſtumio Lænas perſoluëre mihi (24).

(24) Ovid. *Faſt.* l.b. 5. ver. 627.

[*H*] *Voſſius's reflection upon Lactantius's objection is not generally approved.*] After having laid before the Reader the arguments which confute that objection, he ſays that the truth does not want to buy the aſſiſtance of falſhood, and that therefore we ought not to admit all that the Fathers have written againſt the Heathens. *Cum veritas falſi minime ſit indiga, non omnia alba ſignari linea oportere quæ veteres adverſus pago deditos ediſſerunt* (25). Blondel has expatiated with a great deal of freedom on that thought. *We ought not*, ſays he (26), *to defend a good cauſe by ill-choſen arguments, nor admit every thing, that ſeems to be favourable to us, from what ſide ſoever it comes. And yet we may obſerve this in the Fathers; for their deſire of making an advantage of every thing, of forcing the truth out of the mouth of falſhood itſelf, of making themſelves like torrents, that by the impetuoſity of their ſtreams carry all before them, has been the reaſon why a great many of them have neglected to exert their judgment, that nothing might eſcape their memory; and they have not only endeavoured to make uſe of all the reflexions of the Heathens, whether they were well or ill grounded, like thoſe large rivers, that carry gold ſand mixed with mud, but they have alſo taken a pride in that kind of dealing, which was often attended with fraud and artifice, as though they had had a right to ſay with Æneas in Virgil,* Dolus an virtus, quis in hoſte requirat? *Hence it happened that St. Jerom * yielding to the force of this ſtrange prejudice did not ſcruple to alledge in his own defenſe, that the Fathers have been obliged to ſay, not what was their own opinion, but what was neceſſary againſt the aſſertions of the Heathens. He even endeavours to juſtify them by the example of St. Paul, but very unreaſonably, ſince the Apoſtle never ſupported ſuch abuſes by his own conduct, nor did he think, that all kind of methods were indifferent or even lawful, provided they could but ſerve to confute errors,* &c.

(25) Voſſius, *de Orig. Idolol.* lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 94.

(26) Blondel, *des Sybilles*, liv. 1. chap. 26.

* *Apolog. ad Pammachium, pro Libris adv. Jovinian.*

[*I*] *There is a paſſage in* Lactantius, *which* Voſſius *did not underſtand.*] That Father (27) upbraids the Romans with the Apotheoſis of a Proſtitute, whoſe feſtival was called *Larentinalia.* He adds, that they paid the ſame Divine Honours to another lewd woman, namely to Paula, who according to Verrius was Hercules's Harlot. He mentions Flora afterwards in the words we have tranſcribed above. Voſſius pretends, that Lactantius did not diſtinguiſh Faula from Flora, but that inſtead of Faula we ought to read Flaura. Now Flaura is the antient manner of ſpelling Flora, thus *Caudex* has been changed into *Codex*, and thus it is with ſeveral other words (28). All this falls to the ground as ſoon as we remember that Lactantius's Faula was Hercules's Concubine, and that the Flora he mentions left all her eſtate to the people of Rome. Thus it happens, that for want of attention the moſt celebrated Writers commit the greateſt blunders.

(27) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 20.

(28) *Suſpicor priſco more* Flauram *ſcripſiſſe* (Lactantium) *id eſt* Floram, *quod ex altero factum.* Voſſius, *de Orig. Idolol.* lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. 92.

[*K*] *You will find Moreri's blunders below.*] I. He aſſerts, that the Floralia were celebrated in the beginning of May. This is taking the *IV Kalendas Maij* in another ſenſe than all thoſe do, who know any thing of polite Literature. The fourth of the Calends of May is the 28th of April. It muſt not be objected that theſe Games laſted till the beginning of May; for it is againſt all the rules of narration to mark the time of feſtivals by the laſt days rather than by the firſt on which they are kept. The good man Roſinus (29) imagined that the Floralia were celebrated at firſt in April, but that they were afterwards put off till the next month. Ovid's verſes, which he quotes, paſſed his underſtanding, and yet they ſignify very plainly, that theſe Games continued during the laſt days of April, and the firſt days of May.

(29) Roſin. *Antiquit. Roman.* lib. 5. cap. 15.

Incipis Aprili, tranſis in tempora Maii
Alter te fugiens, cum venit alter, habet.

FLORA, a famous Courtezan of Rome, was tenderly beloved by Pompey, and had so much regard for him, that she would never yield to the pressing entreaties of another lover (*a*), till Pompey himself desired her to do it. Pompey acted thus, because that other lover, who was one of his good friends, had begged of him to speak a good word to Flora in his favour (*b*). Since that time, Pompey, who no doubt was sorry of his great credit, and that he met with so much complaisance, did not visit this mistress any more, which threw her into such a melancholy, that she was ill for a long while (*c*). In her old age she took a very great delight in speaking of the agreeable hours she had past with him, and even used to observe, that she never retired from his embraces, without being bit by him [*A*]. Plutarch observes that Pompey had a particular gift to gain the

(*a*) His name was *Germinius*.

(*b*) Plutarch. *in Pompeio, init.* pag. 619.

(*c*) Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ἑταιρικῶς ἐνεγκεῖν ἀλλὰ πολὺν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου χρόνον νοσῆσαι. i. e. "She did not take it as a Courtezan, but was sick a long while for grief, and longing after him." Plut. *in Pomp.* pag. 619.

Cum tua sint cedantque tibi confinia mensam,
Convenit in laudes ille vel iste tuas (30).

(30) Ovid. *Fast.* lib. 5. ver. 185. Rosinus has not quoted the two last verses.

(31) Pomey, *Pantheum Mythicum* pag. m. 219.

(32) Lib. 6. cap. 8. pag. m. 513.

(33) I mean that he marks neither volume, nor book, nor any thing whatsoever.

(34) Pomey, *Pantheum Mythicum* pag. 218, 219.

(35) He quotes Lactantius without mentioning the book. Valerius Maximus, lib. 2. cap. 5. where there is not a word of the *Floralia*; and Ovid in the 4th of the *Fasti*, he should have quoted the 5th.

II. None of the Authors quoted by Moreri say, that during the Floralia *the Ædiles spread the roads with blossoms of beans and pease*. He borrowed this from some modern Author, and perhaps from the Jesuit Pomey, who asserts, that during these Festivals the Ædiles distributed beans, and pease, and other kinds of such pulse among the people (31). He quotes Valerius Maximus *l.* 2. *cap.* 5. But look for this in that passage as much as you please, you will never find the least hint of it. Pomey trusted, no doubt, to Tiraqueau's Commentary on Alexander ab Alexandro, in which that same false quotation is to be found (32). I do not think that Plutarch is quoted any more to the purpose. Pomey says, in a strange and inexcusable manner of quoting (33), that the statue of the Goddess Flora in the Temple of Castor and Pollux was dressed in a tunick, and held the blossoms of pease and beans in her right hand (34). Plutarch, or I am much mistaken, says only that Cecilius Metellus consecrated in the Temple of Castor and Pollux the picture of Flora, Pompey's mistress, and one of the most beautiful women of Rome. III. All the Authors whom Moreri cites, are wrong quoted (35).

[*A*] *Without being bit by him.*] Girac maintains, that Amiot did not understand the following Greek passage in Plutarch. Φλώραν δὲ τὴν ἑταίραν ἔφασαν ἤδη πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν ἐπιεικῶς ἀεὶ μνημονεύειν τῆς γενομένης αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον ὁμιλίας λέγουσαν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνῳ συναναπαυσαμένην, ἀδήκτως ἀπιέναι. Amiot translates this passage thus: *It is also asserted that the Courtezan Flora did in her old age take a great delight in relating frequently the correspondence there had been in her youth between Pompey and her, adding that it was impossible for her, when she lay with him, to leave him without biting him.* This is not giving the sense of the original. The Latin Translator has not succeeded much better. *Floram meretricem ajunt natu jam grandiorem fere semper commemorantem suam cum Pompeio consuetudinem, dicere solitam non potuisse se ab ejus concubitu sine aculeo discedere.* (He makes her say, that she could not leave him without grief.) I am not the first that made this observation against Amiot. I have read it in Girac's Reply, in the passage where he censures his adversary for *comparing his teeth with those of that beautiful Roman woman, who was in love with Pompey, and never used to leave him without biting him out of fondness.* Here follows in what manner Costar was reproved for this. "This application betrays a great ignorance; for it "was not Flora that used to bite Pompey, it was Pompey that bit her, as it is asserted in the Greek in very "clear and intelligible words. If Monsieur Costar "did not understand that language, and if his Amiot "has misled him, the whole connection of the discourse ought to have set him right again. To what "purpose would so judicious an Author, as Plutarch "was, have observed with regard to Flora a piece of "lasciviousness, which is very common with all the "women of her trade? His design was to draw Pompey's character, to disclose his most secret actions, "and to acquaint posterity with the most hidden pas"sions of so illustrious a General (1)." Monsieur de Girac did not think, that this censure was sufficient, and he was very much in the right. It was still more necessary to expose the fault his adversary had committed against virtue. And indeed he censures him severely *for his not being ashamed to compare himself with a Courtezan, who is so well known in the Roman History by her prostitution.* He thinks it strange, that an Archdeacon and a Curate *should learn* from this lewd woman *how to bite in a genteel manner.* As for his part he is glad, *that he does not live under the slavery of love, since it is a master full of fury and rage* (2). *This rage*, continues he, *as Lucretius* * *very well observes, appears never with more violence, than in the enjoyment of those obscene pleasures: it makes men wound and bite those they love most. The Poets mention these bitings every where.* Immediately after this he speaks of Flora and Pompey.

(1) Girac, *Replique*, Sect. 8. pag. m. 73.

(2) Ibid. pag. 72.

* *Quod petiere premunt arcte, faciuntque dolorem*
Corporis, & dentes inlidunt sæpe labellis,
Osculaque adfigunt quia non est pura voluptas:
Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant, lædere id ipsum
Quodcumque est, rabies unde illa hæc germina surgunt. Lucret. lib. 4. ver. 1072.

The Poets are not the only Authors who speak of those bitings; Cicero entertained the Senate with such stories in one of his Orations against Verres. He asserted that if the criminal would shew his breast, they would not see upon it those glorious marks of wounds, which brave men receive in battles, but such as lascivious men get in their obscene pleasures. *Hic scilicet est metuendum, ne ad exitum defensionis tuæ* (3) *vetus illa Antoniana dicendi ratio atque auctoritas proferatur, ne excitetur Verres, ne denudetur a pectore, ne cicatrices populus Romanus aspiciat ex mulierum morsu, vestigia libidinis atque nequitiæ* (4). i. e. "Here you may fear "lest at the close of your plea, we have recourse to "that ancient method of Anthony, supported by his "authority, namely to make Verres appear, to shew "his naked breast, that the Romans may see those "scars caused by the bitings of the women, the proofs "of his lewd and profligate life." They who are willing to see several passages from the Poets concerning that kind of biting, may consult, if they please, Dionysius Lambinus, upon the following verses of the XIIIth Ode of Horace's first Book.

(3) Cicero directs his discourse to Hortensius, Verres's Council.

(4) Cicero, *in Verrem*, lib. 5. cap. 13.

Sive puer furens
Impressit memorem dente labris notam.
Non, si me satis audias,
Speres perpetuum, dulcia barbare
Lædentem oscula, quæ Venus
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit *.

* See the Translation of these lines in the article ADONIS, remark [*D*].

Yet this Author has not collected all that the Poets have said upon this subject: he has omitted perhaps more passages than he transcribed. I have observed that amongst other passages he has omitted that of Ausonius concerning the love-rage of some Eunuchs. The Jesuit Theophilus Raynaud has very well remembred it (5): *S. Basilius lib. de vera virgin.* sub finem *distinguit duplicem eunuchismum factitium. Unum quo exscinditur tota virilitas, . . . alium quo soli didymi auferuntur. Priores eunuchos negat S. Basilius* (6). . . . *De posterioribus ait eos acrius atque ardentius inflammari libidine, & impatientissime ferri ad complexum. Et cum obstructis per excisionem superioribus meatibus, non possint humorem in lumbis inflammatum emittere: non allevantur per complexum, ut ii quibus vasa sunt integra & expedita, & emissione concupiscentiæ flagrantis remittunt ardorem: sed pruritu assiduo stimulati, aguntur in rabiem, nec desistunt donec fatigatio cassos conatus disturbet. Probat hoc S. Basilius, gemino suæ ætatis exemplo, quorum alterum est de fassa ingenue Virgine sacra, spurcum eunuchum totum toti affusum, cum non haberet, qui æstum concupiscentiæ sedaret, ardentem rabiem, morsibus, ac infixis dentibus indicasse. Annuit Ausonius Epigrammate* 160 (7), *sic canens.*

(5) *In Tractatu de Eunuchis*, cap. 5. Paragr. 2. num. 12. pag. m. 143.

(6) You will find wherewithall to fill up this gap, in the quotation (14) of the article COMBABUS.

Defectos sic fama viros, ubi cassa libido
Fœmineos cœtus, & non sua bella lacessit
Irrita vexato consumere gaudia lectos;
Titillata brevi cum jam sub fine voluptas
Fervet, & ingesto peragit ludibria morsu.

(7) In my edition of Ausonius, which is that of Amsterdam 1671, these lines are in the 105th Epigram.

the love of women [*B*], and that Flora was ſo beautiful, that Cecilius Metellus cauſed her picture to be drawn to be kept with ſeveral others in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux (*d*). This was neither the firſt nor the laſt time that a Courtezan's picture received that honour [*C*]. I do not know whether this action of Cecilius Metellus might not have been the occaſion of the miſtake which I have mentioned in the foregoing article, where I ſhewed that Lactantius was not in the right to ſay that the Floralia were celebrated in the honour of a Courtezan. A modern Author, who no doubt was not unacquainted with Lactantius's blunder, yet did not entirely avoid it [*D*]. I ſhall ſhew from whence

(*d*) Plutarch, *in Pomp. init.* pag. 619.

That is,

" St. Baſil, towards the end of his Book of true Virginity of Eunuchs made ſo by art. The one of thoſe, who are totally emaſculated; the other of thoſe, whoſe teſticles only are cut off. St. Baſil denies that the former Eunuchs &c. . . . As for the latter he aſſerts, that they are moſt violently inflamed with luſt, and deſire a woman's embraces moſt impatiently. And as the upper ducts are obſtructed by the ſcars, they cannot emit the humour which is enflamed in their loins: ſo that they are not eaſed by embracing a woman, as thoſe are, whoſe veſſels are whole and ſound, and whoſe burning luſt is cooled by emiſſion: But being affected with a continual itching, they fall into a rage, nor do they interrupt their unſucceſsful attempts, till they be quite ſpent. St. Baſil proves this by two inſtances that happened in his time. The one is of an holy Virgin, who frankly confeſſed, that a laſcivious Eunuch lay with her, and not being able to ſatisfy his luſt, he ſhewed his burning rage by biting her. Auſonius confirms this in his 160th Epigram, where he ſays; *It is reported, that, when a vain luſt prompts theſe Eunuchs to frequent the women, and provokes them to a wreſtle, for which they are moſt proper, they vainly expect pleaſures on a bed, that is tired with them. And when towards the end their luſt is in its greateſt fury, they bite, becauſe they can do nothing more.*"

See what we have ſaid above in the Remark [*D*] of the Article ADONIS, and below in the Remark [*A*] of the Article LAMIA, a Courtezan.

A Phyſician of Paris, much better acquainted with the Greek Tongue than Coſtar was, did yet miſtake the ſenſe of Plutarch's paſſage. *Sic Flora*, ſays he (8), *nobile apud Romanos ſcortum, & forma egregia cum ardentius Pompeium magnum tum adoleſcentem deperiret, dicere ſolebat, (ut quidem refert Plutarchus) nunquam ſe ab ejus amplexibus diſcedere potuiſſe niſi corpore ejuſdem demorſo.* i. e. " Thus Flora a celebrated and beautiful Courtezan of Rome, who was paſſionately in love with Pompey, when ſtill a young man, uſed to ſay (as Plutarch relates it) that ſhe never could retire from his embraces, without biting him." Take notice, that he makes ſome pretty curious obſervations concerning the brutality of love, and hints, that it not only prompts men to bite the beloved object, but alſo inſpires them with a deſire to eat it up. He drags to it a paſſage from Plato, in which love is compared to the hunger, and to eagerneſs with which wolves hunt after lambs. Τὴν ἐράσϑ φιλίαν, ὅτι ϑ μετ' ἐυνοίας γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ σιτίϑ τρόπον χάριν πλησμονῆς, &c (9). i. e. " The friendſhip of a lover does not conſiſt in any kindneſs, but in a certain greedineſs, like that which we have for food."

(8) Petrus Petitus, *de Natura & Morib. Anthropophag.* pag. 107.

(9) Plato, *in Phædro, apud* Petitum, ibid. pag. 108.

[*B*] *Pompey had a particular gift to gain the love of women.*] He proves it both by the teſtimony of Flora, and by the behaviour of Julia Pompey's ſpouſe. She was a young woman, and was married to a man, who was not young, and yet ſhe was paſſionately in love with him. Pompey had gained her affection not only by keeping faithfully to her alone, but alſo by his courteous behaviour towards the fair ſex. Καὶ γαρ ϰ τϑτο λέγεται, ϰ περιϐέητον ἦν τῆς κόρης τὸ φίλανδρον, ϑ καθ' ὥραν πόϑους τὸν Πομπήϊον. ἀλλ' αἴτιον ἔοικεν ἥττε σωφροσύνη τῆ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι, μόνην γινώσκον ϰ τὴν γεγαμμένην, ἥττε σεμνότης ἀκ ἄκριτον ἀλλ' εὐχαρι ἔχϑσα τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ϰ μάλιϛα γυναικῶν ἄγωγον, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲ Φλῶραν ἀλῶναι τὴν ἑταίραν ψευδομαρτυριῶν (10).

(10) Plutarch. *in Pompeio*, pag. 647, B.

(11) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.

(12) Athen. lib. 13.

(13) Remarks [*C*] and [*G*].

[*C*] *This was neither the firſt nor the laſt time, that a courtezan's picture received that honour.*] The Venus riſing out of the ſea was the picture of Campaſpe Alexander the Great's miſtreſs (11), or that of the Courtezan Phryne (12). See the Article of APELLES (13). Whilſt Phryne was young, ſhe was the original after which the picture of Venus uſed to be drawn (14). The Venus of Cnidus was drawn after the face of a Courtezan, with whom Praxiteles was paſſionately in love (15). Pliny mentions a Painter who always uſed to draw the Goddeſſes after ſome of his miſtreſſes. *Fuit Arellius*, ſays he (16), *Romæ celeber paulo ante divum Auguſtum, niſi flagitio inſigni corrupiſſet artem, ſemper alicujus fœminæ amore flagrans, & ob id Deas pingens, ſed dilectarum imagine.* i. e. " Arellius, who flouriſhed at Rome a little before Auguſtus, was a very celebrated Painter, had he not diſgraced his art by a notorious wickedneſs; for as he was always in love with ſome woman, he painted the Goddeſſes after the likeneſs of his miſtreſſes." The Chriſtian Religion is not free from this diſorder. See Voetius's Theſes (17), in which you will find the following words: *Quid factum ſit aperit* Molanus (18) in Libro de Picturis ſacris, cap. 29. . . . *Viſæ inquit quandoque in locis ubi non decuit divorum imagines viventium adhuc hominum ora vultuſque referre, ut hoc umbratico velamento illorum quos amabant effigie* paſcerent oculos. *Ad quas ſelectas & procaciter venuſtas formas pingi ſolere imagines Deiparæ Virginis probe norunt pictores.* i. e. " Molanus, in his Book concerning ſacred Pictures, chapter the 29th, acquaints us with what has been done. . . One has ſeen, ſays he, in ſome places an unbecoming ſight, namely pictures that were very like ſome perſons ſtill living, that they might feed their eyes, by gazing upon thoſe they loved, under ſuch a diſguiſe. The Painters do very well know after what particular faces, but impudently beautiful, the picture of the Virgin, Mother of God, has been drawn." I ſhall cloſe this Remark with a paſſage from the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*. " The Author (19) . . . gives us the explication of a medal of Julian the Apoſtate, which on one ſide has a Serapis, perfectly reſembling Julian, and on the other the figure of an *Hermanubis*. It was not an uncommon thing to ſee the ſtatues of men entirely like thoſe of ſome God. Flattery or pride had often occaſioned thoſe diſorders. Pliny mentions a Painter, who always drew the pictures of the Goddeſſes like ſome Courtezan, with whom he was in love. This may have given Juſtin the Martyr a handle to ridicule the Heathens by charging them with worſhipping the miſtreſſes of their Painters. But I do not know but it is ſomewhat unfair to make the Heathens anſwerable for the fancies of a Zeuxis or a Lyſippus. What would be ſaid of a man, who ſhould pretend, that they who think they worſhip the images of St. Charles Borromeo, worſhip only a fictitious picture, or a fancy of the Painter. I ſay this, becauſe though that Saint was very homely, yet they make him very handſome in his picture *. This is unavoidable in all the Religions which admit of images. Men muſt condeſcend to the liberty which the Painters take, and truſt to them for the features and air of the objects of their devotion. " *Deos ea facie novimus, qua pictores & fictores voluerunt* †: *We know the Gods by their faces only as it pleaſed the Painters and Sculptors to repreſent them:* This is what the honeſt men amongſt the Heathens uſed to ſay. Notwithſtanding all this, men ought to take care that the abuſes do not go too far; for inſtance, they ſhould not have ſuffered that an image be made at Rome of the holy Virgin after the picture and likeneſs of Pope Alexander the VIth's ſiſter §, who was indeed very beautiful, but not very virtuous (20)." See the Remark [*E*] in the Article DURER.

(14) Arnob. lib. 6. pag. 199.

(15) Idem, ibid. pag. 198.

(16) Lib. 35. cap. 10.

(17) Vol. 4. pag. 429. I do not well know whether this whole paſſage be from Molanus; I ſuſpect that all that follows *paſcerent oculos* is Voetius's.

(18) Voetius ſays that he quotes in the margin, *Fridericus Scenckius a Tautenburch, ultimus Epiſcopus Ultrajectinus Libro de imaginibus*, cap. 12, 13.

(19) Monſieur Spon is mentioned here. See his *Miſcellanea erudita Antiquitatis*, pag. 13.

* Vavaſſor, *de Forma Chriſti*, pag. 200.

† Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* 1.

§ Rabelais, *Epit.* 15.

(20) Nouvell. *de la Republ. des Lettres* for Sept. 1685, Article 10, pag. m. 1028.

[*D*] *A modern Author . . . did not intirely avoid Lactantius's blunder.*] The modern Author I mean is la Mothe le Vayer: here follow his own words, which tend to ſhew, that all things conſiſt only in men's opinions

whence Montagne borrowed the following assertion, namely, that *the Courtezan Flora would not yield to the embraces of any person under the dignity of a Dictator, Consul, or a Censor, and* that *she took a pride in the dignity of her lovers* (e) [E]. Brantome goes beyond Montagne, and has related a great many things which have not the least foundation [F].

(e) Montagne, *Essais*, liv. 3. pag. m. 71.

opinions of them, and thus only virtue differs from vice, and not by a natural and unchangeable Law. (21) Dialogue 1. *None but common whores and prostitutes*, says he (21), *are noted with infamy amongst us; but a Lais, a Rhodope, an Acca Laurentia who got an estate worthy to be left to the Romans by her last will, a Flora, a Faustina deserve temples and altars. The most famous pyramid of Egypt was built by a King's daughter, who required but one stone from each of them that lay with her, and yet she got stones enough to erect that prodigious building, after she had enriched King Æthiops her father by this pretty pastime,* It is plain that la Mothe le Vayer did not think that the Courtezan Flora made the people of Rome her heir; for he ascribes this action only to Laurentia. And yet he believes that Flora, one of the Goddesses of Rome, had been a noted Courtezan. This is an idle fancy. It is pretending to keep the building after the foundation has been ruined. There has been no other Courtezan Flora, but that mentioned by Lactantius, and she that was in love with Pompey. The latter was not born but after the Floralia were established, and we have seen (22) that the former did not establish them. Our modern Author did not pretend that she left all her estate to the Roman Commonwealth; where then did he find the apotheosis of a Courtezan, whose name was Flora?

(22) In the remarks of the foregoing article.

(23) *Huic si Mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis Diceret hoc animus, quid vis tibi? nunquid ego a te Magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum, Velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?* Hor. Sat. 2. lib. 1. ver. 68.

[E] *I shall shew from whence Montagne borrowed ... that she took a pride in the dignity of her lovers.*] Horace censures some rakes, who followed the same maxim (23). See also the *Patriciæ immeiat valvæ* of Persius (*let him enjoy a Patrician Lady*) towards the end of the last Satyr. You will find in the following remark that a very modern Writer (24) had acquainted Montagne with this curious particular.

(24) Anthony de Guevara.

[F] *Brantome ... has related a great many things, which have not the least foundation.*] He says (25), that the Courtezan Flora *was of a good family and noble extraction*; and that *she yielded only to the embraces of the great men, for which she was to be commended, excelling therein Lais, who yielded to every body as a strumpet: whereas Flora had put a bill over her door with these words: Kings, Princes, Dictators, Consuls, Censors, High-Priests, Questors, Embassadors, and other great Lords, come in; but no others. Lais would always be paid beforehand, but not Flora, who used to say, that she acted thus with the Great, that they might behave towards her like great and illustrious men: she added, that a beautiful woman and of a great family would always be esteemed according as she valued her self: she never took more than what was offered her, and said that a pretty woman ought to grant the favour to her lover, for the sake of love and not of interest; because all things have a certain price except only love. Lastly, she made love in her time in a very genteel way, and was so well waited on, that when she went out, she afforded matter for a whole month's conversation, not only by her beauty, her noble and rich dress, her stately air, and good grace, but also by the great number of her lovers, all great Lords, who followed her, and waited upon her as though they had been her slaves; and when any foreign Embassadors returned home, they took more delight in speaking of the beauty and uncommon qualities of the beautiful Flora, than of the grandeur of the Roman Commonwealth: they took a particular notice of her great generosity, which is against the usual character of the Ladies of her trade; but then she was above the common sort, since she was of a noble family. She died so rich that the amount of her money, furniture and jewels was sufficient to rebuild the walls of Rome, and also to acquit the debts of the Commonwealth. She left the Roman people her chief heir, for which reason they built a very stately temple to her at Rome, which from her name was called Florian.* All this is nothing but an idle story, invented by Don Antonio de Guevara, an Author who is more to be blamed than our new Romance writers, how great soever their faults may be in that kind of writing.

(25) *Vie des Dames Galantes*, tom. 1. pag. 313, &c.

FLORIMONT (GALEACIUS) a disciple of Augustine Niphus, lived a great while at Paris as Agent of Anthony Colonne, and became acquainted with the learned men, who were improving themselves under the Tutorship of James Faber Stapulensis. He published in Italian a work upon some moral subject, and was made Bishop of Sessa (a). Fracastorius directs one of his Poems to Mark Anthony Flaminius, and to Galeacius Florimont, and acquaints us that they both applied themselves to the study of Divinity [A].

(a) Taken from Naudé, in *Judicio de August. Nipho*, pag. 41.

[A] *Fracastorius .... acquaints us that* M. A. Flaminius and Florimond *applied themselves to the study of Divinity.*] Here follows the beginning of the Poem.

Dum vos fatidicos vates, arcanaque sensa
Volvitis, atque animum cœlesti nectare alentes,
Alloquiis, magnoque Dei consuescitis ori
Fœlices Duce Gibberto, Campense Magistro:
Quid dicam miserum me agete, & quam ducere vitam, &c. (1).

i. e. "Whilst you study the Books of the Prophets, "and endeavour to find out the hidden sense of them, "and become acquainted with the venerable face of "God, in the conversation you have with him; you "are happy under the direction of Gibberti: what "shall I say, that I wretched man do, and what life "I lead?"

(1) Fracastor. pag. m. 68. *Carmin.* edit. Genev. 1637.

FONTARABIA, a City of Spain, situated on the river Bidasso, near the Sea, is said to have been built by King Suintilla [A]. Alfonsus IX King of Castile took it from Sanchez King of Navarre (a), and granted to the inhabitants the same privileges, which his father King Sanchez had granted to St. Sebastian. It is pretended that Fontarabia was formerly a City of Guienne, under the Viscounty of Baionne (b). Its being situated beyond the Pyrenean Hills, is some argument in favour of that opinion; besides that in spiritual matters it was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baionne till the year 1571 (c). See in Moreri the taking of that City by the French under the reign of Francis I, the

(a) Oihenhart, *Notitia Vasconiæ*, pag. 168.

(b) Baudrand, *Geograph.* pag. 197.

(c) Idem, ibid.

supply

[A] *It is said to have been built by King Suintilla.*] Beuterus affirms it; but Oihenhart does not believe it. *A Suintilla Rege Gotho conditam fuisse affirmat Beuterus lib. 3. cap. 27. Sed quis credat Beutero sine teste loquenti in re adeo antiqua, & à nostro ævo remota? mihi certe nulla suppetunt argumenta quæ huic oppido tantæ vetustatis decus concilient* (1). i. e. "Beuterus asserts in "his third Book, Chapter the 27th, that this city was built by Suintilla King of the Goths. But "who would believe Beuterus, when he speaks without a voucher, of so antient a fact, and so distant "from our time? For my part I know of no argument proper to secure to that city the glory of so "great an antiquity."

(1) Oihenhart, *Notitia Vasconiæ*, pag. 168.

ſupply of ſoldiers they conveyed into it, and the baſeneſs of the Governor who ſurrendered it to the Spaniards. Moreri ought not to have omitted the diſgrace, which the French met with before that City in the year 1638 two days after Lewis XIVth's birth [*B*], which no doubt was taken for a wonderful omen by the Spaniards [*C*]. Lewis the Juſt and Cardinal de Richelieu were extremely exaſperated againſt thoſe whom they looked upon to be the cauſe of this misfortune [*D*].

Joſeph

[*B*] *The diſgrace which the French met with before that city in the year* 1638, *two days after Lewis XIVth's birth.*] This was one of the greateſt misfortunes, which happened in the reign of Lewis the Juſt, and during the adminiſtration of Cardinal de Richlieu. We muſt hear Balzac upon this (2). *Let us never mention* * * *: *it is the ſhame and diſgrace of the French nation. It is a day which the Romans would have called* Scelerata dies, *and which we ought to ſtile a* curſed day. *Poſterity muſt abhor it, or rather muſt not hear of it; and we ought to eraſe it, if it be poſſible, from the year one thouſand* * * *.

Que ce jour ſoit rayé des choſes avenuës
Jupiter le commande aux trois Filles chenuës
Qui tiennent Regiſtre des Tems.

Let this day be blotted out of the account of things that happened; Jupiter charges the hoary maidens, who keep a regiſter of the times, to do it. There are ſome perſons upon whom fortune has an evil deſign, with whom the faireſt opportunities are ſpoiled and loſt. If you deſign to raiſe a ſiege you have begun, or to loſe a battle, employ thoſe men; and every city be to them an Acrocorinthus, and every enemy an Alexander. It is plain that *thoſe men upon whom fortune has an evil deſign* &c. are a veil under which the Author hides the Prince of Condé (3); it was ſaying gravely and reſpectfully the raillery of the Song, *Il prendra Fontarabie, Zeſt, comme il a pris Dole* (4). i. e. "He ſhall take Fontarabia forſooth, as he has taken Dole"

[*C*] ... *Which no doubt was taken for a wonderful omen by the Spaniards.*] We may be ſure, that their Poets and Orators inſiſted in the moſt pompous manner upon the circumſtance of the time. A moſt remarkable triumph, a compleat victory, gained two days (5) after the birth of a Dauphin, which France had longed for ſo many years: what a happy omen was this for Spain. What may not ſhe expect under the reign of a French Prince, the firſt days of whoſe life have been remarkable by a battle moſt glorious to the Spaniards, and moſt diſgraceful to the French! The firſt expreſs which came to the French Court ſince the Dauphin's birth, was probably he that brought the ſad news of the raiſing the ſiege of Fontarabia. What an Horoſcope! What an happy preſage for the Spaniſh Monarchy! I am perſuaded that one might make a whole Book of the Poetical flights, which dropped at that time from the pens of the Writers of that nation. And yet what is become of all theſe happy omens? They have been like ſo many Sibylline Oracles written on looſe leaves; which the wind has diſperſed and carried away (6). It is proper to make all theſe Poetical Authors, whether they write in proſe or in verſe, ſenſible, that they ought not to meddle with propheſying. The Queen of France was delivered of a Prince at the time when the Court received one expreſs after another with the news of the uninterrupted ſucceſs which Lewis XIV met with in Holland in the year 1672. How many glorious things did not the French Poets foretell on theſe occaſions? What triumphs did they not promiſe the Prince that was born in the midſt of ſo many happy events? And yet he lived but a very little time.

Let us obſerve, that there was a Jeſuit (7), who made uſe of a thought of the Heathens, to anſwer the conſequences drawn from the raiſing of the ſiege of Fontarabia. *The King's kind genius*, ſaid he (8), *was ſo buſy at Saint Germain, that he could not be preſent at Fontarabia.* He meant that this good genius employed all his cares for the birth of the Dauphin. Plutarch has very ſeverely cenſured this thought. *Alexander* ſays he (9), *was born June the 6th, on which very day the Temple of Diana was burnt at Epheſus, as Hegeſius the Magneſian witneſſes, who makes ſuch a cold exclamation upon this, that it was alone ſufficient to extinguiſh the fire which burnt that Temple. We ought not to wonder*, ſays he, *that Diana ſuffered her Temple to be burnt, ſince ſhe had buſineſs enough upon her hands, performing the office of a mid-wife at the birth of Alexander.* Plutarch's taſte differs very much in this place from Tully's, *Concinnè ut multa Timæus, qui cum in hiſtoria dixiſſet qua nocte natus Alexander eſſet eadem Dianæ Epheſiæ templum deflagraviſſe, adjunxit, minimè id eſſe mirandum quod Diana cum in partu Olympiadis adeſſe voluiſſet, abfuiſſet domo* (10). i. e. "Timæus has been witty on this occaſion, as in many other places. For having obſerved in his Hiſtory, that the Temple of Diana of Epheſus was burnt the very night that Alexander was born, he adds, that we ought not to wonder at it, becauſe Diana was not at home, for ſhe would be preſent at Olympius's delivery."

[*D*] *Lewis XIII and Richelieu were extremely exaſperated againſt thoſe, whom they looked upon to be the cauſe of this misfortune*] The Duke de la Valette, the Duke d'Epernon's eldeſt ſon, paſſed for the chief Author of this great loſs. He durſt not go into priſon, until it was examined whether he was guilty or not. But he fled into England. The Council of State declared *him guilty of High-Treaſon, for leaving the King's ſervice baſely and perfidiouſly at the ſiege of Fontarabia, and of Felony for going out of the Kingdom againſt his Majeſty's orders: for all which he was condemned to be beheaded at the place of execution, if he could be apprehended, or in effigy, if he could not be taken, and to loſe all his employments, and to have all his eſtate forfeited* (11). I obſerve that the King declared him not guilty of cowardlineſs. *The queſtion is not*, ſaid he (12), *concerning the Duke de Valette's cowardlineſs or incapacity; for I know that he wants neither courage nor ſkill. But he was reſolved not to take Fontarabia.* Lewis the XIIIth's opinion was not general. See the following paſſage from the *Menagiana* (13). "At the time when Monſieur d'Epernon fled into England, being charged with running away in a battle, Monſieur Peireſc wrote to the great Bignon, and aſked whether a man might be condemned to death for the want of courage. Monſieur Bignon anſwered him that there were no Laws upon which a man could be thus condemned. For the utmoſt the Laws did was to condemn to death the firſt that fled, to make an example of him." Monſieur Menage's memory did not ſerve him well on this occaſion; for Monſieur Peireſc died (14) fifteen months, more or leſs, before the defeat at Fontarabia; and it is certain, that the Duke de la Valette did not retire into England but on occaſion of that defeat. After all, what the King ſaid is more probable; nor would it be the only occaſion, in which the hatred men had for the Cardinal, made this Prince loſe battles. The enemies of that Miniſter left nothing unattempted to ruin him. They wiſhed victories to the Spaniards, and even procured them ſometimes, only with a deſign to ruin the Cardinal, who would not have been able to keep his ground, had it not been for the great ſucceſs, which his Majeſty's arms met with. But here is another misfortune. His creatures did ſometimes loſe battles out of complaiſance for him. It has at leaſt been ſuſpected, that the Marſhal de Grammont ſuffered himſelf to be beaten at Honnecour, in order to procure a great advantage to the Cardinal (15). This Miniſter was retired from Court: and what could be more to his advantage, than the perplexing of the affairs of the Kingdom? Was it not a proper method to make people ſay, that as ſoon as he left the Helm, every thing grew worſe and worſe? Was it not alſo the means to have him reſtored, that he might reform the diſorders which happened during his abſence? Thus the happineſs of a nation, and even the glory of Princes is made a ſacrifice to the intereſt of a Miniſter.

(2) It is a Letter he wrote to Chapelain (the 11th of the 3d book). They have put ſtars in ſome places, in order to miſlead the reader. And I am ſure that it is with the ſame deſign that they have put a wrong date at the bottom of the Letter. They have put May 8, 1638, inſtead of Oct. 8, 1638, becauſe they would not offend a Prince of the blood; I mean the Prince of Condé, who had the command of the army at that ſiege.

(3) The grandfather of him, who bears that name this year 1695.

(4) *See* Richelet's Dictionary, under the word *Zeſt*.

(5) September 7, 1638.

(6) *Foliis tantum ne carmina manda*
Ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis. Virgil. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 74.

(7) Called *Joſſet*. See the *Letter* which Balzac wrote to him. It is the 15th of the 3d book of the 1ſt part of his *Lettres choiſies*.

(8) Balzac mentions this in the ſame *Letter*. See the *Apologie de Coſtar*, pag. 92.

(9) In the Life of Alexander, near the beginning.

(10) Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, lib. 2, cap. 27.

(11) *Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*, printed at Amſterdam 1694, tom. 2. pag. 364, 365.

(12) Ibid. pag. 364.

(13) Pag. 359. of the 1ſt Dutch edition.

(14) June the 24th 1637. See his *Life* by Gaſſendi, pag. m. 347, 349.

(15) When one reads Puyſegur's *Memoirs*, where he gives an account of the battle of Honnecour, pag. m. 234, &c. one can hardly forbear thinking that the Marſhal de Grammont had orders to ſuffer himſelf to be beaten.

Joſeph Moret a Spaniſh Jeſuit wrote in Latin a very full account of this ſiege of Fontarabia. I did not ſee the year of the impreſſion in the copy I made uſe of (*d*); but the dedication being dated from Segovia April the 12th 1654, and the approbation of the Provincial of Jeſuits being dated March the 5th 1655, we may very well infer from thence, that this work was not publiſhed till a long while after the defeat of the French.

(*d*) It is a book of 467 pages in 16°.

FONTE (MODERATA). It is under this name that a Venetian Lady publiſhed her works; her true name was *Modeſta Pozzo* (*a*). She is the Author of a Poem intitled, *Il Floridoro*, and of another Italian Poem on the Paſſion and Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. Beſides theſe Poems and ſome others, ſhe publiſhed a book in proſe *De Meriti delle Donna*, in which ſhe maintains that the female ſex is not inferior to the male. I have extracted this from a book intitled, *Le Coſe notabili & maravigliose della Citta di Venetia, gia riformate & accomodate da Leonico Goldioni, & hora grandemente ampliate da Zuanne Zittio.* i. e. "The remarkable and wonderful things of the City of Venice, "formerly corrected and improved by Leonico Goldioni, and now greatly augmented "by Zuanne Zittio." See pag. 311. of the Venice edition printed in the year 1655. I have been ſurpriſed that they do not ſet down there either the year of this Lady's birth, or that of her death, or any other particulars of her life. But I have found a ſupplement to this in another place [*A*]. See the remark. Moreri has related ſomething of this woman under the word *Puy*.

(*a*) She kept up the ſenſe of that name under the word *Fonte*, which anſwers to that of *Pozzo*, and under that of *Moderata*, which anſwers to that of *Modeſta*. *Fonte* ſignifies a *Spring*, and *Pozzo* a *Well*.

[*A*] *They do not ſet down . . . any particulars of her life in the* Coſe memorabili . . . . di Venetia. *I have found a ſupplement to this in another place.*] Father Hilarion de Coſte tells us, that this Lady (1) was born at Venice in the year 1555, that *ſhe loſt her father and mother the firſt year of her life*; that *in her younger days ſhe was put into the Monaſtery of the Nuns of St. Martha of Venice*; that *ſhe learnt Poetry and the Latin tongue with the utmoſt eaſe*; that *ſhe had ſuch a good memory, that when ſhe heard a Sermon but once, ſhe could repeat it word for word.* That *her Book of* the merit of women was printed *immediately after his death*; that *ſhe was honourably married with* Philip de Georgiis, *and lived twenty years with him in a very great union, after which ſhe died in childbed November the 1ſt* 1592: that *her huſband raiſed a monument to her, on which the following Epitaph is engraved.* "Modeſtæ "à Puteo fœminæ doctiſſimæ, quæ varios virtutis par- "tus Moderatæ Fontis nomine rhytmis Etruſcis (qui- "bus memoranda cecinit) & ſermone continuo felici- "ter enixa, naturæ partum dum ederet, puellæ vitam, "ſibi verò mortem (proh dolor) aſcivit. Philippus "de Georgiis Petri in officio ſuper aquis, pro ſereniſſ. "Do. publici jura defendens, amantiſſimæ conjugi P. "Obiit anno Domini 1592 Kal. Novemb." That *John Nicholas Doglioni wrote the Life of this Lady in Italian in the year* 1593. That *the Reverend Father Peter Paul Ribera has made an Elogium of this learned Heroine, in his* Theatre of Learned Women; and that *N. di Zorzi her daughter wrote a Preface to her works* (12).

(1) He calls her *Modeſta Pozzo di Zorzi.*

(2) Taken from Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 717, &c.

FONTEVRAUD, or rather FRONTEVAUX [*A*], a famous Abbey of the Dioceſs of Poitiers, in the Province of Anjou, was founded by ROBERT D'ARBRISSEL. I had promiſed to ſpeak of this perſon, and I here acquit my ſelf of the engagement. He was born about the year 1047, in the village of Arbriſſel (*a*), ſeven leagues from Rennes. He went to Paris in 1074, and was there made Doctor of Divinity. A Biſhop of Rennes who, though he was very ignorant, had yet a great regard for learned men [*B*], and raiſed them to employments, made him return into Britany about the year 1085, made him Arch-prieſt and Official; and had the pleaſure to ſee him combat the licentious diſorders with which his Dioceſe was over-run; quarrels, ſimony, the concubinage of the Clergy making ſtrange havock there. After having laboured four years at the extirpation of theſe diſorders, Robert ſeeing himſelf expoſed by the death of his Biſhop to the ill will of the Canons, who were no way pleaſed with his reforming ſpirit,

(*a*) It is now *Arbreſſee.*

[*A*] *Or rather* FRONTEVAUX.] This Latin name in the antient characters is *Fons-Ebraldi* (1). According to this origin we ſhould ſay *Fontevraux*, and ſeveral call it ſo: but Menage declares, that we muſt ſay Frontevaux *with the people of Anjou and Poictou.* The letter *r* has been inſerted here, as in the word *fronde* derived from the Latin *funda*, and in the word *fromage* derived from *formaticum.* This letter has been inſerted many years, we finding in Savigni's Chronicle, *pag.* 317; *Anno Domini* 1189 *obiit Henricus Rex Angliæ, octavis Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli, & ſepultus eſt apud Fronteval* (2). i. e. "In the year of our Lord "1189, Henry King of England departed this life, "on the octaves of St. Peter and St. Paul, and was "interred at Fronteval."

[*B*] *A Biſhop of Rennes, who though he was very ignorant, had yet a great regard for learned men.*] His name was Silveſter de la Guerche, and he had carried arms againſt Conan Duke of Britany (3). Here follows what is related of him in the Hiſtory of Robert d'Arbriſſel. *Licet non litteratus litteratos tamen inhianter complexabatur . . . convocabat igitur aliunde ſi quos poterat litteratos, quod hominum genus Britannia tunc habebat rariſſimum* (4). i. e. "Though he himſelf was "no ſcholar, he yet had a very great affection for "men of learning . . . . he therefore drew together "from other parts, all the learned he could, there "being few of this character at that time in Britany." On the advantageous things that were told him of this Robert, he prevailed with him to come into his dioceſe, and made this ingenuous confeſſion to him. *Evectione præparata, venerandus Pontifex dirigit Pariſius, & accerſitum taliter alloquitur. Vides, inquit, Frater chariſſime, quomodo ſancta Redonenſis Eccleſia mater tua ſine regimine vacillat, hoc præſertim tempore cum me pene Laïcum ei contigerit præeſſe. Eſto igitur, quæſo, in reſponſis Eccleſiaſticis noſter interpres, audiam te, & loqueris in me. Poteris procul dubio Dei populo prodeſſe, ſi zelum Dei habens, volueris nobiſcum aliquantulum militare.* i. e. "The venerable Prelate having "ſent for him, ſpoke to him as follows. My dear "brother, you ſee in what manner the Holy Church "of Rennes, your mother, totters for want of order "and government; and particularly at this time "when I, who am almoſt a layman, preſide over it. "I therefore beſeech you to be my interpreter in "Eccleſiaſtical matters. I will attend to your di- "rections, and you ſhall ſpeak through me. You "doubtleſs may be of advantage to God's people, if, "being fired with a zeal for his ſervice, you will en- "gage with us for ſome time in the Religious war- "fare."

(1) In St. Bernard's 200th Epiſtle, this place is called *Fons Eberandi.* Menage, *Orig. de la langue Françoiſe*, pag. 336. edit. of 1694.

(2) Cited by Menage, ibid. See alſo his *Hiſtoire de Sablé*, pag. 89, 90.

(3) Father de la Mainferme, *in Clypeo naſcentis Fontebraldenſis Ordinis*, tom. 2. pag. 47.

(4) Albricus, *in Vita Roberti Arbriſſ.* cap. 2. num. 8. *apud* Jean. de la Mainferme, ibid. pag. 48.

(b) Baldricus, *in Vita Rob. Arbriſſ.* cap. 1. num. 10. *apud* Joan. de la Mainferme, *in Clypeo naſcentis Fontebraldenſis Ordinis*, tom. 1. pag. 137.

ſpirit (*b*), changed his views. He went and taught Divinity in Angers; but contracted ſo great a diſtaſte for the world, at the ſight of the great depravity of manners which reigned in it, that he withdrew into a deſart (*c*). The auſtere life he there led made a great noiſe, inſomuch that many perſons went to him, as though he had been a great ſaint. He detained ſome of theſe, and began to found a kind of College of Canons regular, about the year 1094. Urban II being in France two years after, heard ſo many things ſaid to his advantage; and being deſirous of hearing him preach, ſent for him, and made him preach a Sermon at the dedication of a Church (*d*). He was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he appointed him Apoſtolical Preacher. The Baron of Craon was ſo greatly moved at this Sermon, that founding an Abbey the very day after, he gave it to Robert (*e*). The new Abbot acquitted himſelf of his duty as ſuch till the year 1098; when reflecting that the character with which he was inveſted of Apoſtolical Preacher would not allow him to be always confined in one place with his Canons regular, he therefore quitted his Abbey, and travelled up and down the countries, in order to diſplay his talent as a Preacher. Having done this two years (being ever followed by a great number of men and women) he reſolved to reſt and pitch his tent in the foreſt of Frontevaux. There he was not in want of any thing, the people in the adjacent places ſending him, eagerly, all ſorts of proviſions and other things neceſſary to ſubſiſt the devout people who were with him; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to beſtow alms, he having not only enough, but to ſpare. I muſt not omit that there were two other celebrated Preachers at the ſame time, who agreed to divide the two ſexes with him, and to ſuperintend the men, leaving the women under his care [*C*]. As ſoon as he had ſettled good laws in his monaſtry of Frontevaux, he reſumed his employment of itinerant Preacher, and travelled over ſeveral Provinces of France, particularly Britany and Normandy. Being in Roan he performed one of the greateſt exploits that it was poſſible for a man in his way of life to do; for, by a ſingle exhortation, he converted all the courtezans in a certain brothel [*D*], which he entred, in order to preach the word of God. He

(c) *Corruptiſſimi ſeculi faſtidioſus Robertus in Credonenſe deſertum abſcondit ſe.* Joan. de la Mainferme, *in Clypeo naſcentis Fontebraldenſis Ordinis*, tom. 2. pag. 498.

(d) That of St. Nicholas in Angers.

(e) *Mirabili ejus facundia captus illius regionis princeps Baro Credonenſis Abbatiam beatiſſimæ Virgini conſtruxit, cui de Rotâ cognominatæ Robertum præfecit Abbatem.* Jo. de la Mainferme, *Clypei*, tom. 1. pag. 28.

[*C*] *Two other celebrated Preachers . . . agreed . . . to ſuperintend the men, leaving the women under his care.*] There is an extraordinary partition, and cannot be compared to that of circumciſion and uncircumciſion, I mean that made by St. Peter and St. Paul, when it was ſaid that St. Peter ſhould apply himſelf to the converſion of the Jews, and St. Paul to the converſion of the Gentiles (5). The three Preachers ſpoken of here are, Robert d'Arbriſſel, Bernard of Tiron, and Vitalis of Moriton. Here follows a paſſage from an antient Hiſtorian. *In transmarinis partibus, ſicut à majoribus accepi, tres memorabiles viri uno tempore fuere: ſcilicet Robertus cognominatus de Arbruſculo, Bernardus, & Vitalis. Hi non ignobiliter eruditi, & ſpiritu ferventes, circuibant per caſtella & vicos, ſeminanteſque ſecundum Iſaiam ſuper omnes aquas, de converſione multorum fructus colligebant, pio inter ſe placito conſtituto: quòd Robertus quidem fœminarum communi labore ad meliora converſarum ſollicitudinem gereret; Bernardus vero & Vitalis maribus propenſius providerent. Robertus igitur famoſiſſimum illud Monaſterium fœminarum de Fonte-Evraldi conſtruxit, & regularibus diſciplinis informavit. Bernardus verò apud Tirocinum, & Vitalis apud Saviniacum Monachis regulariter inſtitutis, ſuos quiſque ab aliis per quaſdam præceptorum proprietates diſtinxit* (6). i. e. " I have been informed by our old men, that three " famous perſons flouriſhed beyond ſea, at one and the " ſame time, viz. Robert ſurnamed d'Arbriſſel, Bernard and Vitalis. Theſe being men of great erudition, and glowing with zeal, travelled up and down " the countries, ſowing, according to Iſaiah, upon all " waters; and, by making a great number of converts, gathered much fruit, having made the following pious agreement among themſelves, viz. " that Robert ſhould take upon himſelf the converſion of the women, whilſt Bernard and Vitalis " ſhould ſuperintend that of the men. Upon this, " Robert built the moſt famous monaſtery of Fontevraux in which he inſtituted a regular diſcipline. " As for Bernard and Vitalis, they founded ſeverally a " regular order of Friars; the former at Tiron, and " the latter at Savigny, each diſtinguiſhing his order " from others by ſome peculiarities in their rules " or precepts." It was to no purpoſe that our Robert was told, the great danger to which he would expoſe himſelf, by the zeal he ſhewed for the direction of the fair ſex. He rejected theſe counſels as ſo many ſnares of Satan, and fortified himſelf by the example of St. Jerom. *Deſpexit ergo tentatorem, irriſit ejus fallaciam, nec fœminarum abjecit moderationem . . . . . divum Hieronymum imitatus, cui inſulſi obloquebantur Ariſtarchi, quòd ſcriberet ad mulieres, eaſque viris anteponeret: quorum cavillationes venuſtiſſimâ & copioſiſſimâ retundit devoti ſexûs celebratione ſacris ex litteris deductâ* (7). i. e. " He therefore deſpiſed the tempter, " laughed at his wiles, and did not lay aſide the direction of the female ſex . . . imitating on that occaſion St. Jerom, who was reviled by certain ſilly " ſlanderers, becauſe he wrote to women, and preferred them to men; but he overthrew their cavils, " by a moſt beautiful and copious elogium on the fair " ſex, taken from the ſacred writings."

(5) See the *Epiſtle to the Galatians*, cap. 2. ver. 798.

(6) Guillelmus Neuburgenſis, lib. 1. *de Rebus Anglicis*, cap. 15. *apud* Joan. *de la Mainferme*, tom. 1. pag. 117.

(7) Joan. de la Mainferme, *Clypei*, tom. 1. pag. 118.

[*D*] *By a ſingle exhortation, he converted all the Courtezans in a certain Brothel.*] He is ſaid to have had a very peculiar talent for this; and it was neceſſary for him, ſince the direction of females was fallen to his ſhare, that he ſhould ſearch chiefly after ſcabby ſheep. He uſed to go bare-footed thro' the ſtreets and ſquares, in order to exhort looſe women to repentance, and he uſed to go even into brothels, to exhort them to refrain from their wicked courſes. One day he went into one of thoſe ill houſes at Roan, and ſat down by the fire to warm his feet. Preſently he was ſurrounded with women, who were perſuaded that he was come merely for laſcivious pleaſures; but he ſpake to them of quite different matters, he preaching to them the words of life, and the mercy of the Son of God. The chief of theſe Courtezans, ſurprized at what ſhe heard, told him, that during the twenty five years ſhe had frequented that houſe, ſhe had not ſeen any perſon enter into it who ſpake of God, or made them entertain the leaſt hopes of the divine favour; but that, could ſhe depend on what he ſaid, ſhe would not fail to change her courſe of life; and upon his again promiſing her mercy, ſhe and her iniquitous ſiſters fell proſtrate at Robert's feet, and promiſed to repent of their wicked courſes. He laid hold of this propitious opportunity, and taking them out of the city, conducted them all into his deſert, where having fulfilled their penitence, he led them happily to Chriſt (8). *In vita beati Roberti de Arbriſſello legitur, quod Ordinem Sanctimonialium Fontis-Ebraldi inſtituit; & quod nudipes per plateas & vicos ire conſueverat, ut fornicarias ac peccatrices ad medicamentum pœnitentiæ poſſet adducere. Quadam ergo die, cum veniſſet Rotomagum, Lupanar eſt ingreſſus, ſedenſque ad focum pedes calefacturus, à meretricibus circumdatur, æſtimantes eum causâ fornicandi eſſe ingreſſum. Sed prædicante eo verba vitæ, ac miſericordiam Chriſti eis promittente, una ex meretricibus, quæ cæteris præerat, dixit ei: quis es tui qui talia loqueris? Scias pro certo, quia per viginti quinque annos, quibus hanc domum ad perpetranda ſcelera ſum*

(8) Statim eas de civitate eduxit, & ad eremum cum eis gaudens perrexit, ibique peracta pœnitentia Chriſto feliciter tranſmiſit. Idem, ibid. pag. 133, *ex Codice manuſcripto (anno 1210) Abbatiæ de Vallibus Cernai*, (the Abbey des Vaux de Cernai) *Ordinis Ciſtercienſis Diœceſis Pariſienſis.*

He assisted, in 1104, at the Council of Beaugenci, and had a seat there among the Prelates. In the years 1107 and 1108 he travelled over Anjou, Poitou and Touraine, to perform his duty of Apostolical Preacher. His travels had at least this good effect, that it spread the Order of Frontevaux in these Provinces [*E*], and found great advantage by the exhortations of Pope Paschal II. The Bishop of Poitiers being at Rome in 1106, to intreat his Holiness to confirm this Order, he obtained a bull from Paschal II, by which this Pontiff declared, that he would take it more particularly under his care; take it immediately under the jurisdiction of the Holy See; at the same time exhorted all good Christians to promote this new institution; and by a fresh bull in 1113, confirmed its several privileges. The order was greatly increased by this time; for the founder, travelling into other Provinces of France, and preaching in them, settled converts in them (*f*). He prevailed with Queen Bertrade to assume the habit of the Order [*F*]; but she did not wear it long, the austerities of this Order soon putting an end to her life [*G*]. He found himself decaying in 1115, when, by the advice of several Prelates, Abbots, and Monks,

(*f*) See the remark [*F*].

sum ingressa, nunquam aliquis huc advenit, qui de Deo loqueretur, vel de ejus misericordia præsumere nos faceret; tamen si scirem vera esse &c (9). It has been observed in the history of the works of the learned (10), "that several other loose women having also been converted, Robert was obliged to build a particular "cloister for them, which he dedicated to St. Mary "Magdalen; and confined in another, dedicated to "the Blessed Virgin, such women as were of good "repute." This shews the peculiar talent which Robert had for winning over this sort of creatures (11), and his attachment to the ancient discipline; some Fathers having thought, that those Nuns who had violated their chastity ought to live sequestred from those who had not been so unfortunate (12).

(9) Idem, *ex eodem Codice.*

(10) *Histoires des Ouvrages des Savans*, for August 1690, pag. 527. in the Extract of vol. 2. of the *Clypeus.*

(11) *Quæ quidem omnia liquido ostendunt Robertum ardenti zelo æstuasse, dono speciali præditum fuisse ad convertendas mulieres impuras, meretrices; & publicæ libidinis victimas imo de facto plurimas convertisse.* Jo. de la Mainferme, *Clyp.* tom. 1. pag. 133.

(12) See the 85th *Letter of Pope Leo I.* cap. 2 & 5.

[*E*] *The Order of Frontevaux . . . spread . . . in these Provinces.*] During his travels into Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine, anno 1107 and 1108, he founded the Monasteries of *Chamfournois*, *Lapuie*, *des Loges*, *Pelai*, *Gaine* and *Gironde*. In 1110 he travelled over Berri and Britany, and founded the Monastery of Orsan in the Diocese of Bourges. In 1112 he founded three in the Dioceses of Orleans and Poitiers, those of *Landé-en-Beauchene*, *Turon* and *la Madelaine d'Orleans*. In 1114 he preached in le Limousin, l'Angoumois, le Perigort, and in the Diocese of Toulouse; and founded four Monasteries, those of *Bourbon*, *la Gasconiere*, *Cadouïn* and *l'Epinasse*. It was at this time, that having travelled thro' Languedoc and Guienne, he went into Auvergne, where he had religious conferences with the blessed Raingarda, mother to Peter the Venerable (13).

(13) Extracted from the *Clypeus nascentis* of Father de la Mainferme, tom. 2. pag. 500, 501.

[*F*] *He prevailed with Queen Bertrade to assume the habit of the Order.*] This BERTRADE was daughter to Simon de Montfort, and sister to Amauri de Montfort, Count d'Evreux, and to William de Montfort Bishop of Paris. She was educated in Normandy at her aunt's, the Countess of Evreux, and it was there that Fulk Rechin, Count of Anjou, saw, and fell in love with her. He married her in 1089, and 1092 or 1093 she left him, to marry Philip I King of France, with whom she had had *a private conference, on the eve of Whitsunday in the church of St.* John de Tours, whilst the Canons of St. Martin were blessing the fonts of the church. She went to Orleans where the King received her (14), after which he married her in Paris. The Pope excommunicated him, by his Legate, anno 1094 in the Council of Autun, and himself excommunicated him the year following in the Council of Clermont. Philip put away Bertrade in 1096, and took her again in 1100. He was again excommunicated, but both of them obtained absolution in 1105, having *sworn on the holy Evangelists, not to cohabit together any longer in a carnal way; and never to see or speak to one another, but in presence of unsuspected persons* (15). The Cartulary or Register of St. Nicholas of Angers informs us, *that in* 1106, *the 6th of the Ides of October, Philip was at Angers with Bertrade, and was received there by Rechin with great magnificence. It was doubtless at this time that Bertrade reconciled her two husbands, and gave them a grand entertainment, at which she waited upon them at table as Orderic has written,* who adds, *that Bertrade continued with Philip till he died* (16). The Pope, in all probability, approved their marriage; for their two sons *were declared capable of succeeding to the Crown, as Sugen informs us in the Life of Lewis le Gros. Bertrade had a dowry upon the demesnes of the Crown, . . . and this dowry was the lands of Hautebruire, in the neighbourhood of Montfort, and in the Diocese of Chartres, which is the place where she founded a Priory, having taken the veil at Frontevaux, before R. d'Arbrissel; and having retired thither, she led an exemplary life till her death.* She had lived in Anjou since the death of King *Philip, which happened in* 1108. Menage, from whom I borrow all these particulars (17), has cleared up a prodigious number of mistakes, which he found in Historians with respect to this Bertrade. He does not inform us whether she lived long after she had assumed the religious habit; but William of Malmsbury informs us, that she died soon after. *Philippus*, says he (18), *in extremo vitæ, tactus morbo monachicum apud Floriacum accepit habitum* (19). *Pulchrius & fortunatius illa* (Bertrada), *quod ætate & sanitate integra, nec specie rugata apud Fontem Evraldi Sanctimonialium appetiit velum. Nec multò post præsenti vitæ valefecit. Deo forsitan providente, non posse delicatæ mulieris corpus Religionis laboribus inservire.* i. e. "Philip, *says he*, being afflicted "with sickness and near his end, assumed a religious "habit at Fleury. Bertrade took the veil, at Fonte-"vraud, more happily and with better grace, because "she did it when flushed with health, in the flower of "life and pride of beauty. She died not long after. "Heaven perhaps ordering it in such a manner, that "a woman of so delicate a texture could not undergo "the austerities of a monastic life." The conversion of this lascivious Queen gained Robert very great honour. This woman was so artful, that she manag'd the King as she pleased; and her first husband was often seen at her feet, making a thousand submissions after she had left him; a meanness equal, at least, to the abject behaviour of Menelaus. *Amore ejus ita captus est* (Philippus), *ut illa sibi in omnibus imperaret, cum ipse omnibus imperare cuperet* (20). *Bertrada virago faceta, & eruditissima illius admirandi mulieris artificii, quo consueverunt audaces suis etiam lacessitos injuriis maritos suppeditare, Andegavensem priorem maritum, licet thoro omnino repudiatum, ita mollificaverat, ut eam tanquam Dominam veneraretur, & scabello pedum ejus sæpius residens, ac si præstigio fieret, voluntati ejus omnino obsequeretur* (21). i. e. "Philip was so strongly smitten "with her charms, that she had an absolute ascen-"dant over him, tho' he was desirous of commanding "over all others. Bertrade was a stout facetious wo-"man; and so wonderfully well versed in this spe-"cies of female cunning, by which bold wives are "accustomed to trample upon their husbands after "they have injured them, that she so far mollified "the Earl of Anjou her first husband, tho' she had "entirely left his bed, that he yet revered her as his "Sovereign; and sitting frequently on her footstool, "as tho' this had been done by the power of magic, "he paid the utmost submission to her will." It is thought that she took the veil at Frontevaux, Anno 1115.

(14) *Rex libidinosus Philippus Turonis venit, & eum uxore Fulconis locutus eam fieri Reginam constituit. Pessima illa, Consule dimisso, nocte sequenti Regem sequitur, qui Mindraïco prope pontem Bevronis milites dimiserat, qui eam Aurelianis duxerunt.* Menage, *Hist. de Sablé*, lib. 3. cap. 16. pag. 85, 86. *ex Gestis Consulum Andegavensium.*

(15) Idem, pag. 89

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid.

(18) *Lib. 5. de Gestis Regum Anglorum, apud* La Mainferme, *Clyp.* tom. 2. pag. 137.

(19) Father de la Mainferme, ibid. pag. 138, 139. shews that this is false.

(20) Vincentius Bellovacus, *Specul.* lib. 26. cap. 88. *apud* la Mainferme, *Clyp.* tom. 2. pag. 141.

(21) Sugerius, *in Vita Ludovici Grossi*, cap. 17. *apud eundem*, ibid.

[*G*] *The austerity of this Order soon put an end to her life.*] We have seen (22) that William of Malmsbury conjectures, that the Providence of God ordered it perhaps in such a manner, that the delicate body of this Queen was incapable of submitting to the toils of a monastic life. It was perhaps better that she sunk under them at once; for had they only emaciated her body, possibly too tedious and languishing a state might have given her an aversion to a monastic life, and made her

(22) Above, at the end of the Citation (18).

(g) *Abbatiſſam toti ſuo Ordini Petronillam de Camilliaco præpoſuit. Clyp. Naſcent. Ord. Fontebraldenſis*, tom. 2. pag. 502.

Monks, whom he aſſembled, he appointed a woman General of the Order (*g*), a circumſtance that has been very much cenſured [*H*]. The year after he recovered his ſtrength, upon which he travelled through the Dioceſe of Chartres, diſcharging his uſual duties of Preacher. He put an end to a diſpute which many perſons had attempted, but in vain, to terminate, between Ives Biſhop of Chartres, and Bernard Abbot of Bonneval. He was no leſs fortunate in appeaſing the quarrel which broke out between the Count de Chartres, and the Canons, with regard to the election of a Biſhop after the death of Ives. He fell ſick as he was preaching in the Dioceſe of Bourges, anno 1117, and made himſelf be conveyed to the monaſtery of Orſan, where he died ſome days after. The Archbiſhop of Bourges, followed by his Clergy, together with a great number of Gentlemen and others, attended the corps as far as the monaſtry of Frontevaux, where he ſolemnized the funeral the twelfth day after the deceaſe of Robert d'Arbriſſel. The Count of Anjou, the Archbiſhop of Tours, the Biſhop of Angers, ſeveral Abbots, a numberleſs multitude of Clergymen, and common people, had gone to meet this funeral proceſſion before it came out of the Dioceſe of Tours (*h*). Father Mainferme (*i*), a Monk of Frontevaux, has publiſhed three apologetical volumes, and therein has employed his utmoſt endeavours to vindicate his Patriarch, whom ſome have accuſed of lying with his Nuns [*I*], not indeed with a deſign of enjoying them, but only that he might

(*b*) Extracted from tom. 2. of *Clypeus naſcentis Fontebraldenſis Ordinis*, at the end of it, where we meet with *a chronological Abridgment of the Life of Robert d'Arbriſſel*, with the references to the ſeveral places where every circumſtance is more amply related.

(*i*) The firſt vol. of his *Clypeus* was printed in 1684, the 2d in 1688, and the 3d in 1692.

her regret the voluptuous pleaſures ſhe had forſaken. However this be, here follows the proof of what I advanced in the text. *Anno* 1115 *aut circiter Bertradam Reginam ad inſtitutum Font-Ebraldenſe tandem pellectam Robertus in Monaſterio* Alta-Brueria *dicto collocavit. Victu cultuque in primis aſpero atque horrido utens, vita ſtatim privata eſt* (23). It was then that the maxim was verified, *nullum violentum durabile*, i. e. "nothing that "is violent is laſting."

(23) La Mainferme, tom. 2. pag. 502.

[*H*] *A circumſtance that has been very much cenſured.*] Nothing is more odd and ſingular in a monaſtic world (24), than to ſee an entire great Order, compoſed of Friars and Nuns, recognize a woman for their Head and their General: but this done by the Monks and Nuns of the Order of Frontevaux, in compliance with their rule; Robert d'Arbriſſel their founder enjoining this. He enacted a Law diametrically oppoſite to the Salic Law; not ſatisfied with permitting women to govern it occaſionally, he commanded that one woman ſhould always ſucceed another woman, as Head and General of the Order. Father Mainferme has employed the third volume of his work, to juſtify the founder's conduct on this occaſion. He anſwers all the objections that are uſually raiſed; and lays great ſtreſs on the Bleſſed Virgin's having commanded God himſelf, for it is ſaid in Scripture, that Chriſt was ſubject to his Mother. Now if God, the neceſſary or eternal Being, and Creator of all things, did not ſcruple to obey a woman, ſhall men, (poor abject creatures) dare to ſcruple it? If ever the Church of Rome did wilfully, what it is pretended it did unknowingly under the reign of Pope Joan, this Church would find its apology ready drawn up in Father de la Mainferme's Book; and I cannot ſee why any difficulty ſhould be made of chuſing a female Pope, in caſe the Apology for Frontevaux ſhould be look'd upon as juſt and valid. Add to this, that according to the hypotheſis of moſt of the Devotees of the Romiſh Communion, God has beſtowed the Empire of the World upon the bleſſed Virgin. Nothing is more common in the Books of thoſe Gentlemen, where the Virgin is ſpoke of, than the titles *Queen of Heaven*, *Queen of the Angels*; and it is even the ſtyle and language of the public worſhip, I mean of the Church Hymns. A Monk of Frontevaux employed this reaſon, and Father de la Mainferme relates this without cenſuring it in any manner (25). "It happened one day that a certain Friar who ſhall be "nameleſs, who could hardly digeſt that part of our "inſtitution, ſaid to me, ſpeaking of this matter, *our* "*Kingdom is under female government:* in which "he really ſpoke better than he thought to do, and "did us much honour contrary to his intention. For "it really is *under female government*, as the whole "kingdom of the univerſe, of heaven and earth is "under *female government*, inaſmuch as it is governed "by the ſupreme power and authority of her, who, "like a ſtrong woman, *manum ſuam miſit ad fortia*; "*& digiti ejus apprehenderunt fuſum.* Prov. xxxi. "v. 19. That is, "She layeth her hand to the ſpin"dle, &c."

(24) See in the remark [*P*] Citation (‡). Charles du Moulin's words.

(25) Tom. 3. pag. 21. He cites father E. Martin, author of a book entitled, *Le Sejour du Verbe incarné dans les entrailles immaculées de la Vierge.*

[*I*] *Some have accuſed him of lying with his Nuns.*] This charge is founded on a Letter written by Geoffry, Abbot of Vendome. The Letters of this Abbot were publiſhed by Father Sirmond in 1610, from a manuſcript in the Abbey of Couture. One of theſe Letters were writ to our Robert, to inform him of an ugly report that was ſpread concerning his conduct, and the inconveniencies which might ariſe from it. Here follows that Letter (26): *Fœminarum quaſdam, ut dicitur, nimis familiariter tecum habitare permittis, & cum ipſis etiam, & inter ipſas, noctu frequenter cubare non erubeſcis. Hoc ſi modò agis, vel aliquando egiſti, novum & inauditum ſed infructuoſum martyrii genus inveniſti. . . Mulierum quibuſdam, ſicut fama ſparſit, & nos ante diximus, ſæpe privatim loqueris, & earum accubitu novo martyrii genere cruciaris.* i. e. "It is re"ported that you permit ſome of the women to live "in too familiar a way with you; and that you do "not bluſh to lie frequently with, and among them, "in the night. If you now do, or have ever done "this, you have found out a new, unheard of, but "fruitleſs kind of martyrdom. . . . It is ſaid, as I be"fore obſerved, that you often diſcourſe in private "with ſome of the women; and, by lying with them, "inflict a new kind of martyrdom upon your ſelf." There is another Letter that is aſcribed to Marbodus Biſhop of Rennes, which contains the ſame informations (27): *Mulierum cohabitationem diceris plus amare. Has ergo non ſolum communi menſa per diem, ſed & communi accubitu per noctem dignaris, ut referunt.* i. e. "It is ſaid that you are very fond of cohabiting with "women, and that you not only let them eat with "you by day, but permit them to ſhare the bed with "you at night." Robert is blamed, for making young girls take the veil too inconſiderately, and the ill ſucceſs of this is repreſented to him. Some at the expiration of nine months, had broke from their Convents, to go and lie in elſewhere, and others had been delivered in the midſt of their cells. *Taceo de juvenculis, quas ſine examine Religionem profeſſas mutata veſte per diverſas cellulas protinus incluſiſti. Hujus igitur facti temeritatem miſerabilis exitus probat. Aliæ enim, urgente partu, fractis ergaſtulis elapſæ ſunt, aliæ in ipſis ergaſtulis pepererunt* (28). Obſerve, in the firſt place, that in the Letter aſcribed to Geoffry of Vendome, Robert d'Arbriſſel is accuſed of ſhewing a reſpect to perſons. You are always, ſays the Letter-writer, in a good humour with ſome women; are ſo ready, active and nimble, that you ſhew your civility to them by every method you can think of; whereas to other women, if at any time you deign to ſpeak to them, it is only to ſpeak harſh things; you behave like a rigid Cenſor towards them, and leave them expoſed to hunger, thirſt and cold. *Illis ſiquidem te ſemper ſermone jucundum oſtendis, & alacrem actione, omneque genus humanitatis exhibes, nulla ſervata parcitate.* Et iterum. *Aliis vero, ſi quando cum ipſis loqueris, ſemper locutione nimis durus appares, nimis diſtrictus correctione: illas etiam fame, & ſiti ac nuditate crucias omni relicta pietate* (29). This is inſinuating what is aſſerted by Theophilus Raynaud (30), viz. that Robert always made choice of the moſt beautiful women, whenever he would expoſe himſelf to temptation by lying with them. Obſerve in the ſecond place, that Father de la Mainferme does not

(26) See the *Clypeus naſcentis Ord. Fontebraldenſis*, tom. 1. Diſſertat. 1. pag. 38.

(27) Ibid. pag. 41.

(28) Ibid. pag. 69.

(29) Ibid. pag. 66.

(30) See above, the remark [*L*] citation (42).

might have the greater temptations to ſtruggle with. This ſcene has been diſplayed in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* [K]. We cannot wonder to find the Monk in queſtion ſo very zealous againſt thoſe who ſtarted this accuſation [L]. It is certainly a very

(31) See alſo in the remark [P] citation (†).

(32) Remark [P].

cite the whole paſſage of Marbodus's pretended Letter. I have ſeen it much longer in Menage (31); and find that Robert is there put in mind, that he had formerly loved to dally with the fair ſex. I alſo met with another reproach there which I ſhall mention below.

[K] . . . *This Scene has been diſplayed in the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres.] See Article II for April 1686, I mean the extract of Vol. I. of the *Clypeus naſcentis Fontebraldenſis Ordinis*. The Author of the Extract has compared to Tantalus, that man who ſhould make choice of ſuch a ſpecies of mortification as that imputed to our Robert: yet as there is no compariſon but what is lame, that of Tantalus, in ſome reſpects, would not ſuit with our ſpiritual Director. He would bear hunger and thirſt in the midſt of remedies, but it is not certain that ſuch a remedy would draw back, in proportion as one ſhould advance towards it. The compariſon of thoſe curious naturaliſts, who ſtudy ſo intenſely the cauſes of phænomena, would be juſt only in certain reſpects. By their meditations and reſearches they only juſt glance at nature; the ſecret they hunt after is in a veſſel the brims of which, only, they are capable of touching; in vain they turn about, and go backwards and forwards, they meet for ever with the circumference of the circle, but never get to the center. This is the emblem of Robert, with this difference, that he was not, like thoſe Naturaliſts, deſirous of diving to the bottom of the myſtery (33). I am far from affirming what is related of him, for the reaſons of his apologiſt appear to me very ſtrong; but one cannot imagine how many heretics there have been, who, at the ſame time that they profeſſedly prohibited marriage and the full enjoyment of the ſex, would yet go to bed to women, claſp them in their arms, and not omit any of the amorous preludes. See the proſecutions of the Inquiſitions of Toulouſe (34), printed at Amſterdam in 1692, part of which I ſhall cite in the Article GUILLEMETE. See alſo what the Biſhop of Meaux relates concerning St. Bernard againſt the Henricians, in paragraph LXIX Book XI of the *Hiſtoire des Variations*. This is one of the good tokens by which we may know, that the ſoul of man is ſuſceptible of illuſions and chimæras of every kind. The greateſt danger to which thoſe who have made a vow of continence can be expoſed, is, to meditate on the objects they have renounced, and to ſee them in certain lights: witneſs the hermit who ſaw Brandimart in the arms of his dear Fleurdelis (35).

(33) Ἡ Σήμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν. Πώποτε τῆς ἐυνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἠδὲ μιγῆναι.

(34) Pag. 382, & ſeq.

(35) *See* Marigni's Letters.

Hor ſtando inginocchiato in oratione,
Vide far' à color quel gioco ſtrano:
E vennegli ſi fatta tentatione,
Ch'il Breviario gli cade di mano.

That is,

" Whilſt, on his knees, the hermit is at prayer,
" He ſees 'em dallying in the looſeſt manner,
" Which raiſes ſuch a tranſport in his boſom,
" That down his Breviary drops at once.

(36) Apply here the two following verſes, *Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico Tangit, & admiſſus circum præcordia ludit.* Perſ. Sat. 2. ver. 316. i. e. " To touch the " foul the way fly " Horace found, " And pleas'd " the patient " while he " prob'd his " wound."

What would have become of him in a preludium? *Admiſſus circum præcordia ludens* (36)? Would he have had ſo much ſtrength of mind as Adhelme? Not to be too prolix, I will mention this Saint in the Remark [C] of the Article FRANCIS of ASSISI.

[L] *We cannot wonder to find the Monk in queſtion, ſo very zealous againſt thoſe who ſtarted this accuſation.*] He has recourſe to ſeveral methods; he denies the genuineneſs of the two Letters; he aſſerts that Geoffry of Vendome was not the Author of thoſe which are publiſhed under his name; and is very much ſurprized, that Sirmond the Jeſuit ſhould have publiſhed it as genuine, and ſhould put in the Index, *mira Roberti ſimplicitas, & confidentia*. He diſputes againſt Father Alexander for aſſerting, that this Letter was really written by Geoffry de Vendome; and takes advantage of the confeſſion which this Dominican made, viz. that the Letter aſcribed to Marbodius is ſuppoſititious (37). He pretends (38) that Roſcelin the heretic, condemned as a Tritheiſt in a Council, is the Author of the Letter which Sirmond has publiſhed among thoſe of Geoffry de Vendome. This is the ſentiment of Cardinal Bona, and of the Jeſuits Bollandus and Henſchenius, as he does not omit obſerving (39). He adds, that Father Sirmond, having duly weighed all matters, had gone over to the ſame opinion (40). He cites Theophilus Raynaud who came over to the ſame ſentiment (41). He cenſures Father Alexander for denying that Sirmond had retracted, and intended to ſuppreſs that Letter in a new Edition. He declares that this Jeſuit had acted very injuriouſly to the memory of the bleſſed Robert d'Arbriſſel, and cites a paſſage of Father Theophilus Raynaud (42), which is founded only on the Letter publiſhed by Father Sirmond. Here follow the words cited by him. *Feciſſe hoc Robertum de Arbruſcellis legitur cum omni deteſtatione apud Goffridum Vindocinenſem; nec ſane poteſt ulla par eſſe deteſtatio inconſultiſſimi facti quo dicitur* (43) *cum ſpecioſiſſima quaque ſacrarum Virginum, cum nuda nudus in eodem lecto cubuiſſe, ut nequicquam frendentem & adhinnientem appetitum in tam illecebroſi objecti præſentia novo martyrii genere afficeret.* i. e. " It is with the utmoſt deteſtation " we read, in Geoffry de Vendome, that Robert d'Arbriſſel did this: Nor can any deteſtation be equal " to that of this moſt ſenſeleſs aſſertion, viz. for a man " to lie naked with the moſt beautiful of all the Nuns " naked alſo, merely to martyr, after a new way, " the raging and luſtful appetite, by the preſence of " ſo alluring an object." He ſhews, that we cannot point out the time in which Geoffry de Vendome could have writ ſuch a Letter; and urges a great many reaſons, to ſhew, that this Abbot never thought that Robert deſerved ſuch a reproof. He aſſerts that the other was not written either by Marbodus Biſhop of Rennes, nor by Hildebert Biſhop of Mans (44) and afterwards Archbiſhop of Tours; but that it was forged either by Roſcelin, or by ſome other wicked Eccleſiaſtic (45). I forgot to mention, that he cites (46) a certificate importing, that the manuſcript of the works of Geoffry de Vendome, which is preſerved as an original, in the Monaſtry of the holy Trinity at Vendome, does not contain the Letter in queſtion (47). The Prior of this Monaſtry gave this Certificate the 3d of February 1652. To conclude, Father Mainferme exhibits a very great number of proofs, extracted from the elogiums and favours which Robert received from the moſt eminent perſons of that age both Clergy and Laity, and clears him from all the other aſperſions which might be caſt upon him. I ſhall take notice of that only which bears the greateſt relation to the crime of which we are here ſpeaking.

(37) *See* Section 8. of Diſſertation 1.

(38) Tom. 1. Diſſert. 1. pag. 4, 5.

(39) Ibid. pag. 14.

(40) Bollandus aſſerts this upon a hearſay, ibid. pag. 15.

(41) *In Triade ſortium David.* pag. 46.

(42) Extracted from pag. 132. of his treatiſe *de ſobria alterius ſexus frequentatione.*

(43) Father de la Mainferme puts here the following note, *Falſo ſcribit Theophilus id legi apud Gotfridum* Epiſt. 47. lib. 4. See with regard to this falſe citation of Theoph. Raynaud, the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, for April 1686, pag. 391.

(44) It is found among the *Letters* of this Hildebert, in the manuſcript of the Library of St. Victor at Paris. *See* Clypeum, *Diſſert. I.* pag. 61.

(45) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 91.

(46) Ibid. pag. 59.

(47) Vincent Marſolle. He was General of the Congregation of St. Maur.

It is pretended that when he uſed to go and preach up and down, he always carried a great number of women with him. Father de la Mainferme denies this, and confeſſes only that this holy man uſed ſometimes to take along with him, in his journeys, Petronilla Abbeſs of the Order, and Angardis Prioreſs of Frontevaux, which gave no offence to pious ſouls; ſo far from it, that they were once received, with all kinds of hoſpitality, in the Abbey of Dol; the Fathers of that hoſpital exerting themſelves to the utmoſt, to do honour to their gueſts. *Cum jam cœptum iter ageret conſociatâ ſibi Petronillâ aliiſque nonnullis, quadam die apud Dolenſem Abbatiam hoſpitalitatis gratiâ pervenit. Quem monachi ejuſdem cœnobii læti ſuſcipientes, hoſpitalitatis jura ei honorificè præbuerunt, ut eorum animas prædicationis ſanctæ pabulo reficere dignaretur, humillimè poſtulaverunt* (48). The paſſage from Marbodus's Letter, which Menage cites, and which will be found below Remark [P] citation (†), ſhews that Robert was reproached with taking a great number of women with him in his travels, and with quartering them in various Provinces, in public houſes and hoſpitals, promiſcuouſly with the men, upon pretence of their ſerving and waiting upon poor people and ſtrangers. It is added, that this odd conduct had occaſioned the bringing of ſo many children into the world, that it could not be doubted but that Robert had expoſed the honour of his female followers to very great danger.

(48) De la Mainferme, Clyp. *Diſſert.* 1. pag. 161.

very delicate affair [*M*]; and he is certainly very much in the right to exert the utmoſt of his abilities to juſtify his hero. He denies the fact, which was the only way of making his apology; for nothing can be more inconſiſtent with purity, both internal and external, than the pretended mortification of reſiſting temptations which a perſon had himſelf raiſed. The true triumph is to keep at the greateſt diſtance impoſſible from ſuch an enemy [*N*], and never to turn one's thoughts that way; and it would be a very groſs miſtake,

[*M*] *It is certainly a very delicate affair.*] Sins of uncleanneſs are not of the ſame ſpecies with thoſe which may be overcome by combating, by anticipating, and by marching boldly againſt them. The moſt certain way of gaining the victory, is, to fight flying, or rather to run quite away. Is it not therefore a ſtrange piece of raſhneſs, and a criminal contempt of that ſage advice, *Quiſquis amat periculum peribit in illo*, i. e. "He that ſeeketh danger ſhall periſh in it," to go and provoke this dangerous enemy, and to march and inſult him even in his fortreſs? Arbriſſel ſhould hardly have been allowed to look him in the face; and he was ſo raſh, as we are told, to take him by the neck, in order to wreſtle with him.

Cervi, luporum præda rapacium,
Sectamur ultro, quos opimus
Fallere & effugere eſt triumphus (49).

(49) Horat. Ode 4. lib. 4. ver. 50.

"We feeble ſtags, challenge rapacious wolves,
"And follow, raſhly, what we ought to ſhun;
"To cheat ſuch potent enemies is triumph.

Thoſe who make a vow of chaſtity, ought, if they are wiſe, to ſeek ardently for the Gift of Oblivion; and drive away at their firſt entrance, the ideas of uncleanneſs; ſo far are they from being allowed to lie with living objects. Though they ſhould be ſure of victory, they yet would be obliged to fly thoſe kinds of combats like a plague; charity to one's neighbour enjoyning ſuch a flight. Can they depend upon their ſhe-companion? Is it not morally certain, that a woman, who conſents to let a man come and lie in the ſame bed with her, is very much diſpoſed not to refuſe him any favour? Does not the proximity of a man's body inflame ſuch a diſpoſition in her? Does not ſuch a proximity awake thoughts and deſires from which ſhe otherwiſe would be exempted, were ſhe to lie alone (50)? See what Montagne ſays, with regard to women married to old men. *Such*, ſays he (51), *tho' in full marriage, are in a worſe condition than virgins and widows. We judge them to be well provided, becauſe they have a man lying by them... But on the contrary, they thence are the more diſtreſſed, becauſe the contact and company of any male, raiſes a warmth which would be leſs troubleſome were they to be alone.* So that thoſe holy ramblers, thoſe ſeekers after alluring opportunities, thoſe anchorets, who, to ſignalize the bravery of their continence, creep into a young girl's bed, only throw oil on a fire that was hid under aſhes. Are they not anſwerable for the looſe deſires they awake in them? It is very probable that moſt of thoſe people do not ſeek for a complete victory. If they do not ſatiate, they at leaſt tickle their luſtful paſſion. They put themſelves on the foot of thoſe who ſay, *Amare liceat, ſi potiri non licet. Eſt quodam prodire tenus, ſi non datur ultra.* Let us at leaſt enjoy the prelude; let us have an antepaſt. They behave like thoſe huſbands in Seneca's Controverſies. *Novimus, inquit, iſtam maritorum abſtinentiam, qui etiamſi primam virginibus timidis remiſere noctem, vicinis tamen locis ludunt* (52). i. e. "I have known, *ſays he*, that "the abſtinence of ſome huſbands has been ſo great, "as to indulge a virgin's fears the firſt night, but yet "they ſported about the confines." This is therefore a very delicate point, and Father de la Mainſerme did well in attempting the Apology of the founder of his order.

(50) She might ſay, *Qui me commôrit, melius non tangere, clamo.* Horat. Sat. 1. lib. 2. ver. 45. i. e. "Who "rouſes me, "may ſoon re- "pent his raſh- "neſs."

(51) Montagne, *Eſſais*, lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. m. 123, 124.

(52) Seneca, *Controv.* 2. lib. 1. pag. m. 95.

[*N*] *The true triumph is, to keep at the greateſt diſtance poſſible from ſuch an enemy.*] I before glanced at this, in the beginning of the preceding remark; but I return to it, in order to ſtrengthen this wholeſome leſſon with good authorities. Let us firſt hear the advice which Socrates gave to his diſciples. *Thou fancieſt, ſilly wretch*, ſays he (53), *that amorous kiſſes are not poiſonous, becauſe thou doſt not ſee the poiſon of them: know that a beautiful woman is a more dangerous animal than the ſcorpion, becauſe the latter cannot wound without touching us, whereas beauty ſtrikes us at a diſtance; from whatſoever we perceive it, it darts its poiſon upon us, and overthrows our reaſon. It is, perhaps, for this reaſon, that the little loves are repreſented with bows and arrows, becauſe a beautiful face wounds us from far. I therefore adviſe thee, Xenophon, whenever thou ſhalt diſcover ſome beauty, to fly without once looking behind thee; and as for thee, Critobulus, I fancy it would be proper for thee to be abſent a whole year, for thou wilt not require leſs time to get thy wound healed.* To this let us add what St. Jerome uſed to ſay to thoſe who did not approve of people's retiring into deſarts, and who pretended that this was not combating vice, but flying from it; and that thoſe only deſerved the crown, who fought with, and overcame it. He uſed to anſwer, among other things, that the moſt ſecure way ought to be no ſin, and therefore, that it were better to fly, than to ſtay in the field of battle, in which if, on the one ſide, we may overcome, on the other ſide we may be vanquiſhed. That perſon, *adds he*, is not ſafe who ſleeps near a ſerpent; he may, or he may not, bite. St. Jerom expreſſes himſelf ſo well on this head, that I cannot forbear copying his words, which are as ſo many thunderbolts with reſpect to the conduct aſcribed to Arbriſſel. *Qui ſciens imbecillitatem ſuam, & vas fragile, quod portat, timet offendere: ne impingat, corruat, atque frangatur. Unde & mulierum, maximéque adoleſcentularum vitat aſpectum & in tantum caſtigator ſui eſt: ut etiam quæ tuta ſunt, pertimeſcat. Cur, inquies, pergis ad eremum? videlicet ut te non audiam, non videam, ut tuo furore non movear, ut tua bella non patiar, nè me capiat oculus meretricis: ne me forma pulcherrima ad illicitos ducat amplexus. Reſpondebis: hoc non eſt pugnare, ſed fugere; ſta in acie: adverſariis armatus obſiſte: ut poſtquam viceris, coroneris. Fateor imbecillitatem meam. Nolo ſpe pugnare victoriæ, nè perdam aliquando victoriam. Si fugero, gladium devitavi: ſi ſtetero, aut vincendum mihi, aut cadendum. Quid autem neceſſe eſt certa dimittere, & incerta ſectari? Aut ſcuto, aut pedibus mors vitanda eſt. Tu, qui pugnas, & ſuperari potes, & vincere; ego cùm fugero, non vinco in eo, quod fugio; ſed ideò fugio, nè vincar. Nulla ſecuritas eſt, vicino ſerpente, dormire. Poteſt fieri, ut me non mordeat: tamen fieri poteſt ut aliquando me mordeat* (54). "Who knowing his own weakneſs, "and that the veſſel which he carries is frail and brit- "tle, is fearful of ſtumbling, leſt he ſhould fall and "daſh it to pieces. He therefore flies the ſight of "women, eſpecially of girls; and keeps ſo watchful "an eye over himſelf, that he is even afraid when he "is ſafe. You will aſk why I withdraw to a deſart? "It is that I may neither ſee nor hear thee; that I "may not be moved by thy fury, that I may not "run the hazard of quarrelling with thee, that I may "not be captivated by a leud eye, that no exquiſite "beauty may entice me to unlawful embraces. You "will anſwer: this is not combating but flying: keep "the field, ſtand to your arms, in order that you may "be crowned, after having gained the victory. I "confeſs my weakneſs. I will not fight in hopes of "gaining a conqueſt, leſt one time or other I ſhould "be overthrown. If I fly, I eſcape the ſword; if "I ſtand my ground, I muſt either conquer or fall. "But where is the neceſſity of my leaving certainty, and "following uncertainty? Death may be avoided either "by fighting or running away. Thou, who fighteſt, "may'ſt either conquer or be conquered. I who run "away, do not overcome becauſe I fly, but I fly to "prevent my being overcome, it is not ſafe to ſleep "near a ſerpent. It poſſibly may not bite me; but it "is poſſible that it may ſome time or other." The Author of a Book printed at Paris in 1630, and intitled, *Le Miroir des Chanoines*, has collected a great number of ſentences, which condemns in the ſtrongeſt terms, the conduct of thoſe who advance as near as poſſible

(53) Xenophon. *Remarkable Things of Socrates*, lib. 1.

(54) Hieronym. *Epiſt. adverſ. Vigilant.* It is the 13th of Book 3. pag. 563. in the edition I make uſe of.

miſtake, nay impertinence to the laſt degree, to argue, that as there have been men among the Laity who paſſed whole nights with women without enjoying them [O]; we conſequently may believe that Monks would reſtrain themſelves the more on ſuch occaſions. Menage deſerves to be conſulted with regard to the proofs which Father Mainferme

to danger. Joſeph, ſays he, *leaves his cloak, without attempting to ſtruggle for it*, with Potiphar's wife, *becauſe the touch of a woman, as venomous and contagious, ought to be as much dreaded as the bite of a mad dog.* This is St. Jerom's compariſon. *Ipſe mulieris contactus quaſi contagioſus & venenatus eſt viro fugiendus, non minus quàm rabidiſſimi canis morſus* (56). Our Author adds, that *St. Jordan in St. Antoninus* (†), *rebukes a Friar very ſeverely, for only touching a* woman's *hand. True, anſwered the Friar, but ſhe is a pious woman. No matter for that anſwered St. Jordan; the earth is good, water is alſo good, but when theſe two elements are mixed, they form nothing but dirt....* " (*) St. " Jerom being ſenſible how much the converſation of " women, though not ſuſpected, or of ill fame, was " prejudicial to Eccleſiaſticks: *Hoſpitiolum tuum*, ſays " he, *aut rarò, aut nunquam mulierum pedes terant: " quia non poteſt toto corde cum Deo habitare, qui fœ- " minarum acceſſibus copulatur: fœmina ſecum pariter " habitantis conſcientiam exurit, fœminæ nomen tuum " noverint, vultum neſciant.* i. e. Never, at leaſt " very ſeldom, let women come into thy apartment; " becauſe he who delights in the converſation of wo- " men, cannot inhabit with God with his whole " heart. A woman burns the conſcience of him ſhe " dwells with. Let women know thy name, but not " thy face,... nor do thou know theirs.... (‡) St. " Cyprian refutes, in a ſubtle and learned manner, " thoſe daring ſpirits, who preſume ſo much on their " own integrity, that they are not under any fears " from women, generouſly hoping that they ſhall get " clear of them without engaging in the leaſt their " holy affections. Here follows his thought. It is " impoſſible to be ſurrounded with flames and not be " burnt, and it is better to fear well, than to preſume " ill. It is more uſeful that man ſhould acknowledge " himſelf weak in order that he may become ſtrong; " than to become weak, by endeavouring to appear " ſtrong. That man deceives himſelf who fancies " himſelf ſomething, and yet is nothing in reality. " Who can put fire in his boſom and not burn his " clothes? True, but I would overcome that I may " may triumph. Haſt thou not thy own fleſh to con- " tend with and conquer? Why wouldſt thou have " another climate furniſh thee with laurels? The fleſh " luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh. " Be it ſaid once for all; the converſation of women " is the devil's birdlime, to take and enſlave men... " (57) Dreadful blindneſs! to chooſe to live in a " place, where one muſt neceſſarily, every day of our " lives, either conquer or die; and to think of ſleeping " near a viper in ſafety. (§) *Quid tibi neceſſe*, ſays St. " Jerom, *in ea verſari domo, in qua neceſſe habeas quo- " tidie aut perire, aut vincere? quis unquam morta- " lium, juxta viperam ſecuros ſomnos capit?*" Our Author afterwards giving ſome remedies againſt the emotions of the fleſh, places abſtinence in the firſt rank, frequenting of good company the ſecond, after which he ſays (58), that the third will be, *not to approach women in any manner, but to ſee them at a diſtance, as Lacides (in Laertius) ſaid to King Attalus that pictures ought to be ſeen...* (**) *St. Auſtin, on the following words of St. Paul,* fly fornication, *obſerves that St. Paul does not ſay, reſiſt, but fly, becauſe victory is better ſecured by flight, than by reſiſtance.* Contra libidinis impetum apprehende fugam, ſi vis obtinere victoriam, nec tibi verecundum ſit fugere, ſi caſtitatis palmam deſideras obtinere.

Tu fugiendo fuga, quem fuga ſola fugat.

Conquer by flying, what flight only conquers.

Theſe maxims, ſo true and important in themſelves, and beſides, ſo conſiderable on account of the veneration we bear tothoſe great ſaints who eſtabliſhed them in their writings, are very often inculcated into thoſe who ſtand in the greateſt need of them. They are told it every day from the pulpit, it is enforced on them in a numberleſs multitude of books, and nevertheleſs theſe perſons perſevere willingly in the cuſtom of expoſing themſelves to danger. One would imagine that they ſet themſelves up for couragious perſons, and that flight ſeems to them as ignominious and cowardly as it does to thoſe of the military profeſſion. They march boldly to the attack with an air of gaiety and unconcern. The fair ſex, who are not brave from nature, are yet very intrepid on this article: they are no leſs fond of receiving viſits in their cells, than the other ſex are of paying them: each party behave as though they were not afraid of being overcome; and it is very probable, that this ſecurity does not reſult ſo much from the knowledge of their ſtrength, as from their not being over willing to come off victorious in theſe combats; and that, let the worſt happen, the combat it ſelf, whatever may be the iſſue of it, has ſome charms. If perſons conquer, it is ſo much gained on nature; if they are conquered, it is ſo much gain to her. Be this ſaid without prejudice or offence to thoſe, who truly keep their vows of chaſtity; and who doubtleſs, in caſe they ſhould happen not to follow the counſel given by St. Jerom, are ſure that their viſits, their long converſations, &c. will not call up any evil deſires. But theſe would certainly not be the laſt in condemning the exceſs of raſhneſs, of which ſome imagined the founder of Frontevaux to be guilty.

[O] *There have been men among the laity, who paſſed whole nights without enjoying them.*] This Montagne aſſures us of. *I do not look upon it as a miracle*, ſays he (59), *as the Queen of Navarre does in one of the tales of her Heptameron, a pretty book in its kind; nor for a very difficult thing to ſpend whole nights with the utmoſt freedom, with a long wiſhed for miſtreſs, and to keep a promiſe that may have been made her, to content one's ſelf with kiſſing and toying.* He ſays in another place (60), that his father *would tell of ſtrange intimacies that he had with virtuous women, without being the leaſt ſuſpected on that account. And, of himſelf, he uſed to ſwear* (61), *that he had not known woman when he married, though he was then three and thirty, and had long ſerved in the wars in Italy.* If leud people may be credited, the caſes mentioned by this writer are not ſo very extraordinary. When this ſort of people are in a humour to relate their adventures, they proteſt that, in ſome, they have been forced to proceed gradually; and that the worſhipped maid did not indulge them the laſt favour, till after having tried, whether they would keep the promiſe they had made, to content themſelves with leſſer ones. There are others who, without naming any perſon, declare that it was in their power to have enjoyed the fair one; but that they put a reſtraint upon themſelves, for fear of ill conſequences; or not to expoſe the much loved, and fearfully complaiſant object, to the diſhonour ſhe dreaded. Let us allow, to thoſe who would make uſe of ſuch adventures, in order to make it probable, that ſome Friars have been conquerors, even in the warmeſt opportunities; let us allow them, I ſay, that the fire of lewd men is not always ſo impetuous, that it does not ſtop of itſelf by the conſideration of certain circumſtances; what uſe will they make of this, to juſtify the Friars in queſtion? Do theſe lewd people reſtrain themſelves ſo far, as not to commit certain acts of uncleanneſs, which, in the judgment of the leaſt rigid caſuiſts, amount to mortal ſins, and even ſometimes, in the opinion of ſeveral Caſuiſts, to a ſin which exceeds that of actual enjoyment? If the pretended victory of theſe Friars was ſomething in this caſe, would it not be in reality the triumph of uncleanneſs, and not the triumph of chaſtity? In allowing the men in this manner, let us not ſpare their female companions. Their raſhneſs is ſtill greater than that of the men; and as we could never excuſe, with reſpect to chaſtity, thoſe women who expoſe themſelves ſo far, neither can we ever excuſe them with regard to the article of prudence. This would whiſper to them, not to truſt promiſes

nor

(55) *Vita Bernard*, Canon of the Cathedral of Puy, *Miroir des Chanoines*, pag. 240.

(56) Hieronym. lib. 1. *contra Jovinian.* cited by Vital Bernard, ibid.

(†) D. Antonin. 3. p. tit. 23. c. 9. §. 5.

(*) D. Hieron. *Ep. ad Nepot. ſub fin.*

(‡) D. Cypr. *de ſingul. Cler.*

(57) Idem, Vital Bernard, *Miroir des Chanoines*, pag. 252.

(§) D. Hieron. lib. 2. Ep. 9.

(58) Vital Bernard, *Miroir des Chanoines*, pag. 273.

(**) D. Aug. Ser. 250 de tem.

(59) Montagne, *Eſſais*, lib. 2. cap. 11. pag. m. 172, 173.

(60) Ibid. cap. 2. pag. 21.

(61) i. e. Montagne's father.

ferme has rejected [P]; but we ought to peruſe ſtill more attentively the *Apologetical Diſſertation for the bleſſed Robert of Arbriſſelles, ... concerning what* I ſaid of him in the firſt edition of this work. This apology is ſo well drawn up, and in ſo ſolid a manner [Q], that every reaſonable man ought to acquieſce with it; and although I have ſufficiently ſhewn that I did not believe the reports which were ſpread with reſpect to his lying with his nuns &c. I here declare, that in all thoſe places where I mention it, without

nor oaths, but to ſecure themſelves a better way. This brings to my mind an adventure, I read in a little Book which was printed in Paris and Holland anno 1682. Here follows the ſubſtance of it. The gay rambler, whoſe name is ſuppoſed to be Pontiguan, delivers himſelf as follows. *I was*, ſays he (62), *in the country with two charming women, both whom I loved in my way. I had told each of them, ſeparately, the inclination I had for them, and was extremely well ſatisfied with their anſwers. One evening, when I was withdrawn to my chamber, and had got my night-gown on, the two Ladies in queſtion came to me, and ſaid, that they muſt wrap me up in ſwadling clothes, in order to put a trick upon another Gentleman who was with us. They let me into the trick, which I thought a merry one, and therefore conſented very readily to be ſwadled up. Immediately they took me, with only my night-gown on, and wrapt me about with, I believe, above an hundred ells of linnen cloth, cut in the form of ſwathes, ſo that I had all the air of an Egyptian Mummy. Being thus equipp'd, ſay my women to me; Come, Pontiguan, a well-bred Gentleman will not refuſe to come and lie with Ladies when requeſted to do it. We both promiſed you to be kind, whenever an opportunity ſhould offer, and we muſt now be as good as our words.... Wicked creatures, ſaid I to them, unſwathe me firſt, and then do what you pleaſe with me. No, no, replied they, thoſe will be no hindrance; upon which they ordered me to be carried to one of their houſes, lay me in a bed between a pair of ſheets, when the two baggages came and laid themſelves down on each ſide of me. There were a great many lights in the bedchamber; ſo that I perceived them to be in a very agreeable, alluring night-dreſs, and both were tempting. I was not at liberty to make uſe of my arms, hands, or any thing elſe; but was buried under a heap of linnen, and had only my eyes at liberty, which made me half diſtracted. Image to yourſelf the condition I was in. One moment I would beſeech them, to let me have but an arm, a hand, or even a finger free. The next I would make the moſt violent ſtruggles to break my bands, inſomuch that the Ladies imagined once that I had forced them, and hereupon both jump'd out of bed, crying, we are undone. They indeed had reaſon to make that exclamation; for, to ſay the truth, could I have been enabled to wreak my vengeance on them, they perhaps would have been reduced to the neceſſity of ſuing for quarter. I ſometimes threatned to diſgrace them, by ſleeping by their ſide, which yet would have been no eaſy matter. They anſwered me no otherwiſe than by inſulting me for the happy opportunity I loſt, and by fondling me at intervals, for which I freely could have beat them. I never in my life ſpent ſuch a night.* Theſe precautions were well concerted (63). Theſe Ladies, how immodeſt ſoever they may be repreſented, were more prudent than the Devotees of Frontevaux (64).

(62) *Academie Galante*, pag. 160. Dutch edit.

(63) We might apply on this occaſion, a parody of the two following lines of Horace, Epiſt. 2. of lib. 1.
Ira furor brevis eſt: animum rege: qui, niſi paret, Imperat: hunc frænis, hunc tu compeſce catena.
ver. 62, 63. i. e. "Anger is a "tranſient madneſs; govern "your mind, "He who does "not command, "obeys, "Reſtrain your "paſſion with "chains."

(64) Taking it for granted, that what is ſaid of them is true, in this caſe one might apply to them the following words of the Goſpel according to St. Luke, cap. xvii. ver. 8. *The children of this world are wiſer in their generation than the children of light.*

[P] *Menage deſerves to be conſulted with regard to the proofs which Father de la Mainferme has rejected.*] "Bollandus, in his Annotations on the Life of R. d'Arbriſſel, ſays that Father Sirmond, who publiſhed "Geoffry de Vendome's Letters, was ſorry that he "had publiſh'd that in queſtion, he, after having "cloſely examin'd it, judging it to be ſpurious; and "that he intended to declare this publicly in a ſecond "Edition. But I can affirm for a truth, that this was "never Father Sirmond's deſign, and that he never repented his having publiſhed this Letter. I was "very intimate with him for a great many years, "and till he died. Pavillon, in the Preface to his "Hiſtory of R. d'Arbriſſel, ſays that as this Letter of "Geoffry de Vendome, is not found in the MSS. of "the Monaſtery of Vendome, as Father Sirmond "knew, and as he inſinuates ſufficiently, he ought naturally to have ſuſpected it (65)." Menage, having related ſome other matters, and particularly the Certificate of Vincent Marſelle, proceeds thus: "Since he "has declared, that this Letter was not found in that "manuſcript, I am firmly perſuaded that it was not "there when he made this declaration. But as, on "the other ſide, Father Sirmond, who was a man of "the utmoſt ſincerity, and had ſeen this manuſcript, "has not obſerved, in his notes on this Letter, that "it was not in the manuſcript in queſtion; and "that he never ſaid ſo to me, tho' I have ſpoken to "him more than once of this Letter; I alſo am firmly perſuaded that it was in it, at the time that Father Sirmond printed his Geoffry de Vendome. It "therefore muſt have been torn out of it ſince, at the "ſollicitation of Joanna Baptiſta de Bourbon, legitimated daughter of France, at whoſe ſollicitation alſo, Theophilus Raynaud retracted in his *Trias ſortium David*, of what he had written concerning R. "d'Arbriſſel, in his *De ſobria utriuſque ſexus converſatione*, which I was told by Father Commire the Jeſuit. And a circumſtance that may make it be believed that it was torn from it, is, that this manuſcript is no longer ſhewn, and that people ſay in the "Abbey of Vendome, that they don't know what is become of it. But what nevertheleſs refutes the opinion of Bollandus, Theophilus de Raynaud, Coſmier, Pavillon, and Father de la Mainferme is, "that Marbodus, a very virtuous man, who, having been Schoolmaſter of the Church of Angers, was "made Biſhop of Rennes, and afterwards became a "Monk of St. Aubin of Angers, wrote ſuch a "Letter to R. d'Arbriſſel †. This Letter is found in "the Collection of Marbodus's Letters, printed at "Rennes. It is true indeed, that in a manuſcript of "the Letters of Ildebert Biſhop of Mans and Archbiſhop of Tours, which is in the Library of St. "Victor at Paris, the ſame Letter is aſcribed to Ildebert. And Mr. Baluze, who has promis'd an Edition of Ildebert's Works, fancies it was written by "Ildebert rather than by Marbodus. But I am "not of his opinion; I ſcarcely believing that Ildebert, as he himſelf was accuſed of loving the fair-ſex, would reproach R. d'Arbriſſel of the ſame paſſion. But tho' this Letter had been written by Ildebert, it yet would prove what I intend to prove, "viz. that R. d'Arbriſſel had the reputation of being "a lover of the fair, which I likewiſe prove by one "*Petrus Salmurienſis*. This Peter of Saumur, who "was a Monk of St. Florant had wrote ſomething "like Geoffry de Vendome's Letter. This piece was "in our time in the hands of Father Vignier of the "Oratory, who ſuppreſſed it at the requeſt of Joanna "Baptiſta of Bourbon, Abbeſs of Frontevaux. This "I was told by Mr. d'Herouval, Father Luke d'Acheri, and Mr. de Sainte Beuve, all perſons of credit, and who were told all theſe particulars by Father Vignier ‡. But be all this ſaid, without injuring the memory of R. d'Arbriſſel, for which I have "the utmoſt Veneration; being perſuaded that this "report which was ſpread of him, and on account "whereof Geoffry Abbot of Vendome, Marbodus "Biſhop of Rennes, and Peter Monk of St. Florant, "had written the things I juſt now ſpoke of, had no "real foundation. R. d'Arbriſſel had founded a Monaſtery of women, to whom he had made the men "ſubordinate; which du Moulin, in his notes on the "Decree, has expreſſed as follows ‡: *In monaſterio "Fontis Ebraldi, adhuc præpoſterè Monachi ſunt infernè, Monachæ verò ſunt ſuperne*: i. e. "In the Monaſtery of Frontevaux, the Friars are prepoſterouſly "placed under, and the Nuns above;" and as this "inſtitution ſeemed contrary to what is written by St. "Paul, viz. that women muſt not govern men, it "was judged that he loved the fair ſex, and he was "rallied for it, and theſe railleries gave occaſion to "theſe ſlanders." In the Additions (66) Menage informs the public, that *the Letter of Geoffry Abbot of Vendome to Robert d'Arbriſſel, is found in the manuſcript of the Letters of that Abbot, which is in the Library of the Franciſcans of Sainte Croix* (holy Croſs) *in Florence, which puts it paſt all doubt that it is of this Author's: for it is likewiſe found in the manuſcript of the Abbey of Couture at Mans, but in a different order from that of Florence.*

† *Mulierum cohabitationem, in quo genere quondam peccaſti, diceris plus amare: ut quaſi antiquæ iniquitatis contagium, novæ religionis exemplo, circa eamdem materiam ſtudeas expiare. Has ergo, non ſolum, communi menſa per diem, ſed & communi habitu per noctem, dignaris, ut referunt: accubante ſimul & diſcipulorum grege, ut inter utroſque medius jacens, utrique ſexui vigiliarum & ſomni leges præfigas. Has peregrinationis tuæ loquuntur eſſe pediſſequas: & diſputanti tibi jugiter aſſidere. Sed & diverſis locis & diverſis regionibus, non parùm te aſſerunt habere numerum feminarum per xenedochia & diverſoria diviſarum: quas maribus non impune permixtas quaſi ad pauperum & peregrinorum obſequia, deputaſti. Quod quàm periculosè ſit factum, vagitus infantium prodiderunt.*

‡ Father Vignier ſaid alſo, that there was a Council held at Albi againſt the Albigenſes; wherein it was ſaid, that theſe heretics being cenſured for carrying women along with them, they juſtified themſelves by ſaying, *Sic nos docuit Chriſtus Dominus: ſic nos docuerunt magiſter noſter Robertus, qui nuper Conventum Virginum inſtituit.*

‡ At the word *In nullo loco*, 18, Queſtion, 2.

(66) Page 310.

without ſubjoining my opinion, I deſire to have it underſtood. There are computed thirty two or thirty three Abbeſſes of Frontevaux, from Petronilla de Chemillé, who was the firſt, to her who is now in that quality (*k*) [*R*]. The Order is divided into four Provinces [*S*], in each of which it is poſſeſſed of ſeveral Priories.

(*k*) La Mainferme, tom. 3. pag. 172.

Florence. It is the firſt in the latter manuſcript, and the 47th of Book 4th of the other. Menage adds, to the authority of theſe manuſcripts, two reaſons drawn from the Letter itſelf. Magliabechi informed him of what related to the manuſcript of Florence.

There is no occaſion for me to hint to my readers, that there are ſome reflections neceſſary for them to make, on the complaiſance ſhewn to an Abbeſs of Frontevaux, who was a legitimated daughter of France. At her requeſt an original piece was torn out of an antient manuſcript. How many other pieces have been ſuppreſſed at the ſollicitation of great numbers of people? On the other ſide, how many have been forged? How many words have been erazed in manuſcripts, and others ſubſtituted in their ſtead? See a Book printed in 1699, and intitled, *Lettres Critiques où l'on voit les ſentimens de Monſieur Simon ſur pluſieurs ouvrages nouveaux, publiées par un gentilhomme Alleman*. i. e. "Critical Letters, in which Mr. Simon's ſentiments are "ſeen, concerning ſeveral new works, publiſhed by a "German Gentleman." Have not a numberleſs multitude of incidents been thereby turned into caſes of vain doubts or problems, which only exerciſe the ſubtilty of the diſputants, and are never cleared up?

(67) Printed in Antwerp, as the title declares, for Henry Deſbordes, bookſeller in Amſterdam, 1701. Mr. Bernard ſpeaks of it in his *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, for July 1701, pag. 79, & *ſeq*.

[*Q*] *This apology* (67) *is ſo well drawn up, and in ſo ſolid a manner.*] It is in form of a Letter, which I had the honour of having directed to me, and contains 315 pages in 12mo. The Author of it has therein diſplayed the utmoſt politeneſs, genius and erudition; and I am very ſorry I am not worthy of the Encomiums, which ſo ingenious and learned a Writer compliments me with. His work conſiſts of nine articles, all which he has proved in a manner, as I am told, highly ſatisfactory to the public. "I. That Geoffry's "controverted Letter was really written by him, and "is even in the manuſcript of Vendome (68). II. That "the Letter aſcribed to Marbodus Biſhop of Rennes, "or to Ildebert Biſhop of Mans and afterwards Archbiſhop of Tours, was not written by either of thoſe "Authors, and is more probably of Roſcelinus. III. "That at the worſt, it is evidently proved that thoſe "three Prelates had, at all times, a conſtant and unterrupted eſteem for this founder; and thought the "very reverſe of thoſe reports which ſome nameleſs, "obſcure people publiſhed concerning him. IV. "That the Letter, (whatever it be) which is ſaid to "have been written by Peter of Saumur, does not "conclude any thing diſadvantageous, any more than "this fragment of a Council of Albi againſt the Albigenſes. V. That all thoſe writings were founded "on mere HEARSAYS, without the leaſt ſhadow of "proofs or even of veriſimilitude; and that every ſe"rious reader ought to deſpiſe the uncertain reports "which were ſpread, becauſe of the numberleſs multitude of poſitive teſtimonies that may be produced "to the contrary. VI. That the boldneſs with which "Robert preached and exclaimed againſt the crimes of "the Great and thoſe of the Clergy, together with "his actions in the Councils of Poitiers and Baugency, "are a triumphant proof of his purity and innocence. "VII. That thoſe even, who, as it is pretended, were "his enemies, may be conſidered as witneſſes in his behalf. VIII. That it would be ſurprizing if a man, "who inveighed ſo publickly againſt ſinners, had "not, at leaſt, made them murmur; and that, being "ſo generally eſteemed, it was impoſſible but ſome "people muſt have envied him; but that he forced "even envy itſelf to reſpect him. IX. That all theſe "proofs are crowned both by his death, and the ſanc"tity of his life. That, from theſe ſeveral particu"lars united, there reſults a full evidence of the falſi"ty of *the new kind of martyrdom* imputed to him; "and may deſtroy abſolutely the leaſt ſuſpicions con"cerning him, in the mind of every judicious perſon "who is capable of reflection."

(68) That is to ſay, that it exiſts there ſtill, in part, for it is now without a title, and the leaf which was at the beginning of it is cut out; but the three following pages, point out plainly enough, the perſon to whom it was directed, and agree with what we find printed of it. *Diſſert. Apologet.* pag. 34, 35.

[*R*] *There are computed* 32 *or* 33 *Abbeſſes of Frontevaux.... to her who is now in that quality* (69).] She is Mary Magdalen Gabriel Adelaide de Rouchechoüart, daughter to the Duke de Mortemar, and Marſhal de Vivonne's ſiſter. She was appointed Abbeſs of the Order anno 1670 (70), and is a Lady of extraordinary merit. Several perſons who have had the honour of ſeeing and converſing with her, aſſure me, that the beauty, the ſtrength and ſolidity of her converſation, excite the admiration of all who hear her. Her virtue and knowledge (71), and many other ſhining qualities, rank her among the moſt illuſtrious perſons of her age. See in Vol. III, pag. 192 and 193 of the *Clypeus naſcentis Font-Ebraldenſis Ordinis*, the encomiums which are beſtowed upon this Lady, in a dramatic piece dedicated to her.

(69) I write this in 1699.

(70) La Mainferme, tom. 3. pag. 182.

(71) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for April 1686. at the beginning of Article II.

She died the 15th of Auguſt 1704. See her Elogium in the Memoirs of Trevoux, for December 1704, pag. 2118 & *ſeq*.

[*S*] *The Order is divided into four Provinces.*] That of France, of Aquitain, of Auvergne and of Britany. There are fifteen Priories in the firſt, fourteen in the ſecond, fifteen in the third, and thirteen in the fourth (72).

(72) La Mainferme, tom. 3. pag. 357.

FONTIUS BARTHOLOMEW) born in Florence, was a learned man of the fifteenth Century. He wrote ſome books which are printed [*A*]. Matthias Corvinus King of Hungary honoured him with his friendſhip, and gave him the direction of the famous Library in Buda. He was eſteemed by Picus Mirandula, Marſilius Ficinus, Jerom Donatus, Robert Salviati, and other illuſtrious men of that age. He had taught Rhetoric with ſucceſs in his native country, if we may credit two verſes of Verinus, which I ſhall cite in the remark.

(*a*) Gaddi, tom. 2. *de Scriptor.* pag. 139. *apud Angelicum Apoſium, in Biblioth. Apoſiana*, p. 3.

To point out the time in which he taught Rhetoric in his own country, I ſhould have obſerved that he was collegue with Politian in 1488, a good proof of which we find in Gaddi (*a*).

[*A*] *He wrote ſome Books which are printed.*] Among Picus Mirandula's Letters, there is one which Fontius wrote to Robert Salviati (1) to thank him for a Book (2) he had ſent him. One of the chief works of Fontius is his Commentary on Perſius, printed at Venice in 1491. The Epitomizers of Geſner's Bibliotheque, have ſpoken of this Commentary only as a Manuſcript kept in the Emperor's Library; but, as Gaſpar Maſſa (3) reproaches them, they did not know that it had been printed and publiſhed near an hundred years. Fontius's Orations met with a more favourable reception from the public than his Commentary (4). There was printed at Francfort in 1621 a Collection of his Works, in which the Life of Paul Ghiacetti is found. Here follow the two verſes I promiſed.

(1) It is the 17th of Book 2.

(2) *L'Heptaple de Pic. Mirand.*

(3) *Della vita, Origine & Patria di Aulo Perſio*, pag. 17.

Fontius eſt Rhetor, pubis moderator Hetruſcæ,
Judicio & nulli morum pietate ſecundus.

"Fontius inſtructs the Tuſcan youth in knowledge,
"And is for judgment, virtue, Rhetoric fam'd.

(4) *Fontius & ipſe non parum in Perſio meruit: ſed illius orationes majore quodam favore excipiuntur.* Autor Dialogi de Latinæ Linguæ reparat. pag. 412.

FORBES (PATRIC) in Latin *Forbeſius*, a Scottiſh Gentleman in the ſeventeenth Century, devoted himſelf to the miniſtry. The perſuaſions of his Biſhop prevailed on him

him to *undertake the ſervice of a private Cure in the country* (*a*). He was then forty eight years of age. *He diſcharged his duty ſo worthily, that a few years afterwards he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Aberdeen, which he held about ſeventeen years. It was with great difficulty that King James made him accept that dignity, and for ſeveral months he refuſed it, having propoſed to himſelf to live in a leſs conſpicuous ſtate. It was ſoon ſeen how much he deſerved to be a Biſhop; and that his refuſal was not counterfeit, but the real effect of his humility. In all his behaviour he has diſplayed the character of a truly apoſtolical man* (*b*). This will be ſeen more particularly below [*A*]. He died in 1635, at the age of ſeventy one (*c*). He wrote ſomething on the Apocalypſe (*d*).

(*a*) Burnet, *Preface to the* Life of William Bedell.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Konig, *Bibliath.* pag. 321.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *This will be ſeen more particularly below.*] "He viſited his Dioceſs without pomp and noiſe, attended only by one ſervant, that he might more eaſily be informed of what belonged to his care. When he was told of the negligence or weakneſs of any of his Clergy, he would go and lodge near his Church upon Saturday in the evening, without making himſelf known, and the next day, when he was in the pulpit, he would go and hear him, that by this he might be able to judge what his common Sermons were, and as they appeared to him he encouraged or admoniſhed him. He took ſo much care of two Colleges he had in his Dioceſe, that they ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and became famous all over Scotland: and when the Church was involved in troubles, it appeared from the Writings that came out againſt the Covenant, that none but the Doctors of thoſe Colleges were able to defend her cauſe; and though they were the firſt that entred the liſts in that famous controverſy, yet hitherto we have ſeen nothing that has eclipſed or excelled their writings. Their exemplary piety, and profound erudition, were equally beneficial and honourable to that Dioceſe... He commonly aſſembled his Clergy twice a year, and before he entred upon any buſineſs, he made them a ſhort ſpeech to excuſe his own infirmities, and told them, that if they obſerved any defect in his conduct, if his errors were ſecret, they might privately reprove him, or before the whole aſſembly, if they were public, in the manner they ſhould think proper. Then he retired a little, leſt his preſence ſhould hinder particular perſons from ſpeaking. There never was but one turbulent fellow that abuſed this liberty, for which he was reprimanded by every body, except the Biſhop, who treated him with that civility his character required (1)." This I have taken from the Preface which the famous Dr. Burnet, now Biſhop of Saliſbury, has prefixed to the Life of William Bedell.

(1) Burnet, *Preface to the* Life of William Bedell.

☞FORBES (PATRIC). We ſhall give a ſupplement to the preceding Article from ſome Memoirs communicated to us. He was Lord of Corſe, and Baron of Oneil in the Shire of Aberdeen (*a*). He was born in the year 1564, when the affairs of the Church of Scotland were in great confuſion [*A*]. Our Author having had a liberal education both at Aberdeen and St. Andrews, added to a plentiful eſtate, noble alliance, and great credit in his country, contributed very much to the promotion of Religion, by encouraging pious and peaceable Miniſters, and in ſeveral ſet conferences, as well as occaſional diſcourſes, inſtructing the people, eſpecially Papiſts, who would hear nothing from the pulpit. Thus acted he in a Lay-capacity; and his abilities were ſo conſpicuous, that he was often ſollicited to enter into the Miniſtry by many very eminent perſons both in Church and State. He ſubmitted to their judgments, and was ordained Preſbyter, when he was about forty eight years of age, and was admitted Miniſter of Keith in the Dioceſe of Murray, where for ſix years he diſcharged his duty with ſuch applauſe, that at the earneſt deſire of the Clergy and Laity of the Dioceſe of Aberdeen, as well as at the expreſs command of the King, he accepted of that Biſhopric, to which he was elected by a full chapter March the 24th 1618 [*B*]. On the 25th of Auguſt following was held the famous Synod of Perth, which eſtabliſhed the Five Articles [*C*]. It was opened by our Author by a Sermon on Ezra vii. 23. His character in all reſpects was very exemplary [*D*]. Two days before his death he ſent for the Clergy of Aberdeen to receive the Communion with him, and died with the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of devotion and reſignation

(*a*) *See* Dr. John Forbes's Preface to his *Inſtitutiones Hiſtorico-Theologicæ*, edit. Amſt. 1645, in fol.

[*A*] *When the affairs of the Church of Scotland were in great confuſion.*] Tho' Popery was at that time declining, and in a great meaſure aboliſhed, yet it was a long time before any thing conſiſtent or poſitive could be eſtabliſhed in its room, the reformers there generally running upon negatives in Religion. In many places the Churches becoming ruinous, and the endowments being either inſufficient or perverted to other uſes, whereby learning wanted due encouragement, there were but few good Preachers, and even thoſe more remarkable for zeal than knowledge.

[*B*] *Accepted of that Biſhopric, to which he was elected by a full Chapter March 24th* 1618.] He was conſecrated May 17th at St. Andrews by the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Dunkeld and Breechin, and enthroned in his Cathedral the 26th of that month.

[C] *Which eſtabliſhed the five Articles.*] They were, I. Kneeling in the act of receiving the Euchariſt. II. Adminiſtring that Sacrament to ſick or dying perſons. III. Baptizing infants privately or at home in caſe of neceſſity. IV. Confirmation of children at a proper age. V. The obſervation of five days, viz. the days of the Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of our Lord, and the ſending down of the Holy Ghoſt. Upon theſe days the Miniſters were enjoined to commemorate theſe ineſtimable benefits, and make choice of pertinent texts of Scripture to preach upon, and rebuke all ſuperſtitious obſervation and licentious profanation thereof (1),

(1) *Vide* Proceedings of Perth-Aſſembly by Dr. Lindſay, and Act. Parl. 1621.

[*D*] *His character in all reſpects was very exemplary.*] His great care was not only to plant worthy men in his Dioceſe, but to find proper methods how this might be continued to poſterity by procuring ſufficient proviſion for their ſubſiſtence, wherein he was very ſucceſsful. As he recovered many of the revenues, which by the injury of the times had been loſt or neglected; ſo he ſpent much of his income on the poorer Clergy, and uſed all proper methods with Heretors and Titulars of Tiends and others to make conſiderable augmentations; which he had no ſooner accompliſh'd, but he diſſolved many real or ſuppoſed unions betwixt Churches in very large and extenſive Pariſhes; ſo that each of them might have the advantage of a proper Paſtor. He was very ſtrict in examining Candidates for Orders, the want of which proves often an irreparable detriment to the Church. As he was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Aberdeen, he took care to improve that ſeat of learning, by repairing the fabrick, augmenting the Library, reviving the profeſſions of Divinity, Canon-Law, and Phyſic, and procuring another Profeſſorſhip in Divinity to be added. He ſcarce ever ſuffered any man of merit to aſk any thing at his hands, but anticipated them; while thoſe, whoſe character would

tion on Eaſter Even March the 28th 1635, aged ſeventy one, and was interred in his Cathedral on the 9th of April [*E*] between two of his predeceſſors Biſhop Dunbar and Biſhop Cuningham. His funeral Sermon was preached by Dr. Baron, before a numerous Auditory, who lamented the death of ſo excellent a Prelate. His *Commentary upon the Revelations* was printed at London in 1613. Biſhop Burnet obſerves (*b*), that "he took "ſo much care of the two Colleges he had in his Dioceſe, that they ſoon diſtinguiſhed "themſelves and became famous over all Scotland; and when the Church was involved "in troubles, it appeared by the writings that came out againſt the Covenant, that none "but the Doctors of thoſe Colleges were able to defend the cauſe." Upon this paſſage we may remark, that there were many men of merit both able and willing to engage in the cauſe; but as the Divines of Aberdeen were the only ſociety attacked at firſt in a ſcholar-like way, ſo they were the moſt proper perſons to anſwer. The other Univerſities and many of the Clergy were attacked in a violent manner; and thoſe worthy Divines, Dr. Robert Baron, John Forbes, Alexander Scrogg, James Sibbald, William Leſley, &c. were forced from their preferments. The two Colleges abovementioned were continued in Epiſcopal hands many years after the Revolution which eſtabliſhed Preſbytery; and to this day the people in that Dioceſe are remarkable for their adhering to theſe principles, and the encouragement which they give to Miniſters of that perſuaſion.

(*b*) *Preface to the Life of Biſhop Bedell.*

would not bear a ſevere ſcrutiny, never preſumed to ſollicit him. As his penetration and ſagacity were great, ſo likewiſe were his courage and integrity. He had a quick eye and ſprightly countenance, which proved an additional ornament to his expreſſions, which were grave and majeſtic, and of peculiar inſinuation and grace. His prudence was remarkable; for he greatly allayed and almoſt conquered not only the diſtempered judgments, but the perverſe and turbulent humours of divers in his Dioceſe. He was greatly reſpected by the Laity, who often choſe him arbiter in ſettling their differences. In Parliament he was elected one of the Lords of the Articles, and his judgment there and in Council was conſidered as an Oracle.

[*E*] *Interred in his Cathedral on the 9th of April.*] In 1635 there was publiſhed at Aberdeen in 4to a Book intitled, *Funerals of a Right Reverend Father in God*, Patrick Forbes *of Corſe, Biſhop of Aberdeen.* ΤΩΥ ΈΝ ΆΓΙΟΙΣ *Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris*, Patricii Forbeſiii *à Corſe, Epiſcopi Abredonienſis Tumulus, à multis omnium ordinum collachrymantibus, variegato opere exornatus.*

FORBES (JOHN), ſon of the preceding, was "of a much more extenſive learning "than his father, in which perhaps he was excelled by none of that age: thoſe who ſhall "read his Book of Hiſtorical and Theological Inſtitutions, will not diſpute this title "with him; for it is ſo excellent a work, that if he had been left in quiet in the retirement he had choſe, to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, and could have finiſhed it by a ſecond Volume, it would perhaps have been the moſt valuable Treatiſe of Divinity that has yet appeared in the World. He filled the Profeſſor's chair (*a*), which his father had founded (*b*), when the Covenanters expelled him, and forced him to fly beyond ſea." The Letter he wrote to Voſſius, dated from Amſterdam the 17th of January 1645, and that which Voſſius wrote to him ſome months after, deſerve to be conſidered [*A*]. Note, there was one FORBES, by nation a Scot, and a great Puritan, who was driven out of his country the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, and took refuge in Holland, where he warmly declared himſelf againſt the Arminians (*c*).

(*a*) Burnet, *Preface to the* Life of William Bedell.

(*b*) In the Univerſity of Aberdeen.

(*c*) *See* Grevinchovius, *in the Preface to his Book againſt* Ameſius.

I add, that having continued in Holland ſomewhat above two years, he returned to his own country, where he ſpent the remainder of his life at his Eſtate of Corſe, and that he died the 29th of April 1648 (*d*). An Edition of all his Works was publiſhed in two Volumes in folio, at Amſterdam, in the year 1703, to which is added his Life, written by George Garden. An Abridgment of it, with a general Idea of his Writings may be ſeen in the Journaliſts (*e*): for which reaſon I do not enlarge any farther.

(*d*) *Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres*, Feb. 1704, pag. 181.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 176, &c. *Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Savans*, July 1703, pag. 291, &c.

[*A*] *The Letter he wrote to Voſſius... and that which Voſſius wrote to him... deſerve to be conſidered.*] The Letter he wrote to Voſſius (1) accompanied the preſent which he made him of a Copy of a Latin Treatiſe he had publiſhed, wherein he ſhewed that the doctrine of St. Auguſtin, concerning grace, was conformable to the conſtant doctrine of the Catholic Church. He excuſed himſelf to Voſſius for not being of his opinion. I have not ſeen the Anſwer which was returned him; but Voſſius's Letter (2) mentioned by me is in the Collection printed at London.

(1) It is the CDII among thoſe written to *Voſſius.*

(2) It is the DLXIX among the *Letters* written by *Voſſius.*

FORBES (WILLIAM), Biſhop of Edinburgh in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Aberdeen in Scotland, where he went through his claſſical Learning, and a courſe of Philoſophy. He was admitted Maſter of Arts at the age of ſixteen, and immediately after he was made Profeſſor of Logic, the duties of which place he diſcharged for four years with great ſucceſs. He ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf to ſupport Ariſtotle's Logic againſt the cavils of the Ramiſts. Afterwards he went to travel, and made a very great progreſs in Divinity and Hebrew, in the Univerſities of Germany, during the four years he ſpent in that country. He then viſited the Univerſity of Leyden, and won the eſteem of all the great men who flouriſhed there. The ill ſtate of his health not permitting him to undertake a journey into France and Italy, as he would willingly have done, he went over to England. The fame of his Learning ſoon made a great noiſe there, ſo that the Univerſity of Oxford offered him a Profeſſorſhip of Hebrew. He did not accept it; for the Phyſicians adviſed him to return to his native country. The Magiſtrates of Aberdeen expreſſed a particular eſteem for him. He recovered his health, and accepted the cure of Alford in the Dioceſe of Aberdeen. He ſtaid not long in that pariſh; his great learning,

learning, eloquence, and piety required a more ſpacious theatre. They invited him to be Preacher in his native city; he accepted that employment, and diſcharged it as a true Miniſter of the Goſpel ought to do. He was admitted Doctor of Divinity when King James, among other regulations, had ſettled it with the Deputies of the Clergy (*a*), that the academical degrees and dignities ſhould be reſtored to their ancient courſe. As the duties of the Miniſtry, and of preaching, impaired his health, they gave him a leſs painful employment, making him Principal of Marſhal College. He read three Lectures every week, as the Statutes required, and was afterwards declared Dean of the Faculty of Divinity, and then Rector of the Univerſity; a poſt immediately under that of Chancellor. The city of Edinburgh invited him to be Paſtor there; he returned his humble thanks for this mark of eſteem, but was at length obliged to accept the charge, by order of the ſupream Council and the provincial Synod. He was received at Edinburgh with all poſſible tokens of friendſhip, but people's diſpoſitions being changed [*A*], he withdrew from that flock, and returned to his own country, where he was paſſionately wiſhed for. He was ſent for ſome years after by King Charles I, who had cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Edinburgh with extraordinary pomp, in 1633. He preached before that Monarch with ſo much eloquence and learning that he won the admiration of the whole audience. That Prince having founded an Epiſcopal Church at Edinburgh, met with none more worthy to fill the new See than our Forbes: he was conſecrated with the uſual ceremonies, and applied himſelf wholly to the functions of his dignity; but he fell ſick ſoon after, and died the 1ſt of April 1634, having enjoyed the Biſhopric but three months. He was forty nine years old (*b*). He had publiſhed nothing, and had compoſed very little. He wrote a Treatiſe tending to pacify Controverſies [*B*], which was printed in 1658, and reprinted at Helmſtad in 1704 (*c*). We ſhall ſee below what the Biſhop of Saliſbury has ſaid of this Prelate's merit [*C*]. Monſieur le Fevre, Doctor of the Sorbonne, made a bad choice of his teſtimonies, when he cited the opinions of William

(*a*) He held an Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly at St. Andrew's in Scotland, to conſider of the affairs of the Church of that Kingdom.

(*b*) Extracted from his *Life*, prefixed to the Book which I ſhall give the Title of in the Remark [*B*].

(*c*) See the 5th Volume of the *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, pag. 396, &c.

[*A*] *People's diſpoſitions being changed.*] The diverſity of opinions concerning Epiſcopacy was the cauſe of this alteration. The Paſtor taught that Biſhops are above Prieſts: the people did not believe this Epiſcopal Primacy; but were warmly attached to the Diſcipline of Geneva, and extremely zealous for the equality of miniſters. Forbes, in his Sermons, modeſtly and ſolidly maintained that the Primacy of Biſhops was not a human inſtitution, but is founded on the Word of God, the practice of the Apoſtles, and the cuſtom of the primitive Church. His Auditors rejected this doctrine, and defamed him, and accuſed their Preacher of Popery (1). When he ſaw his labours were of no uſe to his flock, and but ſeed ſown on barren ground, he reſolved to reſign his charge, and the rather becauſe his lean and emaciated body could very ill bear the ſmoke of Edinburgh, and he ran great danger on that account (2). I here act the part of a Tranſlator only, that is, I do not interpoſe my own judgment in the diſpute between the Epiſcoparians and the Preſbyterians.

(1) *Forbeſii ſanam doctrinam de Epiſcoporum primatu, multis convitiis inceſſere, ipſumque Pontificiæ profeſſionis reum inſimulare non verebantur.* Elench. *Vitæ Gul. Forbeſij.*

(2) Ibid.

[*B*] *He compoſed very little. He wrote a Tract tending to pacify Controverſies.*] The title of the Book is, *Conſiderationes modeſtæ & pacificæ controverſiarum de juſtificatione, purgatorio, invocatione Sanctorum, & Chriſto mediatore, Euchariſtia* (3). The Reader will be pleaſed to find here the judgment which the Author of his Life has given of it. *Opus hoc poſthumum, quod jam in lucem prodit, eſt pacati ingenii & moderati animi ingens ſpecimen & indicium: in quo tanquam alter Caſſander & Catholicus moderator, rigidas & auſteras, utriuſque tam Reformatæ quam Pontificiæ partis, opiniones in quibuſdam Religionis controverſiis, componere, ſaltem mitigare ſatagit. Quanti moderationem fecerit oſtendens dicto illo frequenter ab ipſo uſurpato: Si plures fuiſſent Caſſandri & Wicelii, non opus fuiſſet Luthero aut Calvino* (4). i. e. "This poſthumous Work, which "now appears in public, is a ſignal ſpecimen and "proof of a pacific temper, and a moderate mind; "wherein, like a ſecond Caſſander and Catholic Moderator he endeavours to compoſe, or at leaſt to mitigate, the rigid and auſtere opinions, in certain "points of Religious Controverſy, both of the Reformed, and of the Popiſh Party. How greatly he "regarded moderation appears from that uſual ſaying "of his: If there had been more Caſſander's and "Wicelius's, there would have been no occaſion for a "Luther or a Calvin." Theſe laſt words are not very pleaſing to zealous and hot men: they are a tacit cenſure of Luther and Calvin; they ſeem to blame them for having carried a thouſand things too far, which moderate men, ſuch as Caſſander and Wicelius, would have tolerated for the ſake of peace. Obſerve, that he had filled all the margins of the 4 Volumes of Bellarmine with notes, which appeared ſo excellent to Robert Baron, Profeſſor of Divinity in the room of William Forbes, that he preferred them to all the Writings which had appeared againſt that Jeſuit. He would have publiſhed them if death had not prevented him. The reſolution our Prelate had taken not to write much was a very good one, and as ſolid as the advice he gave to one who uſed a great deal of paper. Read more, ſaid he to him, and write leſs. *Pauca ſcripſit, ſcire enim maluit quam ſcribere, & hoc dicterium ſcripturienti cuidam, & ei magnos labores oſtentanti, lepide ſed ſolide uſurpavit; Lege plura, & ſcribe pauciora* (5). The number of excellent Writers would not be ſo ſmall as it is, if they, who at length acquire the talent of writing well, would reſolve to publiſh but once in four years; whereas they abuſe the facility of writing they have obtained, and their reputation; they heap Volume on Volume, without taking the trouble to reviſe and poliſh, and no longer produce any thing of value, or which comes near the merit of their firſt performances. In fine, I believe, that if the man, who wrote ſo much, had ſome time after come and told William Forbes, *I have followed your advice, I have read much, ſuch and ſuch a number of Books*, he would have given him this farther counſel. *For the future read leſs, and meditate more.* I have heard that Mr. Claude adviſed a learned perſon who had been a prodigious Reader, to be three or four years without reading, and to do nothing but meditate: as if he had ſaid, *You have eaten enough, now digeſt.* Thoſe who are called *helluones librorum* have need of this advice.

(3) It is in Octavo, and contains 466 pages. It was printed at London.

(5) Ibid.

[*C*] *We ſhall ſee below what the Biſhop of Saliſbury has ſaid of this Prelate's merit.*] "William Forbes "was alſo one of the Doctors of Aberdeen (*): while "King Charles was in Scotland, he was promoted to "the Biſhopric of Edinburgh, which that Prince had "then founded, and this gave him occaſion to ſay "that he had met with ſo excellent a Clergyman, "that he deſerved to have a new Epiſcopal See erected "for him; and indeed he was a great and ſublime "Divine. ... He preached with ſo much zeal and "ardour, that frequently forgetting the meaſure of "time, he continued his Sermons for two or three "hours: this toil greatly diminiſhed his ſtrength, together with his faſting and aſcetic way of life, "which he carried to ſuch a height that he took no "more nouriſhment than was juſt ſufficient to retard "his death, which happened one year after his promotion to a Biſhopric. He enjoyed this dignity "long

(*) In 1633.

(4) Elench. *Vitæ Gul. Forbeſij*, pag. *penult.*

liam Forbes to prove that the Calviniſts do not ſtand to the Deciſions of the Synod of Dort. Mr. Arnauld knew how to make the beſt of his advantages on that occaſion [*D*].

" long enough to exhibit the virtues of an excellent " Miniſter in his perſon, but too little a while to " perform what might have been expected from a " longer life. The few Books he publiſhed are a " ſufficient proof of his great and extenſive learning, " though his ardent deſire after peace and unity among " Chriſtians, made him too favourable to a great " many corruptions in the Church of Rome. Thus " an unlimited charity engages great men to enter- " tain imprudent opinions; but when the principle or " motive they act by is truly good, they ought to " be excuſed, or at leaſt cenſured with modera- " tion (6)."

(6) Burnet, *Preface to the* Life of William Bedell.

[*D*] *Mr. Arnauld knew how to make the beſt of his advantages on that occaſion.*] He had maintained in his great Book of the Overthrow of Morality, that the inamiſſibility of grace was an article of faith among the Calviniſts, determined by the Synod of Dort. Mr. le Fevre oppoſed this aſſertion, and endeavoured to prove that the Calviniſts were at liberty to believe what they pleaſed on that head. He quoted ſeveral Proteſtant Writers who did not hold the inamiſſibility of grace, and particularly William Forbes. Let us ſee what reply Mr. Arnauld made to this (7): *The title only of* William Forbes's *Book ought to have convinced Mr. le Fevre that he was by no means a proper perſon to be quoted againſt me. For he was the moſt moderate and the moſt equitable of all thoſe pacific Epiſcoparians, who wiſhing the Proteſtants and Catholics could have reunited, made no difficulty of declaring for the Catholics againſt the Calviniſts, when they thought the Calviniſts in the wrong, as this Writer believed they were in many of the points of controverſy which he has handled. Wherefore it is ſaid in the Abridgment of his Life prefixed to his Book, that he was a ſecond* Caſſander.... *His friends durſt not publiſh his Book till* 1658, *twenty years after his death: and yet, long before it appeared, he was ſo cried down among the Calviniſts, as maintaining againſt them the Arminian doctrine of* the amiſſibility of grace, *becauſe perhaps he could not forbear ſpeaking of it in his Sermons, that when the Preſbyterians undertook to ruin Epiſcopacy, being ſupported by the Parliament rebels, one of the reproaches they made to the unfortunate Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was that he fomented Arminianiſm; and the proof they alledged for it was, that he had perſuaded the King to nominate to the Biſhoprics in Scotland men who had ſcarce any thing to diſtinguiſh them, but their being known to be zealous Arminians, ſuch, ſaid they, as was Forbes, advanced by that King to the Biſhopric of Edinburgh. This very liberty which he took to diſapprove of the opinions of Geneva had brought him into ſo ill repute with the partiſans of Calvin, that having been called to Edinburgh to be Paſtor there, before it was erected into a Biſhopric, the Puritans, who were the ſtrongeſt party there, could not bear him, and loaded him with abuſes, calling him Papiſt.* This, and the other particulars ſet forth by Mr. Arnaud, ſo evidently ſhew that the private opinion of our Forbes concerning the inamiſſibility of grace cannot be alledged as a proof that the Calviniſts are at liberty to reject that doctrine, that it is unneceſſary to enquire what Mr. le Fevre replied: for we may eaſily conceive his reply could not be worth any thing. It is really ſo bad (8) that I will not ſet it down.

(7) Arnauld, *Calviniſme convaincu de nouveau*, pag. 120.

(8) See the 17th Chapter of his *Reply to Mr. Arnauld.*

☞FORTESCUE [*A*] (Sir JOHN), Lord Chief Juſtice and Lord High Chancellor of England in the reign of King Henry VI, was deſcended from an ancient family in Devonſhire [*B*], and third ſon of Henry Forteſcue, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland [*C*]. He ſtudied the Municipal Laws of England in Lincoln's-Inn (*a*), of which he was made one of the Governors in the fourth and ſeventh years of King Henry VI's reign (*b*). In 1430, in the eighth year of that King, he was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law [*D*]; and in 1441, in the 19th year of the ſame reign, he was conſtituted the King's Serjeant (*c*). The year following he was advanced to the dignity of Lord Chief Juſtice of England (*d*), in which honourable ſtation he continued to near the end of that King's reign, who ſhewed him many particular marks of his favour [*E*], and advanced

(*a*) Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, pag. 268. Sir John Forteſcue-Aland's *Preface*, pag. xl. to *The Difference between an abſolute and limited Monarchy, &c. By Sir John Forteſcue Knt. Lord High Chancellor of England*, 2d edit. London 1719, in 8vo.

(*b*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 257.

(*c*) Idem, *Chronica Series*, pag. 61 and 63.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. pag. 62.

[*A*] Forteſcue.] Bale calls him (1) *Foſkewe* and *Forteſkewe*, and Pits (2) tells us, that ſome called him *Foſkew*.

(1) *Scriptorum illuſtr. Majorr. Brytanniæ Catalog.* Cent. 8. cap. 36. pag. 613.

(2) *De illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptor. ad ann.* 1460. pag. 649.

[*B*] *Deſcended from an ancient Family in Devonſhire.*] Mr. Prince (3) gives us the following pedigree of this family from Sir William Pole, who collected it out of the Herald's Office. *William Forteſcue* of Wimpſton, ſeventh in deſcent from the firſt Poſſeſſor, by Elizabeth, ſiſter and coheir of Thomas Beauchamp of Ryme, had iſſue *William* and Sir *John Forteſcue*, Captain of Meaux in France. *William*, by Mabilia daughter and heir of John Falwel, had iſſue *John*; who by Joan daughter and heir of John Pruteſton de Pruteſton in the Pariſh of Newton-Ferrers, had three ſons; *John* of *Wimpſton*, *William* of *Pruteſton* (now *Preſton*), and *John* of *Spridelſton*, commonly called *Spurleſton*. Sir *John Forteſcue*, ſecond ſon of William Captain of Meaux, by the daughter and heir of Norreis of Norreis, had iſſue three ſons; *Henry*, who by his firſt wife had iſſue *Forteſcue* of *Wood*, whoſe iſſue-male failing, his daughter and heir was married unto *Forteſcue* of *Preſton*. By his ſecond wife, only daughter and heir of *Fallapit* of *Fallapit* in Eaſt-Allwington, he had iſſue *Richard Forteſcue*, whoſe heir-male failing in the third deſcent, his daughter Elizabeth was married unto *Lewis*, the third ſon of *Forteſcue* of *Spridelſton*, who hath continued the name there to this day. The ſecond ſon of Sir *John Forteſcue* of *Norreis* was Sir *John Forteſcue*, the Lord Chancellor (4). His third ſon was *Richard*, from whom iſſued the ſeveral families of this name in the Eaſt parts of England, as at Poleſborn in Hertfordſhire, Fulborn in Eſſex, Souldon in Bucks, &c. all which ſprung originally from Wimpſton abovementioned.

(3) In his *Worthies of Devon*, pag. 304.

(4) See note [*C*].

[*C*] *Third ſon of* Henry Forteſcue, *Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland.*] This is affirmed by Sir John Forteſcue-Aland (5), who tells us, that this " *Henry Forteſcue* " was ſon and heir to Sir *John Forteſcue* Knt. Captain " of Meaux Caſtle, and Governor of the Province of " Brie in France, under King Henry V; which Sir " *John* was ſecond ſon of *William Forteſcue* of *Wime-* " *ſton* in the County of Devon Eſq; whoſe lineal An- " ceſtor, Sir *Richard Forteſcue* Knt. the Heralds ſay, " came into England with William the Conqueror." But Mr. Prince (6) tells us, that Sir John Forteſcue, the Lord Chief Juſtice and Lord High Chancellor, *was ſecond ſon of Sir* John Forteſcue *Knt. Captain of Meaux in France, by his wife, who was daughter and heir of Norreis of Norreis; who was ſecond ſon of* William Forteſcue *of* Wimſton, *antiently* Wimondeſton, *in the Pariſh of Modbiry, the moſt antient ſeat of this honourable name and family in this County or the Kingdom; in whoſe poſſeſſion it remained from the days of John King of England to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about four hundred years; ſo runs the ancient Deed;* Rex Johannes per Litteras ſuas patentes datas anno 10 Regni ſui conceſſit Johanni Forteſcue Wymondeſton in Com. Devon. *&c.*

(5) In his *Preface*, pag. xl. to *The difference between an Abſolute and Limited Monarchy, written by Sir John Forteſcue Knt. Lord Chief Juſtice and Lord High Chancellor of England*, 2d edit. London 1719.

(6) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] *In* 1430, *in the eighth year of that King, he was called to the Degree of Serjeant at Law.*] This we are informed of by Sir William Dugdale (7); and by Sir John Forteſcue-Aland (8), who obſerves, that he was made a Serjeant in Michaelmas Term in that year.

(7) *Chronica Series*, pag. 61.

(8) Preface, pag. xxxviii.

[*E*] *Shewed him many particular marks of his favour.*] Beſides the uſual ſalary of a Chief Juſtice, Sir John had granted to him an augmentation of it two ſeveral times by two ſeveral Annuities; one of which was an

advanced him to the poſt of Lord High Chancellor of England. This dignity of his is not found recorded in the Patent Rolls, (upon which account it is omitted by Sir William Dugdale in his *Chronica Series*; (the occaſion of which is thus aſſigned by Mr. Selden (*e*), "that being with King Henry VI driven into Scotland by the fortune of the "wars with the Houſe of York, he was made Chancellor of England while he was "there." And Sir John Forteſcue in his book *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ* ſtyles himſelf *Cancellarius Angliæ*. Bale (*f*) likewiſe calls him *Anglici regni Cancellarius ſummus*; and Pits (*g*) gives him the title of *Summus Angliæ Cancellarius*. Mr. Whitlock likewiſe in his Diſcourſe *of the Antiquity, Uſe, Privilege, and places of Students and Profeſſors of the Common Laws of England* (*h*) ſtyles him *Chancellor of England*. But Mr. Thynne in his Treatiſe *of the Antiquity of the Houſes of Law* (*i*) obſerves, "that he was only "Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and not Chancellor of England, as he is untruly "called by *Molcaſter* in tranſlating his book *of the Laws of England*, ſince he was only "Chancellor to the young Prince Edward and his mother, after he fled with them "into France." He wrote ſeveral works [*F*]. Bale tells us (*k*), that he was baniſhed out of England; which in all probability might be grounded upon his flight with his unfortunate

(*e*) *Epiſtle to the Reader*, prefixed to his *Notes on* Forteſcue *de Laud. b. Legum Angliæ.*

(*f*) *Scriptor. illuſtr. Major. Brytann. Catalog.* Cent. 8. cap. 36. pag. 613. edit. Baſil. 1557, in fol.

(*g*) *De illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptor. ad ann.* 1460, pag. 650.

(*h*) Publiſhed by Mr. Tho. Hearne in his *Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral Heads in our Engliſh Antiquities*, pag. 130. edit. Oxon. 1720 in 8vo.

(*i*) Printed in the ſame *Collection*, pag. 112.

(*k*) *Ubi ſupra.* His words are, *Tandem exul fuit ab Angliâ.* Pits alſo writes thus. *Ferunt tamen eum, ſurentibus tum in Angliâ bellis Civilibus, exilio multtatum.*

(9) Selden, in his *Epiſtle to the Reader*, prefixed to his *Notes on Forteſcue de Laud. Legum Angliæ*; and Prince, pag. 305. *and* Sir John Forteſcue-Aland, pag. xxxix. xl.

(10) *Ubi ſupra.*

(11) Dugdale, *Chronica Series*, pag. 64.

(12) Bale, *ubi ſupra, and* Pits, *ubi ſupra.*

(13) Bale *and* Pits.

(14) See *Catalog. Librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ & Hiberniæ*, tom. 2. pag. 213. Num. 6884. ed. Oxon. 1697.

(15) Dugdale, *Origin. Juridical.* pag. 58.

(16) Idem, ibid.

(17) Smith, *Catalog. Libror. Manuſcript. Bibliotb. Cottonianæ*, p. 98. Vitell. E. Num. x.

(18) Dugdale, *Orig. Juridical.* pag. 268. *and* Prince, pag. 306.

(19) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part 3. pag. 164, 165, 166. edit. London 1699, in 8vo.

† *Inſtit.* Part 2. cap. 99. pag. 208. *ubi etiam citantur Rott. Parl.* 28. *Hen. VI. num.* 19. *uſq; ad num.* 47.

* *See* Sir William Temple's *Introduction to Eng. Hiſt.* pag. 312, 313.

an Annuity of 180 Marks out of the hamper, (a great ſum in thoſe days,) that he might *Statum ſuum decentius manutenere*, as the Record expreſſes it; and with that was granted the ſum of 116 *s.* 11 *d.* ½ *percipiendum ſingulis annis ad Feſtum Natalis Domini pro unâ Roba & Furrura pro eadem erga idem Feſtum*; & 66 *s.* 6. *d. ſingulis annis ad Feſtum Pentecoſtes pro una Roba & Linura pro eadem erga idem Feſtum* (9); the like favour, as Mr. Selden obſerves (10), having never been granted to any Judge before. And in the 25th year of Henry VI, he was ordered to receive forty pounds a year more beyond what had been formerly granted him by any other Letters Patent: *Johannes Forteſcue Mil. Cap. Juſt. habeat XL Libras per ann. ei conceſſas ultra omne id quod per aliquas Literas Patentes antehac ei conceſſum eſt. T. R. apud Weſtm. 22 Mar. 25. H. VI* (11).

[*F*] *He wrote ſeveral works.*] They are as follow: I. *De Diſcrimine Legum*, in one Book (12). II. *De Vigore Legis Naturalis*, in one Book (13). This is probably the ſame with a manuſcript formerly in the Library of Henry Worſeley of Lincoln's-Inn Eſq; (14), intitled, *Tractatus de Naturâ Legis Naturæ per D. Joannem Forteſcue*. It is extant likewiſe in a manuſcript in the *Bodleian* Library, among the manuſcripts of Archbiſhop Laud N°. 1120. intitled, *Opuſculum de Naturâ Legis Naturæ, & de ejus Cenſurâ in ſucceſſione Regnorum ſupremorum per Joannem Forteſcue*. III. *De Legibus & Conſuetudinibus Angliæ*, in one Book (15). IV. *Abridgment of the Book of Aſſizes*, in one Book (16). V. *A Dialogue between the Underſtanding and Faith*, written by him in the time of Henry VI, in which he ſhews, *Quibus modis & rationibus Deus ſæpè caſtigat & punit Reges per eos, qui magis contra illum deliquerunt* (17). VI. *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, in one Book. This Book is ſaid to have been written in France, when Sir John attended upon Edward Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon of King Henry VI, for the direction of whoſe ſtudies it was compoſed (18). But Archdeacon Nicholſon tells us (19), that "it is reaſonably † believed, that it "had a more early original. William de la Pole "Duke of Suffolk (Henry the Sixth's great favourite "and flatterer) endeavoured to bring in the uſe of the "Civil Law; which obliged the Chief Juſtice to write "in commendation of our own Laws, preferring them "(for the Government of this Land) before others. In "this Treatiſe, which is managed by way of dialogue "betwixt the Prince and himſelf, he proves that all "Kings are under the like obligation to be converſant "in the Laws of their own Realms, as thoſe of Iſrael "were to be in the Book of Deuteronomy. That our "laws are not alterable at the ſole will of our Monarchs, "whoſe power is not abſolute and *royal*, but *legal* and "*political*. That our cuſtomary and common Law is "the moſt reaſonable, as well as moſt * antient in Europe. That our Statutes, enacted by the advice and "conſent of above three hundred Senators, are not "alterable but by the ſame authority, that gives them "their being. That our conviction of criminals by "Juries, and without racking, is more juſt and humane than the methods of ſome neighbouring Nations; our challenging of Pannels, Writs of Attaint "upon corrupt Verdicts, and the uſual wealth of our "jurors, ſuch ſecurities to the lives and eſtates of ſubjects "as other Countries are incapable of affording. Our "Kings greater and more potent in the liberties and "properties of their people, than arbitrary Tyrants "in the vaſſalage of their ſlaves; the Civil Law more "unreaſonable than ours in the legitimation of children born before wedlock; as alſo in its axiom of "*Partus ſequitur Ventrem*, Tuition of Orphans, &c. "Our Inns of Court more convenient for the ſtudy of "the Engliſh Law than our Univerſities; and their "Serjeant's Degree as honourable as that of Doctor "in theſe. And laſtly, that the Proceedings in our "Courts of Judicature are leſs dilatory than in thoſe of "other Nations." This Book was firſt tranſlated and publiſhed, together with an Engliſh Verſion, by Mr. *Rich. Mulcaſter*, and printed at London 1599 in 8vo; being reviſed afterwards and illuſtrated with notes by Mr. *Selden*, and printed at London 1616 in 8vo. This Edition being out of print, the Company of Stationers gave leave to one of their Body to reprint it; which he did in a very careleſs manner at London 1660 in 12mo. The literal faults, eſpecially in the Latin Text, are very numerous; and ſome of them ſuch as extremely pervert the Author's ſenſe. As this Book is written in a very conciſe method, Mr. Edward Waterhouſe wrote a Commentary upon it; which was publiſhed at London 1663 in fol. under the title of *Forteſcutus illuſtratus*. VII. *De Politicâ Adminiſtratione; ſive de Dominio Regali & Dominio Regali-Politico*. This Book was publiſhed by Sir John Forteſcue-Aland, and the ſecond Edition was printed at London 1719 in 8vo under the following title; *The Difference between an Abſolute and Limited Monarchy, as it more particularly regards the Engliſh Conſtitution. Being a Treatiſe written by Sir* John Forteſcue, *Knt. Lord Chief Juſtice and Lord High Chancellor of England, under King Henry VI. Faithfully tranſcribed from the manuſcript copy in the* Bodleian *Library, and collated with three other manuſcripts. Publiſhed with ſome Remarks by Sir* John Forteſcue-Aland, *Knt. one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of King's-Bench. The ſecond Edition with Amendments, and a compleat Index to the whole work.* It is dedicated by the Editor to Sir *Thomas Parker*, Knt. Lord Chief Juſtice of England. The firſt copy of this Treatiſe, which Sir John Forteſcue-Aland ſaw, was that among the manuſcripts of Mr. Selden in the Bodleian Library, which he procured a tranſcript of, and carefully examined, and collated with three other manuſcript copies, two of which he found in the ſame Library amongſt the manuſcripts of Archbiſhop *Laud* and Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and the third in the COTTON Library. That among Sir Kenelm Digby's manuſcripts is the faireſt, and moſt perfect of them all, and was tranſcribed by Sir Adrian Forteſcue's own hand, who was a deſcendant from our Author, and lived in the reign of King Henry VIII, as appears from theſe words written upon this manuſcript; *Iſte Liber pertinet Adriano Forteſcue militi manu propriâ ſcriptus, anno Domini* 1532, *& anno Regis H. VIII.* 24. But Archbiſhop Laud's copy ſeems to be the moſt antient, ſince we find in it ſeveral Saxon characters in ſeveral places, and by ſome very old words different from thoſe in the laſt mentioned copy. But all the various readings, which are material for the curious Antiquary, Sir John Forteſcue-Aland has noted in the margin of his Book.

As

unfortunate maſter King Henry, when upon the ſucceſs of the Houſe of York he retired into Scotland (*l*). The time of his death is not mentioned; but it very probably happened at Eberton (*m*), or Ebrighton (*n*) near Camden in Glouceſterſhire, where he had purchaſed an eſtate of three hundred pounds *per ann.* which has continued in the family ever ſince, and is now enjoyed by Hugh Forteſcue of Filleigh in the County of Devon Eſq; as his heir at law, and lineally deſcended from him (*o*). He now lies buried in the pariſh

(*l*) Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, pag. 306.

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

(*n*) Sir John Forteſcue-Aland's *Preface*, pag. xl.

(*o*) Idem, ibid.

As to the language, it is the Engliſh of thoſe times, participating very much of the nature of the Saxon Tongue; for it has in it many words and terminations of words, as alſo many phraſes, purely Saxon. Sir John Forteſcue-Aland choſe to publiſh it in its own native dreſs, not only as it is a curious piece of antiquity, but that every man may be judge for himſelf of the true ſenſe and meaning of the Author, and lay no imputation on the Publiſher of altering the ſenſe in attempting to give it a more modern dreſs. *The antiquity of this piece*, ſays the Editor (20), *is a great addition to its value and worth; for we have the happineſs to live in a Kingdom, where our Laws are not ſpun out of men's brains*, pro re natâ, *but are conſidered, debated, tried, and practiſed; and if after long uſe and experience they are found good and ſerviceable to the Kingdom, they are delivered down to poſterity: and when they have been thus in uſe, and practiſed time out of mind, then they commence, and are eſteemed part of the Common Law of the Kingdom. For though all the Lawyers and Stateſmen now living ſhould agree in the ſame ſentiments with our Author, it woula not have the ſame authority; for it is nothing but length of time, time immemorial, can make any thing part of our conſtitution.* It cannot be doubted, that Sir John Forteſcue was the Author of this piece, this manuſcript being taken notice of by Mr. Selden and ſeveral other Antiquaries, and being ſo long preſerved in the family; beſides that there are ſeveral copies of it extant in ſeveral hands, and allowed by all learned men to be genuine. Sir John Forteſcue-Aland obſerves (21), that he having been ſomething acquainted with the Saxon tongue, and finding in the ſtyle of our Author ſo much of the Saxon phraſe and idiom, and indeed ſo many words entirely Saxon, he could not forbear making ſome remarks on the language, which he the rather did, to reſcue our Author from the ignorance of ſome, and malice of others, who are apt to take many of theſe old idioms for the miſtakes of the Author, or pretend to object to them as ſuch. " And it will not, *ſays he*, " perhaps be diſagreeable to the Engliſh Reader, to " have the obſcurities cleared up to him, and at the " ſame time to obſerve the great affinity between our " language and the Saxon, and to be thereby put into " a way to trace the original of the Engliſh tongue." In the *firſt* Chapter he diſcourſes of the difference between *Dominium Regale* and *Dominium Politicum & Regale*, and tells us, that a King poſſeſſed of the firſt *may rule his people by ſuch laws as he makyth hymſelf, and therefor he may ſet upon them Talys and other impoſitions, ſuch as he wyl hymſelf without their aſſent.* But that the *ſecund may not rule his people by other Lawys than ſuch as they aſſenten unto; and therfor he may ſet upon them non impoſitions without their own aſſent.* In the *ſecond* Chapter Sir John Forteſcue treats of the reaſon " why one King reyn- " ith *Regaliter tantum*, and another reynith *Politicè* " *& Regaliter*;" and obſerves, that it was becauſe *one Kyngedome beganne of and by the might of the Prince, and that other beganne by the deſier and inſtitution of the people of the ſame Prince.* In the *third* Chapter he ſhews the fruits of *Jus Regale* and of *Jus Politicum & Regale*, and remarks, that " hou ſo be it, that " the French Kyng reynith upon his people *Dominio* " *Regali*; yet Saynt *Lewes* ſumtyme Kyng ther, ne " any of his Progenytors ſet never Talys or other Im- " poſitions upon the people of that Lond, without the " aſſent of the three Aſtatts, which whan thay be aſ- " ſemblid ar like to the Court of Parlement in *Eng-* " *glond*. And this order kept many of his ſucceſſours " until late days, that Engliſhmen made ſuch a war " in *Fraunce*, that the three Eſtats durſt not come to " geders. And than for that cauſe and for grete ne- " ceſſite which the French Kyng had of goods for " the defence of that Lond, he took upon him to ſet " Talys and other Impoſitions upon the Commons, " without the aſſent of the three Eſtats; but yet he " would not ſet any ſuch chargs, nor hath ſet upon the " Nobles, for feare of rebellion. And becauſe the " Commons, though they have grutchid, have not re- " bellid or be hardy to rebell, the French Kyngs " have yearly ſythen for ſuch chargs upon them, and " ſo augmented the ſame chargis, as the ſame Com- " mons be ſo impoveriſhid and deſtroyyd, that they † " may unneth lyve..... Verely thay lyvyn in the " moſt extreme povertie and myſerye, and yet thay " dwellyn in one the moſt fertile realme of the world; " wher thrugh the French Kyng hath not men of his " own realme able to defend it, except his Nobles, " which beryn non ſuch impoſitions; and therfor thay " ar right likely of their bodys; by which cauſe the " ſaid Kyng is compellid to make his armys and re- " tennys, for the defence of his Lond, of Straungars, " as *Scotts*, *Spaniards*, *Arragonars*, men of *Almayn*, " and other nacions, els al his ennymys might over- " renne him. For he hath no diffence of his own, " except his caſtells and fortrais. Loo this the frute " of his *Jus Regale!*" *Yf the realme of* Englond, *which is an Ile, and therefor may not lightly get ſecoures of other Londes, were ruled under ſuch a Lawe, and under ſuch a Prince, it would be than a pray to all other nacions that would conquere, robbe, and devouer yt; which was well prouvyd in the tyme of the* Brytons, *when the* Scotts *and the* Pictes *ſo bette and oppreſſyd this Lond, that the people thereof ſoughte helpe of the* Romayns, *to whom they had byn trybutorye. And whan thay could not be defendyd by them, they ſought helpe of the Duke of* Brytayne, *than callid* Litil Brytayne, *and grantyd therfor to make his brother* Conſtantine *their King. And ſo he was made Kyng heere, and raynyd many yers, and his children after hym, off which grete* Arthur *was one of their yſſue. But bleſſid be God this Lond ys ruled under a better Lawe, and therfor the people therof be not in ſueh penurye, nor therby hurt in their perſons, but thay be wealthye and have al thyngs neceſſarye to the ſuſtenaunce of nature. Wherfore thay be mighty and able to reſyſte the adverſariis of the realme, and to bett other realmes, that do or will do them wrong. Loo this is the frute of* Jus Politicum & Regale, *under which we lyve.* In the *twelth* Chapter he ſhews *what harme would come to* Englond, *if the Commons thereof were pore*; and obſerves, that " ſome men have ſaid, that it war good for the Kyng, " that the Comons of *Englond* wer made poer, as be " the Comons of *Fraunce*. For than they would not " rebell as now thay done oftentymes; which the " Comons of *Fraunce* do not nor may do; for thay " have no wepon, nor armor nor good to bye it " withall. To thees maner of men may be ſaid " with the Philoſopher, *Ad parva reſpicientes de fa-* " *cili enunciant*, that is to ſay, thay that ſeen fewe " things, woll ſone ſay their advyſe. Forſothe thoos " folkys conſyderyn litil the good of the realme of " *Englond*, whereof the might moſt ſtandyth upon " archers, which be no rich men. And if thay were " made porer than thay be, they ſchuld not have " wherewith to bye them bowys, arrowes, jakkes, " or any other armour of defence, whereby thay " might be able to reſyſte our ennymyes, whan thay " liſte to come upon us, which thay may do on every " ſyde, conſydering that we be an Ileland, and as it " ſaid before, we may not have ſone ſocors off any " other realme." In the *thirteenth* Chapter he endeavours to prove, that *onely lacke of harte and cowardiſe kepyn the Frenchmen from ryſing*; and tells us, that *povertie onely is not the cauſe, why the Comons of* Fraunce *riſe not ageyn their Soveryng Lord; for there were never people in that Lond more pore then wer in our tyme the Comons of the cuntry of* Caux (22), *which was almoſt deſerte for lack of tyllars, as yt now wel apperith by the new huſbondrye that is done ther; namely in grobbyng and ſtockyng of trees, buſhes, and grovys growyn, while we were ther Lords of the countrey. And yet the foreſaid Comons of* Caux *made a marvelous grete ryſing, and took our townys, caſtells, and fortreſſes, and ſclewe our Captayns and ſoldiers at ſuch a time, when*

† i. e. *can ſcarce live.*

(21) Preface, pag. xli.

(20) Preface, pag. xxxvii, xxxviii.

(22) A Province in *Normandy*, of which *Diep* is the chief town.

pariſh Church of Ebrighton, where there is an antient monument erected to his memory [G]. He lived to a great age, being ſuppoſed to be near ninety years old when he died (p). Mr. Prince informs us (q), that there is a tradition at Ebrighton, that he followed King Henry to the battle of Tewkſbury in Glouceſterſhire, not far from Ebrighton, where the King being defeated and taken priſoner in 1471, Sir John retired to his Houſe at Ebrighton, and died in diſcontent. Bale tells us, that he was a ſtrict follower of virtue in his youth as well as his more advanced age, a lover of polite learning, and one of the beſt Lawyers of his age; and that he diſcharged the great office, which he filled, with the utmoſt integrity, and applied all his intereſt with his Prince to the advantage of the commonwealth. And Sir John Forteſcue-Aland obſerves (r), that "all good men, "and lovers of the Engliſh conſtitution, ſpeak of him with honour; and he ſtill lives, "in the opinion of all true Engliſhmen, in as high eſteem and reputation as any Judge, "that ever ſate in Weſtminſter-Hall. He was a man acquainted with all ſorts of learning, beſides his knowledge in the Law, in which he was exceeded by none, as will "appear by the many learned judgments he gave when on the Bench, in the Year-book "of Henry VI. His character in Hiſtory is that of pious, loyal, and learned; and he "had the honour to be called the Chief Counſellor of the King. He was a great courtier, and yet a great lover of his country."

(p) Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, pag. 307.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Preface, pag. pag. xxxix.

we had but a fewe men of war lying in that countrey. Which provith that it is cowardiſe and lack of hartes and corage, that kepith the Frenchmen from ryſing, and not povertye; which corage no Frenche man hath like to the Engliſh man. "It hath ben often ſeen in *Englond* "that III^e or IV^er theſes, for povertie, hath ſett upon "VII or VIII true men; and robbyd them al. But "it hath not ben ſeen in *Fraunce*, that VII or VIII "theſes have ben hardy to rob III^e or IV^er true men; "wherfor it is right ſeld, that French men be hangyd "for robberye, for that they have no hertys to do ſo "terryble an acte. There be therfor mo men hangyd "in *Englond* in a yere for robberye and manſlaughter, "than ther be hangid in *Fraunce* for ſuch cauſe of "crime in VII yers. There is no man hangyd in "*Scotland* in VII yers together for robberye; and "yet thay be often tymes hangyd for lacenye and "ſtelyng of goods in the abſence of the owner therof. "But their harts ſerve them not to take a mannys "goods, while he is preſent and will defend it; which "manner of takyng is callid robberye. But the "Engliſch men be of another corage; for if he be "poer, and ſee another man havynge rycheſſe, which "may be takyn from him by might, he wol not "ſpare to do ſo, * but if that poer man be right "true. Wherfor it is not povertie, but it is lacke of "harte and cowardiſe, that kepyth the French men "from ryſyng."

* *But if*, i. e. *except*.

[G] *Where there is an antient monument erected to his memory.*] This monument is of freeſtone, with his proportion at full length lying thereon in his Judge's robes. On the ſides and end are the arms of *Forteſcue*. Over this monument is fixed a table of marble, at the charges of *Robert Forteſcue* of *Wear* and *Filleigh* Eſq; his direct heir (23), and uncle to Sir John Forteſcue-Aland, Knt. having this inſcription engraven upon it.

(23) *See* Prince, pag. 307. *and* Sir John Forteſcue-Aland's *Preface*, pag. xl.

In
Fælicem & immortalem memoriam
Clariſſimi Viri Domini.
JOHANNIS FORTESCUTI
Militis, Grandævi, Angliæ Judicis Primarii,
Et proceſſu temporis ſub Henr. VI *Rege &*
Edwardo *Principe ſummi Cancellarii,*
Regis Conſiliarii prudentiſſimi,
Legum Angliæ pertitiſſimi,
Necnon earundem
Hyperaſpiſtis
Fortiſſimi
Qui
Corporis Exuvias lætam Reſurrectionem expectantes
Hic depoſuit.

Marmoreum huc monumentum
Poſitum eſt A. D.
M.DCLXXVII.
Voto & Expenſis Roberti Forteſcuti
Armigeri, ejuſdem Familiæ Hæredis nuper defuncti.

Angligenas intra Cancellos Juris & Æqui
Qui tenuit, Cineres jam tenet Urna Viri.
Lex viva ille fuit Patriæ, Lux ſplendida Legis,
Forte *bonis* ſcutum, *ſontibus &* Scutica.
Clarus erat titulis, clarus Majoribus, Arte
Clarus, virtute aſt clarior emicuit.
Jam micat in tenebris, veluti Carbunculus Orbi,
Nam Virtus radios non dare tanta nequit.
Vivit adhuc Forteſcutus *laudatus in Ævum;*
Vivit & in Legum laudibus ille ſuis.

T

FOULQUES, or FULK Prior of Deuil in the twelfth Century, was Peter Abelard's good friend. I believe he is ſcarce known but by the conſolatory letter (a) he wrote to that friend, upon his being emaſculated. We have related elſewhere (b) the cruelty that was exerciſed on Abelard, who, inſtead of duly inſtructing the female ſcholar who was entruſted to his care, got her with child. The relations of the young woman in queſtion, to ſatiate more completely their vengeance, went to the very root of the evil, and removed it ſo fully, that it was impoſſible for the criminal ever to fall into the ſame guilt again. Foulques hearing that Abelard was inconſolable at his being caſtrated, wrote a letter to him, in which he diſplayed the many advantages that might be reaped from this misfortune. It was repreſented to him, that his great talents, the ſubtilty and penetration of his genius, his eloquence, and his erudition, which drew a numberleſs multitude of ſcholars to him [A] from all parts, had made him inſupportably vain. A tranſient mention is made

(a) It is in Abelard's Works, pag. 217. of the Paris edit. of 1616.

(b) In the Articles of *Abelard* and *Heloiſe*.

[A] Abelard's *great talents, . . . drew a numberleſs multitude of Scholars to him.*] He had ſome from Rome, Spain, England, Germany, the Low Countries, and the moſt remote Provinces of France. Our Foulques gives a lively picture of this, altho' his ſtyle is a little too much inflated like that of the barbarous Ages. *Roma ſuos tibi docendos tranſmittebat alumnos, & quæ olim omnium artium ſcientiam auditoribus ſolebat infundere, ſapientiorem te ſe ſapiente tranſmiſſis ſcholaribus monſtrabat. Nulla terrarum ſpatia, nulla montium cacumina, nulla concava vallium, nulla via difficili licet obſita periculo & latrone, quominus ad te properarent, retinebat. Anglorum turbam juvenum mare interjacens, & undarum procella terribilis non terrebat, ſed omni periculo contempto, audito tuo nomine ad te confluebat. Remota Britannia ſua animalia erudienda deſtinabat. Andegavenſis eorum edomita feritate tibi famulabantur in ſuis. Pictavi, Waſcones & Hiberi: Normannia, Flandria, Theutonicus,*

made of another circumſtance that had not a little contributed to ſwell him with pride, viz. that the women uſed to run after him [*B*], and thought it an honour to catch him in their ſnares. Abelard was told that the loſs he had ſuſtained would cure him of that pride, free him from the traps the fair-ſex laid for him, and which reduced him to the extremes of poverty [*C*], though he got a great deal of money by his profeſſion. It was

Theutonicus, & Suevius tuum colere ingenium, laudare & prædicare aſſiduè ſtudebat. Præterea cunctos Pariſiorum civitatem habitantes, & intra Galliarum proximas & remotiſſimas partes qui ſic à te doceri ſitiebant, ac ſi nihil diſciplinæ non apud te inveniri potuiſſet. i. e. "Rome ſent her ſons to be inſtructed by you, and ſhe "who antiently uſed to pour into the minds of her "pupils the knowledge of all arts, ſhewed, by tranſ-"mitting her Scholars to you, that your wiſdom is ſu-"periour to hers. No diſtance of country, no height "of mountains, no depth of valleys, no way, though "infeſted with robbers and other dangers have re-"ſtrained them from haſtening to you. The inter-"poſition of ſeas, and menaces of dreadful ſtorms, "could not intimidate the Engliſh youth, when they "had heard of your name, from flocking in crouds "to you. Remote Britany was reſolved to diſpel her "clouds of ignorance. Anjou, having conquered her "ſavage fierceneſs, learned obedience from you. Poi-"tou, Gaſcony and Spain; Normandy, Flanders and "Germany, acknowledged the greatneſs of your ge-"nius, and were for ever applauding it. All the Ci-"tizens of Paris, and the inhabitants in general of "France, were ſo eager to be inſtructed by you, that "one would have concluded, they imagined you had "engroſſed the whole round of ſcience." Foulques is not the only Writer who mentions this prodigious concourſe of pupils. There is a Writer of Chronicles (1), who declares, that they came to him from moſt parts, where Latin was underſtood; *Petrus Abailardus Monachus & Abbas, vir erat religioſus, excellentiſſimarum Rector Scholarum, ad quas pene de tota Latinitate viri litterati confluebant.* i. e. "Peter Abelard, a Friar "and Abbot, was a religious man, and a maſter of "moſt excellent Schools, to which learned men, "from moſt parts of the Latin World, flock'd in "crowds." It cannot be denied but that ſome came from Italy, ſince St. Bernard writes, that Peter Abelard was not under any manner of fear, becauſe of the many Protectors, (Cardinals and other Eccleſiaſtics who had been his pupils) which he imagined he had in the Pope's Court at Rome; *Securus tamen eſt quoniam Cardinales & Clericos Curiæ ſe diſcipulos habuiſſe gloriatur* (2). Cardinal Guy du Chatel, who was afterwards Pope Celeſtine II (3), was one of theſe patrons. If we conſult Abelard himſelf with regard to the number of his Scholars, he will inform us, that having retired into the country, he was followed thither by ſo great a concourſe of Scholars, that there were neither houſes nor proviſions enough for them; *Ad quas* (ſcholas) *tanta ſcholarium multitudo confluxit, ut nec locus hoſpitiis, nec terra ſufficeret alimentis* (4).

(1) *Autor Chronici Moriniacenſis, apud* And. du Cheſne, *Not. in Hiſtor. Calamit. Abælardi*, pag. 1155.

(2) Epiſt. 193.

(3) See the *Epiſtle* which St. Bernard writes to him, in Abelard's Works, pag. 299.

(4) Abelardi *Opera*, pag. 19.

[*B*] *The women ran after him.*] Here follow the words which are employed by Foulques, where the reader will obſerve that he ſpeaks only by hearſay. *Nam illud quod ſic te, ut aiunt, præcipitem dedit, ſingularum ſcilicet fœminarum amorem & laqueos libidinis earum, quibus ſuos capiunt ſcortatores, melius mihi videor præterire quam aliquid dicere quod ordini noſtro & regulæ noſtræ religionis non concordet.* i. e. "With regard "to that which (as common fame ſays) plunged you "into calamity, viz. a paſſion for women, and the "ſnares of luſt in which they catch thoſe lewd men "who frequent them; I think it will be more pru-"dent to paſs over thoſe particulars in ſilence, than "to mention any thing which may be repugnant to "our reader, and the rules of our Religion."

[*C*] *The fair ſex . . . reduced him to the extremes of poverty.*] Foulques, who had heard that Abelard was ſo very poor when this misfortune befel him, that he had nothing but tatters left, deſires him to conſider the great prejudice which the part of his body that had been cut off had done him; and how much he would ſave by loſing it. You uſed to ruin yourſelf, ſaid he, by your lewd commerce, and your whole ſubſtance was ſwallowed up by that deteſtable gulph. *Hæc corporis particula quam omnipotentis Dei judicio & beneficio perdidiſti, quantum tibi nocuerat ac nocere quamdiu permanſit non deſiſtebat, melius tuarum diminutio rerum quam mea poſſit monſtrare oratio, docet. Quicquid verè ſcientiæ tuæ venditione perorando præter cotidianum victum & uſum neceſſarium, ſicut relatione didici, adquirere poteras, in voraginem fornicariæ conſumptionis demergere non ceſſabas. Avara meretricum rapacitas cuncta tibi rapuerat. Nulla audierunt ſecula meretricem vel alteri miſereri, vel peperciſſe rebus appetitorum quas quoquo modo auferre potuerunt. Videtur hoc probare tua profunda paupertas, qui nihil, ut dicitur, præter pannos ex tanto quæſtu habebas, cum his primum caſibus ſubjacuiſti fortunæ. . . . Adde quod pecunia tua, ſi quam tibi habere licuerit (non enim eſt Monachorum ſine licentia proprium quid habere) vexationi diſtrahentium non erit obnoxia. A modo incipies poſſidere quod multis paulo ante diſtrahebatur eviſcerationibus.* There is no doubt but common fame had magnified things. I do not believe, that at the time of Abelard's calamity, he was reduced to the condition of the prodigal ſon, who, having ſpent his whole ſubſtance on lewd women (8), was dying with hunger (6). I confeſs that his comforter does not repreſent him as expreſly reduced to want a bit of bread; but exhibits him, in general, as reduced to tatters. It may even be objected to me, that it is more probable a lewd fellow ſhould ruin himſelf ſo far as not to have clothes to his back, than to be in want of a meal's meat; for the ſame leeches who ſuck all his money, are very glad he ſhould be in health. It is their intereſt that he eats heartily; whether he has clothes or not ſignifies very little to them, but it would be a loſs to them, had he not a good ſtock of health; and they would chooſe to ſupply him with food at their own expence, rather than let him ſtarve. But notwithſtanding this I believe that Foulques had heard, that Abelard was reduced to ſuch miſerable circumſtances, by his commerce with the ſair, that he was in want both of food and clothes: I do not believe that Foulques regarded thoſe ſubtil diſtinctions between ſuſtenance and clothes (7); but I am certain he gave too much credit to falſe ſtories; for tho' we were not to ſuppoſe, that Abelard's profeſſion, and his marriage with Heloiſe kept him in certain bounds; we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that ſo handſome and eloquent a youth as he was, a youth who was ſo ſubtle a diſputant, had gained ſuch mighty renown, and was ſo eagerly ſought after by the women, ſhould have ſpent to his laſt farthing upon them. A witty man, and uſed to female wiles, who had been in his place, would perhaps have gained by this traffic. But this is a circumſtance Abelard was wanting in; he was ignorant of the artifices of the lewd part of the world, and was a ſtudious man; hence, tho' he had returned the fair ones as much love, at leaſt, as they brought him, he yet would not have had the art to increaſe his income by it. He was liable to be fleeced every way.

(5) Ὁ καταφαγὼν σε τὸν βίον μετὰ πορνῶν. i. e. "Who hath devoured his living with harlots." Luke xv. 30.

(6) Ἐγὼ δὲ λιμῷ ἀπόλλυμαι. i. e. "I periſh with hunger." Ibid. ver. 17.

(7) Theſe diſtinctions might do, ſuppoſing that a harlot could not get another ſpark; but Abelard was at Paris, where, when once a gallant's purſe is drained, he is abandoned, and others ſought for, who are able to ſupport a miſtreſs; and then the diet of the firſt ſpark is as little minded as his clothes.

I fancy that I may affirm, without being accuſed of forming a raſh judgment, that our Foulques was very little acquainted with the antient Poet Archilochus, and was but little verſed in Ælian: nevertheleſs, he has employed a thought which bears a reſemblance to an expreſſion in Archilochus cited by Ælian. Πολλάκις τὰ κατ' ὀδολὸν μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων συναχθέντα χρήματα, κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, εἰς πόρνης γυναικὸς ἕτερον καταίρουσιν (8). The Tranſlator has not exhibited the thought of the Greek Poet in its full light: the word ἕτερον ought to be taken, in that place, only for the purſe in a metaphorical ſenſe. The learned Kuhnius underſtood the meaning of it: κακέμφατον, ſays he (9), *& ſenſus turpiculus ſubeſt voci* ἕτερον. *Ita Stoici* τὴν συνεσίαν *pro ſua* εὐθυῤῥημοσύνῃ *definiunt* ἑτερίᾳ παράτριψιν *&c.* Nicetas Choniates applies this thought of Archilochus to the reign of Alexis Manuel Comnenus (10): Τὸ τῦ Ἀρχιλόχε ἄνλικρυς ἐπραίνετο, ὅ φησιν, εἰς ἕτερον πόρνης πολλάκις μιταῤῥυίσκειν τὰ χρόνῳ καὶ πόνῳ συλλεγέντα μακρῷ. *Ut plane id fieret quod Archilochus ſcribit ea ſæpe in ſcorti pudenda confluere quæ longo labore & tempore ſint congeſta.* i. e. "The aſſertion of Archilochus was "fully

(8) Ælian, *Hiſt. div.* lib. 4. cap. 14. pag. m. 276. Here follows Vulteius's verſion. *Sæpe pecuniæ, quas multo cum labore quis ſigillatim per obolos vix comparſerit, juxta Archilochum, univerſæ ſemel in ſcorti marſupium effunduntur.*

(9) Kuhnius, *in Ælian*, ibid.

(10) Nicetas Choniates, *in Alexi Man. Comneno*, pag. 253. edit. Genev. 1593, 4to.

was affirmed that the privation of thoſe parts, which he had made an ill uſe of, would ſtifle ſeveral paſſions that torment other men; allow him leiſure to recollect himſelf, inſtead of letting him cheriſh a thouſand laſcivious thoughts. It was added, that as his meditations would no longer be interrupted by carnal emotions, they would be better able to diſcover the ſecrets of nature, and the reaſons of things; not to mention that he would no longer ruin himſelf by his gallantries; and that his money would no longer be the prey of thoſe miſerable and greedy courtezans, who knew ſo well how to fleece him (*c*). It was reckoned as a great advantage to him, that he would be no longer the terror of huſbands [*D*], and that he might lodge or reſide with ſafety in all places; for as he would not be ſuſpected by any hoſt, he would be welcome in all families, and not be under any apprehenſions from jealouſy. The writer did not omit obſerving, that he thenceforwards might paſs backward and forward in the midſt of women ſplendidly dreſt; might gaze upon the greateſt beauties without the leaſt danger; and not fear thoſe criminal temptations, which, at the ſight of ſuch objects, light up a fire even in old men. He is congratulated, in that he will be freed from thoſe impure illuſions which riſe before the fancy in ſleep [*E*]; to be exempted from which, ſays the letter writer, is a great

(*c*) See the remark [*C*].

" fully verified, viz. that what has been amaſſed with " great toil and during many years, is frequently ſwallowed up by a whore's lap." We alſo may compare the expreſſion of Foulques, *in voragine fornicariæ conſumptionis demergere non ceſſabas*, (you was for ever plunging in the all-craving gulf or whirlpool of fornication) with a paſſage in Sidonius Apollinaris, where the like madneſs is called, *ſumptuoſitas domeſticæ Charybdis*. It is a good paſſage, and deſcribes the conduct of a young man, who, after having ruined himſelf by intriguing with lewd women, had at laſt opened his eyes, and bidding adieu to that infamous courſe of life, had married very advantageouſly. The Author would have had this change ſtill more holy, and have had the young man change a life of fornication for a life of continence; but, continues he, few men who go ſuch lengths at firſt, can ſuppreſs their paſſions at once, after having given the utmoſt looſe to them. *Hic proximè abrupto contubernio ancillæ propudioſiſſimæ, cui ſe totum conſuetudine obſcœna junctus addixerat, patrimonio, poſteris, famæ ſubitâ ſui correctione conſulit. Namque per rei familiaris damna vacuatus, ut primum intelligere cœpit, & retractare quantum de bonuſculis avitis paterniſque ſumptuoſitas domeſticæ charybdis abligurisſet, quamquam ſerò reſipiſcens, attamen tandem veluti frænos momordit, excuſſitque cervices, atque Ulyxeas (ut ferunt) ceras auribus figens, fugit adverſum vitia ſurdus, meretricii blandimenta naufragii: puellamque (prout decuit) intactam vir laudandus in matrimonium aſſumpſit, tam moribus natalibuſque ſummatem, quàm facultatis principalis. Eſſet quidem gloria, ſi voluptates ſic reliquiſſet, ut nec uxori conjugaretur: ſed etſi forte contingat ad bonos mores ab errore migrare, paucorum eſt incipere de maximis: & eos qui totum indulſerint ſibi, protinus totum & pariter incidere* (11). i. e. " This man having at laſt broke off all " correſpondence with his moſt ſcandalouſly lewd maid, " to whoſe impure embraces he before had abandoned " himſelf entirely, he, by this ſudden reformation, " conſulted his intereſt, his fame and family. For being reduced, by the many ſhocks his fortune had " ſuſtained; the inſtant he reflected how much of " his patrimony had been ſwallowed up by this " greedy domeſtic charybdis, altho' his wiſdom and " repentance were late, yet, having at laſt broke " his rein, and got his neck out of the yoke, as we " are told Ulyſſes did, he ſtopp'd his ears with wax, " grew deaf to the ſoft inticements of vice, and ſhunned the rocks to which the Syren would have led " him. Having acted thus laudably, he then married (as wiſdom directed) a ſpotleſs virgin, as conſpicuous for her behaviour and high birth as for her fortune. It would have been glorious for him, had he reſigned all carnal pleaſures ſo far, as not to have married; but altho' it may ſo happen, that a man may leave his errors and grow good; yet few riſe to the ſummit of virtue at once; and thoſe who have long indulged a full ſcope to their paſſions, ſeldom change to an oppoſite conduct in an inſtant." See Rigaltius's Notes and thoſe of Gudius on a paſſage of Phædrus (12), you will there find a great many ſentences, relating to the artifices which looſe women employ, in order to reduce their gallants to beggary. Foulques was not unacquainted with this truth, and he imagined that Abelard had experienced it. He could not have expreſſed himſelf in ſtronger terms, even tho' he had been in a condition to profit by reading the following words of *Signior Stefano Guazzo*. *Sono piu dannoſe le* donne *vecchie* che le giovani, *perche ſecondo il volgar detto, la capra giovane mangia il ſale, & la vecchia mangia il ſale, e'l ſacco . . . coſi alla fine vi riſolverete, che ſiamo poſti al mondo dalle donne, per eſſer ruinati dalle donne: Et perciò diceva un meſchino, che ſe ne moriva di mal franceſe: Donna m'ha fatto, & donna m'ha disfatto* § (α). *Et certo che disfanno in due modi, ſe crediamo à quel gentil Poeta, che diſſe.*,

Succia Leſbia la borſa, & ſucca ill core,
Pazzo è chi compra con due ſangui amore (13).
That is,

" Old women are more deſtructive than young ones, " becauſe, according to that trite ſaying, the young " kid eats the ſalt, but the old goat eats the ſalt and " bag alſo. . . . So that it, at laſt, muſt be concluded, " that we are brought into the world by women, in " order to be ruined by women. This it was that " made a poor ſinner, who was dying with the foul " diſeaſe, cry out; A woman gave me life, and a " woman kills me. It is certain that women ruin us " two ways, if we may credit the agreeable Poet, who " ſays,

" *Curſt Leſbia ſucks our purſes and our hearts:*
" *Fooliſh is he who buys his love ſo dear.*"

§ (α) Extracted from the *Forêt Nuptiale* of John Neviſon, lib. 2. n. 100. REM. CRIT.

(13) Stefano Guazzo, *la civil Converſatione*, lib. 2. pag. m. 261.

[*D*] *The terror of huſbands.*] I have not given a literal verſion, for fear of falling upon an expreſſion that would be a little too much in the comic caſt; for Foulques ſays as follows: *Hoc quoque magni exiſtimare debes quod nulli ſuſpectus ab omni hoſpite hoſpes tutiſſime recipiaris. Maritus uxoris violationem ex te vel lectuli concuſſionem minime formidabit.*

[*E*] *Might gaze upon the greateſt beauties without danger . . . and be freed from impure illuſions which riſe before the fancy in ſleep.*] To ſhew the reader that I don't exaggerate, I will ſit down the Author's own words. *Decentiſſime ornatarum turmas matronarum inviolabiliter pertranſibis, virginum choros flore juventutis ſplendentium, quæ etiam ſenes jam calore carnis deſtitutos ſuis motibus in fervorem libidinis inflammare conſueverunt, non timens earum inceſſus & laqueos, ſecurus & ſine peccato miraberis . . . Omnino poſt hos hujus fragiliſſimæ fragilitatis fluxus, quod magnum Dei gratiæ munus in hoc ordine æſtimo, nocturnas ſomniorum illuſiones te minimè ſentire ita certum eſt, ſicut certum eſt quoniam voluntatem, ſi forte aderit, nulla ſequetur effectus.* i. e. " You may now ſafely paſs thro' crowds of La- " dies how ſplendidly ſoever they may be adorned; " you may, without running the leaſt hazard, or being in the leaſt danger of ſinning, go to balls, and " gaze upon the choirs of lovely-blooming virgins, " whoſe charms have frequently wak'd the fire of luſt " in old men, tho' that paſſion had long been extin- " guiſhed in them. . . . After this deprivation of the " greateſt of all frailties, which I conſider as a ſpecial " mark of divine favour in this order; it is as certain " that you will no longer be troubled with the nocturnal illuſions of dreams, as it is certain, that ſhould " you have any inclination this way, it could not be " productive of any effect." There is no occaſion to

(11) Sidon. Apollinar. *Epiſt.* 6. lib. 9. pag. m. 571.

(12) On the following words of Fable 2. Book 2. *A fœminis utcunque ſpoliari viros Ament, amentur, nempe exemplis diſcimus.* i. e. " Examples " teach that men " are women's " tools, " If they love " them, or are " by them lov'd.

(d) *Blanditiæ uxoris corporumque contactus, ſine quo uxor haberi non poteſt, ac liberorum cura ſingularis, quominus Deo placeas, minime retardabunt.*

a great bleſſing indulged by heaven. The duties of a married ſtate, continues the writer, and the cares of a family will no longer retard your endeavours to pleaſe God (*d*); and how great a happineſs is it to be removed out of the way of danger, and be exempted from a poſſibility of ſinning? The examples of Origen and of ſome holy martyrs are cited, who rejoice in heaven for their having been upon earth, in the condition for which Abelard bemoans himſelf. It is repreſented to him, that his loſs is irreparable [*F*], and for

prove, that Foulques had reaſon to rank this among the greateſt advantages of an Eccleſiaſtic's life. It is plain to every one, that a man who devotes himſelf to a life of continence ought to look upon himſelf as happy, when his heart is ſo ſtrongly fortified againſt beauty, as to be proof againſt all the arrows in Cupid's quiver. He ought, with reſpect to this fire, to wiſh for the ſame qualities as the Hirpes had for the common fire (14). This is not only the moſt commodious, but the ſureſt way to be chaſte; for thoſe who cannot ſupport themſelves in this way but by frequent ſtruggles, are greatly to be pitied: They live in a troubled and doubtful ſtate; victory is ſometimes wavering (15), and it even declares ſometimes againſt them. They experience but too often, that ſucceſs is uncertain, and they ſeldom or never come off victorious from theſe combats, without being covered with wounds. It is very juſt to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who are continually in the hands of Phyſicians, lead miſerable lives (16). This is no leſs true with reſpect to thoſe, who are forced to ſtruggle with a ſanguine conſtitution, and be for ever upon their guard againſt the ſallies of the fleſh. This is a deplorable ſtate: a perſon is often repulſed behind his intrenchments, which makes the conſcience ſigh and groan: But what progreſs would ſuch a one have made, in the road to perfection, could he have walk'd in it without this kind of ſhackles, and without loſing ſo much time, in combatting the enemy every ſtep he took? As to the other point, I mean the impurities of ſleep, St. Auſtin will tell us what advantage that was, upon which Foulques congratulated his friend; St. Auſtin, I ſay, who begs of God to be freed from the frailty he ſtill felt in that reſpect. He uſed to yield in dreams to things which he oppoſed when awake; and laments at his ſtill being ſubject to ſo great an infirmity. *Adhuc vivunt in memoria mea*, ſays he (17), *talium rerum imagines, quas ibi conſuetudo mea fixit: & occurſant mihi vigilanti quidem carentes viribus, in ſomnis autem non ſolum uſque ad delectationem, ſed etiam uſque ad conſenſionem factumque ſimillimum. At tantum valet imaginis illuſio in anima mea & in carne mea, ut dormienti falſa viſa perſuadeant, quod vigilanti vera non poſſunt. . . . Numquid non potens eſt manus tua Deus omnipotens, ſanare omnes languores animæ meæ, atque abundantiore gratia tua laſcivos motus etiam mei ſoporis extinguere? Augebis Domine magis magiſque in me munera tua, ut anima mea ſequatur me ad te, concupiſcentiæ viſco expedita, ut non ſit rebellis ſibi: atque ut in ſomnis etiam, non ſolum non perpetret iſtas corruptelarum turpitudines per imagines animales uſque ad carnis fluxum, ſed ne conſentiat quidem.* i. e. "Some images, ſays he, "which cuſtom has fixed in my memory, are ſtill imprinted on it; and tho' they have no force or power "when I am awake, yet in ſlumbers they not only "raiſe a pleaſure, but even a conſent that bears a near "reſemblance to an act. Theſe illuſions have ſo great "an aſcendant over my mind as well as body, that "falſe images, in ſleep, make a greater impreſſion "upon me, than real ones when I am awake. . . . "Almighty God! is not thy hand powerful enough "to heal all the infirmities of my ſoul; and, by thy more "abundant grace, to extinguiſh all the looſe emotions of my ſlumbers? Aſſiſt me, O Lord, ſtill more "with thy mercies, that my ſoul being diſintangled "from the ſnares of concupiſcence, may no longer "rebel againſt itſelf, but follow thee; and that in "ſlumbers alſo, it may not only be delivered from "thoſe pollutions, and the illuſion of animal images, "but alſo may not conſent on thoſe occaſions."

(14) See the remark [*M*] of the article LOYOLA.

(15) See the remark [*N*] of the article FONTEVRAUD.

(16) *Vivere medice eſt miſere vivere.*

(17) *Aug. Confeſſ.* lib. 10. cap. 30. pag. m. 217, 218.

[*F*] *It is repreſented*, to Abelard, *that his loſs is irreparable.*] This is a certain fact; it is not here, as with the Sybil's tree, which the inſtant a golden bough was lopped off, another reſembling it exactly ſhot up in its ſtead,

(18) Virgil. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 143.

. . . . . *Primo avulſo non deficit alter*
Aureus, & ſimili frondeſcit virga metallo (18).

That Author who obſerved, ſpeaking of virginity, that it can be loſt but once, and that no art can repair it, was right in the main.

(19) Ovid. Epiſt. 5. ver. 103. Heroid.

. . . . . *Nulla reparabilis arte*
Læſa pudicitia eſt, deperit illa ſemel (19).

But he knew very probably, that tho' the original is not to be recovered by the utmoſt efforts of induſtry; a copy, at leaſt, is ſometimes obtained (20). But it is not ſo with Abelard's wound; it is incurable! no reſtorers are to be found for that, nor can any falſe or fictitious pieces be purchaſed; in ſhort, it is a cypreſs tree (21). The conſequence which Foulques draws is not ſo certain; be not afflicted, *ſays he*, at the loſs of your member; for it will never ſhoot up again, nature will never ſuffer it to be reſtored. *Ergo frater ne doleas, nec contriſteris, nec pertubatione hujus incommodi quatiaris, præſertim cum hoc tam plures, ut dictum eſt, utilitatis afferat fructus, & quod hoc modo factum eſt ſemper & irreparabile permaneat & evulſum. Sic hoc tibi ſolamen aſſiduè quod redintegrari natura non patitur, levius poteſt tolerari.* One would imagine that Foulques, in the latter part of this citation, had a view to the following line in Horace.

Levius fit patientiâ quicquid corrigere eſt nefas (22).

"The worſt of evils lighter grow by patience."

But he does not convey the ſenſe of it juſtly; this Poet does not mean, that one may more eaſily bear an irreparable loſs, than a loſs that may be repaired; he only ſays, that the weight of an irreparable loſs is made lighter, when the ſufferer reſolves to ſubmit patiently to it.

(20) Some cheats among the women pretend to reſtore loſt maidenheads. *See* Furetiere at the word *Pucelage.*

(21) *Cupreſſi mortuorum domibus ponebantur ideo quia hujus generis arbor exciſa non renaſcitur, ſicut ex mortuo nihil eſt jam ſperandum* Feſtus. i. e. "Cypreſs trees "uſed to be ſet "at the doors of "perſons de-"ceas'd, becauſe "when this tree "is once cut "down it never "ſhoots up again, "as when per-"ſons are dead, "all hopes of 'em "are loſt."

(22) Horat. Od. 24. lib. 1. ver. 19, 20.

EXAMINATION of ſome common places of conſolation.

It muſt be confeſſed, that moſt common-place conſolations have two aſpects, and that they may be made to ſerve two ways. They have this defect, viz. that they may be retorted: for inſtance, what can be more rational or judicious than to do nothing in vain? On this foot, one argues well againſt a mother who is grieved at the loſs of a dear ſon, if one obſerves to her, that her tears avail nought; and that, do or ſay what ſhe can, it will be impoſſible for her ever to recall her ſon. But it is this very circumſtance, may the mother reply, that makes me inconſolable; for could I repair my loſs, I would bear it patiently; could I hope, as people in trade, to recover by one ſhip what I had loſt by another, I ſhould not ſtand in much need of conſolation. I do not doubt but that Foulques's conſolatory admonitions would have been more efficacious, had Abelard loſt nothing but his beard. Why do you grieve, would Foulques have ſaid to him, you have been deſpoiled of your beard: a mighty matter! wait but ſome months and you will have another. This, I am ſure, would have been a great motive of conſolation to Abelard; but the bare reflection that his evil was incurable, and ſubject as much, or more, than any other thing to that harſh rule in Philoſophy, *à privatione ad habitum non datur regreſſus*; this ſingle reflection, I ſay, which his benefactor ſuggeſted to him, as a ſtrong motive or reaſon why he ought to be patient, was the chief cauſe of his deſpair: nor would it mend the matter to tell him, that the rule in queſtion would, at laſt, be falſe, viz. *in the reſurrection at the laſt day* (23); for he might anſwer, that he then would have no occaſion for ſuch things, ſince that *at the reſurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the Angels of God in heaven* (24).

(23) St. John chap. xi. ver. 24.

(24) St. Matth. cap. xxii. ver. 30.

Obſerve, that one may corroborate, by the teſtimony of the chief of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, what I have ſaid above, with regard to ſuch a loſs as is irreparable, viz. that it is apt to make people ſtill more inconſolable. Solon bewailing the death of his ſon, it was repreſented to him that his tears would avail nothing;

for that reaſon he ought to ſubmit to it with patience and reſignation. That when he was emaſculated he was not engaged in a criminal action [G], ſince he was alone in his bed, faſt aſleep, and not meditating ill to any perſon. He alſo was comforted from other reaſons; his friend repreſenting how much the Biſhop, the Canons, and all the Clergy of Paris [H] were concerned at his ſhameful misfortune, and how greatly he was pitied

nothing; that, replied he, is the very reaſon why I weep. Αὐτὸν φησι Διοσκυρίδης ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἐπείδη δακρύοι τὸ παιδὸς τελευτήσαντος ... πρὸς τὸ εἰπόντα, ἀλλ' ὑδὲν ἀνύττεις, εἰπεῖν, δι' αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο δακρύω, ὅτι ὑδὲν ἀνύττω (25). See in the remark [K] of the article AMPHIARAUS, in what manner Carneades refuted ſome common places of conſolation.

(25) Diogen. Laert. *in Solone*, lib. 1. num. 63.

[G] *That when he was emaſculated, he was not engaged in a criminal action.*] He means, that he was not catched in the action with a woman, which had coſt ſome men the ſame parts he had been deprived of. *Fer & hæc, ut ait ille, ſolatia tecum, quoniam tempore hujus diminutionis vel thorum violando, vel in aliquo fornicationis veneno minimè deprehenſus es.* This was a better conſolation than the former, though it muſt be confeſſed, that Abelard had brought this misfortune upon himſelf, by as wicked a crime as adultery. He therefore could not ſay with the ſame confidence as his brother Eunuch,

Quid fortunæ, ſtulte, delictum arguis?
Id demum eſt homini turpe, quod meruit pati (26).

(26) Phædr. Fab. 11. lib. 3.

" Thou fool, why doſt thou blame the crime of
" fortune?
" That's only baſe, which men deſerve to ſuffer."

However, his crime was over; and he was not doing ill to any perſon at the time he was mutilated. The following maxim in general is good; *Quæ venit ex merito pœna, dolenda venit*, whether Abelard could, or could not, apply it to himſelf. By the way, there are ſome good authorities to prove, that thoſe who were catched in the act, uſed to leave the inſtrument of their crimes behind them. Thus Plautus (27) introduces his Syncerаſtus ſaying,

(27) In Pœnul. Sc. 2. Act. 4. ver. 40.

--- SYN. *Facio quod manifeſto hi mœchi haud ferme ſolent*
MI. *Quid id eſt?* SYN. *Refero vaſa ſalva.*

" SYN. I'm come, as our adulterers ſeldom do.
" MI. What's that? SYN. I'm ſafe returned with
" my tackle."

I make uſe of Mr. Dacier's verſion, who quotes this paſſage in a note on that place of Horace, where this kind of puniſhment is mentioned (28). Periplectomenes, in the ſame Plautus (29) will not only treat the ſwaggerer in this manner, but will likewiſe hang about his neck, like a child's play-thing, the trinket he had lopped off.

(28) *Quin etiam illud Accidit, ut cuidam teſtes, caudamque ſalacem*
Demeteret ferrum. Horat. Sat. 2. lib. 1. ver. 44.

Vide, ut tibi iſtic ſit acutus, CARIO, *culter probe.*
CA. *Quin jamdudum geſtit mœcho hoc abdomen adimere*
Ut faciam quaſi puero, in collo pendeant crepundia
- - - - - - - - - -
PE. *Cur es auſus ſubagitare alienam uxorem impudens!*

(29) *In Milit. glor.* Scen. ult. ver. 5.

" See, Cario, that your knife be very ſharp.
" CAR. 'Tis keen, and longs to be about the knave.
" I'll make a boy of him, and hang his gugaw
" About his neck. . . . . .
" PE. How could you dare to dally? &c."

Terence ſays only (30), that the offender was already bound, and that they were going to inflict the puniſhment on him that was exerciſed on adulterers; but, either becauſe he was more modeſt than Plautus, or becauſe a ſervant maid is the interlocutor, he does not ſay what the puniſhment was; but people knew very well what it was.

(30) Eunuch. Act. 5. Scen. 5. ver. 3.

--- Ut ne viderem, miſera huc effugi foras
Quæ futura exempla dicunt in eum indigna---
--- Colligavit primum eum miſeris modis---
--- Nunc minatur porro ſeſe id quod mœchis ſolet
Quod ego nunquam vidi fieri neque velim.

" I left the houſe to ſhun the odious ſight.
" What an example will, 'tis ſaid, be made of him!
" He bound the hapleſs wretch, firſt, hand and feet...
" And now he menaces to ſerve him, Oh!
" As our adulterers are treated; a ſpectacle
" I never ſaw, nor would for all the world.

See two examples of this puniſhment in Valerius Maximus (31). It was alſo inflicted, by the Laws of Egypt (32) on thoſe who violated a married woman. Zonaras relates, that the Emperor Juſtinian ſentenced Sodomites to this puniſhment. *In eos Juſtinianus pœnam planè convenientem ſtatuit. Nam qua parte erant tam ignominioſi, hac eos privari imperabat, ut Zonaras prodidit. Quid enim? (ajebat) ſi ſacrilegium commiſiſſent, nonne eis manus amputaſſem* (33)? What? did he uſe to ſay, had they committed ſacrilege, ſhould not I have ſentenced them to loſe their hands? The proportion between the puniſhment and the crime was juſt enough, and was a ſure way of preventing it for the future. A gallant who ſhould eſcape unmaimed might renew the attack; and acted like run-away ſoldiers who afterwards return to the charge. To prevent this, was judged neceſſary amputation (34).

(31) Lib. 6. cap. 1. num. 13.

(32) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 1. cap. 78.

(33) Salmuth. *in Pancirollum Rerum Memorabil.* Part. 2. pag. m. 86.

One of the Authors above cited (35), quotes a little epigram of Martial, in which a huſband is laughed at, for cutting off the noſe of his wife's gallant. But, was he anſwered, ſhe is no loſer by this; it was not the part injured you.

Quis tibi perſuaſit nares abſcindere mœcho?
Non hac peccatum eſt parte, marite, tibi.
Stulte quid egiſti? nihil hic tua perdidit uxor,
Cum ſit ſalva ſui mentula Deiphobi (36).

(34) Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται. Demoſthenes cited this verſe, when he was reproached with running away. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. cap. 21.

(35) Salmuth *in Pancirol. Rerum Memor.* Part. 2. pag. 86.

A Poet of the ſixteenth Century employed his muſe on a like thought, but changed the circumſtances of the incident. His epigram is as follows:

(36) Mart. Epigram. 85. lib. 3.

De marito, cujus mœcha erat conjux.

Cum mœcha ſenſit mœchum dormire maritus,
Extemplò uxori conſtruit ille dolos.
Nocte ſemel media repetens ſua limina, mœchum
Cum mœcha in tepido conſpicit eſſe toro.
Diſtringit gladium, mœchæ duo brachia ſcindit,
Atque duos mœchi diſſecat enſe pedes.
Non ſic debuerat facinus punire nephandum:
Pars, qua peccatum eſt, hæc reſecanda fuit (37).

(37) Jo. Vulteius, Epigram. lib. 2. p. m. 136.

" *On a huſband who was cuckolded by his wife.*

" A huſband finding that his wife was wanton,
" Reſolv'd to catch her in the ſhocking act.
" Returning home at dark midnight, he found
" His perjur'd wife, and her gallant, in bed.
" He draws his ſword, of arms bereaves the dame;
" And next, chops off both the adulterer's legs.
" Miſtaken puniſhment for this fell crime:
" The part that did the deed ſhou'd have been
" lopp'd."

[H] *His friend repreſenting*, to Abelard... *how much.... the Clergy at Paris were concerned at his ſhameful misfortune.*] Nothing can ſhew more evidently, the prodigious eſteem they had for this Philoſopher. Foulques no doubt, amplified things very much in his Letter; for, to believe him, almoſt the whole city of Paris was in the deepeſt affliction, becauſe Abelard had been emaſculated: from this general grief the comforter draws one of the beſt arguments; as if this ſtrong teſtimony of the love which the Pariſians have for him, was more than an equivalent for all that Abelard had loſt (38). In my opinion the ſufferer would have been far from acquieſcing with this valuation; and he doubtleſs would much rather have been for ever ignorant of the friendſhip people had for him, than to know it at ſo dear a rate.

(38) *Tantus omnium luctus extitit, ut melius mihi videaris te debere velle periiſſe, quam ſervaſſe quod periit. Felix ſe neſcit amari. Pene tota civitas in tuo dolore contabuit. Habes aram veræ dilectionis in te quam ſi prius agnoviſſes nullas, meo judicio, divitias illi comparabiles æſtimares.*

pitied by the people, and bewailed by the women [*I*]. This is deſcribed in a very lively manner, but not the leaſt mention is made of Heloiſe [*K*] in the laſt mentioned article.

As

This might have been ſaid with propriety enough to perſons who had let thoſe parts lie idle; but Abelard employed his talent very vigorouſly, drew a good income from it, and always reſolved to make the moſt of it. Be this as it will, I will cite the very words employed by the comforter. *Plangit hoc tuum vulnus & damnum venerabilis Epiſcopi benignitas, qui quantum licuit vacare juſtitiæ ſtuduit. Plangit liberalium Canonicorum ac nobilium Clericorum multitudo. Plangunt cives civitatis hoc dedecus reputantes, & dolentes ſuam urbem tui ſanguinis effuſione violari.* i. e. "The venerable Biſhop "bewailed that loſs, and endeavoured to do you all "the juſtice in his power. The whole body of Canons "and dignified Clergy have bewailed it, as have alſo "the Citizens, who judge that this action reflects ig"nominy on them; and grieved that their city ſhould "be defiled, by the effuſion of your blood." See the reſt, either in the margin or in the following remark. See likewiſe the remark [*N*] of the article HELOISE; I have there cited what Abelard himſelf ſpeaks concerning the affliction which his ſad adventure occaſioned.

[*I*]... *bewailed by the women.*] They wept as bitterly for him as if each of them had loſt her huſband or lover in battle. It is true indeed, that a man had not been killed on this occaſion; but they nevertheleſs had loſt their champion: it is Foulques who expreſſes himſelf in this manner (39). They had loſt their Adonis; their grief for him muſt therefore have been more ſincere, than that of thoſe women among the Antients, who uſed to ſolemnize annually the remembrance of Venus's mourning for the death of Adonis (40), *plangentes Adonidem* (41). Methinks the comforter ought not to touch this ſtring; it was not by any means adapted to his deſign, and could only heighten the ſorrow of the ill fated Abelard, and that from two invincible reaſons; for firſt, he thence ſaw, after a very peculiar manner, the importance of the bleſſing he had loſt; ſecondly, it informed him of a favour, for which it would never be in his power to make a grateful return. I repeat it again and again, our Foulques was too inflated a Rhetorician, and he blinds and confounds two things which ought to have been diſtinguiſhed or divided. He is of opinion that the tears of all thoſe women, *ſingularum feminarum*, aroſe from their having loſt their champion, *militem ſuum*; but this could be true only of a few with whom Abelard had been intimate, or who hoped to partake one day of his favours. Foulques ſhould therefore have ſaid, either that the reſt did not weep; or that, if they wept, it was not ſo much out of love for Abelard, as for fear of the conſequences; I mean, they were afraid leſt this barbarous manner of puniſhing lewdneſs ſhould be introduced in the world, and the example of the Canon be practiſed upon others. Some therefore wept, becauſe they had been diſpoſſeſſed of a treaſure, and others for fear they ſhould loſe theirs (42). This is a diſtinction that was neglected very improperly by Foulques. We find in the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, an incident ſo well adapted to this remark, that I either muſt have been ignorant of it, or be unaccountably negligent not to give it a place here. The ſtory is as follows. "The Greeks were making war on the "Duke of Benevento, and gained ſeveral mighty ad"vantages over him. Theobald, Marquiſs of Spoleto, "his kinſman, being come to his aſſiſtance, and hav"ing taken ſome priſoners, cauſed their genitals to "be cut off, and ſent them back, in that condition, "to the Grecian General, ordering them to tell him, "that he had done this to oblige the Emperor, know"ing him to have a great value for Eunuchs; and "that he would endeavour to procure him ſoon a "much greater number. The Marquiſs was pre"paring to keep his word, when one day a woman, "whoſe huſband his ſoldiers had taken, came all in "tears to his camp, and deſired to ſpeak with Theo"bald. The Marquiſs having enquired the cauſe of "her grief; my Lord, anſwered the Grecian woman, "I am ſurprized that ſo great a hero as you are "ſhould make war upon women, when men are un"able to reſiſt you. Theobald replying, that he had "not heard that war had been made againſt women, "ever ſince the time of the Amazons: my Lord, con"tinued the Greek woman, would it be poſſible for "a more cruel war to be carried on againſt us, than "to deprive our huſbands of what gives us health, "pleaſure and children. When you make Eunuchs "of them, it is us you mutilate, not them. When you, "ſome days ſince, carried off our cattle and our bag"gage, I did not once complain of that; but as the "loſs of the bleſſing, of which you have bereaved ſe"veral of my female friends is irreparable, I could "not forbear coming in order to ſue to the conqueror "for mercy. The whole army was ſo well pleaſed "with the ingenuous declaration of this woman, that "her huſband was reſtored to her, and all they had "diſpoſſeſſed her of. As ſhe was going back, Theobald "aſked her, what puniſhment ſhe would be willing "to have inflicted on her huſband, in caſe he ſhould "be found again in arms. He has eyes, *ſays ſhe*, a "noſe, hands, and feet; theſe are his own, and you "may bereave him of them in caſe he commits any "crime; but I much beſeech you to ſpare what be"longs to me (43)."

We may obſerve, that it is very probable this woman would have choſe to have had her huſband killed, rather than to have ſeen him come back an eunuch, ſince, had he been in that condition, ſhe would have experienced all the evils of widowhood, without taſting any of its conveniencies; ſhe would neither have been allowed the liberty to marry again, nor the right to get her marriage diſſolved upon pretence of impotency; for the Courts of Juſtice would not have admitted her plea, they not taking cognizance of impotency when it ariſes from ſuch accidents. It may be obſerved, by the way, that the Romans would not have blamed the woman's taſte. Their way of thinking was ſuch, that they would have loſt their lives rather than their manhood. This Cæſar repreſented to the Embaſſadors of Pharnaces, in the complaints he made of the barbarous treatment the Roman Merchants had met with in Pontus. *Se magnas & graves injurias civium Romanorum qui in Ponto negotiati eſſent, quoniam in integrum reſtituere non poſſet, concedere Pharnaci. Nam neque interfectis amiſſam vitam, neque exectis virilitatem reſtituere poſſe, quod quidem ſupplicium* GRAVIUS MORTE *cives Romani ſubiſſent* (44).

[*K*] *But not the leaſt mention is made of Heloiſe.*] This we are not to wonder at, for as ſhe had been more injured than any other woman, her affliction was ſufficiently known; and it would have been no news to her huſband, to inform him that ſhe had wept floods of tears. It is true indeed, that ſhe was then in a Convent, but then ſhe only wore the religious habit; and the ſecret viſits ſhe there received from her huſband, were for ſomething more than mere chitchat; they had the cunning to retire into ſome corner, in order to be free and undiſturbed (45); and ſhe had long enjoyed thoſe converſations under a religious habit (46). She therefore had not renounced what her huſband was bereaved of. To judge of the grief which pierced her ſoul, when ſhe heard the news in queſtion, I will not confine myſelf to the new tranſlation of her Letters (47). *How cruel were they*, ſays the verſion, *when their blind fury excited a ruffian to ſurprize you in your ſleep! Had we been together, I would have defended you at the hazard of my life; my cries alone would have ſtopped his arm. But here love is wounded; and modeſty joined to deſpair, bereave me of the faculty of ſpeech. I am not allowed to ſay all I think on that head, and I could not do it, tho' this ſhould be permitted me. And indeed, ſilence itſelf is eloquent, when the greatneſs of a calamity is above all the powers of expreſſion.* How emphatical is all this! nature itſelf ſpeaks; one would not imagine that theſe expreſſions were dictated by fancy, but that they reſulted from experience and ſenſation; and of one who might be in Heloiſe's place (48). I wiſh the latter had really ſaid thoſe words, and I am ſorry not to have found the ſame in the original Latin, as we meet with in the French paraphraſe. But though ſhe does not ſay, that ſhe would have ventured her life to ſave her huſband's manhood; and that her cries might have availed ſo far, as to have preſerved

(39) *Quid ſingularum feminarum referam planctum quæ, ſic hoc audito, lachrymis, more fœmineo, ora rigarunt propter te* MILITEM SUUM, *quem amiſerant, ac ſi ſingulæ virum ſuum aut amicum ſorte belli reperiſſent extinctum?*

(40) That is to ſay, according to ſome, for a diſaſter which befel poor Adonis, like to that of Peter Abelard. See the remark [*L*] of the article ADONIS.

(41) Ezek. viii. 14.

(42) Horace ſays much the ſame thing, Epiſt. 1. lib. 2. with regard to ſatyr, *Doluêre cruento Dente laceſſiti: fuit intactis quoque cura Conditione ſuper communi* ver. 150.

(43) *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, tom. 11. pag. 10.

(44) Hirtius, *de Bello Alexandrino*, pag. m. 411.

(45) See the remark [*E*] of the article HELOISE.

(46) She aſſumed this diſguiſe, when ſhe went to lie in at the houſe of Abelard's ſiſter. See her article citation (*b*).

THE extreme grief with which Heloiſe was ſeized, when ſhe reflected on her husband's emaſculation.

(47) Printed a the Hague fo John Albert 1693.

(48) I indeed am told, that this verſion is by a woman.

As Abelard ſeemed deſirous of going to Rome, and ſuing for juſtice at the Pope's hands, he is ſtrongly exhorted to ſuppreſs all thoughts of this kind, for that it would be impoſſible for him to get money ſufficient to give ſucceſs to his affair in that country [*L*]; that the ruffians who uſed him ſo barbarouſly had been puniſhed [*M*]; that he had no reaſon to complain of the Cathedral Church; and that ſince he was a Monk he ought to lay

preſerved from the barbarous hands of the aſſaſſins, that precious jewel, that invaluable trinket, ſhe ought to have declared ſo; and we therefore cannot blame the tranſlator, for ſuppoſing ſo natural a thought came from her pen. Nevertheleſs, I will not make this a rule, to form a judgment of Heloiſe's grief, her Latin furniſhing me with a ſufficient number of others. Her murmurings againſt God's Providence, riſe even to blaſphemy, ſuch as never fell from the lips of Job, tho' he had loſt all his ſubſtance, all his children, and been dreadfully tormented in his own body. Heloiſe thought her loſs greater than his, tho' ſhe and her huſband were in good health; after all, ſays ſhe, the only comfort that remains is, I know he is not dead; but then I am for ever debarred from all other pleaſures that reſult from his perſon. *Ubi nullum niſi te remedium habeam, & nullum aliud in te niſi hoc ipſum quod vivis, omnibus de te mihi aliis voluptatibus interdictis, cui nec præſentia tua conceſſum eſt frui, ut quandoque mihi reddi valeam* (49). She then breaks into the moſt injurious complaints againſt divine Providence. God, ſays ſhe, has treated me ſo cruelly, that he has diſcharged his whole quiver of arrows at me, ſo that he now has nothing wherewith to puniſh others, and ſinners may therefore no longer ſtand in awe of him. The only ſhaft he would not ſhoot at me, is that which would have killed me, and by that means have put a period to my miſery; he is afraid of putting an end to my life, tho' I am every moment expiring. *O ſi fas ſit dici crudelem mihi per omnia Deum! ô inclementem clementiam! ô infortunatam fortunam! quæ jam in me univerſi conaminis ſui tela in tantum conſumpſit, ut quibus in alios ſæviat jam non habeat. Plenam in me pharetram exhauſit, ut fruſtra jam alii bella ejus formident. Nec ſi ei adhuc telum aliquod ſupereſſet, locum in me vulneris invenirent. Unum inter tot vulnera metuit ne morte ſupplicia finiam, & cum interimere non ceſſet interitum tamen quem accelerat timet.* Every part of the ſequel of her diſcourſe ſhews, that her horrid murmurs have no other foundation, than the calamity which deprived Heloiſe of her huſband; and this we cannot doubt of, after what ſhe confeſſes in page 59 (50); ſhe takes an unbounded liberty in arraigning Providence, as tho' God had chaſtized them at a time when they did not deſerve it, and had ſpared them when he ought to have puniſh'd them. God, ſays Heloiſe, did not afflict us when we were engaged in criminal pleaſures, but ſuſpended his puniſhment, till they were made lawful by marriage; *& ut ex injuria major indignatio ſurgeret, omnia in nobis æquitatis jura pariter ſunt perverſa. Dum enim ſolliciti amoris gaudiis frueremur, & ut turpiore, ſed expreſſione vocabulo utar, fornicationi vacaremus, divina nobis ſeveritas pepercit. Ut autem illicita licitis correximus, & honore conjugii turpitudinem fornicationis operuimus, ira Domini manum ſuam ſuper nos vehementer aggravavit, & immaculatum non pertulit thorum qui diu ante ſuſtinuerat pollutum* (51). This unhappy woman was ſtrangely miſtaken, if ſhe imagined that her love was very chaſte and pure, becauſe ſhe did not ceaſe to love her huſband, ſince he had been rendred impotent. She reproaches him, with entertaining only a laſcivious paſſion for her, ſince he had neglected her, the inſtant he could no longer enjoy carnal pleaſures with her. *Concupiſcentia te mihi potius quam amicitia ſociavit, libidinis ardor potius quam amor. Ubi igitur quod deſiderabas ceſſavit, quicquid propter hoc exhibebas pariter evanuit* (52). But does ſhe not confeſs (53), that ſhe regrets paſt pleaſures, that ſhe reflects day and night on the amorous careſſes with which her huſband had entertained her? Does ſhe not own a deſire of repeating them? *Quomodo etiam pœnitentia peccatorum dicitur quantacunque ſit corporis afflictio ſi mens adhuc ipſam peccandi retinet voluntatem, & priſtinis æſtuat deſideriis* (54)? If this be not a luſtful love, a love of fleſh and blood, what ſhall we look upon as ſuch? Abelard was very ſenſible of this truth, and therefore exhorted his wife to entertain other thoughts, leſt ſhe ſhould be juſtly reproached with harbouring an impure love. *Cave obſecro*, ſays he to her (55), *ne quod dixit Pompeius mœrenti Corneliæ tibi improperetur turpiſſimè,*

——— ——— *Vivit poſt prælia Magnus*
Sed fortuna perit, quod deſles illud amaſti *.

* Lucan. lib. 8.

Attende, precor, id & erubeſce, niſi admiſſas turpitudines impudentiſſimas commendes.

That is,

" I beſeech you, *ſays Abelard to her*, take care, leſt " what Pompey ſaid to the afflicted Cornelia, ſhould " be maliciouſly objected to you.

" My fortune's loſt;
" Who grieve for that, no love for me can boaſt,
" But mourn the loſs of what they valued moſt.

" Conſider theſe things, I entreat you, and be ſo mo- " deſt as not to juſtify the moſt ſcandalous and impu- " dent practices."

[*L*] *He told Abelard . . . that it would be impoſſible for him to get money ſufficient to give ſucceſs to his affair in that Country.*] Our Foulques has ſaid ſo many diſadvantageous things of the Court of Rome, that it was not his fault, if he has not been rank'd among thoſe who bore witneſs to truth. He declares that nothing is able to ſatiate the avarice of the Romans; and that ſhould Abelard go and viſit the Pope without being well furniſhed with money, his journey will be ineffectual. But we muſt quote his own words, the language in which he writes, permitting the moſt groſs terms much better than the French. *Nunquid non audiſti aliquando de Romanorum avaritia & impuritate? quis unquam ſuis potuit opibus meretricum voraginem ſatiare? quis potuit ſacculis cupiditatis earum ſufficere crumenis? . . Subſtantia tuæ rei ad viſitationem Romani Pontificis cum aut modica ſit aut nulla, minime ſufficit. Quid Palatinis morſibus objectabis? . . . Si defecerit* (pecunia) *& iter tamen impleveris incaſſum te ſudaſſe nulli dubitare fas eſt: quotquot enim noſtris temporibus ad illam ſedem ſine pondere pecuniæ acceſſerunt, perdita cauſa, confuſi & reprobi abſceſſerunt.* i. e. " Have not you " been told of the corruption and avarice of the prin- " cipal men at Rome? What perſon could ever ſatiate " a proſtitute's all-devouring appetite with his wealth? " or whoſe bags were large enough to ſatisfy all their " cravings? . . As your whole ſubſtance is very ſlen- " der, (and it may be nothing) it will not ſuffice to " defray the expence of your journey to the Roman " Pontiff. . . How will you be able to ſatisfy the gree- " dineſs of thoſe about the Pope? . . In caſe you ſhould " get to your journey's end, and then be in want of " money, there is no doubt but all your pains will " have been employed to no purpoſe. Whoſoever, " in our time, went to Rome without a large ſum of " money, loſt his ſuit, and returned back aſhamed and " confounded." This evil ſubſiſts now, if we may credit Mr. Hallier, in his Letter from Rome to Father Dinet the Jeſuit, dated the 16th of June 1653. Hallier was one of the deputies who ſollicited the condemnation of Janſeniſm. " It would be but juſt, ſays " he (56), for them to have ſome little regard for us, " after the extraordinary expences we have been at on " this occaſion. You cannot figure to yourſelf how " much money is ſent in bribes and preſents. The " moſt inconſiderable Saint will have his fee. The " Janſeniſts have ſpent upwards of an hundred thou- " ſand, and perhaps a hundred and fifty thouſand li- " vres."

[*M*] *The Ruffians who uſed him ſo barbarouſly had been puniſhed.*] There were but two of them taken, one of whom was Abelard's footman. They were not only emaſculated, by way of retaliation, but their eyes were put out. Here follow Abelard's words (57): *Quibus mox converſis in fugam duo qui comprehendi potuerunt oculis & genitalibus privati ſunt, quorum alter ille fuit ſupradictus ſerviens qui cum in obſequio meo mecum maneret, cupiditate ad proditionem ductus eſt.* i. e.

" Who

(49) Foulques's *Letter*, printed in Abelard's works.

(50) *Si vere miſerrimi mei animi profiteor infirmitatem qua pœnitentia Deum placare valeam non invenio, quem* SUPER HAC SEMPER INJURIA *ſummæ crudelitatis arguo, & ejus diſpenſationi contraria magis eum ex indignatione offendo quàm ex pœnitentiæ ſatisfactione mitigo.*

(51) Pag. 57.

(52) Pag. 47.

(53) See the notes on her article.

(54) Pag. 59.

(55) Pag. 75.

(56) See the *Pieces ſur le nouveau teſtament de Mons*, tom. 1. pag. 405.

(57) Pag. 17.

lay aſide all thoughts of revenge; leave it wholly to God, and love even his greateſt enemies. In fine, he was exhorted not to regret the happineſs he had loſt, ſince that pretended happineſs is ever accompanied with a thouſand inconveniencies; and he is aſſured, that if he perſeveres to the end, the things he had been deprived of ſhould be reſtored at the day of judgment; and that even the following maxim in Logic, *in habitum nunquam poteſt redire privatio*, would be proved falſe. It is pity we have not an anſwer of Abelard to this conſolatory letter. It is probable that it would bear a reſemblance to the diſpute between Job and his friends; I mean, that Abelard would have found anſwers and replies; and that Foulques, on certain occaſions, would appear to him a wretched comforter.

By the way, the Priory of Deuil, which our Foulques poſſeſſed, ſtands three leagues from Paris, near Montmorenci. Conſult, on this ſubject, Father Chifflet the Jeſuit, *Genus illuſtre D. Bernardi aſſertum*, where he mentions one Eudo of Deuil; and Valeſius in his *Notitia Galliarum*, at the word *Pariſii* (*e*).

(*e*) Extracted from a manuſcript Memoir, ſent to me from the Mazarine Library.

"Who running away inſtantly, two of them being "there taken, were deprived of their eyes and geni- "tals, one of whom was my ſervant I before ſpoke "of, who, tho' he lived under my roof, and ought to "have defended me, was yet ſo baſe, for the ſake of "lucre, as to commit that perfidious act." Foulques ſays in general, that ſome of thoſe villains were ſentenced to be emaſculated, and to loſe their eyes; and that all the Canon's poſſeſſions were confiſcated, tho' he denied his being concerned in any manner in the guilt. *Quidam illorum qui tibi nocuerunt oculorum privatione & genitalium abſciſione mutilati ſunt. Ille autem* (he doubtleſs means Fulbert Heloiſe's uncle) *qui per ſe factum abnegat jam ab omni poſſeſſione ſua bonorum comportatione exturbatus eſt* (58). But Abelard was not pleaſed with the ſentence; he complained of the Biſhop and Canons, and had a mind to ſue to the Court of Rome for juſtice (59). *Totum meæ pondus injuriæ Romanis auribus intimare ſtudebo, & tam Epiſcopum quam Canonicos quoniam primum judicium de illo qui in me malus extitit mutare machinati ſunt, quantum potero perturbabo, ac tum demum intelligent quàm ſit contrarium honeſtati à rigore juſtitiæ deviaſſe . . .* (60). *Noli Canonicos vel Epiſcopum tui ſanguinis effuſores vel perditores vocare, qui propter te & propter ſe quantum potuerunt juſtitiæ intenderunt.* i. e. "I will endeavour to appeal, and repreſent the whole "weight of my injuries to the Pope. I will perplex "and trouble, as far as I am able, the Biſhop and "Canons, and becauſe they firſt endeavoured to change "the ſentence of that man from whom all my misfor- "tunes flowed; in order that they may at laſt know, "how repugnant it is to the dictates of honeſty, to "ſwerve from the rigour of juſtice... Call not the "Canons or the Biſhop the ſpillers of your blood, who "laboured to the utmoſt of their power to ſee juſtice "done, as well for your own ſake as for their own." It is great pity we have not the trial of Abelard's aſſaſſins, and of him who ſet them on; and I am ſurprized that, among the great number of pieces, which have been taken out of obſcurity within theſe hundred years, nothing yet has been found relating to this affair. Methinks too much indulgence was ſhewn the Canon, who ought to have had the law of retaliation put in force againſt him. Du Cange (61) having told told us, that the Salic Law ſentenced ſuch ſlaves to be caſtrated, as were catched in adultery and theft; that the Law of the Viſigoths condemned Sodomites to the ſame puniſhment; and that the Law of William the Conqueror ſentenced thoſe to the ſame puniſhment, who raviſhed a woman; adds, that Suger, pag. 308 of his Life of Lewis VI, ſpeaks of a traitor who was ſentenced to have his eyes put out, and his genitals cut off. Hofman (62) has not copied du Cange exactly; for, inſtead of theſe words *apud Sugerium in Ludovico VI, pag.* 308, he has made it, *apud Eugenium in Ludovico VI, pag.* 1308. The traitor mentioned by Suger, was a man upon whom the King of England had heaped the greateſt favours, and who nevertheleſs engaged in a conſpiracy againſt his maſter, for which he was only caſtrated and had his eyes put out, but was not hanged as he deſerved. *Tam horribili factione deprehenſus oculorum & genitalium amiſſione, cum laqueum ſuffocantem meruiſſet, miſericorditer eſt damnatus* (63). Father Theophilus Raynaud, tho' he had read ſo much, did not know that the wretches who aſſaſſinated Abelard were puniſhed by the civil Magiſtrate, as is manifeſt from what Foulques ſays on this occaſion. That Jeſuit therefore did not call to mind this letter of Foulques, ſince he ſays, that the puniſhment of thoſe who emaſculated Abelard, is as criminal as the action they committed, if they were puniſhed without public authority. *Petrus Abelardus . . . privata auctoritate eſt eviratus, quam fuiſſe vindictam illicitam eſt manifeſtum. Et æque nefaria fuit, ſi privata autoritate facta eſt, repenſa executoribus trucis illius ultionis exoculatio ſimul & exectio* (64). i. e. "Abelard was emaſculated by the contrivance of certain "private perſons, and it is manifeſt that this was an un- "lawful action... Nor was the puniſhment, (of loſs of "ſight and caſtration) inflicted on the wretches who "perpetrated that horrid act of revenge leſs unlawful, "if it was done only by private authority." I ſhall perhaps ſpeak elſewhere, of the puniſhment to which the gallants of the three daughters-in-law of Philip the Fair were ſentenc'd (65).

(58) Foulques's *Letter*.

(59) Foulques introduces him, ſpeaking after this manner.

(60) It is Foulques who ſpeaks.

(61) *Gloſſar. Ling. Lat.* See *Caſtratio*.

(62) *Lexic.* vol. 3. pag. 389.

(63) Suger, tom. 4. *Hiſt. Francor. Scriptor.* pag. 308

(64) Theoph. Raynaud. *de Eunuchis*, pag. m. 75.

(65) Their privities were cut off, and they afterwards were ſtead. *See* Guaguin. lib. 7. fol. m. 129.

☞FOX, (JOHN), an eminent Church-Hiſtorian in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Boſton in Lincolnſhire (*a*) in 1517 (*b*), of honeſt and reputable parents. While he was very young, his father dying, and his mother marrying again, he came into the tutelage of his father-in-law (*c*). He was ſent to Brazen-Noſe College in the Univerſity of Oxford at about ſixteen years of age, and placed under the inſpection and patronage of Mr. John Hawarden, Fellow of that College (*d*). May the 17th 1538 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*). He was afterwards elected a Fellow of Magdalen College (*f*), and proceeded Maſter of Arts June the 6th 1543 (*g*). In his younger years he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his genius for Poetry, and wrote ſeveral Latin Comedies [*A*] in an

(*a*) Baleus, *Scriptor. illuſtrium Majoris Brytanniæ Catalog.* Cent. 9. cap. 92. pag. 763. edit. Baſil. 1557, in fol.

(*b*) *Vita Johannis Foxii*, written by his ſon, and prefixed to our Author's *Acts* and *Monuments*, edit. 1641, in fol.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 230. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*e*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 60.

(*f*) *Vita Joh. Foxii.*

(*g*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 67.

[*A*] *Wrote ſeveral Latin Comedies.*] Mr. Samuel Fox, his ſon, in his *Vita Johannis Foxii* (1), tells us, that theſe Comedies were then extant; and were taken from ſubjects in ſacred Hiſtory. We have a Comedy of his, intitled, *De Chriſto triumphante*, printed at London 1551, at Baſil 1556 in 8vo, &c. Mr. Wood (2) aſſerts, that it was written at Baſil in the houſe of Oporinus the Printer. But this is undoubtedly a miſtake, ſince our Author did not go to Baſil till the reign of Queen Mary, who came to the Crown in 1553. This Comedy was tranſlated into Engliſh by Richard Day, ſon of John Day, the famous Printer in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, and publiſhed with this title, *Chriſt Jeſus triumphant, wherein is deſcribed the glorious triumph and conqueſt of Chriſt over ſin, death, and the law, &c.* London 1579 and 1607 in 8vo. This Richard Day was educated in King's College in Cambridge, and afterwards exerciſed the place of Miniſter of Rygate in Surrey in the room of Mr. Fox; but ſoon after quitting that Profeſſion, he followed the buſineſs of Printing, and lived ſeveral years near Aldgate in London, where his father had lived before. In 1672 this Comedy was again publiſhed at London in 8vo, and dedicated to all Schoolmaſters, in order that it might be admitted into their reſpective Schools for the peculiar elegance of its ſtyle, by *T. C. M. A.* of Sidney-College in Cambridge.

(1) Prefixed to our Author's *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, London 1641, in fol.

(2) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 231. 2d edit. London 1721.

an elegant ſtyle; but afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity [B] with ſomewhat more fervency than circumſpection, and diſcovered himſelf in favour of the Reformation then in hand before he was known to them, who maintained the cauſe, or were of ability to protect the maintainers of it (*h*). His conduct in ſeveral reſpects, and eſpecially in abſenting himſelf from the chapel, occaſioning him to be ſuſpected of hereſy, he was obliged to leave the College [C] about St. Mary Magdalen's day in 1545 (*i*). His friends were greatly diſpleaſed with him, and his father-in-law grew implacable, and reſolved to detain from Mr. Fox his own father's eſtate; ſo that our Author was reduced to great diſtreſs, when he was taken into the houſe of Sir Thomas Lucy of Warwickſhire to inſtruct his children, where he married, and continued till they were grown up to riper years, and had no longer occaſion for a tutor (*k*). Being now again reduced to great neceſſity, he with ſome difficulty procured entertainment from his father-in-law for ſome time [D]; after which he removed to London a few years before the death of King Henry (*l*); and in the midſt of the greateſt diſtreſs imaginable was ſent for by the Ducheſs of Richmond to be tutor to the children of the Earl of Surrey, ſon of the Duke of Norfolk [E]. In this family he lived at Ryegate in Surrey (*m*) in the laſt years of the reign

(*b*) *Vita Johannis Foxii.*

(*i*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 231.

(*k*) *Vita Joh. Foxii.*

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 231.

[B] *Afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity.*] His firſt care was to look into both the antient and modern Hiſtory of the Church; to learn what beginning it had; what growth and increaſe; by what arts it flouriſhed, and by what errors it began to decline; to conſider the cauſes of all thoſe controverſies, which in the mean time had ſprung up; and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what on either ſide was produced ſound or infirm. *Prima illi diligentia fuit Eccleſiæ hiſtoriam omnem tum veterem, tum novam evolvere; cognoſcere quis Eccleſiæ exortus, quæ incrementa, quibus artibus floruerit, quo errore declinaverit, expendere controverſiarum, quæ intervenerant, cauſas, vim, & quid in utraque parte ſanum, quid ægrum eſſet* (3). This he performed with ſuch vigour and application, and that before the thirtieth year of his age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin Fathers had left in their writings, the Schoolmen in their diſputations, the Councils in their acts, or the Conſiſtories in their decrees; and he acquired no mean ſkill in the Hebrew language. He uſed over and above his day's exerciſe to beſtow whole nights on his ſtudy, or not till it was very late betake himſelf to reſt. Near to the college was a grove, in which for the pleaſantneſs of the place, the Students took delight to walk, and ſpend ſome idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, Mr. Fox choſe, with the horror of ſolitude and darkneſs, to confirm his mind, which trembled at the guilt of a new imagination. *Eum locum noctemque delegerat, ubi tyronem animum pavidum conſcientiâ novæ cogitationis, adverſus metum, ipſo terrore ſolitudinis & tenebrarum firmaret* (4).

(3) *Vita Joh. Foxii.*

(4) Ibid.

[C] *He was obliged to leave the College.*] Mr. Wood tells us (5), that "Henry VIII ſetting up a mongrel "Religion in the Land, which our Author did not "like, and ſhewing his opinion in ſeveral reſpects, "eſpecially by abſenting himſelf from the chapel, "did, with others of the ſame mind, reſign his Fel"lowſhip about St. Mary Magdalen's Day in 1545, "merely, as it was thought, to prevent expulſion." And the ſame Writer in his *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis* (6) ſays, that he was in a manner obliged to reſign his Fellowſhip. *Sub Henrico VIII. qui hybridam quandam religionem induxerat, cum in Collegii ſacello ſacris intereſſe recuſaret, ſodalitio ſuo quaſi coactus ceſſit anno* 1545. But Mr. Samuel Fox, in his *Vita Johannis Foxii* above quoted, informs us, that our Author being ſuſpected of hereſy, and upon examination not concealing his ſentiments, was condemned as an heretic, and expelled the College. And his enemies affirmed, that he was favourably dealt with by that ſentence, and might have been queſtioned for his life, if they had not choſen to uſe clemency towards him. *Igitur appetitus rumore, inſidiis, inſimulatione omnium, quæſtione ſeverius habitâ, cum ultra celare conſilium ſuum non poſſet, neque in mendacio perfugium quærendum putaret homo ſimpliciſſimi inſtituti, collegiali judicio convictus, damnatuſque de hæreſi, motuſque de collegio eſt. Eâ ſententiâ molliſſime cum eo agi dicebant adverſarii, & potuiſſe capitis appellari niſi clementiam maluiſſent* (7).

(5) *Ubi ſupra*, col. 231.

(6) Lib. 2. pag. 195.

(7) *Vita Johannis Foxii.*

[D] *He with ſome difficulty procured entertainment from his father-in-law.*] He wrote firſt to his father-in-law, in order to try, whether he would receive him or not. His father-in-law anſwered, that it ſeemed to him an hard condition to take a perſon into his houſe, whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capital offence; that it would be dangerous to give him entertainment. However that if he would change his opinion, he might come, and continue there as long as he deſired; but if he could not be perſuaded to alter his mind, he ſhould content himſelf with ſtaying the ſhorter time, and not involve him and his mother in hazard of their fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his ſake. Mr. Fox's circumſtances were ſuch, that he thought no condition to be refuſed. Beſides he was privately adviſed by his mother to come, and not fear his father-in-law's ſeverity, ſince it was neceſſary perhaps to write in the manner in which he did; but that when occaſion offered, he would compenſate for his words with his actions. In ſhort he met with better entertainment from his father-in-law, and his wife's father, than he expected; but ſo his buſineſs required, that he ſhould not rely long upon either; and therefore by often going to and fro from the one to the other, which carried in it ſome ſhew of buſineſs, he both eluded the diligence of thoſe, who inquired after him, and effected, that neither of them grew weary of his company (8).

(8) Ibid.

[E] *In the midſt of the greateſt diſtreſs imaginable he was ſent for by the Ducheſs of Richmond, to be Tutor to the children of the Earl of Surrey, ſon of the Duke of Norfolk.*] Having ſpent what either his friends had beſtowed on him, or his own induſtry had procured, as he ſat one day in St. Paul's Church, exhauſted with long faſting, his countenance meagre, and eyes hollow, after the ghaſtly manner of dying men, every one ſhunning a ſpectacle of ſo much horror, there came to him a perſon whom he never remembred to have ſeen before, who ſitting by him, and ſaluting him with much familiarity, put an untold ſum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, adding withal, that he knew not how great the misfortunes were, which oppreſſed him, but ſuſpected that it was no ſlight calamity. He deſired Mr. Fox to accept of that ſmall gift from a countryman, which common humanity obliged him to offer; and aſſured him, that new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood. Mr. Fox could never learn who the perſon was, that relieved him ſo ſeaſonably. Some, who conſidered the event of the prophecy, believed, that this man was ſent by ſome perſons, who had a regard for Mr. Fox's ſafety; and that it was probably thro' the ſervant's negligence that he ſuffered ſo much diſtreſs, before any relief came. It is certain, that within three days after, the iſſue ſeemed to make good the preſage; the Ducheſs of Richmond ſending to invite him into her ſervice. It happened not long before, that the Duke of Norfolk, and his ſon the Earl of Surrey, were committed to the Tower of London; and while they were in priſon, the Earl's children were ſent to the Ducheſs of Richmond their aunt, to be educated by her, viz. Thomas, who ſucceeded in the Dukedom of Norfolk; Henry, afterwards Earl of Northampton; and Jane, afterwards Counteſs of Weſtmoreland. The two young Noblemen made great advances in Literature under Mr. Fox's care, and the Lady Jane profited ſo greatly in the Latin and Greek Tongues, that ſhe might well ſtand in competition with the moſt learned men of that age (9).

(9) Ibid.

reign of King Henry VIII, and the whole reign of Edward VI (*n*); and was the firſt man who preached the Goſpel in that place, even when the Roman Catholic Religion was in great ſtrength (*o*). Under Edward VI he was reſtored to his Fellowſhip in Magdalen College (*). But upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the throne, Dr. Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, having reſolved to ſeize him [*F*], the Duke of Norfolk, his pupil, ſent a ſervant to Ipſwich-Haven, to hire a bark for conveying him beyond ſea; and becauſe it ſcarce ſeemed ſafe for Mr. Fox to ſtay in any city or place of reſort, the Duke ſent him to the houſe of one of his ſervants, a farmer, in order to wait for a fair wind. He at laſt with ſome difficulty put to ſea [*G*], and arrived with his wife, then big with child, at Newport, from whence he went to Antwerp, Francfort [*H*], and afterwards to Baſil (*p*), where he maintained himſelf by correcting for the preſs for Oporinus a Printer (*q*), and began to write his Hiſtory of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church* [*I*]. After Queen Elizabeth was ſettled in the throne, and the Proteſtant Religion well eſtabliſhed, he returned to England, and was entertained by the Duke of Norfolk at his manor-place, called *Chriſt-Church* in London; from whence Mr. Fox went every Monday to the houſe of John Day the Printer, to finiſh his *Acts and Monuments of the Church* (*r*) [*K*]. He might have been raiſed to very conſiderable preferments in the Church, if he would have accepted them; but the

(*n*) *Vita Joh. Foxii.*

(*o*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 195.

(*p*) *Vita Joh. Foxii.*

(*q*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*

(*r*) Idem, ibid.

[*F*] *Upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the Throne, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, having reſolved to ſeize him.*] The Biſhop was very intimate with the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Fox's pupil and patron, and often viſited him, and frequently deſired to ſee the Duke's Tutor. The Duke at firſt denied his requeſt, one while alledging his abſence, another while that he was indiſpoſed, ſtill pretending ſome reaſons to put him off. At length it happened, that Mr. Fox not knowing the Biſhop to be within the houſe, entered the room where the Duke and he were in diſcourſe; and ſeeing the Biſhop, with a ſhew of baſhfulneſs, withdrew himſelf. The Biſhop aſking who he was, the Duke anſwered, his Phyſician, who was ſomewhat uncourtly, being newly come from the Univerſity. *I like his countenance and aſpect very well*, replied the Biſhop, *and upon occaſion will make uſe of him.* The Duke immediately underſtood that ſpeech, as the meſſenger of ſome approaching danger; and now thought it time for Mr. Fox to retire; and accordingly furniſh'd him with means to go beyond ſea (10).

(10) Ibid.

[*G*] *He at laſt with ſome difficulty put to ſea.*] They had ſcarce weighed anchor, when a violent wind ariſing on a ſudden from the contrary ſhore occaſioned ſuch a ſtorm, that the Sailors were ſtruck with terror. A gloomy and tempeſtuous night followed, during which they with prodigious difficulty lay at anchor; and as ſoon as day appeared, and the ſtorm ſtill continuing, they returned to the haven, from whence they had ſet ſail the day before. In the mean while that Mr. Fox had been at ſea, a Purſevant from the Biſhop of Wincheſter had broken open the Farmer's houſe to apprehend him, wherever he ſhould be found, and bring him back priſoner to the city; but underſtanding that he was gone already, after he had purſued him to the very port, and there found that the ſhip, which he had embarked in, was yet ſcarce out of ſight, returned without ſucceſs. Mr. Fox, as ſoon as he came aſhore, hearing what had paſſed, tho' the news ſomewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himſelf, preſently took horſe, and made as if he would have left the town; but the ſame night returning he agreed with the maſter of the ſhip to ſet ſail again with the firſt convenient wind, telling him that his buſineſs required ſo; nor did he much care what ſhore he landed at. The maſter of the ſhip ſet ſail thence in the night, tho' the ſea was rough, and within two days landed Mr. Fox and his company in ſafety at Newport Haven (11).

(11) Ibid.

[*H*] *Went to . . . Francfort.*] We find his name among thoſe of the Engliſh Proteſtants, who took refuge in that city, in the Tract, intitled, *The Troubles of Francford*, printed in 1575; and upon the diviſion between them there, he eſpouſed the party of Knox and Whittingham, and retired to Baſil (12).

(12) *See* Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, B. 8. Sect. 3. pag. 32.

[*I*] *Began to write his* Hiſtory of the Acts and Monuments of the Church.] He had publiſhed at Straſburgh, in 1554, in 8vo, *Commentarii Rerum in Eccleſiâ geſtarum, maximarumque per totam Europam perſecutionum a Wiclevi, temporibus ad hanc uſque ætatem deſcript.* in one Book; to which he added five more Books, all printed together at Baſil 1559 in fol.

[*K*] *His* Acts and Monuments of the Church.] This work was publiſhed at London 1563, in one thick volume in fol. with this title, *Actes and Monuments of theſe latter and perillous days touching matters of the Churche, wherein are comprehended and deſcribed the great perſecutions and horrible troubles, that have been wrought and practiſed by the Romiſh Prelates, ſpecially in this Realme of England and Scotland, from the yeare of our Lorde a thouſand unto the time now preſent, &c. Gathered and collected accordyynge to the true copies and wrytinges certificatorie, as well of the parties themſelves that ſuffered, as alſo out of the Biſhops Regiſters, which were the doers thereof. By* John Fox. *Imprinted at London by John Day dwelling over Alderſgate beneth St. Martins, Anno* 1563 *the* 20*th of March. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis.* Mr. Fox preſented a copy of this Edition to Magdalen-College Oxford, and at the ſame time wrote a Latin Letter to Dr. *Laurence Humphrey*, printed by Mr. Thomas Hearne in his *Appendix* N° V. to his *Preface* to *Adami de Domerſham Hiſtor. de Rebus Geſtis Glaſtonenſibus*, Oxon. 1727 in 8vo, 2 vol. There was a fourth Edition at London 1583 in two volumes in fol. and it was reprinted in 1632 in three volumes in fol. The ninth Edition was printed at London in three volumes in fol. with copper cuts, the former Editions have only wooden ones. Mr. Wood obſerves (13), that the undertakers of this Edition had in a manner obtained a promiſe from King Charles II, to revive the order in Queen's Elizabeth's time of placing it in the common halls of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, Heads of Colleges, &c. according to the Canons of Dr. *Matthew Parker*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1571. Mr. Strype tells us (14), that when this Book was firſt publiſhed, our Author was thought "to have done very exquiſite ſervice to the Proteſtant cauſe, in ſhewing from abundance of antient Books, Records, Regiſters, and choice manuſcripts, the encroachments of Popes and Papalins, and the ſtout oppoſitions that were made by learned and good men in all Ages and Countries againſt them; and eſpecially under King Henry VIII and Queen Mary here in England, preſerving to us the memories of thoſe holy men and women, thoſe Biſhops and Divines, together with their Hiſtories, Acts, Sufferings, and their conſtant Deaths, willingly undergone for the ſake of Chriſt and his Goſpel, and for refuſing to comply with Popiſh Doctrines and ſuperſtitions." Archbiſhop Whitgift (15) ſtyles Mr. Fox *that worthy man*, and tells Mr. Cartwright, the Puritan, that he had read over his *Acts and Monuments* from the one end to the other; and declares, that Mr. Fox hath *very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter* [of Archbiſhops and Metropolitans,] *and ſearched out the truth of it as learnedly as I knowe any man to have done.* Camden likewiſe gives him and this work this character (16): *Ex Eruditorum numero obiit* Joannes Foxus *Oxonienſis, qui Eccleſiaſticam Angliæ Hiſtoriam ſive Martyrologiam indefeſſo veritatis ſtudio primum Latinè, poſtea Anglicè auctius, magnâ cum laude contexuit.* It has been found likewiſe by thoſe, who have ſearched the Records and Regiſters, which he uſed, and particularly by Biſhop Burnet and Mr. Strype, that he is always faithful. Nay this has been

(13) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 232.

(14) *Annals of the Reformation*, pag. 238.

(15) *Defence of the Anſwer to the Admonition*, pag. 333.

(16) *Elizabeth. Annales*, pag. 558. edit. 8vo.

the only ones which he enjoyed were the Prebend of Shipton in the Church of Saliſbury, to which he was collated upon the death of Peter Vannes in May 1563, and the Vicarage of St. Giles's near Cripplegate in London; but this laſt Mr. Wood ſuppoſes he kept (if he had it at all) but a little while in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, being always averſe to ſubſcribe the Canons, though tendered to him by Archbiſhop Parker [*L*], and to ſome part of the ceremonies of the Church. But though he was a Non-conformiſt, he was a very moderate one, and diſapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans [*M*]. In 1564 he ſent a Latin Panegyric to the Queen upon her indulgence to ſome

been owned by Mr. Collier, who takes all opportunities to depretiate his character, and undervalue his work, and affirms (17), that *a vein of ſatyr and coarſe language runs thro' his martyrology*. The Papiſts were very angry at the publication of this Hiſtory, "in "which their lies and cruelty were ſo fully expoſed; "and accordingly did all they could to blaſt the cre- "dit of both that and its Author. They called it "Fox's *Golden Legend*, and repreſented it a huge far- "del of moſt notorious lies and falſhoods (18)." In 1603, above forty years after the publication of Mr. Fox's Book, Father Robert Parſons publiſhed under the name of *N. D.* that is, Nicholas Doleman, *A Treatiſe of the three Converſions from Paganiſm to Chriſtian Religion*, in three volumes in 8vo; the principal deſign of which is to expoſe Mr. Fox's Church-Hiſtory. In this performance he charges Mr. Fox with falſities and impoſtures, manifeſt foolery and lying, with having a wicked ſpirit, being guilty of tergiverſation, uſing impertinent arguments, ſhewing a contempt of Antiquity, *&c.* He tells us, that Mr. Fox endeavoured to corrupt the Acts of old Martyrs, nay, that he diſcredited his own Martyrs; and pretends to have found 120 lies in leſs than three leaves of his Book. Mr. Wood obſerves (19), that as our Author "hath taken a great deal of pains in his Work, "and ſhewed ſometimes much judgment in it, ſo hath "he committed many errors therein, by truſting to the "relations of poor ſimple people, and in making ſuch "Martyrs, that were living after the firſt edition of "his Book came forth, though afterwards by him ex- "cuſed and omitted." He charges (20) Mr. Fox likewiſe with *committing a moſt egregious falſity in reporting, that one* Grimwood *of Higham in Suffolk died in a miſerable manner for ſwearing and bearing falſe witneſs againſt one* John Cooper *a Carpenter of Watſam in the ſame County, for which he loſt his life. The miſerable death of the ſaid* Grimwood *was, as* J. Fox *ſaith, thus, that* when he was in his labour ſtacking up a goſſe of corn, having his health, and fearing no peril, ſuddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediately moſt miſerably he died. *Now ſo it fell out, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth one* Prit *became Parſon of the Pariſh, where the ſaid* Grimwood *dwelt, and preaching againſt perjury, being not acquainted with his Pariſhioners, cited the ſaid ſtory of* Fox; *and it happening that* Grimwood *being then alive and in the ſaid Church, he brought an action upon the caſe againſt the parſon. But Judge* Anderſon, *who ſate at the Aſſizes in the County of Suffolk, did adjudge it not maintainable, becauſe it was not ſpoken maliciouſly.* Mr. Wood refers to the *Abridgment of many caſes and reſolutions of the common Law*, written by Judge *Henry Rolles*, pag. 87. Sect. 7. tit. *Action ſur Caſe*. But Mr. Strype has ſhewn (21), that Mr. Fox has not had juſtice done him in this paſſage, ſince there was one *Grimwood*, who died in the manner abovementioned, though Mr. *Fox* was miſled by *William Punt* in inſerting this ſtory in his Martyrology, ſince what *Cooper* was tried for was not his Religion, but ſpeaking rebellious words againſt the Queen. Mr. Strype remarks (22) that "the e- "ſteem of our Author grew low among ſome even "of the Clergy;" and it is intimated by Dr. Walker (23), that "the Diſſenters pay a known and particu- "lar regard to Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*;" which paſſage is animadverted upon by the Reverend Mr. John Lewis (24); who obſerves, that *as to private ſtories, Mr. Fox and his friends uſed the utmoſt diligence and care, that no falſhood might be obtruded on the reader, and were very ready to correct any miſtakes that might happen.*

[*L*] *Always averſe to ſubſcribe the Canons, though tendered to him by Archbiſhop* Parker.] Dr. Fuller tells us (25), that the Archbiſhop ſummoned him to ſubſcribe, *that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity*. The old man produced the New Teſtament in Greek, *To this*, ſaith he, *will I ſubſcribe*. But when a ſubſcription to the Canons was required of him, he refuſed it, ſaying, *I have nothing in the Church ſave a Prebend at Saliſbury, and much good may it do you, if you will take it away from me.* "However, continues the Hiſtorian, "ſuch reſpect did the Biſhops (moſt formerly his "Fellow-Exiles) bear to his age, parts, and pains, "that he continued in his place till his death; who, "though no friend to the ceremonies, was otherwiſe "ſo devout in his carriage, that (as his neareſt rela- "tion ſurviving hath informed me) he never entered "any Church without expreſſing ſolemn reverence "therein."

[*M*] *Though he was a Non-conformiſt, he was a very moderate one, and diſapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans.*] Fuller obſerves (26), that though Mr. Fox *came not up in all particulars to cleave the pin of Conformity (as refuſing to ſubſcribe) yet he utterly diſtaſted the* factious *people of that age*. The Hiſtorian then gives us a Latin Letter written by our Author to a Biſhop upon occaſion of his ſon Samuel's being expelled by the Puritan party from his Fellowſhip of Magdalen College in Oxford, after his return from his travels abroad, upon the groundleſs imputation of his having turned Papiſt. In this Letter Mr. Fox writes thus. *Illud confiteor, ſemper caviſſe me ſedulo, ut ſi minus prodeſſe multis licuerit, ne ſciens tamen obeſſem cuiquam, tum vero minimè omnium Magdalenſibus; quo magis id mihi admirationi habetur, quis tam turbulentus genius* factioſa *iſta* Puritanorum *capita afflaverit, ut ſic violatis gratiarum legibus, ſpretis meis ad ſe literis & precibus, contempta ipſius Præſidis interceſſione, nullâ præmiſſâ admonitione, nec cauſſa redditâ is tantam hanc in me filiumque tyrannidem exercuerint .... Quod ſi enim, eſſem, qui perbacchari cum eis contra Epiſcopos & Archi-Epiſcopos, aut ſcribam me præbere illorum ordini, hoc eſt, inſanire cum illis voluiſſem, nunquam iſtos in me aculeos exacuiſſent. Nunc quia totus* ab iis alienus, *partes illas ſectari maluerim, quæ modeſtiæ ſunt, & publicæ tranquillitatis, hinc odium in me conceptum jam diu, in hanc demum effervuit acerbitatem. Quod cum ita ſit, non jam quid mea cauſa velitis facere, id poſtulo, quin potius quid veſtra ipſorum cauſa cogitandum ſit, vos, qui proceres eſtis eccleſiæ, etiam atque etiam deliberate. Quod ad me autem attinet, quamvis erepta filio ſocietas haud leni afficit animum ægritudine, tamen quia res privatæ agitur, hoc fero moderatius. Magis me commovet* publicæ Eccleſiæ ratio. *Video enim ſuboriri quoddam genus hominum, qui ſi invaleſcant, vireſque in hoc regno colligant, piget hic referre, quid futuræ perturbationis præſagit mihi animus. Olim ſub* Monachorum *fucatâ Hypocriſi quanta ſit nata lues Religioni Chriſtianæ, minime ignorat prudentia tua. Nunc in iſtis neſcio quod* novum Monachorum genus *reviviſcere videtur, tanto illis perniciоſius, quanto callidiore fallendi artificio ſub prætextu perfectionis perſonati iſti Hiſtriones gravius occultant venenum, qui dum omnia exigunt ad ſtrictiſſimæ ſuæ Diſciplinæ & Conſcientiæ gnomones, haud videntur prius deſtituri, donec omnia in Judaicam redigant ſervitutem.* i. e. "It has always, I confeſs, been my great care, "if I could not be ſerviceable to many perſons, yet "not knowingly to injure any one, and leaſt of all "thoſe of *Magdalen* College. I cannot therefore but "the more wonder at the *turbulent genius*, which in- "ſpires thoſe *factious Puritans*, ſo that, violating the "laws of gratitude, deſpiſing my Letters and Prayers, "diſregarding the interceſſion of the Preſident him- "ſelf, without any previous admonition, or aſſigning "any cauſe, they have exerciſed ſo great *tyranny* "againſt me and my ſon. Were I one, who like "them, would be *violently outragious* againſt Biſhops

"and

(17) *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory of Great Britain*, Part 2. B. 4. pag. 233.

(18) Preface, pag. 14. to the *Life of John Wicliffe D. D. By John Lewis A. M. Miniſter of Meregate*, edit. London 1723 in 8vo.

(19) *Ath. Oxon.* col. 232.

(20) Col. 691, 692.

(21) *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. 1. cap. 21. *ad ann.* 1561.

(22) *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift*, B. 3. cap. 16. pag. 255.

(23) *Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and ſufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England*, Preface, pag. 20. edit. London 1714. fol.

(24) Preface, pag. 14. to his *Life of John Wicliffe, D. D.*

(25) *Church Hiſtory*, B. 9. Sect. 3. pag. 76.

(26) Ibid. B. 9. Sect. 3. pag. 106.

(27) 107.

(1) Collier's *Eccleſ. Hiſtory*, Part 2. B. 6. pag. 501.

ſome of the Divines, who ſcrupled a ſtrict conformity to the Church (1) [*N*]. In 1570 he preached *a Sermon of Chriſt crucified* at St. Paul's-Croſs on Good-Friday, which was afterwards printed [*O*]. In July 1575 he wrote a Latin Letter to the Queen, to diſſuade her Majeſty from putting to death two Anabaptiſts, who had been condemned to be burnt [*P*]. He was remarkable for his piety, charity, humility, and intenſe application to

" and Archbiſhops, or join myſelf with them, that " is, would become *mad*, as they are, I had not met " with this ſevere treatment. Now becauſe, *quite* " *different* from *them*, I have choſen the ſide of *Mo-* " *deſty* and *public Tranquillity*, hence the hatred they " have a *long time* conceived *againſt me*, is at laſt " grown to this degree of bitterneſs. As this is the " caſe, I do not ſo much aſk you what you will do " on my account, as what is to be thought of for your " ſakes; you, who are Prelates of the Church, again " and again conſider. As to my ſelf, though the " taking away the Fellowſhip from my ſon is a great " affliction to me; yet, becauſe this is only a private " concern, I bear it with more moderation; I am much " more concerned upon account of the Church, which " is *public*. I perceive a certain race of men riſing " up, who, if they ſhould increaſe and gather ſtrength " in this Kingdom, I am ſorry to ſay what *diſturbance* " I foreſee muſt follow from it. Your prudence is not " ignorant how much the Chriſtian Religion ſuffered " formerly by the diſſimulation and hypocriſy of the " *Monks*. At preſent in theſe men I know not what " *new ſort* of *Monks* ſeems to revive, ſo much the " more *pernicious* than the former, as with more ſubtle " artifices of deceiving under *pretence* of perfection, " like ſtage-players, who only act a part, they conceal " a more dangerous poiſon: who while they require " every thing to be formed according to their own " *ſtrict diſcipline* and conſcience, will not deſiſt, " till they have brought all things into *Jewiſh* " *Bondage*." Upon this Letter Dr. Fuller (27) bids us remark the *violence of rigid Non-conformiſts. We may perceive*, ſays he, *by this Letter, how powerful the party of Non-conformiſts was grown at that time, and to what* violences *and* extravagancies *ſome went in their practices, inſomuch that Dr. Humphreys, then Preſident of Magdalen, and Mr. Fox himſelf (both which ſcrupled ſubſcription in ſome particulars) were deſerted by them as lukewarm and remiſs in the cauſe*. Mr. Fox's ſon was at laſt reſtored to his Fellowſhip by the Queen's mandate.

(27) Ibid. pag. 107.

[*N*] *In* 1564 *he ſent a Latin Panegyric to the Queen, upon her indulgence of the Divines, who ſcrupled a ſtrict Conformity to the Church.*] In the beginning of his addreſs " he mentions her Majeſty's retrieving the " Kingdom from the laſt degree of miſery and de- " clenſion; that ſhe had reformed Religion and the " Statute-Book, corrected idleneſs, ſuppreſſed robbe- " ries, and made the country orthodox and quiet. " That ſhe had recovered the mint to its old ſtandard; " and that the manners of her ſubjects were no leſs re- " fined and brightened than the coin. That theſe " State-Regulations, though very valuable in their " kind, came ſhort of the bleſſings in Religion. That " now truth was no longer perſecuted, conſcience had " its juſt liberty, and ſuperſtition gave way to the " Goſpel. And of this, *ſays he*, we have a remarkable " inſtance in your Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition of " ſome Divines concerning the *Eccleſiaſtical Habit*. " What ſatisfaction this gracious indulgence gave the " Univerſal Church, what an advantage after-ages " would receive by it, and what an immortal honour " would deſcend upon her memory, is ſcarcely to be " imagined." From hence he proceeds to commend her for her encouragement of Learning, and the expectations of favour, which ſhe had given to the Univerſity of Cambridge. In the cloſe he acquaints her Majeſty, that " he deſigned to write her Hiſtory, and " had prepared ſome materials for that purpoſe; but " that theſe would be imperfect without further infor- " mation from her Majeſty; and after all he thought " her own genius nobly furniſhed to deſcribe her reign; " and that no body could do her juſtice better than " herſelf."

[*O*] *In* 1570 *he preached a* Sermon of Chriſt crucified *at St. Paul's Croſs on Good-Friday, which was afterwards printed.*] It was printed at London in 4to under the following title: *A Sermon of Chriſt crucified, preached at Paul's Croſs the Friday before Eaſter, commonly called Good-Friday. Written and dedicated to all ſuch as labour and be heavy laden in conſcience, to be read for their ſpiritual comfort. By* John Foxe. *Seene and allowed. At London imprinted by* John Day *over Alderſgate* 1570. *Cum gratiâ & privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis.* The text is 2 Cor. v. 20, 21. The Sermon is divided into two parts; to which are ſubjoined, *The Prayer in this Sermon made for the Church and all the States there*, and *A Poſtſcript to the Papiſtes*. In this *Poſtſcript* he deſires the Papiſts, that " foraſmuch as " the controverſies between you and us, *ſays he*, " are weighty, and chiefly ſtand upon the effect and " working of Chriſtes Paſſion, you will therefore geve " the reading hereof, either to conſent to the Doctrine " if ye thinke it conſonant; or to refute the ſame, " if ye miſlike it. My ſaying and meaning is this. " I. That if ye finde by the Scripture of God, or any " approved Doctor, that the ſacrificed Body of the " ſonne of God, ſuffering once uppon the Croſſe on " Goodfriday, is not the only materiall and ſufficient " cauſe of our perfect ſalvation, remiſſion of ſinnes, " and juſtification. II. Or that the promiſe of God " (which is to ſalvation) ſtandeth not free, without " any condition of worke or workes to be added to " that effect, ſave only fayth in that perſon. III. Or " that Faith in Chriſt is not onely the meane and in- " ſtrument, whereby this paſſion is made to be " effectuall; you will bring out your profes, ſhew " your Learning, and what you can ſay: And if you " will not let the world be judge, yet let the world " heare your reaſons, let truth with judgment be " tryed, let rayling, trifling, and ſcoffing goe. Bloud " and perſecution is no way to find truth, but to blind " truth. The Scriptures in matter of ſalvation are " plaine and evident, teaching ſimply without trope " or figure, and ſoone will try the cauſe, &c." Mr. Wood (28) mentions an Edition of this Sermon at London 1609 in 8vo, and a Latin Tranſlation of it, intitled, *De Chriſto crucifixo: Concio in die Paraſcev. in 2 Cor. cap. 5. verſ.* 20, 21. London 1571 in 4to. Mr. Strype, who does not appear to have ever ſeen the Edition of this Sermon in 1570, is miſtaken in aſſerting (†) that it was preached in 1578, " and " printed in 1585, unleſs reprinted that year." His argument that it was preached about 1578 is drawn from a paſſage in the prayer, wherein Mr. Fox ſays, that the Queen had *doubled the years of her ſiſter and brother*; which very words are to be found in the prayer publiſhed in the Edition of the Sermon in 1570.

(28) Col. 232.

(†) *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. 2. B. 2. cap. 14. pag. 550.

[*P*] *In July* 1575 *he wrote a Latin Letter to the Queen, to diſſuade her Majeſty from putting to death two Anabaptiſts, who had been condemned to be burnt.*] Fuller, who tranſcribed this Letter from the Original, has publiſhed it in his *Church Hiſtory* (29). Mr. Collier obſerves (30), that it is written in *a very handſome Chriſtian ſtrain*. In this Letter Mr. Fox declares, that with regard to thoſe Fanatical ſects, he does not think they ought to be countenanced in a State, but chaſtiſed in a proper manner. But that to puniſh with the flames the bodies of thoſe, who err rather from blindneſs than obſtinacy of will, is cruel, and more ſuitable to the example of the Romiſh Church, than the mildneſs of the Goſpel; and in ſhort ſuch a dreadful cuſtom as could never have been introduced into the meek and gentle Church of Chriſt, except by the Popes, and particularly Innocent III, who firſt took that method of reſtraining Hereſy. He obſerves, that he does not write thus out of an indulgence to error, but, as he is a man, out of regard to the lives of men, that they may have an opportunity of repenting of their errors. He declares a tenderneſs for the lives, not only of men, but even of brute animals themſelves, and affirms, that he could never paſs by a ſlaughter-houſe without the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of pain and regret. He adores the clemency of God in appointing in the Moſaic Law, that the Blood of the Sacrifices ſhould be ſpilt at the

(29) B. 9. Sect. 3. pag. 104, 105.

(30) *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory of Great Britain*, Part 2. B. 6. pag. 549.

to the duties of his function. Beſides his writings already mentioned he wrote ſeveral others [Q]. He died on the 18th of April 1587, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and was interred in the Chancel of the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate, where a monument is erected to his memory on the South-wall [R]. He left two ſons, *Samuel* and *Thomas*. *Samuel*, the eldeſt ſon, was born in the City of Norwich December the 31ſt 1560 (*t*), and in 1576 became Demy of Magdalen College, and afterwards Fellow of that College, and Maſter of Arts. In 1586 he had a leaſe of the manor annexed to the Prebend of Shipton ſettled on him by his father [S]. He was Steward to Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; and in 1589 married Mrs. Anne Leveſon, in

(t) *See* Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift*, B. 3. cap. 16. pag. 255.

the foot of the Altar, before they were committed to the Flames; from whence we ought to learn, that the moſt juſt puniſhments ſhould be tempered with mercy. *Quod igitur ad phanaticas iſtas ſectas attinet, eas certè in republicâ nullo modo fovendas eſſe, ſed idoneâ comprimendas correctione cenſeo. Verum enim vero ignibus ac flammis, picè ac ſulphure æſtuantibus viva miſerorum corpora torrefacere judicii magis cæcitate quam impetu voluntatis errantium, durum iſtud ac Romani magis exempli eſſe quam Evangelicæ manſuetudinis videtur, ac planè ejuſmodi, ut niſi a Romanis Pontificibus, authore Innocentio tertio primum influxiſſet, nunquam iſtum Perilli taurum quiſquam in mitem Chriſti Eccleſiam importaviſſet. Non quod maleficiis delector, aut errortibus cujuſquam faveam, dicta hæc eſſe velim: vitæ hominum, ipſe homo quum ſim, faveo, ideoque faveo, non ut erret, ſed ut reſipiſcat. Ac neque hominum ſolum, utinam & pecudibus ipſis opitulari poſſem. Ita enim, ſum (ſtultè fortaſſis hæc de meipſo, at verè dico) macellum ipſum ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris ſenſu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipſius valde admiror venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis & abjectis, quæ ſacrificiis olim parabantur, id proſpexerat, ne prius ignibus mandarentur, quam ſanguis eorum ad Baſim altaris effunderetur. Unde diſceremus in exigendis ſuppliciis, quamvis juſtis, non quid omnino rigori liceat, ſed ut clementia ſimul adhibita rigoris temperet aſperitatem.* He intreats her Majeſty therefore to ſpare the lives of theſe wretches, or at leaſt to change the ſhocking manner of their puniſhment; to baniſh them, or commit them to perpetual impriſonment, or ſtigmatize, or even hang them; at leaſt not revive the *Smithfield*-fires, which through her Majeſty's care had been ſo long extinguiſhed. If this could not be granted, at leaſt to allow them a month or two, in order that endeavours might be uſed to reclaim them from their errors, and thereby to prevent the deſtruction of their ſouls as well as bodies. *Quamobrem ſi tantum mihi apud Principis tanti majeſtatem audere liceret, ſupplex pro Chriſto rogarem clementiſſimam hanc regiæ ſublimitatis excellentiam pro authoritate hac meâ* (31), *quam ad vitam multorum conſecrandam* (32), *pellere* (33) *te divina voluit clementia, ut vitæ ſi fieri poſſit (quid enim non poſſit iis in rebus authoritas tua?) miſerorum parcatur, ſaltem ut horrori obſiſtatur, atque in aliud quodcunque commutetur ſupplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, incluſiones retruſæ, ſunt vincula, ſunt perpetua exilia, ſunt ſtigmata & φλαγματα, aut etiam patibula; id unum valdè deprecor, ne piras ac flammas Smithfieldianas jam diu fauſtiſſimis tuis auſpiciis huc uſque ſopitas ſinas nunc recandeſcere. Quod ſi ne id quidem obtineri poſſit, id ſaltem omnibus ſupplicandi modis efflagito τᾶτο το φιλαγγικον pectoris tui implorans, ut menſem tamen unum aut alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an a periculoſis erroribus dederit Dominus ut reſaneſcant, ne cum corporum jacturâ animæ pariter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio.* But Fuller tells us, that though the Queen conſtantly called Mr. Fox her *Father*, yet ſhe gave him a flat denial as to the ſaving of their lives, if, after a month's reprieve and conference with Divines, they would not recant their errors. But they continuing ſtill inflexible, were burnt in Smithfield.

(31) It is probable that this ſhould be *tuâ*.

(32) Perhaps it ſhould be *conſervandam*.

(33) Perhaps *tollere*.

[Q] *Beſides his writings already mentioned he wrote ſeveral others.*] He wrote *De cenſurâ, ſeu Excommunicatione Eccleſiaſticâ, Interpellatio ad Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem.* London 1551 in 8vo. *Tables of Grammar.* London 1552. Wood tells us (34), that theſe "*Tables* were ſubſcribed in print by eight Lords of the "Privy Council; which *Tables* were quickly laid "aſide, as being far more too ſhort, than King "Henry VIII's Grammar was too long." *Articuli ſive Aphoriſmi aliquot Joh. Wiclevi ſparſim aut ex variis illius Opuſculis excerpti per adverſarios Papicolas, ac concilio Conſtantienſi exhibiti. Collectanea quædam ex Reginaldi Pecocki Epiſcopi Ciceſtrienſis opuſculis exuſtis conſervata, & ex antiquo pſegmate tranſcripta. Opiſtographia ad Oxonienſes.* These three laſt are printed with his *Commentarii rerum in Eccleſiâ geſtarum* at Straſburg 1554 in 8vo. *Locorum communium Logicalium tituli & ordinationes* 150, *ad ſeriem prædicamentorum decem deſcripti*, &c. Baſil 1557 in 4to. *Probationes & Reſolutiones de re & materiâ ſacramenti Euchariſtici.* This was printed at London about the year 1563. *De Olivâ Evangelicâ: Concio in baptiſmo Judæi habita Londini 1 Apr. cum narratione Capitis XI. D. Pauli ad Romanos.* London 1578. Tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell. To this Latin Sermon is ſubjoined our Author's Comedy *De Chriſto triumphante* above mentioned. *Concerning man's Election to Salvation.* London 1581 in 8vo. *Certain Notes of Election, added to Beza his Treatiſe of Predeſtination.* London 1581 in 8vo. *De Chriſto gratis juſtificante, contra Jeſuitas,* London 1583 in 8vo. *Diſputatio contra Jeſuitas & eorum argumenta, quibus inhærentem juſtitiam ex Ariſtotele confirmant.* Rupell. 1585 in 8°. *Eicaſmi ſeu meditationes in Apocal. S. Johannis Apoſtoli & Evangeliſtæ.* London 1587, fol. Genev. 1596 in 8vo. *Papa confutatus: vel ſacra & Apoſtolica Eccleſia papam confutans.* This was tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell, and printed at London in 4to. *Brief Exhortation, fruitful and meet to be read in the time of God's Viſitation, where Miniſters do lack, or otherwiſe cannot be preſent to comfort them.* Lond. in 8°. He tranſlated alſo from Engliſh into Latin. *Concio funebris in Obitum Auguſtæ memoriæ Ferdinandi Cæſaris recens defuncti, in Eccleſ. Cath. S. Pauli habitæ 3 Octob.* 1564. Alſo from Latin into Engliſh. 1. *A Sermon of* John Oecolampadius *to young men and maidens.* London in 12mo. 2. *An inſtruction of Chriſtian Faith, how to lay hold upon the promiſe of God, and not to doubt of our Salvation.* Or otherwiſe thus: *Neceſſary Inſtructions of Faith and Hope for Chriſtians to hold faſt, and not to doubt,* &c. London 1579, 2d Edition in 8vo. Written by Urbanus Regius. He finiſhed alſo *An Anſwer Apologetical to* Hierome Oſorius *his ſlanderous Invective,* begun in Latin by Walter Haddon L. L. D. London 1577 and 1581 in 4to: and he publiſhed *The four Evangeliſts in the Old Saxon tongue, with the Engliſh thereunto adjoyned.* Lond. 1571 in 4to. Bale mentions ſeveral other Writings of his; but Mr. Wood tells us (35), that ſome of them were never printed.

(34) Vol. 1. col. 135.

(35) Col. 233.

[R] *Where a monument is erected to his memory on the South-Wall.*] The Inſcription on it is as follows. *Chriſto S. S.* Johanni Foxo, *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Martyrologo fideliſſimo, Antiquitatis hiſtoriæ Indagatori ſagaciſſimo, Evangelicæ Veritatis Propugnatori acerrimo, Thaumaturgo admirabili, qui Martyres Marianos tanquam Phœnices ex cineribus redivivos præſtitit. Patri ſuo omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo Samuel Foxus illius primogenitus hoc monumentum poſuit, non ſine lacrymis. Obiit die* 18 *Menſ. April anno Dom.* 1587 *jam ſeptuagenarius.*

[S] *In* 1586 *he had a Leaſe of the Mannor annexed to the Prebend of Shipton ſettled on him by his Father.*] Mr. Strype tells us (56), that this was done upon Mr. Samuel Fox's return home from his travels, which was about the end of June, as appears from a Journal of his; but Dr. Piers, Biſhop of Sarum, a Court-Prelate, had begged it of the Queen to collate it, and accordingly had the grant of it. Upon this Mr. Fox applied himſelf in his father's name to Archbiſhop Whitgift, declaring his caſe, who immediately gave him a letter dated July the 14th to the Biſhop of Sarum; and the Biſhop readily granted his requeſt, "out of a due ſenſe, *ſays Mr. Strype*, of a man that "had ſo well deſerved of the Church for his vaſt "written labours of the Hiſtory of the Church, and "the perſecutions of the true profeſſors of it. Nay

(36) *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift*, B. 3. cap. 16. pag. 254.

in the houſe of Sir Moyle Finch at Eaſtwel in Kent, by whom he had the year following a daughter named Anne (*u*). In 1610 he wrote his father's life prefixed to his *Acts and Monuments* of the Church (*w*). THOMAS Fox, the younger ſon of our Author, was educated at King's College in Cambridge, and became afterwards an eminent Phyſician at London, and Fellow of the College there (*x*). His daughter Anne, who was heir to him, married Sir Richard Willis Bart. of Ditton in Eſſex, ſometime Colonel General of the Counties of Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland, and Governor of the Town and Caſtle of Newark.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. I. col. 233.

(*x*) Strype, pag. 254.

" more than his requeſt. For he promiſed to ſettle an " exhibition upon Father Fox's ſecond ſon, whoſe name " was *Thomas*, bred up in King's College Cambridge; " and, when he was capable of it, of a Prebend in " his Church of Sarum. For to this tenour did the " Biſhop's anſwer to the Archbiſhop run, dated the " ſame day with the Archbiſhop's to him. . . . This " was the judgment and venerable eſteem the Arch- " biſhop and Churchmen in thoſe days had of that re- " verend and learned Confeſſor and his labours."

T

FRACHETTA (JEROM) a native of Rovigo in Italy, gained great reputation by his political works [*A*]. He ſpent ſeveral years in Rome, where he was greatly eſteemed by Seſſa, Embaſſador of Philip II and Philip III, Kings of Spain, and he was employed in affairs of ſtate as well as of war, on which occaſion he diſcharged his duty with great applauſe; but notwithſtanding this he had like to have been ruined, and even loſt his life by the enemies he met with. He then withdrew to Naples; and ſtill enjoying friends to protect his innocence, he proved it to the Court of Spain, who thereupon ordered Count de Benevento, Viceroy of Naples, to employ him, whenever there ſhould be an opportunity, as a very faithful ſervant. This was accordingly done, by which means Frachetta lived in a very honourable manner at Naples, where a handſome penſion was allowed him (*a*). I know not on what foundation Moreri aſſerts, that his *indiſcreet zeal involved him in ſome very unlucky affairs*; for Ghilini, who is the only Author cited on this occaſion, does not hint at any thing like this.

(*a*) Extracted from Ghilini, tom. I. pag. 120, 121.

[*A*] *Gained great reputation by his Political Works.*] The moſt conſiderable of them all, is that intitled *il Seminario de' Governi di Stato, & di Guerra.* He therein has collected under CX Chapters, about eight thouſand military and ſtate maxims, extracted from the beſt Authors; and has added to each Chapter, a Diſcourſe which ſerves as a Commentary to it. This Work was printed twice, at leaſt, by the Author. It was alſo reprinted at Venice in 1647, and at Genoa in 1648, in 4to; and there was added to it *il Principe*, of the ſame Writer, *nel quale ſi conſidera il Principe & quanto al Governo dello Stato, & quanto al maneggio della Guerra.* This laſt Work had been printed in Venice *appreſſo Gio. Baptiſta Ciotti*, anno 1599, in 8vo, and this Edition had been corrected and enlarged by the Author. The firſt Edition was doubtleſs in 1597; for the Dedication is dated from Rome the 7th of November of that year. It informs us, that Frachetta was prompted to write this Book, from a converſation he had with the Duke of Seſſa, in which the latter obſerved, among other particulars, that he thought it was as important a taſk, as it would be a difficult one, to inform Princes of the truth of ſuch Tranſactions as happen in their Dominions. I am to obſerve, that before he publiſhed *il Seminario de' Governi* he printed a general idea of that Work in 1592. His other Compoſitions are, *Diſcorſo della Ragione di Stato: Diſcorſo della Ragione di Guerra: Eſpoſizione di tutta l' Opera di Lucrezio* (1).

(1) See *Theatre de Ghilini*, Part. I. pag. 121.

FRANC (MARTIN) Provoſt and Canon of Lauſanne, and Secretary to Pope Fœlix V, and Pope Nicholas V, flouriſhed about the middle of the fifteenth Century. He was one of the beſt French Poets of that age. He wrote a Poem againſt the *Romance of the Roſe*, and intitled it the *Champion of the Ladies.* We therein find ſeveral verſes relating to Pope Joan [*A*]. I do not believe that David Blondel includes this Author in the

[*A*] *We find* in his Champion of the Ladies, *ſeveral verſes relating to Pope Joan.*] I will tranſcribe ſome of them, and am fully perſuaded that they will be agreeable to many. But I muſt premiſe, that the Work conſiſts of a Dialogue between the adverſary of the Ladies and their Champion. The following lines are an objection propoſed by the adverſary, and it is extracted from his Hiſtory of the She-Pope.

Tu ſcais qu'elle ſceut tant de lettres,
Que pour ſon ſens on la crea
Papeſſe & Preſtreſſe des Preſtres.
O comme bien eſtudia!
O grande louange ſi a!
Femme ſe diſſimula homme,
Et ſa nature regnia,
Pour devenir Pape de Rome.

O benoiſt Dieu comme oſa femme
Veſtir chaſuble & chanter Meſſe:
O femme oultrageuſe & infame;
Comment euſt elle la hardieſſe,
De ſe faire Pape & Papeſſe?
Comment endura Dieu, comment,
Que femme ribaulde & Preſtreſſe
Euſt l' Egliſe en gouvernement?

Lors le monde eſtoit bien nouvel:
Dire l'on peut qu'il ne tenoit
Sinon à la queuë d'un vel,
Puis que femme le gouvernoit.
Merveille eſtoit que ne tournoit
Le ciel, & que pour vengement
Dieu ſur la terre ne venoit
Tenir ſon cruel jugement.

Mais il eſt tardif à punir
En attendant que l'on s'amende,
Et quand on ne peut revenir
A raiſon, combien qu'il attende,
Certes c'eſt force qu'il entende
A donner ſa punition,
Et qu' à juſtice ſon droit rende
Sans plus longue remiſſion.

Ainſi touſjours pas n'endura
Que l'Egliſe fuſt abuſée

De

the catalogue given by him of the Writers who affirmed that the ſtory of this female-Pope is true. But this would not be the only Author he has omitted [*B*]. Authors are not

De celle qui trop y dura,
Car ſa fraude fut encuſée ;
O vengeance bien adviſée
La ſaincte Papeſſe enfanta,
Nonques plus la putain ruſée
A l'autel Sainct Pierre chanta.

Entre le Mouſtier Saint Clement
Et Colliſée chacun vit
Le feminin enchantement.
Si fut tantoſt fait un edict
Que jamais Pape ne ſe fiſt,
Tant euſt il de ſcience au nas,
S'il ne montroit le doy petit
Enharnachié de ſon harnas.

O Dames Dames couronnez
Voſtre Pape & Voſtre Papeſſe,
Deſſus les quatre couronnez
Elle acreut moult voſtre nobleſſe,
Alors le Champion ſe dreſſe,
Et en jettant le dextre bras
Dit, temps eſt que ce parler ceſſe,
De ce mal tu te remembras (1).

(1) *Champion des Dames*, printed in Paris, by Galliot du Pré, in 1530, folio 335. This work is dedicated to Philip II, Duke of Burgundy, ſirnamed *the Good*.

The ſenſe is,

" You know, ſhe had ſo much ſenſe and learning, " that ſhe was created Pope, and by that means be- " came the Prieſteſs of Prieſts. How much did ſhe " ſtudy ! What praiſes are due to her ! A woman pre- " tended to be a man, and belied her ſex, in order to " be made Pope of Rome. ... Heavens ! How could " a woman preſume to put on the chaſuble and chaunt " maſs. O inſolent and infamous female ! How " could ſhe have the impudence, to ſet her ſelf up for " male and female Pope ? How could God ſuffer a proſti- " tute, a Prieſteſs to govern the Church ? .. The world " was then in its infant ſtate, and we may affirm that " it was ſuſtained very ſlightly, ſince a woman preſided " over it. It was a wonder that the heavens did not " turn round : and that God out of revenge, did not " come upon the earth, to hold his cruel judgment. " ... But he is ſlow to puniſh, in hopes that mortals " will reform ; but when he finds they will not, after " the wicked have long exerciſed his patience, he at " laſt muſt chaſtiſe, and inflict thoſe puniſhments to " which juſtice obliges him. ... It therefore was not " permitted that the Church, after having been ſo long " impoſed upon, ſhould be always ſo, her fraud being " diſcovered. O well concerted vengeance ! The She- " Pope was delivered of a child, and ſo the artful " proſtitute chaunted no longer at St. Peter's Altar. " ... Between the monaſtery of St. Clement and the " Coliſeum at Rome every one was a ſpectator of the " female enchantment ; immediately after which, a " decree was made, that no perſon how learned ſoever, " ſhould be elected Pope, without firſt giving a proof " of his virility. .. Ladies whoſe heads are adorned " with a Crown, your ambiguous Pope has greatly " increaſed your glory... Then the Champion riſing " up, and throwing down his gauntlet, ſaid, it is time " for us to put an end to this diſcourſe ; thou ſhalt " have reaſon to remember this evil."

I ſhall not copy the Champion's reply, who makes the beſt apology he can for Pope Joan, and recriminates on ſeveral Popes. Here follows a ſpecimen of his Diſcourſe.

Or laiſſons les pechez diſans
Qu'elle eſtoit Clergeſſe lettrée,
Quant devant les plus ſouffiſans
De Rome eut l'iſſue & l'entrée.
Encor te peut eſtre monſtrée
Mainte Préface que dicta.
Bien & ſainctement accouſtrée
Où en la foi point n'heſita.

The ſenſe is,

" Let us obliterate the remembrance of her crimes, " and ſay that ſhe was a learned She-Prieſt, and ſhone " ſuperior to any one in Rome. Beſides, many a " good and pious Preface ſhews, that ſhe was fixed " in the faith."

* A kind of *Cope*.

[*B*] *But this would not be the only Author he has omitted.*] Mareſius obſerves that he has forgot among other Authors him who wrote the piece intitled, *l'Arbre des Batailles* (the Tree of Battles.) *Eſt quoque mihi*, ſays he (2), *vetus manuſcriptum Gallicum compoſitum ante 300 annos quod inſcribitur*, l'Arbre des Batailles. i. e. " I have in my poſſeſſion an old French manuſcript " written 300 years ago, entitled, *l'Arbre des Batail- " les*," compoſed by Mr. Honoré Bonet, Doctor of the Canon-Law and Prior of Challon, to the honour of God, and in behalf of King Charles VI, ſirnamed the Beloved. *Illius libri* p. 1. cap. 7. *author explicans quo ſenſu in Apocalypſi tertia pars ſolis dicatur obſcurata ad tubam Angeli quarti, idque intelligens de multis qui circa illa tempora ſedem pontificiam illegitimè occupaverant, ſic inter alia ſuo ſtylo loquitur.* i. e. " The " Author explaining in part I, chap. 7. of that Book, " in what ſenſe the third part of the Sun is ſaid, in " the *Revelations*, to be eclipſed at the ſound of the " fourth Angel's trumpet ; and taking it to be ſpoken " of many who, about thoſe times, had uſurped " the Papal Chair, ſays, among other things, after " this manner." And it happened at this time, that the Pope dying, a woman was raiſed to the Pontifical Throne, without being ſuſpected to be of that ſex. This female came from England ; and could people forbear being in deep affliction, to ſee a woman created Pope ? *Eam ex Anglia fuiſſe dicit, quod forte ſe curaſſet nominari Johannem Anglicum, vel ut habet vetus fragmentum apud Wolphium*, Johannem de Anglia, *cum tamen natione Moguntina eſſet. Et credo quod ſi hoc Catalaunenſis Prioris teſtimonium vidiſſet Rev. & Cel. Blondellus, qui etiam Catalaunenſis fuit, minus impendiſſet operæ in veritate iſtius hiſtoriæ oppugnanda.* i. e. " He de- " clares that ſhe was born in England, perhaps be- " cauſe ſhe had aſſumed the name *Engliſh John* ; or, " according to an old fragment in Wolphius, *John " of England*, tho' ſhe was a native of Mentz. And " I am of opinion, that if the reverend and celebrat- " ed Blondel had ſeen this teſtimony of the Prior of " Challon, his countryman, he would not have taken " ſo much pains to oppoſe the truth of this ſtory." He obſerves, a little after, that Egbert Grim, an Engliſh Author, and a Licentiate in Divinity (3), had publiſhed a Flemiſh Book on Pope Joan, in which he cited the teſtimony of 135 Authors. Blondel mentions but a few above ſeventy.

A book intitled, *l'Arbre des Batailles.*

(2) Samuel Mareſius, *in Joanna Papiſſa reſtituta*, pag. 11.

(3) He was Profeſſor in Weſel, and died anno 1636, aged 28 years. Mareſius, ibid. pag. 12.

Since we have had occaſion to ſpeak of Honore Bonet (4), it will be neceſſary, for the reader's inſtruction, for me to take notice of ſome errors relating to this Writer. I ſay then, that Du Verdier Vauprivas calls him *Honnoré Bonner*, *Prior of Salon*, and aſcribes to him a Book, containing 165 chapters, entitled *l'Arbre des Batailles*, and dedicated to King Charles V. He adds that this Book was printed at Paris, by John Du-Pré, anno 1495. Here we find three variations between Du Verdier and Samuel Mareſius : 1ſt, with reſpect to the Author's name ; 2dly, with regard to the name of his Priory ; and 3dly, with reſpect to the Prince who was the hero of the Book. I don't doubt but that Mareſius's teſtimony, as to the firſt and third articles, is better than that of Du Verdier, becauſe Father Labbe the Jeſuit does not cenſure him, as having committed an error on this occaſion. The epitome of Geſner's *Bibliotheque* has an unaccountable blunder in it, the title of a Book being metamorphoſed into an Author's name. See pag. 534, you will there find *l'Arbre Batailles de bello & duello.* Pag. 360, you will find, *Honoratus Bonhor ſcripſit de bello & duello.* Thus you find three different names (5) given to the Author of *l'Arbre des Batailles*. Let us ſee in what manner Father Labbe has criticiſed Mareſius (6). *In Honorato Boneto auctore libri vernaculi qui inſcribitur* l'Arbre des Batailles, *multa peccat :* I. *Priorem* de Challon *vocat, cùm fuerit* de Salon. II. *Compoſitum librum dicit ante annos* 300, *cùm tamen* Carolus VI, *cui dicatus fuit, regnarit duntaxat ab anno* 1388, *ad* 1422. III. Challon *reddit Catalaunenſem, id eſt*, Chaalons. *cùm appellare Cabillonenſem debuiſſet. Ita enim diſcriminantur illæ Civitates : hæc Matronæ in Campania, illa Arari in Burgundia impoſitæ, utraque Epiſcopalis.* IV. *Atque hinc longè abſurdior apparet alluſio, alioquin*

(4) Spondanus mentions him, *ad ann.* 1395, num. 10. and ſays, that he was an Auſtin Friar, and wrote a dream againſt the ſchiſm.

(5) Bonnet, Bonner, Bonhor.

(6) In *Johannæ Papiſſæ Cenotaphio everſo*, ad calcem *Diſſertat. de Scriptoribus Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 922.

Alpina

(a) La Croix du Maine, pag. 314.

not agreed with regard to the native country of Martin Franc [C]. His *Eſtrif de fortune & de vertu* (a), printed at Paris in 1505 (b), is a mixture of proſe and verſe.

(b) Du Verdier Vau Privas, fixes it at the year 1519.

Alpina nivé frigidior : Quòd ſi illius teſtimonium vidiſſet Blondellus qui Catalaunenſis fuit, minus impendiſſet operæ in fabula illa expugnanda. i. e. " He has " committed many miſtakes, with regard to Honoré " Bonet, author of a Book written in our tongue, and " entitled, *l'Arbre des Batailles*. 1ſt, He calls him " Prior of *Challon*, whereas he was of *Salon*. 2dly, " He ſays that this Book was compoſed three hundred " years ſince ; whereas Charles VI, to whom it was " dedicated, reigned only from the year 1388, to " 1422. 3dly, He tranſlates Challon, Catalaunenſis, " that is Chaalons, inſtead of calling it Cabillonenſis : " For in this manner thoſe Cities are diſtinguiſhed, " the one ſtanding on the river Marne in Champagne, " and the other on the Saone in Burgundy, and both " of them epiſcopal cities. 4thly, And hence the alluſion, otherwiſe more cold than the Alpine ſnows, " appears much more abſurd. *Had Blondel, who was* " *born at Challon, ſeen this teſtimony, he would not* " *have taken ſo much pains, to oppoſe the truth of this* " *ſtory.*"

[C] *Authors are not agreed with regard to the native Country of Martin Franc.*] Preſident Fauchet (7) affirms, that *he was born in the County of Aumale in Normandy*. But according to John le Maire de Belges, he was of Arras (8).

(7) *Des anciens Poëtes François*, lib. 2. pag. 205.

(8) John le Maire, *Couronne Margaritique*, pag. m. 57.

FRANCIS of Aſſiſi, a great Saint of the Romiſh Church, and founder of one of the four Orders of Mendicant Friars, was born at Aſſiſi in Italy about the year 1181. He was ſon to a merchant, whoſe profeſſion he followed till the year 1206 ; at which time he was ſo ſtrongly affected with the precepts of the Goſpel, that he reſolved to retire from the world (a). He devoted himſelf ſo much to ſolitude ; mortified himſelf to ſuch a degree, and thereby contracted ſo ghaſtly a countenance, that the inhabitants of Aſſiſi thought him diſtracted (b). His father now thought of making him reſume his firſt profeſſion, and employed a very ſevere method for that purpoſe, by throwing him into priſon ; but finding this made no impreſſion on him, he took his ſon before the Biſhop of Aſſiſi, in order to make him reſign all claim to his paternal eſtate, which he not only agreed to, but ſtript off all his clothes, even to his ſhirt [A]. He prevailed with great numbers of people to devote themſelves, as he had done, to the poverty enjoined by the Goſpel ; and drew up an inſtitute, or *rule* for their uſe, which was approved by the Roman Pontiffs. To extinguiſh the fire of luſt he uſed to lie on ice and ſnow [B] ; but this is all he thought proper to imitate in the conduct of St. Aldhelme, he not daring to venture, as his Saint did, near women, in the moment when he was preyed upon by laſcivious deſires [C] ; and he very poſſibly acted wiſely, for who knows whether he would have triumphed

(a) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1208, num. 7.

(b) Bonaventura, *in Vita Sancti Franciſci*.

[A] *He ſtript off all his clothes even to his ſhirt.*] Let us ſee in what manner Ferrand has endeavoured to juſtify this new Saint, at the expence of the Prophet David. *Michal, David's wife*, ſays he (1), *ſpying from a window her huſband, who, tranſported with a holy fervor, leap'd and danced before the ark of the Lord, deſpiſed him in her heart, and... ſaid to him with an air of raillery*, How glorious was the King of Iſrael to day, who uncovered himſelf before the eyes of the handmaids of his ſervants, as one of the vain fellows ſhameleſly uncovereth himſelf ! *Now theſe laſt words of the ſacred writings ſeem to denote, that David ſtript himſelf quite naked ; nevertheleſs as the Scripture* (verſ. 14.) *ſpeaking of David's dancing before the Ark, ſays that he had a linnen ephod on, I am of opinion that he did not ſtrip himſelf ſtark naked. But then he ſtript himſelf ſo far as to appear as naked, and, in that, to act in a manner unworthy of the gravity and majeſty of a King ; eſpecially as this was done publickly and in preſence of a large concourſe of people. This action of David, conſidered with all its circumſtances, is not more becoming than that of St. Francis, who had very few ſpectators : ſo that, if the behaviour of the one deſerved cenſure, that of the other ought alſo to be blamed ; and accordingly we find that Michal laughed at it. But let us ſee whether the Holy Spirit laughed at it ; and we may judge from thence whether we ought to laugh at the action of St. Francis.* He afterwards quotes the anſwer which David made to Michal ; and the remarks made by the Scripture with reſpect to the barrenneſs of this woman. I will alſo employ Ferrand's words to exhibit the nakedneſs of St. Francis, and I thereby ſhall not need to fear thoſe reproaches, which he levelled at his adverſary (2). " (3) As to what is obſerved by the Apoloſiſt, with regard to St. Francis's ſtripping off his " clothes, I will relate that incident as told by St. Bonaventure. This terreſtrial and carnal Father (ſays † St. Bonaventure, ſpeaking of St. Francis's father) " after having taken this ſon of grace's money from " him, endeavoured to carry him before the Biſhop of " the City, in order that he (in his preſence) might " give up all claim to his father's eſtate, and return " back all he poſſeſſed. Francis did this ; and he even " gave back his clothes to his father, under which was " found a hair-cloth, wherewith he uſed to macerate " his fleſh. After this ‡ being excited by a wonderful " fervour of zeal which intoxicated or tranſported him, " he ſtript himſelf ſtark naked before all the ſpectators, and ſpoke as follows to his father. Hitherto " I have called you my father on earth ; but from this " time I may ſafely ſay, ‡ *our father which art in* " *heaven*, ſince I have put all my treaſure and confidence in him. The Biſhop ſeeing this, and admiring ſo excellent a fervour in the man of God, " roſe from his ſeat ; and being a devout, good natured man, he took Francis in his arms with tears " in his eyes, and covered him with his cloak."

(1) Ferrand, *Reponſe à l'Apologie pour la Reformation*, pag. 364, 365.

(2) He charged Mr. Jurieu to have acted unfairly, in relating the actions of Francis de Aſſiſi, and cites ſome of his falſhoods, beſides the two mentioned in the remark [H]. Ferrand, *Réponſe à l'Apologie pour la Reformation*, pag. 361.

(3) Ibid. pag. 362, 363.

† *Tentabat deinde pater carnis*, &c. ibid.

‡ *Inſuper ex admirando fervore*, &c. ibid.

‡ Matth. vi. 9.

[B] *To extinguiſh the fire of luſt, he uſed to lie on ice and ſnow.*] I ſhall ſtill make uſe of Ferrand's verſion. " The bleſſed Francis, *ſays St. Bonaventure*, at the be" ginning of his converſion, uſed to plunge frequent" ly, during the winter-ſeaſon, into a ditch full of ice, " in order to gain a complete conqueſt over his dome" ſtic enemy ; and to preſerve the white robe of cha" ſtity from the conflagration of pleaſure. He affirmed, " that a ſpiritual man choſe infinitely rather to ſuffer " great cold in his fleſh, than to feel ever ſo little in " his ſoul the heat of carnal pleaſure. Being ſtrong" ly ſollicited one day by the emotions of the fleſh, " he pulled off his clothes, and ſcourged himſelf " ſoundly. Being after this enflamed with a wonder" ful fervour of mind, he opened his cell ; and com" ing out of it, he went into a garden, where, after " having plunged his little naked body into a great " heap of ſnow, he made ſeven balls of them ; when, " ſetting them before him, he ſpoke as follows to his " outward man. The greateſt of theſe ſnow-balls is " thy wife, and the other four thy two ſons and two " daughters. The other two are thy man and maid " ſervant which thou muſt entertain in thy ſervice. " Make haſte therefore and dreſs them, for they are " almoſt dead with cold. But if the great trouble " they put thee to, is uneaſy to thee, ſerve carefully " one only God. The Devil, who then tempted St. " Francis, being overcome, retired immediately, and " the holy man returned victorious into his cell ; for, " by his having ſuffered a great cold outwardly, he ex" tinguiſhed to ſuch a degree the internal flames of " luſt, that he was never troubled with them after" wards (4)."

(4) Ferrand, *Réponſe à l'Apologie pour la Réformation*, pag. 368.

[C] *He not daring to venture, like St.* Aldhelme, *near women, when preyed upon by laſcivious deſires.*] Aldhelme

umphed over temptation, like St. Aldhelme? But to ſpeak in a more expreſs and poſitive manner, we may declare that his conduct was infinitely more prudent than that of the other Saint. It is a mad raſhneſs in perſons who aſpire to the greateſt purity, to approach ſo

Aldhelme who, from being Friar, was made a Biſhop in England, about the cloſe of the ſeventh Century, uſed to go into the water as high as the ſhoulders, even in the depth of winter, to ſuppreſs the rebellion of the fleſh. But he nevertheleſs, on ſome occaſions, would expoſe himſelf to ſome dangers; he uſed not to fly from women when he found himſelf tempted; on the contrary, he would get one, lie down by her till the temptation was paſt, and nature had recovered its uſual calm. He uſed to exaſperate the Devil by this great triumph, this not preventing him from ſinging Pſalms; and he would ſend away the woman without having committed any laſcivious action with her. This is a coarſe tranſlation of the Latin which I have inſerted in the margin (5); but here follows an inimitably-charming paraphraſe. "St. Aldhelme was an Engliſh "Monk in the eighth Century; and, for his learning "and piety was made a Biſhop. The circumſtance "for which his ſanctity was moſt conſpicuous, was, "a chaſtity which no temptation could ſurmount, and "it was ſo the much more worthy of admiration, as "it had put him to dreadful ſtruggles; for the Author of his Life relates, that he uſed to plunge himſelf either into water or ſnow, to extinguiſh the "flames of luſt. He doubtleſs muſt have been preſſed very hard, to have recourſe to ſuch violent remedies; and nevertheleſs he ſubjected this rebellious fleſh to ſuch a degree, that his conſcience was "no longer alarmed with the preſence of the moſt beautiful women. He even made his victory ſtill more complete, by lying with girls, in order that "he might triumph over the moſt dangerous temptations, and in which the greateſt Saints perhaps would have ſtaggered. The imagination of any other man but himſelf would have been greatly diſtracted on ſo delicate an occaſion; whereas he would repeat the whole Pſalter gradually, and all the emotions of his heart were directed to heaven only. He here ſays, that the Devil was tranſported to a wild fury, to ſee him thus brave danger; and to find his virtue increaſe in ſtrength, at a time when it is generally obſerved to ſink. However, Father Henſchenius would not adviſe the preſent Saints, of either ſex, to expoſe their virtue to ſuch mighty trials. In his opinion, this example ought to be admired rather than imitated; and it is raſh in any perſon to put ſo much confidence in his own ſtrength (6)." I wonder how Father de la Mainferme came to omit this incident, becauſe it might help him out admirably at a dead lift. Aldhelme, going to bed to a woman, then repeating the praiſes of God in ſpite of temptation, and gaining a complete conqueſt over nature in the midſt of ſo great danger, has nevertheleſs been rank'd among the Saints, and merited this honour by the great number of miracles he wrought. Why therefore ſhould it be thought ſo ſtrange, that the bleſſed Robert d'Arbriſſel ſhould go to bed to a Nun, in order to gain a victory ſo much the more meritorious, as the atchieving it would have been more difficult? If people will blame this (for it really deſerves very heavy cenſure) at leaſt it muſt be acknowledged, from the example of the Engliſh Biſhop we ſpoke of, that it is no obſtacle to the gift of miracles.

I have ſpoke (7) of an honeſt hermit, who let fall his Breviary, upon ſeeing two perſons who were ſporting in an amorous way. But this would not have happened to him, had he been endued with the ſame ſtrength of mind as St. Aldhelme. This Saint, tho' a beautiful woman was lying by his ſide, did not omit a word of his Breviary or Pſalmody; and I don't doubt, had the caſe of conſcience, which Peter Damianus examined been put to him, he would have made the ſame anſwer as Peter Damianus. This incident is related in La Mothe le Vayer. *Agnes*, ſays he (8), *widow of Henry II* (9), *cauſed a Biſhop to put the following queſtion to Peter Damianus, one of the moſt learned Eccleſiaſtics of his age*, Utrum liceret homini inter ipſum debiti naturalis egregium aliquid ruminare pſalmorum (‡ α); i. e. "Whether a "man during the performance of conjugal duty, may "lawfully repeat to himſelf any part of the Pſalms?" *This doubt was reſolved in the affirmative, as we are told by Baronius, on the authority of a paſſage in St. Paul, who declares, in his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy* (*), *that God may be prayed to in all places.* Could one believe, that an Empreſs had been ſo weak as to aſk ſuch queſtions? And, ſuppoſing a woman's curioſity had been carried ſo far, did it become grave caſuiſts to canvaſs and examine them? It has been very juſtly obſerved, that the human mind will pry into every thing: the moſt gloomy and darkeſt receſſes are not inacceſſible to it, but it will endeavour to carry a torch into them, in ſpite of all the laws of decency. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that one of the moſt celebrated Commentators on Ariſtotle would have made a reply, quite different from that of Peter Damianus, to the Empreſs's queſtion. He would have aſſerted, that the welfare of the State requires in this action more than in any other; that the people ſhould mind the *hoc age*, (what they are about,) and keep their minds as much as poſſible from wandring; for, according to him, the reaſon why the children of men of genius and ſtudy are generally ſuch fools and blockheads, is, becauſe their fathers don't mind enough the buſineſs they are upon, and ſuffer their thoughts to be exerciſed on other matters. On the contrary, ſays he, you meet with ſome heavy fellows who get children of admirable parts; the reaſon of which is, they apply themſelves wholly to the affair of procreation, and not merely for faſhion ſake: they mind what they are about, and nothing elſe; it engroſſes their whole ſoul and all their affections. Read the following Latin paſſage. *Alexander Aphrodiſæus magno ſe labore conficit, dum cauſam conatur inveſtigare & tradere, cur non rarò contingat, ut craſſus quiſpiam, tardus ac propemodum hebes, liberos gignat ſolertes, prudentes & acutos; cujus rei cauſam hanc tandem ſtatuit, quòd qui tardiore eſt ingenio, is in ipſo coitu ita ſe totum præſenti voluptati percipiendæ addicit, ut nihil aliud animo cogitet, quem totum corpori immerſum detinet: Itaque ex eo corpore ductum, & hauſtum ſemen, cui ſpiritus admixti ſunt, multum habet ipſius facultatis intelligendi: quo fit ut liberi naſcantur ipſo patre prudentiores. E diverſo, qui ingenio ſunt acuto, aut etiam eruditione præſtant, quia eorum animus in perpetua quadam cogitatione verſatur, in ipſo venereo complexu alias res agunt. Quare ſemen quod tunc profluit, quum nihil niſi corporeum habeat (animo nempe tum peregrinante) non multum illius præſtantiſſimæ facultatis habet* (10). This fine doctrine has been urged by a very great number of Phyſicians. Read only Gaſpar à Reies in his LXXVIth queſtion, where he ſays, among other particulars, that wiſe and contemplative people who ſet about the conjugal duty, much leſs from inclination, than in order to keep peace with their wives; and who, even in the midſt of this duty, apply their thoughts to Philoſophy, find their children degenerate. He adds that, for a contrary reaſon, baſtards are generally witty and vigorous. *Nec ipſo quidem venereo congreſſu, omnia à rerum ſtudio, & contemplatione deſiſtunt prudentes, à quibus cerebrum debile redditur, quo fit ut plerumque tales minus ſalaces, minuſque fervidi ſint, & qui non magnopere hanc monomachiam ardentius expetant, imo detrectent potius, & velut inviti accedant, tantummodo ut uxoribus gratificentur, eaſque pacatiores experiantur, ſicque ad concubitus debitum ſolvendum magis videntur accedere, quàm avidè expetere* (11). The advice he gives is very different from the deciſion ſent to the Empreſs Agnes (12), and from the doctrine of the Rabbins (13).

[(‡ α) The caſuiſts, building on the Canon Law, have declared for the negative. John Neriſſan, l. 1. n. 25 of his *Forêt nuptiale: In actu coitus ſemper impeditur ratio ab actu ſuo, & in omni illo actu Prophetæ non habebunt influxum ſpiritus prophetici, ſecundum Tabienam in verbo* Matrimonium. III. §. I. *imo etiam in actu matrimonii, quod eſt tantum Sacramentum, Spiritus Sanctus adeſt uſque quo venitur ad copulam, quia tunc recedit. Cap. Connubia*, xxxii. *quæſt.* ii. i. e. "In "the act of procreation reaſon is ever hindred from "exerting its power; and, during all that act, the "Prophets had not the influx of the prophetic Spirit, "as is obſerved by Tabiena on the word *matrimonium* "(matrimony) 3. ſect. 1: nay even in the act of matrimony, which is ſo great a Sacrament, the Holy "Spirit

(5) *Ut vim rebelli corpori conciſſeret, fonti, qui proximus Monaſterio, ſe humero tenus immergebat: ibi nec glacialem in hyeme rigorem, nec æſtate nebulas ex locis paluſtribus halantes, curans, mœstes durabat inoffenſus. Finis duntaxat percantati Pſalterii terminum imponebat labori. .. Inter hæc præclaram hominis conſcientiam deſcribere penè verecundaretur oratio; niſi eſſet in facto glorioſæ victoriæ occaſio. Si quando enim ſtimulo corporis amoveretur; non ſolum illecebræ denegabat effectum ſed aliàs inſolitum reportabat triumphum. Neque tunc conſortium fœminarum repudiabat; ut cæteri, qui ex opportunitate timent prolabi. Immò verò vel aſſidens vel cubitans aliquam detinebat; quoad carnis tepeſcente lubrico, quieto & immoto diſcederet animo. Deridere ſe videtur Diabolus, cernens adhærentem fœminam virumque alias avocato animo inſiſtentem cantando Pſalterio. Valefaciebat ille mulieri ſalvo pudore, illæſa caſtitate. Reſidebat carnis incommodum: dolebat nequam ſpiritus de ſe agitari ludibrium.* Wilhelmus Malmſb. *in Vita Aldhelmi*, apud *Angliam Sacram*, Part. 2. pag. 13.

(6) Beauval, *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, for April 1689, pag. 164, 165. where he gives an extract of *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, tom. 6, 7.

(7) Citation (35) of the Article FONTEVRAUD.

(8) In the 20th *Homilie Académique*, in vol. 14. pag. 291. of his Works.

(9) It ſhould be Henry III.

(10) Corraſius, *Not. V, in Arreſtum Parlamenti Tholoſ.* pag. m. 21. He cites Alex. Aphrod. *Prob.* lib. 29.

(11) Gaſpar à Reies *in Jucundo Elyſiar. Quæſt. Campo*, Quæſt. 76. pag. 1035.

(12) *Igitur qui optimæ & ſimilis prolis deſiderio tenentur, non ſecus ac bruta, totos ſe Veneri tradere debent, & illius illecebris cum uxoribus attentos eſſe neceſſe eſt, alioquin ſi aliter imaginationem occupatam habeant, vel conceptus impedietur, vel propoſito optimæ prolis fine minimè potientur.* Idem, ibid. pag. 1036.

(13) See the remark of the article ARODON.

ſo near to a condition, which, according to the doctrine of the moſt famous Philoſophers, does not allow the ſoul a freedom of thought [*D*], ſo far from permitting it to breathe in pious ejaculations. One of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances we are told of St. Francis of Aſſiſi, is, that Jeſus Chriſt, as it is pretended, imprinted on him the marks of his five wounds, on which occaſion a million of wonders are told by the Monks of his Order. They have obtained leave to dedicate a feſtival in honour of thoſe holy prints or

" Spirit is preſent till they come to copulate, and then " withdraws." See the new *Menagiana*, Paris edit. 1715, Tom. I. *pag.* 367. REM. CRIT.]

Cicero would have laughed heartily at the pretended cauſe of the dulneſs of certain children; he ſaying, that the ſoul is ſo much abſorbed, that it is incapable of every rational function. *Cujus* (voluptatis) *motus ut quiſque eſt maximus, ita eſt inimiciſſimus philoſophiæ, congruere enim cum cogitatione magna voluptas corporis non poteſt. Quis enim cum utatur voluptate ea, qua nulla poſſit eſſe major, attendere animo, inire rationem, cogitare omnino quidquam poteſt* (14)? He has confirmed this in another Book, from the authority of a great Pythagorean Philoſopher (15). *Cumque homini ſive natura, ſive quis Deus nihil mente præſtabilius dediſſet: huic divino muneri ac dono nihil eſſe tam inimicum, quam voluptatem. Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiæ locum eſſe, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem poſſe conſiſtere, quod quo magis intelligi poſſet, fingere animo jubebat, tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi poſſet maxima; nemini cenſebat fore dubium, quin tamdiu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione conſequi poſſet, quocirca nihil eſſe tam deteſtabile, tamque peſtiferum, quam voluptatem; ſi quidem ea, cum major eſſet atque longior, omne animi lumen extingueret* (16). i. e. " As nature, or " ſome God, did not beſtow a more excellent preſent " upon man than the mind, ſo nothing is ſo great an " enemy to this divine gift as ſenſual pleaſure. For, " where luſt reigns, no room is found for temperance; " nor indeed is it poſſible for virtue to ſubſiſt, where " pleaſure is predominant. To make this clearer, he " bids us figure to ourſelves a man, as ſtrongly in- " flamed as poſſible by corporeal pleaſures: and, in " his opinion, no one could doubt but that, whilſt " ſuch a joy laſted, the man in queſtion could not rea- " ſon or reflect; hence it is, that nothing is ſo dete- " ſtable and peſtiferous as ſenſual pleaſures, ſince, could " it be ſuppoſed to aſcend to a greater height, and be " of longer duration, it would extinguiſh the whole " light of the mind." See the following remark.

(14) Cicero, *in Hortenſio*, apud Auguſt. *contra Pelagium*, lib. 4.

(15) *Archytas of Tarentum.*

(16) *Cicero de Senectute*, cap. 12.

[*D*] *A condition, which, according to the doctrine of the moſt famous Philoſophers, does not allow the ſoul a freedom of thought.*] The reader has juſt now heard Cicero's opinion, which is conformable to the maxims of the greateſt men among the antients. We have ſeen above (17), that Hippocrates and Democritus gave the name little epilepſy, or falling ſickneſs, to the act of venery. What can be added to this definition? Does it not emphatically expreſs what is contained in my text. But I muſt not omit the divine Plato. It is related, ſays he, that the Gods pardon to the ſenſual pleaſures of love, falſe oaths; as tho' they were children void of underſtanding. Ἡδονὴ μὲν γὰρ ἁπάντων ἀλαζονέσατον, ὡς δὲ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια (αἱ δὲ μέγισαι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι) καὶ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν συγγνώμην εἴληφε παρὰ θεῶν· ὡς, καθάπερ παίδων, τῶν ἡδονῶν νῦν δὲ τὸν ὀλίγιστον κεκλημένων. *Voluptas enim maxime omnium temeraria: fertur enim de Venereis voluptatibus, quæ ingentiſſimæ omnium æſtimantur, quòd pejerantibus illis Dii prorſus ignoſcunt, quaſi pueri quidam voluptates ſint, nullius intelligentiæ compotes* (18). Ariſtotle obſerves, that pleaſures are obſtacles to the faculty of thinking juſtly; and that thoſe which love excites, do not permit the ſoul to meditate upon, or examine any one thing. Ἔτι ἐμποδίων τῷ φρονεῖν αἱ ἡδοναί· καὶ ὅσῳ μᾶλλον χαίρει, μᾶλλον· οἷον τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο νοῆσαί τι ἐν αὐτῇ. *Deinde prudenter ſentiendi facultatem impediunt voluptates, eoque magis quo quiſque magis delectatur: qualis eſt ea quæ ex rebus venereis percipitur. In ea voluptate enim neminem quicquam animo agitare, aut ratione explicare poſſe* (19). Montagne was not entirely of this opinion, and he depended on his own experience. Here follow his words (20): " thoſe who " combat ſenſual pleaſures, gladly employ the follow- " ing argument, to ſhew that it is altogether vicious and " irrational, viz. that when it is in its utmoſt height, it " has ſo great an aſcendant over us, that reaſon can- " not have acceſs to it; and they alledge the experi- " ence we ourſelves have of this, in our congreſs with " women.

(17) In the remark [*S*] of the article DEMOCRITUS.

(18) Plato, *in Philebo*, pag. m. 405, C.

(19) Ariſtot. *Ethic. Nicomach.* lib. 7. cap. 12. pag. m. 72, C.

(20) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 2. chap. 11. pag. m. 172.

. . . (*) *Cum jam præſagit gaudia corpus,*
Atque in eo eſt Venus, ut muliebria conſerat arva,
That is,
" When that the body feels approaching joys,
" And man prepares to ſow the female field.

(*) Lucret. lib. 4. ver. 1099.

" In which, they imagine, that pleaſure tranſports us " ſo far out of ourſelves, that our reaſon, being quite " languid, and abſorb'd as it were in pleaſure, can- " not then perform its office. I know that it may " happen otherwiſe; and that a man may, if he " pleaſes, bend his ſoul, in that delicate moment, to " ſomething elſe; but it muſt be purpoſely and ſud- " denly forc'd and ſtretched. I my ſelf know by ex- " perience that this pleaſure may be reſtrained; and " I have not found Venus ſo very arbitrary and imperi- " ous a Goddeſs, as many who are more moderate " than my ſelf aſſert." This would be a wretched excuſe for the Monks, whom we combat in this place; the remark which an Italian Phyſician has made, would teach them their duty infinitely better. The bare thought, ſays he (21), of ſuch an action, overthrows reaſon, and inſpires a kind of madneſs. *Atque utinam in ipſo Veneris actu duntaxat mente privaremur, non etiam in prævia meditatione ad eundem, quam furorem & rabiem dixit & deſcripſit Virgilius Lib. 3. Georgic. hiſce carminibus* (22). . . *Tranſimus conſulto carminis majeſtatem, leporem, poſſuntne apertioribus argumentis phyſice comprobari, quas furias addat ſola meditatio Veneris non homini tantum, ſed & brutis quoque ceteris* (23). *Pudenda itaque, vel partes reprehenſibiles exiſtunt, quod animalia omnia in rabiem agant, naturæ cancellis propiùs amoveant, in homine verò maximè omnium jugulent ipſam rationalem animam.* i. e. " I could wiſh we " were deprived of reaſon in the act of Venery only; " and that we were not drove, in the previous medi- " tation on it, to the madneſs and fury which Virgil " has painted in his 3d Georgic. . . . I purpoſely for- " bear expatiating on the loftineſs and elegance of the " verſes; or examining whether the truth of them " may not be proved phyſically, by clearer argu- " ments; and likewiſe what ſpecies of madneſs that " is, which the bare reflection on venereal pleaſure " raiſes, not only in man, but alſo in the reſt of the " brutes. Thoſe parts are therefore juſtly called *Pu-* " *denda* (or what we may bluſh at) becauſe they fire " all animals in general to madneſs; throw down the " proper limits or boundaries of nature; and extin- " guiſh (chiefly in man) the rational ſoul." We ſhall ſee elſewhere (24) a paſſage of Melanchthon which has ſome affinity to that in queſtion: but I muſt not refer St. Auſtin's fine maxim to another place. He infers, that as the ſoul when ſtruck with this exceſs of pleaſure, is incapable of performing any intellectual function; therefore every man who is truly wiſe, and ſenſible of holy pleaſures, would chooſe rather, if that were poſſible, to have the conjugal duty ſeparated and abſtracted from the voluptuous ſenſation that accompanies it (25). *Hæc autem* (libido) *ſibi non ſolùm totum corpus, nec ſolùm extrinſecus verum etiam intrinſecus vendicat, totumque commovet hominem, animi ſimul affectu cum carnis appetitu conjuncto atque permixto, ut ea voluptas ſequatur, qua major in corporis voluptatibus nulla eſt; ita ut momento ipſo temporis, quo ad ejus pervenitur extremum, penè omnis acies & quaſi vigilia cogitationis obruatur. Quis autem amicus ſapientiæ ſanctorumque gaudiorum, conjugalem agens vitam, & ſicut Apoſtolus monuit* *, Sciens vas ſum poſſidere in ſanctificatione & honore, non in morbo deſiderii, ſicut & gentes quæ ignorant Deum, *non mallet, ſi poſſet, ſine hac libidine filios procreare,*

(21) Marcus Antonius Ulmus, *Phyſiologiæ Barbæ humanæ*, Sect. 2. cap. 3. pag. 128.

(22) He here inſerts 24 lines from Virgil.

(23) It muſt be obſerved, that he enquires the reaſon, why the parts deſigned for procreation are called the *Pudenda*.

(24) In the remark [*B*] citation (9) of the article FRANCES.

(25) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 16. pag. m. 129.

* 1 Theſ. iv. 4, 5.

or marks, and to ſay the office of it (c) [E]. They have publiſhed ſo many particulars of their Patriarch, in ſo injudicious a manner, that they have thereby drawn upon him a multitude of ſharp taunts and invectives [F]. Some of theſe taunts are doubtleſs too ſharp and injurious [G]; but a man can hardly forbear imitating Democritus or Heraclitus, when he images to himſelf Francis of Aſſiſi, after having committed ſuch mad actions

(c) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1223, num. 11.

creare; ut etiam in hoc ſerendæ prolis officio, ſic ejus menti, ea quæ ad hoc opus creata ſunt, quemadmodum cætera; ſuis quæque operibus diſtributa membra ſervirent, nutu voluntatis acta, non æſtu libidinis incitata? i. e. "This luſt governs, not only the whole outward, but "inward man, and moves every part of him; the "affection of the mind being blended and united with "the carnal appetite, whence that pleaſure ariſes, "which is the moſt exquiſite of all corporeal enjoy-"ments; inſomuch that at the very inſtant of time, "when it riſes to the higheſt pitch, man is almoſt be-"reaved of all thought and reflection. What man, "therefore, who is a lover of wiſdom and celeſtial "joys, leading a married life, and, as the Apoſtle "admoniſhes, *Knowing how to poſſeſs his veſſel in "ſanctification and honour, not in the luſt of concupiſ-"cence, as the Gentiles, which know not God,* would "not rather, (if he could), procreate children with-"out this luſt; and wiſh that, in the very act of ge-"neration, not only that the faculties of his mind, "but alſo thoſe of his body, might be governed by "his will, and not ſubject to the fire of luſt?

[E] *The Monks of his Order . . . have obtained leave, to dedicate a feſtival, in honour of thoſe holy marks or wounds, and to ſay the office of it.*] See the *Alcoran of the Franciſcans* (26), and you will there find a marginal note that is vaſtly ſatyrical, and is as follows: *With regard to the marks of this Idol, the Jacobins ſay that St. Dominic made them with a ſpit, as St. Francis was hid under a bed, upon a quarrel between them. In this manner do theſe deteſtable Sects worry one another.* The Author of this note has made, at leaſt, one very great omiſſion. He has not cited any perſon who ſays that the Jacobins or Dominicans relate this. Now there is ſo little probability of their having ever related it, that twenty teſtimonies would not be too much to make them ſuſpected of it.

(26) Lib. 1. pag. 4. of the Geneva edit. 1560, 8vo. ſold by Conrad Badius, and pag. 5. of the Geneva edit. 1578, 12°, ſold by William de Laimarie.

It is to be obſerved that Faber Stapulenſis condemned very freely, as ſuperſtitious, the feaſt of the holy wounds of St. Francis d'Aſſiſi. See his Commentary on verſ. 17. chap. vi. of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Galatians (27). The ſuperſtition of this feaſt is a little contagious, and very capable of raiſing an illuſion in the minds of devotees. The Preachers are ſo extremely pathetic on that day, and throw out ſuch high-flown expreſſions, that they raiſe the brain of many people to enthuſiaſm and extaſy; and when there happen a certain concourſe of incidents, theſe ſeeds never fail to ſpring up. I remember a paſſage in Balzac, which the reader will be very glad to peruſe. *Some time ſince there was found in a city of Spain a ſociety of female devotees, who meditated a certain number of hours every day, and quitted the care of all terreſtrial things, to live, (as they ſaid) a ſuperiour life. But what do you think happened? A thouſand domeſtic diſorders and extravagant public actions. Thoſe who had leaſt credulity miſtook the pricks of pins for holy marks; the moſt humble look'd upon their huſbands as profane; the wiſeſt mumbled to themſelves, and were for ever making wry faces: Inſomuch that in the month of May, when only three or four of them had run frantic up and down the Country, the year was judged a very favourable one* (28).

(27) Simon, *Hiſtoire Critique des Commentat. du Nouv. Teſt.* chap. 34. pag. 494, 495. quotes the words of Faber Stapulenſis.

(28) Balzac's *Letters*, Book 3.

[F] *They have publiſhed ſo many particulars of their Patriarch, in ſo injudicious a manner, that they have thereby drawn upon him a multitude of ſharp taunts and invectives.*] See the Book intitled, *Liber conformitatum Divi Franciſci ad vitam Jeſu Chriſti*, and you'll have no farther occaſion to have the text of this remark proved. Thoſe who compiled, in the ſixteenth Century, the *Alcoran* of the Franciſcans, drew their materials from thence, and only publiſhed the extracts of this work; with ſome notes. They made uſe of the Milan Edition of 1510. It is probable that the Franciſcans would have acted a little more prudently, could they have foreſeen what Luther and Calvin brought about: But all thoſe who preſumed to inveigh againſt the Court of Rome, had ſo long been cruſh'd by the ſecular arm, that it was ſuppoſed thoſe who ſhould imitate them, and tread in their ſteps, would meet with the ſame fate. However, thoſe perſons were miſtaken, for a Church compoſed of numberleſs multitudes of people, ſtarted up before the middle of the ſixteenth Century. This Church ſupported itſelf, and ſtill ſubſiſts in ſuch a manner as to be formidable to its enemies. It has abounded with Writers, who have animadverted upon, and finely expoſed the impertinencies of former Authors. The Thomiſts had been ſo imprudent as to permit the Book, intitled *Liber Conformitatum* to be printed, and they have paid dear for it. This is not merely a tranſient wound, as when a ſect, and all the Books written in its favour are deſtroyed: for thoſe who inflicted this wound, have a great number of Authors, and a multitude of Libraries and Printing-houſes.

[G] *Some of theſe taunts are doubtleſs too ſharp and injurious.*] I rank among theſe, what I have related above concerning the marks of St. Francis. We doubtleſs are to conſider as a ridiculous and malicious tale, thoſe blows of the ſpit which it is ſaid St. Dominic gave him. Some perſon formed a whimſical idea of the founders of theſe two Orders, by feigning that they were one day engaged in ſo fierce a quarrel that they at laſt came to blows; and that St. Francis running under the bed, his antagoniſt, arming himſelf with a ſpit, gave him five or ſix thruſts in the body; which made ſome one carry on the joke ſo far, as to ſay, that the marks of St. Francis were owing to this quarrel. I likewiſe rank among the ſame jokes, the following of the Sieur d'Aubigné (29). "If any "Biſhop or Cardinal ſhould entertain a paſſion for "his page, let him comfort himſelf in imitation of "St. Francis, who beſtows the epithet *ſacred* on the "amours in which he was engaged with Brother "Maceus. And indeed, the altar itſelf was a wit-"neſs of their wild and brutiſh lechery; for as the "Book in queſtion ſays, St. Francis would gaze ſo "long on Maceus, that he became as all on fire, and "would often cry aloud, even as he did one day, as "though he had been tranſported to fury, when him-"ſelf held the cup and his companion the Burette, "*Præbe mihi te ipſum.*" In fine I rank in the ſame claſs of idle and malicious tales, the following gloſſes of Conrad Badius, which I ſhall throw into the margin, as he has done. As for the text copied from the work intitled *Liber Conformitatum &c.* I ſhall give it here in the body of this column. *Here follows the manner in which St. Clara* (†) *was devoted and conſecrated to Chriſt. The night after Palm Sunday, being in virtuous company, ſhe came out of the town of Aſſiſi and came to St. Mary of the Angels, to the Convent of the Brethren, where St. Francis and his companions waited for her. Being received here, in an honourable manner, by St. Francis and his companions, ſhe was led to the altar of the Virgin Mary, and there was firſt ſhaved, after which ſhe was diveſted of her ſecular clothes, and the habit of the Order put on her. This being done, St. Francis and his companions conducted her to the monaſtery of Panzo, which is now of his Order, though before of that of St. Benedict . . . Once upon a time, St. Clara ſaying to St. Francis, that ſhe was deſirous of eating with him, the latter refuſed abſolutely to do it; but being afterwards reproved by his brethren for it, he complied* (*). *Being then accompanied by a female friend, and two of St Francis's male companions, ſhe came to St. Mary of the Angels; and after having bowed to the altar of the Virgin where ſhe had been eſpouſed to Chriſt, ſhe went to eat her dinner, which St. Francis had ordered to be ſet on the ground. St. Francis, for the*

(29) *Confeſſ. Catholique de Sancy*, liv. 1. chap. 2.

(†) This is the ſhe-wolf who hath brought forth ſo many others. Now we may naturally ſuppoſe, that this laſs had been very familiar with this lecher St. Francis, who, as they themſelves declare in their book, was a complete debauchee, delighting in every kind of diſſoluteneſs, in dancing, gaming, feaſting; and I leave you to judge, whether he abſtained from fornication, before Satan had made choice of him to complete that calamity which has overthrown Chriſtianity. For what kind of conduct is it, for a young woman, honourably deſcended, to go about, out of her parents houſe, unknown to them, and meet certain Friars, hotter than townbulls; and to be ſo familiar with them, as to let them do what they pleaſe with her? to ſhave, ſtrip her naked, then dreſs her, and do as they pleaſe with her; and all this under a cloke of ſanctity? *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, liv. 2. pag. 220. edit. of Geneva, 1560.

(*) He declared before, that ſhe was confined 42 years in this monaſtery, without

going out of it. Reconcile, if poſſible, theſe two things. In the mean time call to mind what I remarked, viz. that if theſe particulars are true, it is highly probable that there was a ſprinkle of fornication in this ſanctity: for can it be in any manner decent for two young girls to ramble up and down with two friars, merely for a dinner? Beſides, whence could ariſe a deſire in this holy nun, to feaſt with the ſanctity of this excellent father; only that ſhe was deſirous of romping, in order to renew their former acquaintance? Ibid. pag. 223.

actions in his life-time, enjoying divine honours after his death [*H*]. He died the 4th of October 1226 (*d*), and was canonized by Pope Gregory IX the 6th of May 1230. The 4th of October was appointed as his feſtival. The ſtrongeſt of all the Satyrs written againſt him, was that intitled, *Alcoranus Franciſcanorum*, i. e. *The Alcoran of the Franciſcans*, a refutation of which has been attempted by a Monk of his Order [*I*].

(*d*) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1226, num. 33.

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the firſt courſe, began to ſpeak ſo ſweetly and piouſly of God, after ſo divine and exalted a manner, that the good Saint himſelf, Madam St. Clara, and her ſhe-companion, with the reſt of the Brethren, were raiſed to exſtacy. And on a ſudden, as they were thus enrapt, with their eyes and hands directed to heaven, a great fire was ſeen over the convent of the Brethren, inſomuch that the place and the whole foreſt, ſeemed all in a blaze. The inhabitants of Aſſiſi perceiving this, they flew to the convent in order to put out the fire, but found that no damage had been done, and that the brethren and St. Clara were in exſtacy. They now were ſenſible that this was a divine fire, which had diſplayed itſelf in a viſible manner, to comfort thoſe who were aſſembled in that place, wherewith they were greatly edified. Now when the rapture was ended, they did not care for any other food, upon which St. Clara and her Champion returned to her monaſtery (3). If we examine things with ever ſo little impartiality, we ſhall find Badius's laſt gloſs to be equally dull and impertinent. *A great fire appeared on the convent*, that is to ſay, *a report was ſpread, that the Friars uſed to divert themſelves there with ſome Nuns*. What kind of interpretation is this? Is it not to transfer to morality the phyſical principles of Anaxagoras (31)? It is finding any thing, at pleaſure, every where.

(30) Ibid. pag. 224.

(31) *Quodlibet ex quolibet, quia quidlibet in quolibet.*

[*H*] *After having commited ſuch mad actions in his life-time.*] " A man who had a wife and daughters " of ſnow, might well have ſwallows aud graſhoppers for his ſiſters, and hares and lambs for his " brothers, for thus he called thoſe creatures. *Ye " ſwallows, my ſiſters, you have chatted enough. Brother Leveret, why didſt thou ſuffer thy ſelf to be impoſed upon in this manner? Sing, ſiſter graſhopper, " and praiſe the Creator.* He ſpoke as follows to a " peaſant who was carrying two lambs, upon his " ſhoulders, to market; *why doſt thou torment my " brethren in this manner?* His mercy extended itſelf " to lice and worms, which he would not ſuffer to be " killed, becauſe it is written in Pſalm 21, *I am a " worm, and not a man* ... He himſelf killed a Phyſician's ſon in a place called *Nuceria*, to have the " pleaſure of raiſing him to life (32)." Compare this paſſage of Jurieu, with that which I ſhall here quote from Ferrand, and you will find which thoſe facts are that may be looked upon as indiſputable: they are thoſe which Ferrand dares not to deny. *I here omit*, ſays Ferrand (33), *things of no moment, or ſuch as are well known to be falſe*, as for inſtance, *the compaſſion which St. Francis had for lice and worms, which he would not ſuffer to be killed; and the murther which the apologiſt ſays this Saint committed on the eldeſt ſon of a Phyſician, in order to have the pleaſure to raiſe him from the dead. This is ſo weak, or ſo palpably falſe, that we ought not to give the leaſt heed to it: the bare propoſing of it is refutation ſufficient.* Theſe are the only falſities which Ferrand objects to his adverſary. He therefore allows all the reſt to be true, and this is ſufficient to ſhow, that St. Francis had turned his brain, by the very falſe ideas he imagined to himſelf of devotion. I pity Mr. Ferrand, when he undertakes to apologize for theſe fine names of kindred. *If the apologiſt*, ſays he (34), was like St. Bonaventure, *he would be far from* (35) *cenſuring the name* ſiſter and brother, *which St. Francis beſtowed on animals: he would admire this, with St. Bonaventure, whoſe interpreter I cannot forbear to be again in this place.* " St. " Francis revolving in his mind the origin of all " things, and being filled with an abundant piety, " beſtowed the name of brother and ſiſter, on creatures how diminutive ſoever they might be; the " reaſon of his doing this was, his knowing that all " thoſe creatures iſſued from the ſame principle with " himſelf, i. e. that they were all created by God. " He nevertheleſs embraced with greater kindneſs and " friendſhip, ſuch of the animals who repreſented, " either in themſelves or by the application of the " ſacred Writings, the meekneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, as " for inſtance, lambs. Being one day at St. Mary's " della Portiuncula, a graſhopper ſtood on a fig-tree " which was near the man of God's cell. This graſhopper uſed with its chirping, to invite often this " man of God to praiſe his Creator; he having learnt to " admire the magnificence of the Creator in the moſt " minute things. He one day called this graſhopper, " when as tho' it had been inſtructed by heaven, it flew " on the hand of St. Francis, who ſaying, chirp, " ſiſter graſhopper, and praiſe God with your melody; " the graſhopper immediately obeyed, and began to " chirp." If it be true that St. Francis ſtripped off his clothes, and put himſelf in the place of a crucifix, we can no longer doubt of his being diſtracted. I am far from affirming this poſitively, becauſe I met with this circumſtance only in the confeſſion of Sancy. Here follows the paſſage, which I ſhall trace a little higher. *When we read of St. Francis's cohabiting with his wife of ſnow; we muſt ſay that this was an antidote againſt his natural heat, and that which appears in his deſcendants. When he preached to the fiſhes, it implies, that when his deſcendants ſhould preach, it would be neceſſary for them to have dumb auditors. When he preached to them, as a miracle, that God prevented their being drowned in the deluge; this means, according to Richeome, that the miracles of the Romiſh Church are to proceed from natural cauſes. When he calls the wolves his brothers, and gives them his hand, he thereby foretels that the Franciſcans would be a ravenous crew, and endeavour to ſeize upon the innocent ſheep. He calls the ſwallows his ſiſters, becauſe his brethren, as they do, neſtle themſelves at the time of Matins in the peaſants houſes. When the Angel told St. Francis, as he was at prayers, that Antichriſt was to ſpring from his Order; it was in order that the Franciſcans might not be thought unworthy of being raiſed to the Papal See. And when he ſtrips off his ſhirt, to diſplay himſelf naked before women, in the place of a crucifix, it was to reveal the beauties of nature, as not having eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge; and to repreſent, if not the knowledge, at leaſt the nakedneſs, of Father Adam* (36). I conclnde with the following remark: none have done more prejudice to St. Francis than his own children. If, in writing his Hiſtory, they had omitted ſuch things as ought rather to have been buried in ſilence, they would not have afforded the Proteſtants a handle to ridicule him. What a grief was it to the Iriſh Capuchins, when they ſettled at Sedan, to ſee themſelves immediately regaled with three Sermons by Mr. du Moulin (37), filled with the moſt ridiculous paſſages in the Legend of their Patriarch, to which Mr. du Moulin, whoſe vein was well turned for raillery, added a high-ſeaſoned ſauce?

(32) Jurieu, *Apologie pour les Reformateurs*, chap. 1. pag. 52, 53. edit. in 4to.

(33) Ferrand, *Réponſe à l'Apologie pour la Réformation*, pag. 356, 357.

(34) Ibid. pag. 369, 370.

(35) What a thought is this! it is as if I ſhould ſay, *If Mr. de Meaux was like Mr. Claude, he would be far from condemning the Reformation.*

(36) *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy*, lib. 1. chap. 2.

(37) They were printed anno 1641. Father Joſeph wrote againſt theſe *Sermons*; but du Moulin anſwered him in a work intitled, the *Capuchin*, which he publiſhed at Sedan the ſame year (1641). See the remark [*M*].

[*I*] *A Monk of his Order ... attempted a refutation of the* Alcoranus Franciſcanorum.] The Author of this refutation is Henry Sedulius a Flemiſh Franciſcan, He publiſhed his Book (38) at Antwerp in 1607. He obſerves I, That the Book intitled *Liber Conformitatum* was written by brother Bartholomew de Piſa in 1389, and that there was publiſhed againſt this Work, anno 1513, a piece in German, without the name either of the Author or Bookſeller, intitled the *Alcoran of the Franciſcans*. II, That this Alcoran enlarged to double the quantity, appeared at Geneva in Latin and French anno 1578, and that it was printed at Dort, in Flemiſh, anno 1598 (39). He obſerves III, That this Alcoran was written by Eraſmus Albertus, who ſtiles himſelf Miniſter of the Church in Brandenburgh. Now as Luther in 1513 had not yet declared againſt the Pope, Sedulius thinks there is ſome fraud in the date of the impreſſion; the title *Miniſter Eccleſiæ* not being uſed before Luther's time. He obſerves, IV, That it is a calumny to affirm, as Albertus does, that the *Liber Conformitatum* hath as much authority among the Franciſcans, as the Alcoran among the Turks. V. He denies what is aſſerted by Conrad Badius (40), that ſince the Reformation, the *Liber Conformitatum* is ſuppreſſed as much as poſſible, before which, it was frequently

(38) Intitled, *Apologeticus adverſus Alcoranum Franciſcanorum, pro Libro Conformitatum, Libri tres*, in 4to.

(39) He knew nothing of the edition of 1556, cited by Du Verdier, *Biblioth.* pag. 858. and that of 1560, in 8vo, printed at Geneva, for Conrad Badius. It is to be obſerved that Voetius, *Deſper. Cauſa Papatus*, pag. 619. knew only the Flemiſh edition of that Alcoran.

(40) In the Preface to the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, Geneva edit.

I

The method in which he endeavoured to do this, is adapted to raiſe the laughter rather than the indignation of his adverſaries (*e*); for, inſtead of condemning what is manifeſtly worthy of being condemned in the *Liber Conformitatum*, or book of Conformities, he endeavours to juſtify or excuſe every thing in it. It was impoſſible for him to ſucceed in this attempt; and conſequently his book can only ſuggeſt this reflection to the Proteſtants, viz. that as the Monks will not abate in any article, they therefore ſtill approve the greateſt exceſſes of ſuperſtition, which were the offspring of the ages of ignorance. They would diſarm, in ſome meaſure, the fautors of the Alcoran of the Franciſcans, would they but give up the cauſe of Bartholomew of Piſa (*f*); but, with might and main to defend it, is furniſhing them with new weapons, and procuring them the ſatisfaction to ſee, that this ſatyr was juſt; and that it attacked an inveterate diſeaſe, to oppoſe which the ſtrongeſt cauſtics were neceſſary. I own that the Franciſcans would have run ſome hazard, had they owned themſelves in the wrong; whence I will obſerve, that thoſe are very unfortunate, who are expoſed to a certain kind of attack [*K*], in

(*e*) See the paſſage of Rivetus, in the remark [*I*] citation (43).

(*f*) The Author of the book intitled, *Liber Conformitatum*, on which the ſatyr intitled, *Alcoranus Franciſcanorum* is built.

frequently reprinted. He oppoſes, on that account, Badius to Luther (41), and obſerves, that this Book was printed at Boulogne in 1590. In fine, he obſerves, that we do not either in the German, the French, nor the Flemiſh Edition of that Work, find the names of the Compilers; and that he will not anſwer the marginal obſervations, but only thoſe objections which are founded on the words of Bartholomew of Piſa.

(41) *Tam hoc eſt falſum* (pudere nos libri Conformitatum) *quam quod ſcribit Lutherus verum, nos pro hac abominatione necdum pœnitentiam agere, hanc non recantare.* Sedulius, *in Prolegom.*

We are told, in the notes of the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy* (42), that the Alcoran of the Franciſcans was printed under the following title, *De ſtygmatiſato Idolo, quod Franciſcum vocant, blaſphemiarum & nugarum lerna, ſeu Alcoranus Franciſcanorum*, in 1543; and that this was only a tranſlation from the German, *publiſhed in* 1513 (*), *or rather* 1531, *ſince there were no Proteſtants in* 1531; *and that this year* 1531, *which is only a tranſpoſition of the preceding figures, is ſet down* (†) *as the Æra of the Life of Dr. Eraſmus Albrus, who firſt wrote the Alcoran of the Franciſcans in German.* Here follows the cenſure which Andrew Rivetus paſt againſt this Work of Sedulius. *A certain Franciſcan*, ſays he (43), *Henry Sedulius by name, who endeavoured to ape Lipſius, has undertaken to defend all thoſe chimæras and ſcandalous propoſitions; crouding together divers ſentences of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and others, which only ſwell his Work, and perplex the ſubject; and although in the beginning he grants*, that there is ſomething too free in this Book, becauſe of the ſimplicity of the age in which it was writ, *yet there is no freedom of expreſſion in it, but he endeavours to juſtify t* hence he compares them to *a few drops of water, which do not change the nature of wine; inſtead of acknowledging them to contain a rank poiſon, which choaks the underſtanding of thoſe who delight to drink of it. This Book is approved by the Cenſors of Antwerp*, as very uſeful againſt Heretics. *It is certainly ſo uſeful to us, that I could wiſh for the glory of God, that there was no judicious Papiſt, but had a copy of it, and had read it attentively, in order that he might ſay boldly and juſtly to the Author, and to thoſe who reſemble him*, Thou hadſt a whore's forehead, thou refuſedſt to be aſhamed (§). *To ſhew this, it would be neceſſary to write a larger Book than his; but his work alone is ſufficient.*

(42) Pag. 91, 92. edition of 1699.

(*) Henry Sedulius ſays this.

(†) *Theatre Hiſt. Helvici*, Table 37.

(43) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Reſponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 352.

(§) Jerem. iii. 3.

[*K*] *Thoſe are very unfortunate who are expoſed to a certain kind of attack.*] Such Writers as are expoſed to this, reſemble the Roman army, which ſuffering itſelf to be hemmed in *ad furculas Caudinas* (44), could not get out upon any other condition, than by paſſing ignominiouſly under the yoke; and could neither defend itſelf nor capitulate but with the greateſt diſadvantage. Some controverſies have the ſame fate; peace cannot be ſued for, nor war carried on, but to one's ſhame. Such was the condition of the Franciſcans in the ſixteenth Century, when the Proteſtants attacked them on Bartholomew de Piſa's Book. To own that there were, in this Book, many blaſphemous particulars, ſeveral ridiculous, extravagant, impious, &c. propoſitions, was to ſacrifice the glory of the Order; to ſcandalize devout ſouls, and acknowledge, that it was neceſſary for the Hereticks to ſearch them to think and ſpeak better. Farther, this was ſwelling the courage of theſe Hereticks, giving them a large ſcope for inſulting the Franciſcans, and preparing a way for them to invalidate other things, by their being obliged to own, that they had been miſtaken in ſome things, and had left the world ſo long in a blind ſuperſtition. It was therefore judged, that they muſt neither retreat, nor capitulate, but make the beſt defence they could, although they had a very weak poſt. The following old Proverb was at that time verified in them. *A fronte præcipitium, à tergo lupi*; i. e. "I am purſued by the wolves, and a precipice "is before me." They were obliged to make choice between two evils; and it was judged, that the owning themſelves conquered would be the worſt. It was hoped, that ſuch apologies might be drawn up as would ſatisfy devout ſouls; and that the replies of the adverſaries, how victorious ſoever they might be, would not ſtagger the faith of good Roman Catholics. To conclude, they were of opinion, that if it was ſhameful to fight, it would ſtill be more ignominious not to fight at all (45). Generally ſpeaking, it is certain that in a diſpute, he who attacks, has greater advantage, has more prejudice in his favour, and can eaſier maintain his quality or character than a perſon who is attacked: but this was particularly true with reſpect to thoſe who entred the liſts againſt the *Liber Conformitatum*. They fought on ſure grounds, did not run the leaſt hazard; and were ſure to get the better, which way ſoever the enemy might turn. Should he (might they ſay to themſelves) continue ſilent, he will ſhew that he looks upon our objections as inſurmountable; ſhould he ſuppreſs the *Liber Conformitatum*, he will evince the ſame thing, and will bluſh at the extravagancies of his predeceſſors and confirm our reproaches. Should he pretend to juſtify this Book, he will as much confirm our accuſation; his anſwers will be wretched and only prove his obſtinacy; and give us a juſt handle to inſult him, and ſay, that he does not ſuffer innocently for the faults of his anceſtors (46); but is an accomplice, ſince he makes them his own, by endeavouring to juſtify them to the beſt of his power. It is to be obſerved that Sedulius (the Advocate for Bartholomew de Piſa) remarks, that ſome hereticks reproached the Franciſcans with being aſhamed of that work, and that others reproached them with not being aſhamed of it (47). Were they not in a fair way of expoſing themſelves, whether they approved or diſapproved the *Liber Conformitatum?*

(45) *Turpe quidem contendere erat, ſed cedere viſum Turpius.* Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 5. ver. 315.

(46) What Horace ſaid to the Romans, Ode 4. lib. 3. *Delicta majorum immeritus lues, Romane*, ſhould not therefore have been applied to them.

(47) See the remark [*I*].

But ſuch will ever be the fate of men who are to defend themſelves in ſuch poſts as theſe. Mr. le Camus, the famous Biſhop of Bellai, did not foreſee, when he began to enter the liſts with Mr. Drelincourt concerning the power of the Bleſſed Virgin, that he would be drawn into this defile. Mr. Drelincourt collected together, from the Romiſh Writers, a great number of the moſt wild and extravagant expreſſions, with regard to the power of the Virgin Mary, and deſired Mr. le Camus to tell him what he thought of them. This Prelate was brought into a fine ſnare: He exerted the utmoſt efforts of his genius and invention; he anſwered that he was in the country, and ſo could not verify the paſſages produced by the Miniſter; he joked, gave him drolling airs; but, in the main, did not condemn any thing expreſly; he did not dare to ſwallow the morſel or throw it up; he only chewed it, and even had recourſe to a low and farcical recrimination (48); all which proved the unaccountable dilemma he was in. This recrimination, tho' ſo bad, is more tolerable than that which Feuardent the Franciſcan employed on a like occaſion. He took it into his head to reproach the Proteſtant Miniſters, that Theodore Beza had

(44) *See* Florus, lib. 1. cap. 16.

(48) See it at the cloſe of the remark [*A*], of the article ARODON.

in which, whatever courſe they take, they afford their enemy an occaſion for triumph. Such is the dilemma to which the Franciſcans are reduced, when the extravagant and ſcandalous propoſitions in the Book of the Conformities are objected to them. They are not the only perſons who perſiſt obſtinately in owning themſelves in the wrong; for the Jeſuits alſo undertake to defend Bartholomew de Piſa's book, when attacked by the Proteſtants [*L*]. Some laymen have alſo taken up the pen, for a like cauſe, againſt du Moulin the Proteſtant Miniſter]*M*], and met with their deſerved

had invoked his Candida as a Goddeſs. Here follow his words: "But what anſwer will you make, ſhould "I ſhew you, from the writings of your chief Mini- "ſters and Preachers, *that they invoke and worſhip* "*their whores* (ſaving the reverence of all good peo- "ple) *eſteeming them as Goddeſſes?* Is not this deny- "ing the only living and true God? Here follows "Theodore de Beza's own verſes, made on his ſtrum- "pet Candida.

"*Et tamen hanc audes maculare, & dicere nigram?*
"*Deſine, habet certè Numen & iſta ſuum.*
"*Quæ niſi ſit precibus noſtris lenita, veremur*
"*Ne diſcas læſæ quàm gravis ira deæ.*

That is,

Dare you aſperſe the Nymph, and call her black?
Leave off, for, ſure Divinity is in her:
And, ſhould it not be ſoftned at our prayers,
You'll feel the vengeance of th' offended Goddeſs.

"And a little after,

"*Parce, rogo, quæcunque Dea es.*

That is,

Whatever Deity thou art, O hear and ſpare
Thy ſupplicant.

"And again,

"*Ecce fugam fateor, veniam ne, Diva, negabo.*

That is,

Behold, O Goddeſs, I confeſs my flight, &c.

"He then gives and devotes his ſoul to her, as to a "Goddeſs.

"*Ipſam nempe animam tibi dicatam, Amoriſque tui*
"*ignibus peruſtam, Quæ pridem tua ſit licet, ſuam-*
"*que Te pridem Dominam vocetque ametque, Se rur-*
"*ſus tibi datque dedicatque.* i. e. My ſoul itſelf, dedicated to thee, and quite burnt with the fires of thy love; which, although it has been a long time thine, and has long called Thee by the name of Miſtreſs, and doats upon Thee, again gives and dedicates itſelf to Thee.

"And again,

"*Ergo fas alium te, Candida, dicere Solem,*
"*Utpote quæ facias æſtum hyememque mihi.*

That is,

My Candida, I juſtly call thee Sun,
Becauſe thou ſummer bring'ſt, and winter to me.

"Does it become your Authors and Arch-Preachers, "to call their ſluts, *Ladies*, *Miſtreſſes*, *Suns* and *God-* "*deſſes*; and is it idolatry in the Catholicks, to call "the moſt holy Virgin and Mother of God, only "Star of the Sea, Advocate for ſinners, Life, Sweet- "neſs, and Queen of Mercy (49)?" The ridiculouſneſs of this parallel is viſible to every one; for Iſt there is a prodigious difference between poetical phraſes and thoſe of devotion. The former are a mere ſport of the imagination, and have nothing ſerious in them; but the latter are employed on ſerious occaſions, and as a religious act. IIdly, Beza was not a Miniſter when he compoſed thoſe verſes. IIIdly, He diſowned and deteſted them, as ſoon as he had made an open profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion.

[*L*] *The Jeſuits alſo undertake to defend Bartholomew de Piſa's Book, when attacked by the Proteſtants.*] Du Pleſſis Mornai diſplayed, in one of his Books (50), the parallels made by the Author of *Liber Conformitatum*, between Chriſt Jeſus and the Founder of the Franciſcans. Gretſer the Jeſuit anſwered (51), *that there is nothing in this* Liber Conformitatum, *on which a devout ſoul may not put a favourable conſtruction; and a great many things that a wicked ſoul may explain in a ſiniſter manner. That before candour and ſimplicity had left the earth, many things had been ſaid ſimply and candidly, which double minded people now cavil at and calumniate.* "After this manner (this is Andrew Rivetus's reflecti- "on (52),) any man that pleaſes, may attempt to de- "fend the *Koran* of Mahomet; and there is no blaſ- "phemy but may be converted into a divine ſentence, "by thoſe who can ſo eaſily ſatisfy their *devout ſouls*, "little zealous for the honour of Chriſt." Cœffeteau, who was a Dominican, did not ſtand up ſo much in vindication of Bartholomew of Piſa, when he anſwered this work of du Pleſſis. *As to the* Liber Conformitatum, *or Treatiſe concerning the conformity or parallel between St. Francis and Jeſus Chriſt, it was never approved by the Church of Rome. It was written by a private perſon, who, carried away with too inconſiderate a zeal for his Patriarch, may juſtly be charged with having little judgment, becauſe, by expatiating too greatly in his praiſe, he has ſaid ſome things which may doubtleſs be explained in a bad ſenſe. Thoſe of his Order, who approved it in their general Chapter, never imagined that his expreſſions would be ſo ſeverely conſtrued; and I am ſure not one of them believed for all this,* that St. Francis equalled or was ſuperiour to Jeſus Chriſt, *tho' they look'd upon him as one of the great Saints in Paradiſe* (53). I ſhall conclude with Rivetus's obſervation. "In caſe "the Romiſh Church does not approve of thoſe blaſ- "phemies, why did ſhe tolerate them ſo long? Why "did the Cenſors of Books, the Maſter of the palace "in Rome, and all the Inquiſitors, paſs them ſo long "over in ſilence? Have they not proved, by their ſi- "lence during two hundred years, what the infamous "de Piſa has written? Have they not alſo permitted "it, a few years ſince (*), to be printed in Bologna, "without the leaſt cenſure, or antidote againſt its "doctrines? Can Cœffeteau therefore throw it *upon* "*a private man, who, tranſported with an inconſide-* "*rate zeal*, . . . He comes off very cheap, if this be "allowed to ſerve his turn. Were his General and "the Chapter a private man? *They never imagined*, "ſays he, *that his expreſſions would be ſo ſeverely con-* "*ſtrued.* But could they declare, with a ſafe con- "ſcience, *that after having examin'd it thoroughly*, "*they did not perceive any paſſage in it that ſtood in need* "*of correction?* Is not this, at leaſt, a mark of ſtupi- "dity and palpable ignorance (54)?" I wanted this to prove what I have aſſerted above, with reſpect to the inextricable labyrinths in which the Proteſtants have led their antagoniſts, when they attacked the *Liber Conformitatum*. And thus far the influence of one man's folly ſhall extend: It expoſes the whole body, the whole community to a ſtorm, in like manner as the crime of Ajax antiently expoſed the Grecian Fleet (55). If the reader chooſes rather another compariſon let him ſee the margin (56).

[*M*] *Some laymen have alſo taken up the pen, for a like cauſe, againſt du Moulin the Proteſtant Miniſter.*] William Cacherat, Counſellor, the King's Attorney in the Admiralty of France, in the Juriſdiction of Quillebœuf, wrote a Book which was printed at Paris in 1642, and entitled, *the Capuchin defended againſt the calumnies of Mr. Peter du Moulin, Miniſter; or an apologetic Treatiſe, containing the juſt reaſons which induced the Parliament of Bourdeaux to cauſe to be burnt, by the hands of the executioner, the diffamatory Libel againſt the Capuchins written and publiſhed at Sedan by that Miniſter, and ſpread over this Kingdom, contrary to the tenor of the Edicts of Pacification. With a ſummary refutation of the calumnies and impieties contained therein.* I have already mentioned (37) this work of du Moulin, and I add in this place, that Cacherat could not have been more zealous in defending the Capuchins, had he been of their Order; but that his

(49) Feuardent, *Examination of the Confeſſions, Prayers, Sacraments, and Catechiſms of the Calviniſts*, folio 95. He cites *Elegia* 6, *quæ eſt de ſua Candida, ad Lodoicum.* I have an edition of the *Juvenilia Poemata* of Theodore de Beza, without the date of the year; the place where they were printed, or the Printer's name. The ſix firſt verſes cited by Feuardent are in the 5th Elegy. Thoſe that follow, which this Friar confounds together as tho' they were proſe, are in an epigram intitled, *Xenium Candidæ.* The two laſt are in another Epigram. The reader may judge from hence, whether Feuardent knew how to quote.

(50) In the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, pag. 334. and more amply in his *Treatiſe on the Euchariſt*, Book 3. chap. 17. Note that Henry Stephens takes notice of this in chap. 25. of the *Apology for Herodotus.*

(51) Gretſer, *Examen. Myſter.* chap. 53. cited by Rivetus, *Remarks on the Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity*, tom. 2. pag. 351.

(52) Rivet, ibid. pag. 352.

(53) Cœffeteau, *Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity*, pag. 870.

(*) Anno 1590.

(54) Rivet, *Remarks on the Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity*, pag. 351.

(55) *Unius ob noxam & furias Ajacis Oilei.* Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 41.

(56) *Sicut grex totus in agris Unius ſcabie cadit & portigine porci.* Juvenal. Sat. 2. ver. 79. i. e. "As a whole "herd of Swine "is loſt, by one "that's tainted."

(57) In the remark [*H*].

ſerved fate. However this be, the Franciſcans ſtill continued to preach the moſt abſurd particulars with regard to their founder; and theſe the public would be more fully acquainted with, were all Prelates as vigilant and reſolute as the Archbiſhop of Reims [*N*]. Let us now paſs to another circumſtance. Francis of Aſſiſi founded an Order which ſoon roſe to great ſplendor, and has done very great ſervices to the Roman Pontiffs. Some Popes,

his apology was a very wretched one. I will here give a ſpecimen of it. He looks upon (58) as the ninth calumny of this Miniſter, the following paſſage. "The Capuchins, who at their entering "into their Order, engage themſelves *to obſerve the "entire rule of St. Francis, do not; for by that rule the "Franciſcans are commanded to work with their hands, "which the Capuchins do not.*" Let us now ſee in what manner he endeavours to prove that it is a calumny. *The Generals of the Order*, ſays he (59), *who give an account of, and are to be anſwerable for, the actions of all their Monks to the Cardinal their Protector, and he to the Pope, whom it chiefly concerns to ſee that the rule be punctually obſerved, and who keep a watchful eye on this occaſion, do not complain that it is neglected; and du Moulin the Miniſter not being appointed to enquire into it; and having never been in the Convents of this Order, to ſee whether the individuals do or do not keep ſtrictly to their rules, he therefore ought to be look'd upon as a ſlanderer, and as a man who did not underſtand what St. Francis meant by the following words*, to work with their hands, *which are not to be taken in the ſenſe that this Miniſter will have it; but as the Church and the Superiours of the Order have underſtood them, and now explain them.* It is plain that ſuch a proof of calumny is very weak, and is rather a calumny than the refutation of a calumny. The pretended proof in queſtion amounts to this, *the Church diſpenſes the Capuchins from the literal obſervation of their rule*; but this itſelf proves that they do not obſerve it, and that du Moulin's accuſation is juſt. Had he charged them with infringing the orders of their founder, without being authorized to do it by diſpenſations or allegorical gloſſes, he might have been called a ſlanderer; but all he ſaid was, that they did not obſerve the rule of St. Francis of Aſſiſi. Their vindication grounded on the diſpenſations of Popes, and the interpretation of their Superiours, would have put the Miniſter in queſtion to very little trouble: it would have furniſhed him with new arguments againſt him; for it is certainly a very great abuſe, to profeſs the obſervation of a very auſtere rule, and afterwards get a diſpenſation to break it. This is what the Franciſcans did with reſpect to their vow of poverty: they got leave from the Pope to concern themſelves with money, which gave occaſion to a diſpute that made a great noiſe in England, a very diverting deſcription whereof is given by Eraſmus (60). If the reader peruſes it, he will find that the circumſtance which gave riſe to the great hurly burly made by Standiſh, the main pillar of the Franciſcans in that country, was, that he might put a ſtop to the traffic of the Auſtin Friars; the profit they made leſſening that of the Franciſcans. I could name ſome mendicant Friars, famous for their writings, whoſe Superiours have given them permiſſion to negotiate with Booksellers for their manuſcripts. The latter pay them a very handſome price for their copies, and for their trouble in correcting the proofs; they give the Author both money and ſeveral copies of his work, and theſe he himſelf ſells for ready money. Can this be called obſerving his religious vow? Not in the leaſt: But he is allowed to break it, and this very thing ſhews that he does not obſerve it. The diſpenſation ſuppoſes and imports that he really infringes it.

(58) Cacherat, *Capuchin defended*, pag. 72.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Eraſmus, *Adag.* Chil. 2. Cent. 5. num. 98. pag. m. 511, *& ſeq.*

[*N*] *The Franciſcans ſtill continued to preach the moſt abſurd particulars with regard to their founder; and theſe the public would be more fully acquainted with, were all Prelates as vigilant and reſolute as the Archbiſhop of Rheims.*] (61) A Franciſcan, a Capuchin, and a Benedictine Friar had preached, in his Dioceſe, the 2d of Auguſt 1694. *in honour of St. Francis, at the ſolemnity of the Portiuncula.* "(62) He himſelf gave them "the recantation they were to make in writing, in "order to undeceive the people whom they had ſe"duced; to make them circumſpect for the future in "the exerciſe of their functions, and to give people "an antidote againſt ſuch impreſſions. The three "Preachers obeyed his orders with great humility, "and the Franciſcan going up into the pulpit, de"clared that the following text which he had taken "for the ſubject of his ſermon, *Tres ſunt qui teſti"monium dant in Cœlo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus "Sanctus, & hi tres unum ſunt*, i. e. "There are "three who bear witneſs in heaven, the Father, "the Word, and Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are "one," had nothing to do with what he had under"taken to treat of, and could not be applied to it, "without evidently wreſting the word of God: that "having entertained a falſe idea of the merit of St. "Francis, though he was a great Saint both before "God and men, he had raſhly advanced, that St. "Francis had wrought in the Portiuncula, by his "tears, what Jeſus Chriſt had done by his, for ſinners, "in the manger at Bethlehem; that St. Francis had "done in the Portiuncula, by the blood of his wounds, "what Jeſus Chriſt had effected by his on Calvary; "and that St. Francis had done, in his heart, in fa"vour of ſinners, what Chriſt has done for them, in "his, on the croſs ... (63) The Capuchin recanted "in like manner ſuch propoſitions, contrary to the "doctrine of the Church, which he had advanced in "his Sermon the ſame day. Firſt, that St. Francis, "proſtrating himſelf with his face to the ground, "cauſed the Son of God to deſcend a ſecond time on "the earth. Secondly, that the Portiuncula is ſo "entire and perfect an amneſty or general pardon, "that it may be aſſerted, God never ſhowed him"ſelf, in all paſt ages, more gracious to ſinners than "in this ſolemnity; that when he aſſerted that St. "Francis, like St. Paul, may glory in his having "completed what was wanting in the paſſion of our "Saviour, he had made a raſh application of this "Apoſtle's words, and ſuch an one as was repugnant "to their ſenſe: that he had alſo advanced a raſh "and falſe propoſition, in making St. Francis ſay; "My God, if it be neceſſary that your juſtice ſhould "be ſatisfied, have pardon, have mercy, mercy upon ſin"ners; I offer myſelf ſingly as the victim, and will ſa"tisfy your juſtice for them. . (64). He acknowledges "likewiſe that, in a parallel, ... whichis falſe, raſh and "erroneous; and alſo as what he had aſſerted, that the "indulgence of the Portiuncula is an image of the im"menſity, infinity, and eternity of God, becauſe it is ob"tained in all the Churches of St. Francis, becauſe it "expiates the puniſhment of ſin, and will endure to "the end of the world." Here follow the propoſitions which the Benedictine Friar was obliged to retract (65). *Firſt, where he ſaid, that he did not know which to admire moſt, the divine Word deſcending into the chaſte boſom of Mary, or the ſame Jeſus who comes down into the Chapel of the Angels. Secondly, that he did not know which was the greateſt ſubject for admiration; Francis's charity for ſinners, or the love of Chriſt Jeſus for Francis. Thirdly, that he had repeated ſeveral times, that Francis had made himſelf the victim for ſinners, and had taken upon him the ſins of the world. Fourthly, that Chriſt has beſtowed the fulneſs of his grace on St. Francis. Fifthly, his advancing in different parts of his Sermon, that the holy virgin hath an omnipotent power with regard to her ſon, by reaſon of the authority of both father and mother which ſhe has over him. Sixthly, that the cry of St. Francis was heard more favourably than that of Moſes and St. Paul. Seventhly, that the virgin endued Francis with the life of grace, as ſhe endued our Saviour with that of nature. Eighthly, that Francis compenſates, or makes up, for what is wanting in our Saviour's paſſion, in favour of ſinners, by cooperating with him, in his victories over ſin and hell. He alſo retracts ſeveral other dangerous propoſitions and expreſſions, ſuch as the following; That the Franciſcans are brothers, by the mother's ſide, to Jeſus Chriſt, the children of Mary, companions of the bleſſed Spirits, and that like them they draw their origin from the midſt of the ſplendors of grace and glory: that the plenary indulgence of the Portiuncula is irrevocable and eternal, ſanctified by the Holy Ghoſt, who deſcended*

(61) See *Journal des Savans* of April 11, 1695, pag. 241. Dutch edit.

(62) Ibid. pag. 242.

(63) Ibid. pag. 244.

(64) Ibid. pag. 245.

(65) *Journal des Savans*, of April 11, 1695, pag. 246.

Popes, ſeveral Cardinals, and a great number of Prelates and famous Authors have been of this Order. Some particulars are found on this head, in the Commentary of Henry Sedulius, a Flemiſh Franciſcan, on the Life of St. Francis, written by St. Bonaventure (*g*); and a very great number of particulars in the Annals of the Order, drawn up in ſeveral volumes, by Luke Wadding, an Iriſh Franciſcan, who likewiſe wrote a volume concerning the Franciſcan Authors. This Order is divided into ſeveral bodies, ſome of which are more rigid than others, and all ſtrongly inherit the antient emulation which ſoon broke out between the children of St. Francis and thoſe of St. Dominick. This emulation has created a diviſion between them, not only with regard to matters of Religion, ſuch as the diſpute concerning the immaculate conception of the bleſſed Virgin, but alſo with reſpect to a numberleſs multitude of queſtions in Philoſophy. The conteſts between the Scotiſts and Thomiſts, the former Franciſcans and the latter Dominicans, is as ſtrong as that which ſubſiſted antiently between the Platoniſts and Peripatetics. I omit the diſpute which reigned a long time between the Monks of St. Francis, and which gave great trouble to their ſuperiors and the Popes, though it was only about a trifle, I mean the ſhape of the cowl &c. Gentillet relates this after a very pleaſant manner (*b*). Nicolle has ſpoke of this in one of his imaginary letters. By the way, the Saint whoſe life I now write, was called Francis, becauſe his father had traded in France (*i*).

(*g*) Printed at Antwerp, anno 1597, in 8vo.

(*b*) In the Preface to the 2d book of his *Diſcours d'eſtat*, againſt Nicholas Machiavel.

(*i*) Volaterr. lib. 21. pag. m. 761.

cended into the Chapel of the Portiuncula, under the form of a Dove, in like manner as he appeared over the river Jordan, to make this indulgence as it were a baptiſm of ſalvation. That the indulgence of the Portiuncula does not only remit the puniſhment due to ſin, but alſo, in ſome manner, the guilt of it, ſince Jeſus Chriſt himſelf grants it; he, who during his mortal life, never remitted ſin, without remitting both. That Jeſus Chriſt himſelf grants the indulgence of the Portiuncula, independently from the Popes. That it was a Seraphim who drew up the bull of it. That St. Francis ſues, either for a fulneſs of grace in favour of ſinners, or a want of mercy for himſelf.

REFLECTIONS on what has been ſaid above.

I ſhall not, for fear of being too prolix, lay down all the obſervations which might be made on what has been here related. I therefore will confine myſelf to three remarks. I. That the ſame propoſitions which the Archbiſhop of Rheims cauſed the Friars, who had advanced them, to retract; theſe ſame propoſitions, I ſay, or others equivalent to them, are preached every year, not only in Spain, Italy, Germany, &c. but alſo in France. Moſt of the Prelates either overlook this, or are not ſcandalized at it: hence it is, that as theſe doctrines meet with no oppoſition, they go their journey undiſturbed, and without its being known in foreign countries that they have been vented. Should we know that, in 1694, that they were delivered from the pulpit, in the dioceſe of Rheims, had not the Archbiſhop taken exception at them, and obliged the three Preachers to atone, in a public manner, for the fault they had committed? This may contribute to ſhew, that the empire or aſcendant of monkiſh conceits, with reſpect to the credit of certain Saints, and the prerogatives of certain indulgences, is almoſt as powerful as ever; though the ages of ignorance, which gave birth to that Empire, exiſts no longer, and were followed by a return of knowledge and learning which have continued a great number of years. My IId reflection is, that the hyperboles of the Benedictin Friar, concerning the indulgences of the Portiuncula and the greatneſs of St. Francis, are more high-flown than either thoſe of the Franciſcan or Capuchin. This is a good office which the Monks do reciprocally to one another. The Franciſcans imagine, that encomiums on their founder, from the mouth of a Friar of another Order, will not be ſo much ſuſpected as from their own; and therefore they deſire ſome Benedictin, Carmelite, &c. to preach in their Churches on their high feſtivals. The Preacher they employ is ſure to have both mind and body well entertained, for he is always ſplendidly regaled; greatly applauded for his eloquence; and a million of thanks are returned him. Beſides, a return is to be made; the Order he belongs to has alſo its high feſtival. The Sermon of a Franciſcan is of great uſe to them, and is more uſeful than one of the ſame Order. It often expatiates more wildly on the efficacy of the Scapulary than the Sermon of a Carmelite. Thus we ſee here a mutual intercourſe of good offices: Not long ſince a gentleman of excellent good ſenſe, and who is now a Proteſtant, told me, that whilſt he was a Benedictine, he was deſired to preach in a Monaſtery of Franciſcans, on the feſtival of the Portiuncula, and was told the ſubjects on which they deſired him chiefly to inſiſt. He acquieſced with part of what they wiſhed, but gave the matter a certain caſt which did not pleaſe them. Some of them informing him in an artful way of this, he juſtified himſelf, and then aſked them privately, whether it were juſt and reaſonable to publiſh ſo many things from the pulpit as truths, which were really otherwiſe: What would you have us do? *replied they*, would you have us ſtarve? And this ſhall lead me to my third reflection. There are ſeveral abuſes in the Romiſh Church, which in all probability, will laſt as long as that Church: it will be to no purpoſe for learned ages to be ſucceeded by one more learned, the abuſes in queſtion will not therefore be changed. They indeed ſprung up in ages of ignorance, but ignorance was not the only cauſe, or even the principal cauſe of their riſe; the wants of a community, as well for commodiouſly ſuſtaining, as lodging themſelves; the intereſt which Monks had to exhibit to the people an altar finely decorated, and rich Church ornaments; all theſe circumſtances required them to give marvelous deſcriptions of the privileges of a certain Saint, chapel or feſtival. This became a daily fund by which they procured their ſubſiſtence, and the return of the anniverſary was the ſeaſon of the harveſt and vintage of the Order. Now the wants I am ſpeaking of, are not ſubject to the viciſſitudes of light and darkneſs, but are of all periods, and the ſame in an age of ignorance as an age of knowledge; for this reaſon their effects do not ceaſe, tho' people become more enlightened. Perſons of a Philoſophical turn of mind are puzzled to know whether they ought, on this occaſion, to admire the long forbearance, or long wrath of heaven; and ſome would gladly apply here the *tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ*, which an Engliſh Doctor applies to the errors wherein the Eaſtern nations have been involved for ſo many ages (66).

(66) See citation (52) of the article BRACHMANS.

FRANCIS I, King of France, was one of thoſe great Princes, whoſe exalted qualities have been obſcured by many defects. The French Hiſtorians (*a*) acknowledge, with the utmoſt ſincerity, this intermixture; and ſome of them even complain, that the Spaniſh Writers, inſtead of owning this, ſtudiouſly affect to repreſent this Monarch as a moſt perfect Prince [*A*]. There may be too much art and deſign in this conduct of both parties; but

(*a*) Beaucaire, Spondanus, Mezerai, Varillas, &c.

[*A*] *The French Hiſtorians . . . complain, that the Spaniſh writers . . . ſtudiouſly affect to repreſent this Monarch as a perfect Prince.*] Some of Varillas's critics would have *had him imitate the Italian and Spaniſh Hiſtorians,*

but it ſeems to be leſs ſo in the French Authors, than in the Spaniards; for all but the blind muſt plainly diſcover a long ſeries of errors and imprudent actions in the reign of Francis I. This Prince had very near diveſted himſelf of the right of ſucceeding to Lewis XII, he going the ready way to it, by his entertaining a paſſion for the young Queen (*b*) [*B*], but was told the danger to which he would expoſe himſelf. Though this incident is related a variety of ways [*C*], it is agreed that he made a good uſe of this advice;

(*b*) Wife to Lewis XII.

ans, inaſmuch as they have not only amplified the great actions of Francis I, but have even concealed thoſe which were not praiſe-worthy (1). He anſwers, among other particulars; *that thoſe Hiſtorians did not write in that manner to oblige Francis I, but were prompted to it from motives of a moſt artful policy which it will be proper to lay open*; and here follows the manner in which he unfolds it. "They were jealous of the growing pow-"er of France, and afraid leſt it ſhould extend its "conqueſts quite into their countries, after they ſhould "have freed themſelves from the civil wars, with "which they had been infeſted during forty years. "There was no other way to divert it from this, than "by perſuading the French, that they would not be "more ſucceſsful henceforward againſt Spain, Ger-"many, and Flanders, than under the reign of "Francis I; and to effect this, it was neceſſary to ac-"cuſtom them to read, in the hiſtory of this Prince, "that he had made all the efforts that an earthly "Prince could againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, and yet "was not able to ſhake it. That his conduct could "not be reproached on any account; that the errors "which men imagined they had ſeen in it, were ow-"ing to the Monarchy and not to the Monarch; i. e. "that Francis I had, with reſpect to himſelf, done "all that was requiſite for vanquiſhing Charles V; "but that France had not been able to make ſuffici-"ent efforts, nor furniſh men and money enough for "ſuch a victory. That thoſe things which were aſ-"cribed to Francis I as a misfortune, ought to be "aſcribed to nothing but the weakneſs of his King-"dom; and that had the greateſt Commanders, and "the moſt ſubtle Politicians that ever lived, com-"manded the ſame armies, and been in the ſame ſi-"tuation, they would have been overcome before "Pavia, and, like Francis I, have extricated them-"ſelves by the diſadvantageous Treaties of Madrid, "Cambray and Creſſy. Nothing could have been "eaſier than for the French Hiſtorians to refute ſo groſs "an error, by exhibiting, as I have done, the naked "truth; and by ſhewing from authentic inſtruments, "that Francis I had not exerted himſelf near ſo "much as he could have done againſt Charles V; "and that it was in his power to have defeated him "on ſeveral occaſions. That his Moſt Chriſtian Ma-"jeſty had committed ſome overſights and been negli-"gent on ſome occaſions, all which were not to be "excuſed. That theſe irregularities were always ow-"ing to the Monarch, and not to the Monarchy. "That they never reſulted from weakneſs, and, if "ever from ill fortune, this had the leaſt ſhare. That "the whole was owing chiefly to the miſunderſtanding, "ſo often read of in the *Hiſtory of France*, between "former Kings and their Miniſters; and that abler "Commanders, and more vigilant Politicians, would "one day compenſate for what Francis I had marr'd."

(1) Varillas, *Preface* to the *Hiſt. of Francis I.*

[*B*] *His entertaining a fond paſſion for the young Queen.*] Lewis XII, who had married the King of England's ſiſter in November 1514, died the firſt of January following, *and many thought, that his two eager careſſing of the young Queen had occaſioned his death* (2). Theſe careſſes, though over violent for a Prince of ſo delicate a complexion as himſelf, were not ſo with reſpect to his royal Bride, who was but eighteen. She liſtned to love addreſſes both in the French and Engliſh tongues. A Gentleman of her own Country lov-ed her, and had followed her into France, and ſhe married him afterwards. On the other ſide, ſhe ap-peared exquiſitely beautiful in the eyes of the preſump-tive heir to the Crown, who had then the title of Duke de Valois. Here follows what we are told by Mezerai. "The young Duke de Valois, who was fired at the "ſight of a beautiful woman, was ſtruck with a paſ-"ſion for the young Queen; and Charles Brandon, "Duke of Suffolk, who had loved her before her "marriage, and followed the Court of France as Em-"baſſador from the King of England, had not ſup-"preſſed his firſt flame. But Arthur de Gouffier-"Boiſy, who had been the Duke de Valois's Gover-"nor, repreſenting to him, that he ran the hazard of "getting a maſter, and that he ought to be apprehen-"ſive of the ſame thing from the Duke of Suffolk; "he ſuppreſſed his needleſs paſſion, and cauſed this "Duke to be narrowly watched (3)." Varillas has expatiated very much on this incident. Here follows what he ſays, after telling us that Count d'Angoulême (4) was ordered to go and marry in the King's name at Boulogne the Engliſh Princeſs. "He could not for-"bear entertaining a paſſion for the Princeſs whom he "married in his father-in-law's name (5); and as ſhe "could not forbear wiſhing, that Heaven had allot-"ted the Count for her huſband, the conveniency "they had of converſing together, would perhaps have "prompted them to go ſome undue lengths, had not "Prothonotary Duprat (6), who was placed near the "Count, to check in ſome meaſure the ſallies of his "youth, had not made him reflect, that it was the "new Queen's intereſt not to keep her conjugal vow; "becauſe, as ſhe was going to live with a huſband, "by whom it was ſaid univerſally that ſhe could have "no children; it might juſtly be feared that ſhe would "give way to the temptation, of uſing her endeavours "to get a ſon, in order that ſhe might preſerve her "rank and dignity in France, after her royal Conſort "ſhould leave her a widow; and by that means be "kept from returning to England, and becoming ſub-"ject to her brother. But as for himſelf, he obſerv-"ed that he had the greateſt intereſt in the world to "keep a watchful eye over the Queen's chaſtity, in-"ſtead of ſuing for favours at her hands; ſince, ſhould "ſhe have a ſon, tho' himſelf had got it, this ſon would "prevent his ſucceeding to the Crown, and force him "to be contented with Britany, which his wife had "brought him in marriage; not to mention that he "(contrary to the order of nature) would be obliged "to pay homage for it to his baſtard. Theſe argu-"ments check'd Count d'Angoulême's paſſion, and "made him no longer view the Queen but with jea-"lous eyes; and he watched her ſo narrowly, that he "at laſt diſcovered the fondneſs ſhe entertained for the "Duke of Suffolk (7)." Varillas afterwards relates ſeveral other curious particulars, concerning the pre-cautions which were taken againſt the laſt mentioned Duke. See the following remark.

(2) Mezerai, *Hiſtory of France*, tom. 2. pag. 872.

(3) *Chronological Abridgment*, tom. pag. 470. *ad an.* 1514.

(4) This is the title he gives him whom Mezerai calls Duke de Valois.

(5) Princeſs Claude, or Clau-dia, daughter to Lewis XII, was married to Fran-cis I.

(6) Varillas ſets down the follow-ing words in the margin. In ſome relations we find Gouffier de Boiſy, inſtead of Du-prat.

(7) Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I.* lib. 1. pag. 17.

[*C*] *This incident is related a variety of ways.*] Brantome does not aſcribe this glory of this prudent coun-ſel either to Gouffier-Boiſy or to Du Prat, but to a Gen-tleman born in the ſame Province with himſelf. As I am ſure that the reader will prefer his words to mine, I therefore will copy them (8): "It is ſaid that Queen "Mary of England, third wife to King Lewis XII, "did not act in the ſame manner (9); for being diſ-"contented at, and diffident of the King her huſband's "ſtrength, ſhe was deſirous to ſound the ford; taking "for her guide, Count d'Angouleſme, who was after-"wards King Francis, at that time a young, handſome, "very agreeable Prince, whom ſhe made very much "of, calling him always her ſon-in-law, as indeed he "was, he having married Claude, King Lewis's "daughter. She indeed was very much ſmitten with "him as he was with her; ſo that both their fires "would probably have united, had it not been for "Mr. de Grignaux, a Gentleman of Perigord, who, "as has been ſaid, had been Knight of honour to "Queen Anne, and was in the ſame quality to Queen "Mary. This Gentleman perceiving that the in-"trigue was carrying too far, remonſtrated to the ſaid "Count d'Angouleſme the error he was going to com-"mit, and ſaid to him, in an angry tone of voice, "*Paque Dieu* (for this was his oath) what are you "going to do? Don't you perceive that this artful, "intriguing woman, wants to intice you to her em-"braces, in order to be got with child by you; and "ſhould ſhe bring forth a ſon, you will ſtill continue "mere

(8) Brantome, *Dames galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 117.

(9) He had juſt before related that Queen Lou-iſa, conſort to Henry III, re-jected the coun-ſel which was given her, to procure ſome o-ther man to get her with child, ſince there was no hopes of her having any by the King her huſband.

advice; but he was very unguarded with reſpect to other women (*c*), and ſome pretend that it coſt him his life [*D*]. I have ſaid elſewhere (*d*), that his favourite miſtreſs had like to have made him loſe his whole Kingdom. He had no ſuſpicion of this dark conſpiracy;

(*c*) He undertook the journey to Milan among other motives, to lie with a beautiful woman. See *Penſées ſur les Cometes*, pag. 715.

(*d*) In the article ETAMPES, Remark [*E*].

" mere Count d'Angouleſme, and never be King of " France, as you one day hope to be. The King her " huſband is in years, and cannot get her with child; " and ſo you want to have an affair with her; and " ſhould you be ſo inconſiderate as you are ſo young " and wanton, and ſhe the very ſame, (*Paque Dieu!*) " ſhe'll catch like wild-fire, and be got with child by " you, and ſo you'll be finely off. After this you " may very juſtly ſay, adieu to my ſhare of the King- " dom of France; for this reaſon I'd have you think " ſeriouſly of this matter. This Queen had a " mind to practiſe and experience the Spaniſh Proverb, " which ſays, *Que manca muger agada murio ſin here-* " *deros*, (no artful woman ever died without heirs;) " that is to ſay, if ſhe cannot be got with child by " her huſband, ſhe will procure a ſecond to perform " that office. Count d'Angouleſme thought ſeriouſly " on this matter, and proteſted that he would be wiſe, " and lay aſide his deſign; but being tempted over " and over again by the careſſes and allurements of this " beautiful Engliſh woman, he grew fonder than ever. " How furious a paſſion is love! ſince, for the ſake of " ſuch a little bit of fleſh, which he pines after, he ſhall " quit and even loſe Kingdoms and Empires! How " many inſtances do we meet with of this in Hiſtory! " At laſt, Mr. de Grignaux, perceiving that this young " man was going to ruin himſelf, and ſtill continued " his amours, informed the Counteſs d'Angouleſme his " mother of them, who reprimanded and chid him ſo " roundly for it, that he ſuppreſſed his paſſion." Compare theſe three relations, and you'll find ſome variations in them; but Brantome differs chiefly from Mezerai and Varillas in this, viz. in ſaying that the young Queen being a widow, endeavoured to get a ſuppoſititious child, in order to exclude Francis I: but the other Hiſtorians clear her of that crime. *After the death of Lewis XII, it was thought that Mary of England was with child, but the publick were immediately aſſured of the contrary, by her declaration that ſhe was not.* Theſe are Mezerai's words (10), and here follow thoſe of Varillas (11): *the Queen was watched as narrowly as before, ſo long as there was room to doubt whether ſhe was with child; But after ſhe had declared that ſhe was not, and that there were proofs ſufficient of her not being ſo, Count d'Angouleſme, then proclaim'd King &c.* Brantome delivers himſelf after a very different manner (12). " It is nevertheleſs reported, that the ſaid Queen did " all that lay in her power, a little before and after " the death of the King her huſband, to live and reign " as Queen Mother: But he died too ſoon, and ſhe " had not time ſufficient to complete her deſign, and " yet ſhe ſpread a report, every day after the King's " deceaſe, that ſhe was with child; ſo that, not being " really with child, it was ſaid that ſhe uſed to ſwell " herſelf outwardly, by inſenſible degrees, with linnen " cloths; and her ſuppoſed time being up, ſhe had a " ſuppoſititious child, which another big-bellied wo- " man was to have, and bring forth at the time of the " delivery. But the Lady Regent, who was a native " of Savoy, and knew what it was to bring forth " children; and ſaw that her own intereſt and that of " her ſon were too nearly concerned in this affair, cauſ- " ed her to be cloſely examined and ſearched by Phy- " ſicians and midwives; ſo that by the ſight and diſ- " covery of the linnen and clouts, ſhe was found out, " and by that means her deſign was rendred abortive; " ſhe was not Queen Mother, but ſent back into her " own country." This entirely refutes thoſe people, who ſay, in behalf of the late King James (13), that it can never enter the thoughts of a perſon, who is in the midſt of a numerous Court, and perpetually ſurrounded with a numberleſs multitude of domeſticks, to introduce a ſuppoſititious child: for we here find Brantome, who was a very good judge of mankind, and perfectly well acquainted with the Court; we here, I ſay, find him relating a like deſign, as actually carried on in the French Court. It is an argument that there are men of ſenſe, who look upon ſuch a project as feaſible.

(10) *Hiſtory of France*, tom. 2. pag. 894.

(11) *Hiſtory of Francis I*, Book 1. pag. 20.

(12) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 118, 119.

(13) James II King of England.

[*D*] *Some pretend, that it coſt him his life.*] The French Authors ſpeak with great freedom on this occaſion, one of them, having ſpoke of an impoſthume or ulcer which *brought this Prince to the point of death* (14), adds, *I have ſometimes heard ſay, that he catched this diſeaſe from the beautiful Feronniere, one of his miſtreſſes, whoſe picture is ſtill ſeen in ſome Cabinets of the curious; and that this woman's huſband, prompted by a ſtrange and ridiculous kind of revenge, went to a brothel to catch this infection, purpoſely to infect both. Tho' he got out of danger, he yet ſuffer'd for it a long time after* (15). Thus Mezerai ſpeaks. We will now hear what he ſays concerning this Monarch's laſt ſickneſs. *This malignant ulcer, which broke out in* 1539, *having baffled the art of all his Phyſicians, who did not dare proceed in the cure with the rigorous method requiſite for ſuch diſeaſes, had pierced as far as the neck of the bladder, and began to corrode it with intolerable heats; ſo that this pain and infection, which were ſpread over every part of his body, brought upon him a ſlow fever, and a ſullen peeviſhneſs, which quite enervated him, and made him incapable of engaging in any enterprize* (16). This ſlow fever was ſoon turned to a continual one, which carried him off the 30th of March 1547. Although this Author, in his *Chronological Abridgment*, has related moſt of the particulars abovementioned, I nevertheleſs will here tranſcribe what he repeats, becauſe the reader will meet with ſome new incidents in them. " The King, three months after, was grievouſly at- " tacked with a malignant ulcer, which affected that " part called by Phyſicians the *Perinæum*. This diſ- " eaſe, we are told, was the effect of an unhappy in- " trigue, which he had with the beautiful Ferroniere, " one of his miſtreſſes. This woman's huſband, exaſpe- " rated at an affront which Courtiers call only an affair " of gallantry, took it into his head to go and catch an " infection, purpoſely to infect his wife, and by that " means extend his revenge to his rival. The unhap- " py woman died of it, but the huſband got himſelf " quickly cured. As for the King, he had all the " grievous ſymptoms of it about him; and as his Phy- " ſicians preſcribed, rather ſuitable to his dignity " than his diſeaſe, he retained ſome of thoſe ſymp- " toms all his life-time; and ſo great was their malig- " nity, that they changed very much the ſweetneſs of " his temper, and made him grow peeviſh, ſuſpici- " ous, and hard to pleaſe (17)." Altho' Varillas is, contrary to his cuſtom, very conciſe in his relation of this incident, he nevertheleſs is full enough, not to oblige his readers to ſupply any circumſtance by his imagination (18). I have read in Brantome, that the King gave Queen Claude the diſeaſe with which he was infected. See Father l'Enfant's *Calendar* (19), and you will find that mention is made of the beautiful Feronniere's having given Francis I the foul diſeaſe. This Author cites du Verdier's Life of this Monarch.

I have been told that this miſtreſs was called la FERONNIERE, only becauſe her huſband was an Ironmonger. I ſhould not ſuſpect the truth of this ſo much, had I not read in Lewis Guion, that the woman who was infected by her huſband, and gave the King the infection, was wife to a Counſellor. This Author writes as follows (20). " Francis I fell in love " with the wife of a certain Counſellor of Paris, a " very beautiful, and graceful woman, whom I don't " care to name, becauſe her huſband left behind him " children who are very rich, and live in great repute. " This Lady could not be prevailed upon to indulge " the King's wiſhes, but, on the contrary, diſmiſſed " him with very harſh words, which grieved the " King exceedingly. But ſome of the Courtiers and " royal Pimps hearing of this, they told the King, " that he might force her away by his authority and " royal power; and upon this, one of them went and " told this to the Lady; who informed her huſband " of it. The Counſellor perceived, that both him- " ſelf and his wife would be obliged to leave the " Kingdom, and yet were not ſure of eſcaping, un- " leſs they obeyed the Monarch. At laſt, the huſband " gave

(14) In 1539.

(15) Mezerai, *Hiſt. of France*, tom. 2. pag. 1005.

(16) Idem, pag. 1039, *anno* 1547.

(17) *Chronolog. Abridgment*, tom. 4. pag. 606. *ad ann.* 1538.

(18) It could not be doubted, but that Henry VIII King of England, by indulging himſelf too much with the fair-ſex, had haſtened his death; and Francis found that his was approaching, occaſioned by the diſeaſe mentioned in the 4th book. Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I.* Book 12. pag. 264. I am of opinion that, inſtead of *fourth*, we muſt read *eighth*; and that Varillas hinted at the following paſſage of Book 8. pag. 309. The year 1538 cloſed with two memorable events; the one was the King's long ſickneſs at Compeigne, cauſed by an ulcer in the parts which modeſty forbids me to mention. His Majeſty recovered at that time, but it killed him nine years after.

(19) Under March 31, pag. 197.

(20) Tome 2. of his *Diverſes Leçons*, Book 1. pag. 109.

ſpiracy; and ſeeing the unhappy turn of his affairs, he dropt ſome words againſt divine Providence [*E*]. This was during a war which was ended much ſooner than it was thought it would be, by thoſe who were not thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of affairs [*F*]. He found, but too late, that he had made choice of two or three perſons for his favourites, who were altogether unworthy of that honour, and that their evil counſels had done him the utmoſt prejudice. Had he removed the Conſtable of Montmorenci twelve years ſooner (*e*), he would not have been reduced to ſuch fatal extremities. Beſides this, there was ſomething unhappy in his ſtar, whence, though he conducted himſelf, in outward appearance, in ſtrict conformity to the rules of prudence, he yet was unſucceſsful. When we duly weigh theſe ſeveral matters his reign will appear very wonderful; for who would not be ſurprized to ſee that this Prince, though little favoured by fortune; ill uſed by his own mother [*G*]; abandoned to imprudent favourites, and betrayed by thoſe whom he honoured with his moſt ſtrict confidence, could yet reſiſt ſo glorioufly

(*e*) See the article of HENRY II.

" gave his wife leave to indulge the King in all his " wiſhes; and that he might be no obſtacle, he pre- " tended to have buſineſs in the country for eight or " ten days. In the mean time he kept himſelf pri- " vate in Paris, frequenting bawdy-houſes, endeavour- " ing to catch the venereal diſeaſe, to give it his wife, " in order that ſhe might infect the King. He ſoon " found what he ſought, when infecting his wife, the " King catched the diſtemper of her; gave it after- " wards to ſeveral of his miſtreſſes, and was never tho- " roughly cured; for during the remaining part of his " life, he was unhealthy, peeviſh, troubleſome and " inacceſſible." I am ſurprized not to find Brantome ſpecify any particular woman, in the paſſage I will here cite, where he ſpeaks of this pox. *King Francis*, ſays he (21), *was alſo very amorous, and too much ſo; for being young and free, he dallied indiſcriminately with all women; he not being, in that age, look'd upon as a gallant man, who did not ſport with any woman that came in his way. By this conduct the King catched the foul diſeaſe, which haſtned his end; for, when he died, he was but fifty three, which was far from being old. Francis, after having been fir'd and rack'd with this diſeaſe, conſidered, that ſhould he continue this lewd life he would be caught again. Being therefore grown wiſe by experience, he reſolved to make love in a very gallant manner; and for this purpoſe cauſed his noble Court to be frequented by beautiful and virtuous Princeſſes, great Ladies and Gentlewomen. He did this in order to ſecure himſelf from that naſty diſeaſe, and to pollute his body no longer with the former filth; and he thereby devoted himſelf, not to an impure love, but one of a genteel, clean and chaſte kind.* Immediately he ſpeaks of the paſſion which this Prince entertained for Madam de Helly, which ſeems to inſinuate, as tho' he got the foul diſeaſe before his impriſonment; it cannot be doubted but that the Writer in queſtion inſinuates this, ſince he affirms in another place (22), that the King gave Queen Claude the *venereal diſeaſe, which haſtned her end*; now this Queen died in July 1524.

(21) In the Elogium of Henry II. tom. 2. of his *Memoires*, pag. 5.

(22) In the *Memoirs of illuſtrious Ladies*, pag. m. 298. where, ſpeaking of Queen Claude, he ſays that if Queen Anne her mother *had lived, King Francis would never have been married to her; ſhe foreſeeing plainly the ill treatment ſhe might expect from him; for the King her husband gave her the foul diſeaſe, which haſtened her end.*

[*E*] *He dropt ſome words againſt divine Providence.*] Brantome (23) affords me a commentary on this text. " I have heard a Lady of that time ſay alſo, that of all " the engagements which the King had loſt againſt " *Charles V*, he was never ſo much troubled as when " he heard of the taking of St. Diſier (24); and that " the Emperor was advancing directly to Paris, at the " head of ſo powerful an army, in order to be- " ſiege this city, that he ſaw was already ſhaken; " he was at that time a little indiſpoſed, and kept his " chamber, and the late Queen of Navarre his ſiſter, " with a great number of other Ladies were with him. " Raiſing his voice a little he cried, My God! thou " ſelleſt me, at a dear price, a kingdom, which I " thought thou hadſt very freely beſtowed upon me; " nevertheleſs thy will be done! He then ſpoke thus " to the ſaid Queen, my darling, for ſo he called " her, go you to Church this evening, and there pray " to God for me, that ſince he is reſolved to love and " favour the Emperor more than me, at leaſt that he " would diſcover it in ſuch a manner, that I may not " ſee him encamped before the capital city of my " Kingdom; and that it may not be ſaid one day, " that my rebellious vaſſal is come ſo far to ſee me; " as his grandfather the Duke of Burgundy did to " King Lewis XI, who gave him battle ſo near; ne- " vertheleſs I am determined to march and meet him, " to anticipate him and give him battle; and I beſeech " God rather to permit me to be ſlain in battle, than " to ſuffer a ſecond impriſonment." He might very well ſay then, O crown! were thy weight known, &c. (25).

(23) *Elogium of Francis I*, tom. 1. of his *Memoirs*, pag. m. 318.

(24) Varillas, inſerting a tranſlation of this paſſage of Brantome, in the *Hiſt. of Francis I*, Book 11. pag. 102. applies this to the taking Chateau-Thierri, and not that of St. Diſier.

(25) *See* Valer. Maxim. lib. 7. cap. 2. num. 5. *Ext.* Stobæus, *Sermon.* 47. aſcribes this ſentence to King Antigonus.

[*F*] *This war was ended much ſooner than it was thought it would be, by thoſe who were not thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of affairs.*] Moſt people were of opinion, that as Charles V had made ſo great a progreſs in Champagne, he would not liſten to any conditions of peace but ſuch as it would be too ignominious for his enemy to accept; they therefore did not expect that this negotiation would end ſucceſsfully, but thoſe who knew that an end might be put to this war very eaſily, entertained great hopes. Among theſe was an Italian Poet, who had fled to Paris. Peruſe the following paſſage: " When King Francis I " and the Emperor Charles V came in ſight of each " other in France anno 1544, with each a powerful " army, both being greatly weary of the war; ſome " great men undertook to negotiate the peace which " was then concluded between thoſe two great Mo- " narchs. Some Perſons aſked Lewis Alamanni the " Florentine, whether he thought that the perſons in " queſtion could prevail ſo far as to get this peace " ſigned; to which he anſwered in the following " Italian Diſtich.

Com' eſſer può ch'a noi pace ſi toglia
S'un n'ha neceſſità, l'altro n'ha voglia?
That is,

" How can we fail of peace, ſince one deſires it,
" And t'other party ſtands ſo much in need on't (26)?

Nothing could be more juſt than this reaſoning, and there is not a more ſure prognoſtic of (27) an approaching peace, than the neceſſity both parties are under of putting and end to the war. Want of money on theſe occaſions tires as much as ſatiety; people then do like the wife of the Emperor Claudius (28), they withdraw without having taken their fill of what they were about, but then they are tired. Before this, the mediators were not heard, but then they are intreated to act, or rather, the buſineſs is done without them, and both parties treat directly together; they agree upon the chief articles, and conclude either without their mediation, or elſe in employing it only for form ſake. Here follows what we read in an Author who wrote the Hiſtory of the Peace of the Pyrenees (29): " This " peace being concluded in this manner, without the " interpoſition of thoſe who had a long time en- " deavoured to bring it about, gave occaſion to an ex- " preſſion employed by Pope Innocent, as he was " looking from a window in his Palace in the Piazza " Navona: for he ſeeing two mean fellows boxing there " with great fury, he would not ſuffer them to be " parted, adding, you will find that, as ſoon as they " are tired they will part of their own accord; *which* " *happening a little while after*; thus, *replied he*, will " the French and Spaniards do, when they ſhall grow " heartily tired with making war, they will conclude a " peace without the mediation of any other power."

(26) Meynier, pag. 189. of his *Demandes Curieuſes & Réponſes libres*. I have corrected ſome typographical errors. He has extracted this from *Conſiderationi Civili di Remigio Fiorentino*, cap. 97. folio m. 123, *verſo*.

(27) Such was that of all judicious perſons, at the beginning of the conferences of Ryſwick in 1697.

(28) *Et laſſata viris, nondum ſatiata receſſit.* Juv. *Sat.* 6. ver. 129.

(29) Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato. *Hiſt. of the Peace*, pag. 124, 125. edit. of 1667.

[*G*] *He was ... ill uſed by his own mother.*] She was of the Houſe of Savoy. I ſhall ſpeak but of two things whereby ſhe greatly prejudiced France. She cauſed the money to be given her that had been promiſed to Lautrec, Governor of the Milaneſe, which occaſioned the loſs of that country; and when ſhe ſaw Francis I, who was highly exaſperated at this loſs, aſk his

riouſly the Emperor Charles V, that is, an enemy whoſe dominions were much larger than France; who had more men and money than he; was a greater warrior, and a very artful Politician; who was ſerved with fidelity and ſkill by his Generals and Miniſters; and who was almoſt always aſſiſted, either by the King of England, or by other powerful Princes againſt him alone? All things duly weighed, it is more glorious for Francis I to have preſerved his Kingdom in ſuch circumſtances, than for Charles not to have been able to conquer it. I believe we might ſay of theſe two Princes, that had there not been one of them to oppoſe, the other might have roſe to univerſal Monarchy; and that ſince confederacies were made more frequently in favour of Charles V than in favour of Francis I, the latter was more dreaded than the former. I farther believe, that the valour of Francis I chiefly prevented Charles V from totally oppreſſing the liberties of Europe (*f*). I cannot ſay whether the ill fortune of this Monarch was diſplayed in any thing ſo ſtrongly, as in the league he made with Soliman. He did not reap any ſolid advantage by it, and furniſhed his enemies with an opportunity of inveighing againſt him, which rendred him very odious, and did him more injury than the Grand Signior did him ſervice. There is no excuſing, except by the maxims of a moſt pernicious morality, the falſhoods which were ſpread over Europe on this head [*H*]. There was diſperſed the tenor or formulary of the oath which it is ſuppoſed this

(*f*) The remark [*A*] of the article CHARLES V.

his Treaſurer (30) what was become of the money, ſhe flatly denied her having known the uſe to which thoſe ſums were to be applied. The lie ſhe gave this ill fated Treaſurer brought him to the gallows (31). What miſchief did ſhe not do France, by her deſiring to marry the Duke of Bourbon? Exaſperated to ſee the advances ſhe made ſlighted, ſhe perplexed that Prince with a thouſand Law ſuits, which fired him to ſuch a degree, that he treated with the Emperor, and went and commanded his armies in Italy againſt the intereſt of France, and even againſt Francis I himſelf at the battle of Pavia (32).

(30) His name was James de Beaune, Lord of Samblançai. See the article of SAMBLANCAI.

(31) Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I*, Book 3. pag. 215, 216. *ad ann.* 1522.

(32) Ibid. Book 4. pag. 247, & *ſeq.*

[*H*] *There is no excuſing . . . the falſhoods which were ſpread over Europe . . .* with regard to Francis's alliance with the Grand Signior.] I have taken notice elſewhere (33) of the Speech which Charles V made at Rome in 1536. Let us here add, that the copies he ſent of it to the Princes of the Empire, and the Imperial cities, *were different, and even contrary to one another* (34). He ſuppreſſed ſuch particulars, in thoſe copies he ſent to the Proteſtants, as might diſpleaſe them, and added ſuch as were likely to be acceptable to them. He ſent Emiſſaries into all the Circles of the Empire, to publiſh in them, that the King of France barbarouſly put to death all "ſuch ſubjects of the "Empire, who were in his Kingdom on account of "traffic, or upon his travels; and had uſed with "the like inhumanity all ſuch Frenchmen as had "lived in Germany: that he had made a league both "offenſive and defenſive with the Turks; and that it "was in concert with them he had uſurped Savoy and "Piedmont, in order to draw all the forces of "Chriſtendom into thoſe two Provinces; and to give "Soliman an opportunity of invading Germany, at "a time that the Emperor ſhould be attacked towards "the Alps. Theſe arrant falſhoods which at firſt "were only whiſpered about, became afterwards the "ſubject of Sermons, and a ſanction was given to "them by Libels, approved by Magiſtrates both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. This calumny, though ſo "very groſs, had yet ſurprizing effects; and all "Germany was ſpirited up in leſs than a fortnight "againſt the King of France. The moſt famous of "all theſe Libels was that which was publiſhed at Nu"remberg, with the Emperor's permiſſion. It had, "for its device, a ſword ſurrounded with flames, "and contained a challenge from the Emperor to "the King; and threatened him and the whole "French nation with fire and ſword, if they did not "within a fortnight break their alliance with the "Turks. This Libel was followed by another of "the ſame kind, which denoted the day on which "this pretended challenge had been made; and "the name of the Herald, with ſome circumſtances which were ſaid to be taken from his verbal "proceſs; and as no one attempted to diſcover the "impoſture, it had its utmoſt effect; ſince it inſpired "people with a hatred againſt France, which even "continued after they had perceived the cheat . . . . . "Langey, at his arrival in Francfort found theſe "Libels, and wrote two anſwers to them; the one "in German and the other in Latin. He made an "excellent advantage of the time in which the Mer"chants of all the Circles of the Empire returned from "the fair at Lyons. He brought them before the "Magiſtrate of Straſburg, and taking their depoſi"tions, they were printed, and diſperſed every where. "They declared, that the Deponents had met with "the greateſt kindneſs and humane treatment in "France, that the Emperor's challenge was a mere "fiction; and that the French ſo far from injuring "and inſulting the Germans without a cauſe, did "not even queſtion them about their Religion. In "this manner calumny and impoſture gave way to "truth (35)."

(33) Remark [*E*] of the Article CHARLES V.

(34) Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I*, Book 8. pag. 310. *ad ann.* 1536.

(35) Ibid.

But here follows a ſtill more aſtoniſhing cheat. "Fregos (36) and Rincon (37) had conveyed away "their papers at the deſire of Langey; and thoſe who "had murthered them (38), chiefly for the ſake of "getting thoſe papers, were greatly ſurprized not to "find any of them. They however would not have "been much concerned at this, had the murther been "kept ſecret; but after that Langey had proved this "murther as clear as the day, the Emperor's council "in Italy foreſaw that France would reap a great "advantage from that aſſaſſination all over Europe, "particularly in Germany, where the public faith "was more regarded than in any other country, if "they did not diſſuade the belief of it by employing "a cheat. They therefore feigned that ſome fiſher"men had found, in the Po, the clothes and trunks "belonging to the Embaſſadors, and on this falſity "they forged inſtructions and cyphers at pleaſure, "and publiſhed them as collated with the originals. "The inſtructions aſcribed to Fregoſo, contained all "the means which policy could invent, to excite the "Senate of Venice to abandon the Emperor's intereſt. "It was therein propoſed, to divide the Dukedom of "Milan between the French and Venetians, and not "the leaſt mention was made of preſerving the ſove"reignty of that ſtate to the Emperor; on the con"trary, cities and their dependencies were diſpoſed "of, as if they were to be incorporated in the demeſnes "of the Republic of the French Monarchy, which "were quite independent on any other power. The "inſtructions aſcribed to Rincon were ſtill worſe, be"cauſe they were not only malicious but even impious. "It was therein propoſed to Soliman, to join with "France in attacking, at one and the ſame time, and "at two different parts, the Houſe of Auſtria; and, "to ſhew him the neceſſity of this correſpondence, "he was privately informed, that Hungary, which "he had conquered juſt before, would certainly be "won back the next ſummer, ſhould he give the Em"peror time to draw his forces out of Sicily, Naples, "Milan, and the Low-Countries, and join them to "the formidable army which the Diet of Ratiſbon "would not fail to vote him; whereas, if his High"neſs, the Grand Signior, would promiſe to march "in perſon, in ſpring, at the head of three hundred "thouſand men, in order to enter Germany, the "King would march fifty thouſand men into the "Dukedom of Milan, and thus give a diverſion to "the Emperor's forces, during which his Highneſs, "attacking

(36) This was a Genoeſe, whom Francis I was ſending to Venice, as his Embaſſador in ordinary. Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I*, Book 9. pag. 403.

(37) He was born a ſubject of the King of Spain; had negotiated privately for Francis I, with Soliman; and was then going to the Port in quality of Embaſſador from the French King. Varillas, ibid.

(38) The Marquiſs du Guaſt cauſed them to be murthered on the Po, as Langey will prove. Varillas, ibid. pag. 407, & *ſeq. ad ann.* 1541.

this Prince had taken to the Turkiſh Sultan. Nothing was ever more horrid, more impious, and more abominable than this oath [*I*]; from which circumſtance, and ſome others, we may believe that the whole is an impoſture, that is not ſupported by the leaſt

" attacking unexpectedly the Germans, and finding " them divided in matters of Religion, would gain as " much advantage over them as he had had over the " Hungarians the preceding campaign. The ar- " tifice of the Imperialiſts was ſo very groſs, that a " perſon of the leaſt capacity might eaſily ſee through " it, becauſe, they not only did not offer to produce " the originals, but alſo, becauſe they gave occaſion " to a ſuſpicion of their having committed the mur- " ther, by owning, in ſo nice a juncture, that they " had taken advantage of it. Nevertheleſs, it pro- " duced the wiſhed for effect in the Diet of Ratiſbon, " and Francis I was there conſidered, as a Prince who " would readily renounce his Religion and forfeit his " Honour, provided any power would aſſiſt him in " diſmembring the Dukedom of Milan from the Em- " pire. Olivier his Ambaſſador was heard with ſo " much prepoſſeſſion, that all his words were taken " in a ſenſe quite contrary to their meaning; and " this Miniſter had the diſſatisfaction to return back " without being gratified in any of his demands, after " having heard a reſolution paſs, by which near four- " ſcore thouſand men were granted to the Empe- " ror, with liberty for him to employ them as he " pleaſed (39)."

(39) Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I*, pag. 409, *& ſeq.*

I refer to Mr. de Wicquefort (40) all thoſe who are deſirous of forming a true judgment of this affair; but I don't know to whom I can refer ſuch perſons as will be diſpoſed to grieve, on their reflecting that ſuch groſs and diabolical ſlanders have been of advantage to the Authors of them. It muſt be confeſſed that this is extremely ſhocking to all perſons of probity and honour; but ſuch is the courſe of things: we therefore muſt adore thoſe great, thoſe profound myſteries of Providence, without repining. I will conclude with a little reflection; the preſent age does not furniſh one example of artifices like to thoſe related by Varillas; for among ſuch multitudes of Libels, in which the anonymous Authors of them introduce whatever their fancy may ſuggeſt, we do not find any falſe ſuppoſitions enforced by authority, like to thoſe which the Court of Charles V knew ſo well how to invent.

(40) Remark [*G*] of the article BRUN (Anthony le).

[*I*] *Nothing was ever more horrid . . . than the oath which Francis I was ſuppoſed to take to the Grand Signior.*] There is no one but remembers the ſpeech which the Marquis de Rebenac made to the Pope, anno 1692, to repreſent the evils which might accrue to the Romiſh Religion, from the alliance of the Emperor and King of Spain with Proteſtant Princes. The anonymous Writer who publiſhed an Anſwer to this Speech, did not forget to object, that Francis I had concluded a league with the Grand Signior againſt the Emperor Charles V. *The reader*, adds he (41), *will perhaps not be ſorry, to peruſe here the formulary of the oath, which that Prince took to Sultan Solyman, to confirm that infamous alliance which ſtill ſubſiſts, and which ſeems to have been bound by indiſſoluble tyes under Lewis XIV. I know you will not bluſh at it: for if there was found, at that time, none but Chancellor du Prat religious enough to diſapprove of it; it may be ſuppoſed that in the preſent age, as that Court tramples on all laws both divine and human, the moſt ſacrilegious and impious action is not capable of inſpiring it with horror. I muſt only beg my reader to pardon me, for exhibiting an object which it will be impoſſible for him to behold without ſhuddering; and which an everlaſting darkneſs ſhould have hid for ever from the eyes of all Chriſtians.* Here follows the oath: Per Deum magnum & altum, miſericordem & benignum, Formatorem Cœli & Terræ, & omnium quæ in eis ſunt: & per ſancta hæc Evangelia: per ſanctum Baptiſma, per ſanctum Joannem Baptiſtam, & per fidem Chriſtianorum, promitto & juro, quod omnia quæ novero, aperta erunt altiſſimo domino Sultano Solimano, cujus Regnum Deus fortificet. Ero amicus ſuorum unicus, & inimicus inimicorum. Ero redemptor captivorum Turcarum ex vinculis hoſtium ejus; nihil in mea parte fraudulentum erit. Quòd ſi hoc neglexerim ero apoſtata, & mandatorum ſancti Evangelii Chriſtianæque fidei Prævaricator. Dicam Evangelium falſum eſſe; negabo Chriſtum vivere, & Matrem ejus Virginem fuiſſe; ſuper fontem Baptiſmatis porcum interficiam, & altaris preſbyteris maledicam; ſuper altare fornicabor cum luxuria; & ſanctorum Patrum maledictiones in me recipiam. Ita me Deus reſpiciat ex alto. I believe there will be no occaſion for me to enlarge on the enormity of this oath.

(41) *Anſwer to a ſpeech made before his Holineſs, by Mr. de Rebenac*, pag. 18, 19.

In my opinion two things may be objected to the conduct of this Writer, firſt his not quoting any perſon, and ſecondly his not tranſlating the Formulary given by him into the vulgar tongue. When he wanted to declare only in general that Francis I had concluded an alliance with the Ottoman Port, he (42) did not fail to cite Ribier's Memoirs. Wherefore then, when he was to relate a much more heinous circumſtance, did he not quote any Author? To act a juſt part he ought to have cited either a French Writer, or one who was intirely neuter with regard to the Houſe of Auſtria and France; at leaſt he ſhould have told us that ſuch an Author, whether a Spaniard, a Fleming or German, has inſerted this oath in his work, and laid open the methods by which this fine myſtery had been diſcovered. But as the anonymous Writer in queſtion not having done any thing like this, it ſhows, that he durſt not declare whence he got this formulary; and that he plainly ſaw that ſuch a declaration would have invalidated his whole authority. He ſeems alſo to have employed an artifice, in not giving a French Tranſlation of the formulary; imagining, very probably, that this would diſcover the forgery to too many people. Be this it will, here follows a verſion of the Latin oath above. " By the " great and high God, merciful and kind, Creator of " heaven and earth, and of all things in them; and " by theſe holy Evangeliſts, by the holy baptiſm, by " St. John Baptiſt, and by the Chriſtian faith, I pro- " miſe and ſwear, that whatever I ſhall know, ſhall " be revealed to the moſt high Lord Sultan Soliman, " whoſe kingdom may God ſtrengthen. I will be " the only friend of his friends, and the enemy of his " enemies. I will redeem ſuch Turkiſh captives as " are in bonds with his enemies, and there ſhall be " no fraud on my ſide. If I neglect theſe things I " will be an apoſtate, and a prevaricator of the pre- " cepts of the holy Goſpel and of the Chriſtian Faith. " I will ſay that the Goſpel is falſe; I will deny " that Chriſt lives, and his mother to have been a " virgin; I will kill a hog on the baptiſmal font, and " curſe the Prieſts of the altar. I will commit whore- " dom on the altar, with luxury; and will receive, on " my own head, the curſes of the holy Fathers. Thus " may God behold me from on high." I queſtion whether any man of ſenſe and experience could believe that it was poſſible for ſuch a formulary to have ever been drawn up between the French Miniſters and thoſe of the Ottoman Port (43). Every part of it is improbable, and no circumſtance in it is worthy of the gravity either of Soliman or of Francis I. The Grand Signior would have been very well ſatisfied with the ordinary forms; and was too judicious a Prince not to know that ſuch an ally would have been of great advantage to him.

(42) Ibid.

(43) Such an oath ſeems to have been required from Lewis IX. *See* Paulus Æmilius, Book 7. folio 271 *verſo*.

It perhaps will be objected to me, that it is the cuſtom of the Mahometans to preſcribe an oath in this form; and I own that the Venetians were reproached with having taken ſuch a one in the perſon of the baſtard of Cyprus; but the moſt this could do would be to elude the additional obſervation I juſt now propoſed by the way. Beſides, it is a queſtion whether the Venetians agreed to the formulary, and whether authentic proofs can be brought. However this be, as the work in which they were thus reproached, at the time they were engaged in war with Lewis XII is pretty ſcarce, I will here give the tenor of this oath. " The ſaid Baſtard took an horrible, execrable, and moſt " damnable oath to the ſaid Sultan, which was after- " wards tranſlated out of Arabic and Latin, and " brought to Pope Pius by ſome Knights of Rhodes; " for which reaſon he would never receive the Em- " baſſadors of the ſaid James as Embaſſadors of the " Chriſtian King, but reprimanded them in the ſharp-

leaſt ſhadow of probability. Nevertheleſs the terms of this oath have been inſerted as an authentic piece, in one of the little books that were publiſhed againſt France during the laſt war (*g*). Another falſhood was ſpread, equally abſurd as the former, and relating to a pretended deſign of recovering the hoſtages which had been given by Francis [*K*]. I have read another very groſs falſhood relating to the troubles in which this Prince was involved, anno 1544 [*L*]. I have mentioned elſewhere (*h*), a fiction relating to the journey

(*g*) See the remark [*I*].

(*h*) In the remark [*I*] of the Article CHARLES V.

" eſt terms. Since therefore the Venetians are his " heirs, ought they not to take the ſame oath which " the ſaid James did in manner following ?

" Firſt he invoked the name of Almighty God " forty times, and then ſaid; By the great and high " God, merciful and benign, Creator of heaven and " earth and of all things in them; and by theſe holy " Goſpels, by the holy Baptiſm, by St. John Baptiſt " and all the Saints; and by the Chriſtians Faith, I " promiſe and ſwear that all the things I ſhall know " ſhall be diſcovered to my ſovereign Lord Alleſeraph " Aſnal, Soldan of Egypt and Emperor of all Arabia, " whoſe Kingdom may God ſtrengthen; and that I " will be a friend to his friends, and an enemy to " his enemies. I will not conceal any thing from " him, will not ſuffer any corſairs or pirates in my " Kingdom, nor furniſh them with ſuccours or provi- " ſions. All ſuch Egyptians as are ſlaves in my " Kingdom, I will redeem and ſet them at full li- " berty. I will offer every year, the firſt day of " October or November, by way of tribute, to the " ſovereign Temples of Jeruſalem and Mecca, the " ſum of five thouſand ducats of gold: I will prevent " the Rhodians from furniſhing the pirates with arms. " Whatever new thing may happen that ſhall be " worthy of being made known, I will inform the " Soldan of it truly and without fraud. And if I " break my promiſe in any of the particulars above- " mentioned, I will be an apoſtate from the Chriſtian " faith, and of the commandments of the holy Goſ- " pels; I will deny that Jeſus Chriſt lives, and that " his mother was a virgin; I will ſlay a camel on " the baptiſmal font, and curſe the Prieſts of the " Church; I will deny the Divinity and adore the " Humanity: and I will commit fornication, on the " high altar, with a Jeweſs; and receive on my own " head all the curſes of the holy Fathers ... Was not " Mark Corrario a Venetian, whoſe daughter the ſaid " baſtard King afterwards married to his loſs, preſent " at the adminiſtring of the ſaid oath and homage? " It is therefore probable, that they poſſeſs Cyprus " upon the ſame conditions ſince they have uſurped " the title (44)."

(44) John le Maire de Belges, *Legende des Venetiens*, pag. 75. Lions edit. 1549.

[*K*] *A falſhood was ſpread ... relating to a pretended deſign of recovering the hoſtages which had been given by Francis.*] Francis I, at his releaſe from his confinement, gave up his two ſons to the Spaniards. He could not get them back except on a condition, which would be diſadvantageous to him, for the Spaniards would detain them till ſuch time as the treaty of Madrid was executed. Some people were either ſo ſtupid, or ſo malicious, as to ſpread a report that he had ſent for a German Necromancer, who could convey from Spain into France, the two hoſtages unperceived by any one; and perform a vaſt many more miracles. The Reader will find this ridiculous incident in one of Agrippa's Letters; for this Letter was written by him, though it is intitled, in the octavo edition, *Amicus ad Agrippam*. But here the words are tranſpoſed for the true reading is this *Agrippa ad Amicum*. It was printed under this title, with the three books of his occult Philoſophy anno 1533. as Gabriel Naudé obſerves, *pag.* 410, of his apology for great men &c. Agrippa's words are as follow. *Accerſitus eſt è Germania non modicis ſumptibus vir quidam dæmoniorum, hoc eſt Magus, in quo poteſtas dæmonum inhabitat, ut, ſicut Jannes & Mambres reſtiterunt Moyſi, ſic iſte reſiſtat Cæſari. Perſuaſum enim eſt illis à patre mendaciorum, illum futurorum omnium præſcium, arcanorum quorumcumque conſiliorum conſcium, ac deliberatarum cogitationum interpretem: tanta præterea præditum poteſtate, ut poſſit regios pueros reducere per aëra, quemadmodum legitur Abakuk cum ſuo pulmento traductus ad lacum leonum, poſſetque, ſicut Heliſæus obſeſſus in Dothaim, oſtendere montes plenos equorum & curruum igneorum, exercitumque plurimum: inſuper & revelare ac tranſferre theſauros terræ, quaſque volet, coget nuptias amoreſque, aut dirimet, deploratos quoque curabit morbos ſtygeo pharmaco* (45). i. e. " From Germany there was ſent for, " at no little expence, a certain necromancer, endued " with a diabolical power, that, as Jannes and Mam- " bres reſiſted Moſes, he alſo might reſiſt the Emperor. " The father of lies perſuaded them, that this man " had the gift of foreknowledge; was privy to the " moſt hidden ſecrets, and could interpret the thoughts " of men: farther, that he was endued with ſuch mighty " power, that he could bring back the young Princes " through the air, in the ſame manner as we read " that Habakkuk was with his pottage, wafted to " the Den of Lions: and that he could, as Eliſha " when beſieged in Dothaim, ſhew mountains full of " horſes and fiery chariots, and a mighty army; " moreover, that he could find out and remove hid- " den treaſures; and could make up or break off any " Hymæneal or Love-Affairs; and cure, by an infernal " medicine, ſuch diſeaſes as were deſperate." This Letter was written from Paris the 23d of February 1528. He even obſerves, that the Cardinals and Biſhops conſented to have the magician ſent for, and contributed towards rewarding him. *Huic tam nefario idololatriæ & ſacrilegorum artifici audaciam præſtat, quæ iſtis tam impenſè favet orthodoxa illa mater, & Chriſtianiſſimi filii accommodatur autoritas, & è ſacris pecuniis largiuntur munera, conniventibus etiam atque tam nefariam operam conducentibus columnis Eccleſiæ, Epiſcopis & Cardinalibus, & impietatis Miniſtro impii applaudunt proceres, quemadmodum operibus lupi congratulantur corvi* (46). i. e. " This bold and wicked ar- " tificer of idolatry and ſacrilege is greatly favoured " by the orthodox mother, and authority of her moſt " Chriſtian ſons; and the Church's money is em- " ployed for that wicked purpoſe, by the connivance " and even encouragement of thoſe pillars of the " Church the Biſhops and Cardinals; and the impious " Nobles beſtow their applauſes on this miniſter of " impiety, in the ſame manner as the crow hails the " actions of the wolf."

(45) Agrippa *Epiſt.* 26. lib. 5. pag. 913.

(46) Ibid. pag. 914.

John Wierus, Agrippa's diſciple, tells part of theſe fine ſtories, I mean the circumſtance relating to the carrying off the two hoſtages. *Quemadmodum dicitur, quo tempore Franciſci primi Regis Galliæ filii detinebantur obſides in Hiſpania, magum in Galliam evocatum è Germania fuiſſe, qui tanta credebatur præditus poteſtate, ut poſſet regios pueros per aëra reducere, theſauroſque inveſtigare & transferre* (47). i. e. " As it is ſaid, that " at the ſame time that the ſons of Francis I King of " France were kept in Spain, as hoſtages, a necro- " mancer was ſent out of Germany into France, who " was ſuppoſed to be inveſted with ſo much power, " that he could bring back the King's ſons through " the air, and find out and carry off treaſures." Count de la Roca (48) was not unacquainted with this paſſage of John Wierus; not by his reading of that Author, but by ſeeing Bodin's citation from him there; however, he ſhould not have barely ſaid that Bodin took notice of this, but ought to have added, that Bodin rejects it as fabulous. *It will be enough for me*, theſe are the very words of this French Civilian (49), *to refute Wierus by his own words and books. For he himſelf * writes, that he has ſeen men carried into the air by devils, and that there is no abſurdity in it; and in the ſame place he writes a falſity, viz. that a magician was ſent for out of Germany, who promiſed to take away from the caſtle of Madrid the children of Francis I; and cauſe them to be conveyed, from Spain into France, through the air: but that his propoſal was not accepted, for fear they ſhould break their necks.* I have not met with the laſt circumſtance in John Wierus. I make uſe of the Amſterdam Edition of 1660.

(47) Jo. Wierius, *de Lamiis*, lib. 3. cap. 12. num. 7. pag. m. 195.

(48) See his *Hiſtory of Charles V*, pag. 171. Bruſſells edit. 1663.

(49) Bodin's *Refutation of the opinions of John Wierus*, pag. m. 513.

* Lib. 2. cap. 12. *de Præſtigiis*, pag. 6.

[*L*] *I have read another very groſs falſhood relating to the troubles in which this Prince was involved, anno 1544.*]

journey the Emperor made through France, in order to punish the inhabitants of Ghent. This is not the only one that was spread with respect to that period [*M*]. Francis I introduced some innovations, among which we must chiefly reckon the custom then begun by the Ladies, of going to Court [*N*]. Though this did not change the Salick Law, by which women are forbid to sway the Scepter of France; it yet may be said, that from this period, to about the close of the sixteenth Century, France was governed by women (*i*). Francis I has been accused very unjustly, of treating the Lutherans of his Kingdom with too great indulgence [*O*]. This is one of the falshoods which ought to be censured

(*i*) *See* Mezerai's words in the remark [*Z*].

1544.] John Saxon, Rector of the University of Wittemberg, having caused a Programma to be set up the 12th of October 1544, declared, among other particulars, that the calamities with which France was overwhelmed, were not owing to chance, but the effect of God's justice. The Emperor, says he, advanced near Paris; the Queen of France and the Dauphin went out to meet him, to implore his mercy in the most humble manner. *Non casu jam Gallia miserabiliter vastatur, & Rex potens venit in tantum discrimen ut cum Carolus Imperator accesserit ad Lutetiam usque, supplices occurrerint Regina & Delphinus, ut ante paucos annos ad Carolum Burgundum venit supplex rex Franciæ Ludovicus, cui induit dux Carolus Burgundicum Thoracem cui confessio victoriæ inscripta erat,* VIVAT DUX BURGUNDIÆ (50). i. e. "In the same manner as, a few years before, Lewis the French King came, in a suppliant manner, to the Duke of Burgundy; Duke Charles putting on him the Burgundian breast-plate, on which the following confession of victory was inscribed, LONG LIVE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY." The two incidents here, put in a parallel, are false: the former is absolutely so and without the least mixture of truth, and the latter is so with respect to the principal circumstances of it; for when Lewis XI was constrained to follow the Duke of Burgundy to Liege, he did not go as a suppliant, but had demanded a conference in hopes of over-reaching him. It is a shame that the Rector of a famous University should have published, in a Programma, a falsity that would have been unworthy of a newspaper.

(50) See the book intitled, *Scriptorum publice propositorum a Professoribus in Academia Witebergensi, ab anno* 1540, *ad ann.* 1553. *Tomus primus*, folio 96, *verso*.

[*M*] *This is not the only falshood that was published with respect to this period.*] "What a number of romantic stories have been told of Francis I? Has "it not even been asserted, that he fought a duel with "the Emperor, and that this Prince passing through "France, the King, with unparallel'd generosity offered him his Kingdom? That Charles had sat one "day upon King Francis's throne; had ordered a "criminal to be condemned, and afterwards pardoned "him, to shew his authority (51)?

(51) Chappuzeau, *Specimen of a new historical Dictionary*, pag. 11.

[*N*] *He introduced the custom then begun by the Ladies of going to Court.*] The reader will doubtless peruse the following quotation with the highest pleasure. *One day*, says Brantome (52), *as I was discoursing with a great Prince concerning the glorious virtues of Francis I, . . . he bestowed the highest encomiums on him; but at the same time blamed him very much for two things, which had done much mischief to the Court, and the whole Kingdom of France, not only during his own reign, but during that of the Kings his successors; the first, for having introduced to Court, the great assemblies, resort, and ordinary residence of the Ladies; and secondly, for having invited thither, provided for, and kept so great a concourse of Ecclesiasticks. As for the Ladies it must be confessed that, before his reign, but very few came to Court, and those very seldom: Queen Anne, indeed, began to form her Court of a greater number of Ladies than the preceding Queens; and the King her Consort would have had very little regard for them, had it not been on her account; but when the said King Francis came to the throne, he considered that Ladies form all the ornament of a Court, and therefore would have a greater number than formerly frequent it.* Brantome tells us the arguments which this critical Prince made use of. *Had none but the Court-Ladies,* said he (53), *been dissolute, it had been no great matter; but they set such an example to the rest of the Ladies in France, that copying their dress, their graces, their manners, their dances and way of life, they would likewise imitate them in their intriguing and whoring; for, said these imitators, the Court Ladies dress, dance and whore in such and such a manner, and we may do the same.* With regard to the Prelates he used to say (54), *that as they then began to grow loose and irregular, they set an example for the imitation of the rest in France; but that they ought much rather to have been in their several Dioceses, preaching to their flocks* (55). Brantome refutes all these reasons, he asserting, that the women and the clergy were no less depraved before the reign of Francis I. His words are as follow. "I have not heard or read, that they "were better before, or lead more regular lives; they "being as dissolute in their Bishopricks and Abbies as "so many soldiers (56);" and that *nothing but heresies and divisions had been seen in France, ever since preaching was so common* (57). See Jurieu's Reflections on all these particulars (58).

(52) Brantome, *Memoires*, tom. 1. pag. 277.

(53) Idem, pag. 280.

(54) Brantome, *Mem.* tom. 1. pag. 282.

(55) Idem, pag. 285.

(56) Idem, tom. 1. pag. 282.

(57) Idem, pag. 285.

(58) Jurieu, *Apology for the Reformers*, cap. 7. pag. 121, *& seq.*

[*O*] *He has been accused very unjustly, of treating the Lutherans of his Kingdom with too great indulgence.*] This accusation is very strongly refuted in the following words of Mezerai. "The contagion of erroneous o-"pinions increasing, that King caused the fires to be "again lighted, to purge France of those tenets. "Some leaven of them was left in Meaux, ever since "Bishop Briçonnet had given a reception there to le "Fevre and the Roussels. Above threescore were "taken there, who were brought to Paris, fourteen "whereof were burnt, and the rest hang'd, whipped or "banished. Which incidents, added to all those of the "same kind, I have taken notice of above, manifestly "convict, of falshood, that Italian Author, who wrote "the History of our civil Wars, of Religion, and of the "League (59), which Author either through gross for-"getfulness or egregious malice has declared in his first "Book; *that in this King's reign Calvin's belief began "to spread itself, whether it were that he permitted it, "or took no notice of it; and that it was received with in-"dignation and scorn, rather than with fear and cau-"tion.* What! was the publishing of five or six ri-"gorous Edicts to suppress it; calling together the "Clergy several times, assembling a Provincial Coun-"cil, sending every day Embassadors to all the Chri-"stian Princes, in order to get a general one assem-"bled; burning the hereticks by dozens, sending "hundreds of them to the gallies, and banishing thou-"sands of them; tell me, I beseech you, is this per-"mitting, or not taking notice of these things; are "these bare *resolutions*, or are they real performances? "Hence, judicious reader, you will be admonished, "to read this foreigner a little more cautiously; and "it perhaps will give you occasion to take notice of a "great many more errors which the *Literati* ought "not to pardon him, since he has spoke so ill of the "parent and encourager of learning (60)." It were to be wished, for the glory of this Monarch, that part of what Mezerai says of him were not true. An Historian who was not so far blinded by prejudice, as not to perceive the ideas of justice and the universal laws of order, would wish that Davila's reproaches were not so well grounded. *Juvat*, would he say, *hæc opprobria nobis, & dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli* (61); but, unluckily, I have but too much reason to charge this Italian with slander. Why have I so many proofs of his being a calumniator (62)! Every man who has formed to himself an idea of true glory, and has any regard to the memory of Francis I, will speak after this manner, whether he be a Protestant or a Roman Catholick; for nothing can be more abominable, than to put to death those who quit a Religion for no other view than the fear they are under of offending God, and who, in all other respects behave as very good subjects; nothing can be more just and rational, than to leave to God alone the empire over conscience.

(59) Mezerai means *Davila*. Here follow the words of that Italian Author, pag. m. 52. of Book 1. *Comincio l'origine di questa dissensione insino al tempo del Rè Francesco il Primo, il quale benche facesse tal volta qualche severa risolutione, occupato nondimeno del continuo nel travaglio delle guerre straniere ò permesse, ò non si avidde, che andassero all' hora serpendo i principii di questa piu tosto dispregiata & odiata che temuta ò avertita credenza.*

(60) Mezerai, *History of France*, tom. 2. pag. 1038.

(61) Ovid. *Met.* lib. 1. ver. 758. but he says *juvat* instead of *pudet*.

(62) *O utinam arguerem sic, ut non vincere possem: Me miserum! quare tam bona causa mea est?* Idem, *Amorum* lib. 2. Eleg. 5. ver. 7.

I will now contrast the following passage of Brantome to that of Davila. *The Lutherans, and those who profess the new Religion, have been greatly incensed against* Francis I, *which perhaps was the cause why so many, both of his time, and in this age, have defamed him so much; for he burnt them, and spared very few*

censured in our Dictionary. Had it been asserted, that this Prince had done great service to the Protestants [P] of Germany, this would be true. I have taken notice elsewhere (k) of the idle excuses he made to them, to justify himself for putting some Lutherans to death. Varillas is guilty of an anachronism on this occasion [Q]. The latter years of the reign of Francis I were grievous to him. The effects of his impure amours (l), and the remembrance of the misfortunes which the ill conduct of his Ministers had brought upon him, plunged him into so deep a melancholy as would not suffer him to know his true interest; he being deeply afflicted at a circumstance which he ought to have considered as very happy for him: I mean the death of Henry VIII King of England § (α), a Prince who had joined so often in confederacy against France, and would, on all occasions, have been ready to oppress that Kingdom, in order to divide it with Charles V. The children of Francis I brought great affliction upon him [R]. I do not relate

(k) The remark [B] of the article BELLAI (William of).

(l) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1039.

of those he could discover. It is related that he was the first Monarch who brought these burnings into vogue, they being seldom spoken of under his predecessors. Heaven be praised that Luther had not yet appeared in the world, who was the first heretic of this kind, tho' some had started up before, whose principles made so great progress in the Christian world. But I shall leave this matter to those who are better acquainted with it than my self. Nevertheless this great King, notwithstanding he had burnt so many people, did nevertheless protect Geneva when Charles Duke of Savoy would lay siege to, and have taken it; a circumstance that lost him part of his territories of which the people of Bern dispossessed him; for these things his said Majesty was very much censured, as also for having sent to the succour of that city the troops commanded by the Lord Rance de Lore. Reconcile, if you can possibly, these burnings with the protection he gave on the last mentioned occasion (63).

(63) Brant. *Vie de François I*, tom. 1. of the *Mem.* pag. 231.

[P] *Francis I had done great service to the Protestants.*] The reader has just now heard, that he saved the Republic of Geneva, the metropolis of those of the Reformed Religion, their Mother-Church which sent its Apostles and Books to France, and its Councils into all parts for the support of the Protestant cause. This conduct of Francis I enlarged the Canton of Bern, of which the Reformation to this day feels the benefit. He did very great services, directly, to the League of Smalcalde, but many more indirectly; for he was the cause that Charles V, on many occasions, shewed great favour to the Protestants of Germany, in order to prevent their adhering to France. As it is more agreeable to the principles of religion and piety, to acknowledge the hand of the Almighty, I mean a particular influence of Providence in the establishment of the Reformation, I approve those who judge of it in this manner; but I cannot forbear saying, that some persons of good sense are of opinion, that the bare competition or emulation between Charles V and the King of France was more than sufficient, to furnish the Protestants with means to support themselves; and that the reason why Luther has succeeded better than so many other Reformers his predecessors, was because he made his appearance under favourable auspices, I mean the emulation between Francis I and Charles V, two Princes who, to thwart one another, favoured this new Sect alternately. Now when it was once well settled in Germany, it sent such succours to the Calvinists in France as were sufficient for them to keep their ground &c. The query put by Brantome, with regard to the inconsistency of burning an hundred hereticks, and protecting their nest, their center, their metropolis, puzzles all such as do not know, that this is one of the most common scenes of the grand Farce of the world. Princes have in all ages sported with Religion in this manner; they still play the same Farce, and persecute, in their own dominions, a Religion which they support to the utmost of their power abroad. It must not be inferred from thence that themselves have no Religion. Such an assertion would be false, they being sometimes even bigots to it. What then can be the reason of this? They have a greater regard for their temporal dominions than for Christ's Kingdom (64). I do not except the Pope himself; and it is my opinion that he was almost as much dissatisfied at the Emperor's progress against the League made by the Protestants, as Francis I could be. Let us now hear Mezerai. "The noise of the Emperor's arms frighted "every part of Christendom; and the Pope himself "trembled for fear lest, after having subdued Ger-

How useful the emulation between Charles V and Francis I, was to the Protestants.

(64) See the remark [H] of the article AGESILAUS II.

"many, he should march into Italy. After Francis "had therefore well weighed the consequences of the "ruin of the Protestants, he changed his opinion and "made an alliance with them; obliged himself to "receive the Duke of Saxony's eldest son in France, "and to allow him the exercise of his Religion; pro-"mis'd to send 100000 crowns to his father, and as "many to the Landgrave of Hesse, till such time as he "should be able to assist them with troops (65)." Did he not here discover a glorious zeal for the Religion he professed? He used to burn some inconsiderable private persons, because they refused to go to Mass, and sent powerful succours to Princes who had abolished the Mass in their Dominions. This was attacking only the weather-cocks of the party; it was carrying off some of their tiles and stones, or plundering some hamlets, at the same time building fortresses and magazines of arms for them (66). Add to this the remark [AA] of the article HENRY II, and the remark of the article SURGIER.

(65) Mezer. *Chronol. Abridgment*, tom. 4. pag. 637. *ad ann.* 1547.

[Q] *Varillas is guilty of an anachronism on this occasion.*] He supposes (67) that when Francis I put to death six Lutherans the 19th of January 1535, the French Monarchy was more dangerously shaken by Calvin's Institution, than it had ever been by the English and the House of Austria. We have shewn above (68), that Calvin resolved to publish this work, to refute the slanders which were spread against those whom Francis I put to death; which were spread, I say, in order to pacify the Protestants of Germany, who were greatly exasperated at the last execution of the six Lutherans.

(66) Francis I preserved Geneva, when the Duke of Savoy would have destroyed the Reformation, had he not been prevented by this Monarch. The following words may be applied to those who adhere to such a policy. *Urbem* (philosophiæ) *mihi crede proditis, dum castella defenditis.* i. e. "Believe "me, you betray "the city, of "Philosophy, "whilst you de-"fend the cita-"del." Cicero, *de Divinat.* lib. 2. cap. 16.

§ (α) This death of a Prince, who was but a little older than himself, whispered to him that himself would not be long after him; and this reflection, among others, quite sunk his spirits. See *Mem. de du Bellai*, at the end of Book X; and *Thuanus*, Tom. I. pag. 85. B. C. of the Edition 1626. REM. CRIT.

(67) *Hist. of Francis I*, liv. 7. pag. 248.

[R] *The children of Francis I brought great affliction upon him.*] The name of the eldest was Francis. He was born in the castle of Amboise the 28th of February 1518 (69); was poisoned with a cup of fresh water by Sebastian Montecuculi, and died in the castle of Tournon, the 10th of August 1536 (70). *The King his father was so deeply afflicted at his death, that it was a long time before he could recover himself, he having conceived very great hopes, and entertained a very good opinion of this son. De Bellai relates this very well in his Memoirs* (71). The second son of Francis I swayed the sceptre after him, and was called Henry II. There is no doubt but he afflicted his father greatly, when he held a correspondence with Mommorency who was in disgrace, and made a cabal against the Duchess d'Etampes, his father's favourite mistress. He formed this cabal in concert with Diana de Poitiers his own mistress; and words could never express the evils which the jealousy of these two women occasioned (72). If the dissensions that reigned between the father's mistress and that of the son, made the King uneasy; the discord broke out between the Dauphin and his brother the Duke of Orleans, involved him in no less affliction, and proved as prejudicial to him. The Duchess d'Etampes's faction sided with the Duke of Orleans; whilst that of Diana de Poitiers opposed this Prince, and at last poisoned him. Let us see what Mezerai says on this occasion. *The Duke of Orleans, a Prince of whom great hopes was conceived, died the 8th of September at Forest-Moustier, either of the plague, or of poison, which it was suspected had been given him by his*

(68) At the beginning of the remark [F] of the article CALVIN.

(69) Father Anselme, *Hist. de la Maison royale*, pag. 136.

(70) Idem. *He says that he was poisoned in Valence*, but Brantome, tom. 1. pag. 336. says more truly *that he was poisoned in Lions.*

(71) Brantome, tom. 1. pag. 338.

(72) See the article ETAMPES.

relate the ſeries of his actions, becauſe I then ſhould be forced to repeat what is related amply enough in other Dictionaries. The ſirname of GREAT, beſtowed upon him after his death, was not of long continuance [S]: he deſerved this title on ſome accounts, and eſpecially for his valour, and that frank and undiſguiſed generoſity which is ſo rarely found in perſons of his exalted ſtation. His courage and reſolution were not equally conſpicuous on all occaſions. He did not behave manfully enough under the rigours of his impriſonment; the thoughts of it brought him almoſt to his end, and he betrayed too much fear at his return to Francis [T]. I look upon what I have read in a little book publiſhed ſome time ſince (*m*), as a fiction, viz. that he killed, in Madrid, a Nobleman of great quality for being wanting in reſpect to him, and that the Emperor did not take it ill.

(*m*) It is intitled, *Avis à l'Auteur du Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.* It was printed, (if I miſtake not) in 1689; and wrote in oppoſition to ſome particulars which the Author of the *Mercure* had advanced concerning Chriſtina Queen of Sweden. I have not been able to recover this *Avis*.

Here follow the particulars I ſhall add to the preſent article in this ſecond edition. It has been falſly reported that Francis I was born many years after his mother had been barren [U]. He has been ranked among the Princes, who after their coming to the throne,

his brother's creatures. Theſe could not bear to ſee the King ſo fond of him; and at the ſame time be ſo angry becauſe the Dauphin, in oppoſition to his commands, held a correſpondence with the Conſtable of Montmorency, whoſe return they wiſhed, becauſe their Sovereign was ſo earneſtly deſirous of it (73). What a trouble muſt it be to Francis I, to ſee that his own ſon, by intermeddling more than he ought to have done in State-affairs, forced him to take ſuch precautions as were neither agreeable nor advantageous to him? It was owing to the Dauphin's faction that the King was obliged to agree to the treaty of Creſpy. The Dauphin had writ a *Letter to his father, with the conſent of the chief officers of the army, to beſeech his Majeſty to ſend the Conſtable to the army, there to exerciſe his employment; and that it could not fail of being invincible, were he to head it. . . . The King never ſhewed ſo much reſentment as he did at the reading of* this Letter. *He complained that his ſon anticipated his authority, and that his officers preſumed to preſcribe Laws to him. He told his diſcontent to every perſon who approached him, and reprimanded very ſeverely all thoſe who had angred him. He told the Dauphin angrily that it was his duty to ſhow his ſubjects a perfect pattern of obedience, and not to cenſure his conduct, by propoſing to him, at a dangerous juncture, the recalling of a favourite who had been juſtly diſgraced. He threatned the reſt with his hatred, in caſe they continued to act ſo imprudently; and the Ducheſs d'Etampes's faction taking advantage of his uneaſineſs, repreſented to him ſo effectually, that the only way for him to rid himſelf for ever of the importunity of petitions that might be made in favour of the Conſtable, would be to make peace immediately, that his Majeſty commanded Admiral de Annebaut to conclude it &c.* (74), "This peace being of greater advantage to the Duke of Orleans than to the French "Nation; the Dauphin, who could not bear either "the aggrandizing of his brother, or ſuffer any pre"judice to be done to the Kingdom, proteſted againſt "it in the caſtle of Fontainebleau, in preſence of the "Duke de Vendome, Count d'Enghien his brother, "and Francis Count d'Aumale, the 2d of Decem"ber (75)." We may naturally ſuppoſe that the King of France met at that time with the fate of many other great Princes, I mean, to be very unhappy in his family; and extremely jealous of his ſucceſſor, and conſequently to be very much tortured. Thoſe who poiſoned the Duke of Orleans, ſaved, perhaps, the lives of two hundred thouſand perſons; and perhaps they alſo ſecured France from the fatal ſhame of diſturbing the order of the ſucceſſion (76).

(73) Mezerai, *Chronol. Abridgment*, tom. 4. pag. 635, *ad ann.* 1545.

(74) Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I*, Book 11. pag. 108. *ad ann.* 1544.

(75) Mezerai, *Chronol. Abridgment*, tom. 4. pag. 631. *ad ann.* 1544.

(76) See the remark [S] of the article HENRY II.

[S] *The ſirname of* GREAT *beſtowed upon him after his death, was not of long continuance.*] Theodorus Beza (77) informs me, that this name was given him after his death; but I conclude that it did not continue long, becauſe every one ſays, and writes, *Francis the firſt*, and not *Francis the great*. We ſay and write *Henry the fourth* or *Henry the great*, which is the ſame thing. It would be the ſame with reſpect to *Francis the firſt* and *Francis the great*, had not that latter title been laid aſide almoſt as ſoon as given. It will be needleſs to obſerve, that the great *King Francis the firſt*, and *Francis the great* have a different ſignification.

(77) *Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches*, Book 1. *ad fin.* pag. 66.

[T] *He betrayed too much fear at his return to France.*] I will employ Mezerai's words on this occaſion, *The King was no ſooner got on this ſide the river, but he leaped upon a Turkiſh horſe, as though he had been afraid of ſome ambuſcade, and galloped with the utmoſt ſpeed towards St. John de Lux, which is four leagues from that place; and having refreſhed himſelf half an hour, he flew with the like ſpeed towards Bayonne* (78). This King muſt have met with very ſhameful treatment during his impriſonment, ſince he commanded his children, upon pain of having his curſe fall upon their heads, to revenge it. This I have read in a letter written by Admiral Chabot's Secretary (79), publiſhed by Mr. le Laboureur. It was written from London the 5th of February 1535, and contains, among other particulars which Henry VIII told this Secretary, *that he remembered very well when they had the laſt interview, that the ſaid Prince* (80) *ſpeaking one day to the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans and Angouleſme, his ſons, in preſence of the ſaid King, ſaid theſe very words to them: that did he know they ſhould ever obliterate the wrongs and the inhuman treatment both himſelf and they had received from the ſaid Emperor, and did not revenge them, in caſe it was not in his power to do it (which he yet hoped) from that time he would wiſh his curſe on them* (81).

(78) *Hiſtory of France*, tom. 2. pag. 950. *ad ax.* 1596.

(79) His name was *Palamedes Gontier*.

(80) i. e. *Francis I.*

(81) *Addit. aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 420.

[U] *It has been falſely reported, that Francis I was born many years after his mother had been barren.*] Many of the writers of the Life of St. Francis de Paule, have aſſured us, that the Princeſs Louiſa of Savoy, wife to Charles of Valois, bewailed, to this holy man, her unhappineſs in being barren; and ſhe had long (82), added they, been ſenſible of this imperfection. Francis de Paule, by his prayers, removed her ſterility; for which reaſon ſhe gave the name of Francis to the boy whom ſhe brought into the world. This is their relation of that matter. Theophilus Raynaud, upon the credit of theſe Writers, told the ſame incident in his *Trinitas Patriarcharum*, a work in which he makes the Elogium of St. Bruno, Patriarch of the Carthuſians, of St. Ignatius, Patriarch of the Jeſuits, and of St. Francis de Paule, Patriarch of the Minims; but he was told that this was a great untruth, ſince Louiſa of Savoy was a widow at nineteen years of age, and that ſhe before had brought into the world Princeſs Margaret and Prince Francis, which is an inconteſtable proof that ſhe could not have bewailed her long ſterility to Francis de Paule. *Hoc correctione indiget*, ſays he (83). *Neque enim longam ſterilitatem ſuam deplorare potuit Ludovica, quæ anno ætatis undeviceſimo vidua relicta, duplicem jam prolem enixa erat, Margaritam filiam natam Engoliſmæ XI Aprilis anno* 1492, *& Franciſcum, Cognaci editum anno* 1494 12 *Septembris*. He adds, that Hilarion de Coſte, who wrote afterwards, had mentioned this in the Life of the Founder of the Minims, and that the Sammarthani had confirmed it (84), they ſaying that Louiſa of Savoy was born in 1477, married Charles of Orleans, Count of Angoulême in 1488, was delivered of Francis the 12th of September 1494, and loſt her huſband the 1ſt of January 1496. Here then we have a falſity refuted demonſtratively, and at the ſame time we have a proof of the inadvertency with which a crowd of miracles are aſcribed by Writers to a Saint in his Legend, without their taking the pains to conſult the Genealogical or Chronological Tables. Had they been conſulted on this occaſion, the Writers would not have aſſerted, that a woman who is delivered of a girl at fifteen years of age, and of a boy at ſeven-

(82) *Diu ſterili.* Theoph. Raynaud. *Syntagm. de Libris propriis*, Art. 56. pag. 63. *Apopompæi.*

(83) Idem, ibid.

(84) *Aſtipulantur FF. Sammarthani*, tom. 1. lib. 10. pag. 627. Idem, ibid.

throne, would not revenge the injuries they had received, when in a private condition. It is pretended, that under the reign of Lewis XII, he ſent a challenge to Charles of Bourbon, who, by ſome reports, had endeavoured to ſet the King againſt him; and it is added, that having ſucceeded that Monarch in the throne, he had ſo little remembrance of the enmity he had entertained againſt this Charles of Bourbon, that he made him Conſtable of France (*n*). Every one has heard of his great fondneſs for learning; but few are acquainted with an incident found in a letter of Andrew Alciat, which was not publiſhed till 1697 [*X*]. There is another peculiar, and more important incident, that was known but lately, viz. that the Duke of Orleans, ſecond ſon to Francis I, offered the Proteſtant Princes of Germany, to allow the exerciſe of their Religion [*Y*]; and it is conjectured that he made this propoſal with his father's conſent (*o*). I took notice in the remark [*N*], of the diſorders occaſioned by the new cuſtom introduced by Francis I, viz. of admitting the Ladies to his court. It is impoſſible to deſcribe this diſorder better than Mezerai has done, and I therefore will tranſcribe the words employed by him on this occaſion [*Z*]. The Author (*p*) of ſome dialogues, (in that which he ſuppoſes between this

(*n*) *See* Camerarius, *Meditat. Hiſt.* tom. 2. cap. 45. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 194. He cites *du Ferron in Vita Franciſci I.*

(*o*) See the remark [*I*] towards the cloſe.

(*p*) It is ſaid to be Mr. Fenelon (Archbiſhop of Cambray) Author of the *Adventures of Telemachus.*

teen had bemoaned her long barrenneſs, and that it had been removed only by the prayers of a holy man. Would to God there may be nothing more than ſimplicity and credulity in the ſtory of this falſe miracle, and that the wants and intereſt of the community which I mention elſewhere (85), may not have prompted the Minimes to ſtrew this falſe glory round their Patriarch.

(85) In the remark [*N*] of the article FRANCIS of Aſſiſi.

[*X*] *Few are acquainted with an incident, found in a Letter of Andrew Alciat, which was not publiſhed till* 1697.] This Letter was written from Bourges, the 3d of September 1530. Alciat relates there, that one Julius Camillus, a learned man, had offered Francis I, to teach him to ſpeak Greek and Latin, in a month's time, both in proſe and verſe, with as much elegance as Demoſthenes and Cicero, Homer and Virgil. Camillus was to employ but one hour in a day in inſtructing this Monarch, but then he required to be alone with him; he thinking that ſo great a ſecret ought to be communicated to none but crowned heads (86). He alſo required for his reward, two thouſand crowns per annum in good benefices. This man ſpoke ſo confidently to Francis I, that he imagined there was ſome truth in his extraordinary promiſes; however, he was diſmiſſed after the ſecond leſſon, ſix hundred crowns being given him at the ſame time (87).

(86) *Nolle enim ea arcana cuiquam inferiori à Rege patefieri.* Alciat. *Epiſt.* 23. *inter* Gudianas, pag. 109.

(87) *Ex* Alciato, ibid.

[*Y*] *The Duke of Orleans, ſecond ſon to Francis I, offered the Proteſtants of Germany, to allow the exerciſe of their Religion.*] We are obliged to le Vaſſor for the diſcovery of this extraordinary circumſtance. He has publiſhed it in the ſecond edition of de Vargas's Letters, which he tranſlated from the Spaniſh, and embelliſhed with ſeveral very ſolid obſervations. He found (88), *among Cardinal de Granvelle's Papers*, the Inſtruction which the Duke of Orleans gave his *Secretary and Valet de Chambre* upon his ſending them to *the Dukes of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and other Proteſtant Princes*, that were to aſſemble in Francfort (89). It is dated at Rheims the 8th of September 1543, and begins thus: "Shall declare to them "the great deſire which, by the Grace of God, we "have that the holy Goſpel be preached throughout "the whole Kingdom of France, where we would "gladly ſee a beginning of it. And foraſmuch as "fear and filial reverence and fraternal honour which "we bear to the moſt Chriſtian King, our moſt honoured Lord and Father, and to the Dauphin our "elder Brother, prevent our ſuffering it to be preached "freely in our Dukedom of Orleans, becauſe it is "ſubject to, and in the juriſdiction of our ſaid Lord "and Father; beſides that the Pope, the Emperor, "and other Princes might oppoſe us; and other rea"ſonable cauſes, the relation of which we reſerve to "a more proper ſeaſon, we have faithfully applied to "the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent Princes the "Duke of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and "other Proteſtant Princes, to acquaint them that we "are determined, and promiſe to them expreſly and "without any regard, to cauſe it to be preached in "the Dukedom of Luxemburg, whereof we hope the "ſaid Lord the King will leave us in quiet poſſeſſion "of, as well as of our territories which belong to us "by the Law of Arms. But we intreat the ſaid Pro"teſtant Princes to receive us into an offenſive and "defenſive confederacy and alliance with them, and "earneſtly intreat them not to refuſe us ſo very juſt "and reaſonable a requeſt; not to aid us with their "forces and protection againſt any particular Prince, "but only in what concerns the affairs of the Chriſtian "Religion, whoſe increaſe we greatly, and above all "things deſire, which by this means, may eaſily be "known in our other territories and in the ſaid "Kingdom, when the ſaid Lord the King our Father "ſhall ſee us in alliance with the ſaid Princes, who "will cauſe him to declare his good zeal in this "matter; and we ſhall be ever able to excuſe our"ſelves to him, and defend our ſelves againſt our "adverſaries. May it therefore pleaſe the ſaid Princes, "that the inſtant we begin to cauſe the ſaid Goſpel to "be preached in the ſaid Dukedom of Luxemburg, "our alliance and confederacy may begin with them "at that very time (90)." Here follows le Vaſſor's reflection. *It is highly probable that the Duke of Orleans did not take this ſtep without his father's privity. He ſpeaks too confidently of the* good zeal *of Francis I, he offers too freely this King*'s whole power; *he gives too great hopes of what will be done the inſtant the Proteſtants ſhall have admitted him into their alliance. Theſe ſeveral things ſuppoſe, that the father and ſon acted in concert* (91). Thoſe who ſay that the Ducheſs d'Etampes was a Lutheran in her heart, and caballed in favour of the Duke of Orleans, againſt the Dauphin (92), will not fail to aſſert, that ſhe excited this young Duke, unknown to Francis I, to hold a correſpondence with the Princes of the League of Smalcald, and afterwards induced him to joyn with the Emperor (93), when ſhe found that fortune ſeemed to incline that way. Some may perhaps imagine, that the King joined clandeſtinely in this plot of his ſon, without any ways intending to favour the new Religion in France; and that he propoſed only to reap a greater benefit from the ſuccours of Germany, by flattering theſe Lutheran Princes with the hopes, that he would one day embrace the Proteſtant Religion, in caſe it ſhould be for his intereſt. I am of opinion, that le Vaſſor's diſcovery will prompt the curious to ſift out the bottom and drift of this affair, and that they will find ſome papers which will give light into it.

(88) Le Vaſſor, *Letters and Memoirs of Vargas*, pag. 24. edit. 1700.

(89) Idem, pag. 25.

(90) Ibid.

(91) Idem, pag. 27.

(92) See the remark [*H*] of the Article ETAMPES.

(93) See the remark [*F*] of the Article ETAMPES.

[*Z*] *I will tranſcribe the words employed by Mezerai on this occaſion.*] "King Francis I, who had a noble "paſſion for all things of an auguſt kind, was won"derfully delighted with magnificence, imagining "that they contributed to diſplay his grandeur; and "being perſuaded that the beauty of the Ladies "would heighten the ſplendor of his pomp, and as "he was amorouſly inclined, he firſt accuſtomed the "fair-ſex to frequent the Court. At firſt this change "had a very good effect, this lovely ſex having "brought politeneſs and courteſy thither, and inſpi"ring noble ſouls with generous ſentiments; but "when uncleanneſs crept in, and the example of the "greateſt people had given a ſanction to corruption, "that which till then had been a beautiful ſource, "whence honour and virtue flowed, became a filthy "ſink of all vice. Infamy then grew into credit, "proſtitution was the path to favour, and by this "means men got to be favourites, and continued "ſuch; in a word, poſts and employments were beſtowed

this Prince and Lewis XII) printed at the Hague anno 1700, has very well deſcribed the defects of this Monarch. It is pity this Dialogue is ſo ſhort, that being the only circumſtance that can be found fault with in it. Francis I made a regulation which deſerves a remark. I mean his aboliſhing the cuſtom of drawing up inſtruments relating to law-ſuits) in Latin [*AA*]. Naudæus (*q*) has touched upon this, and ſeveral other particulars relating to the erudition of this Prince, his writings, and his affection for learned men. The laſt particular I ſhall mention is remarkable enough. It is pretended (*r*) that Francis de Paula, a little before he died, ſpoke as follows to Louiſa of Savoy, *Your ſon will be King of France; and will ſurpaſs all the Princes of his age in glory, in riches and in felicity, provided he does but endeavour to reform the Church; but, if he does not attempt this, he will be very unhappy.* It is to obſerved, that Francis de Paule died the 2d of April 1507, and that Lewis XII, who then ſwayed the Scepter of France, lived near eight years after this, and that his Queen was not barren (*s*).

(*q*) Naudé, *Addit. à l'Hiſtoire de Lewis XI*, pag. 369.

(*r*) *See* Richer, *Hiſt. Concil.* lib. 4. pag. 101.

(*s*) See the article FERRARA, Rem. [*A*].

Here follow ſome particulars which I have collected ſince the ſecond edition. It has been falſely reported, that after Francis I had been taken priſoner before Pavia, he was conveyed to the caſtle of Ambres near Inſpruck [*BB*]. Among the ſeveral elogiums which have been given him for the great encouragement he gave to learning and learned men, I muſt not omit the compliments which have been paid him by the Literati, for his cauſing ſuch beautiful editions to be made of books [*CC*]. The paſſage he cut through a mountain

" beſtowed merely at the caprice of women. And " becauſe theſe, when they are once grown diſſolute, " commonly degenerate to injuſtice, fraud, revenge, " and malice in a much more barefaced manner than " even the men; they were the cauſe that ſeveral very " bad maxims were introduced into the Government, " and the antient Gallic candour was baniſhed ſtill " farther than chaſtity. This corruption begun under " Francis I, was become almoſt univerſal under " Henry II, and was arrived at its higheſt pitch un- " der Charles IX and Henry III (94)."

(94) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France under Henry III*, tom. 3. pag. 446, 447.

[*AA*] *He aboliſhed the cuſtom of drawing up Inſtruments, relating to Law ſuits, in Latin.*] I will borrow Varillas's words. " Juſtice had, till that time, " been adminiſtred in Latin, throughout the whole " Monarchy of France, at leaſt in the greateſt part " of it; and this language had been ſo corrupted, " that it was ſcarce known but by the termination of " the words, whether this was owing to ignorance, " or the Judges pretended they could thereby be better " underſtood. But this abuſe was no longer to be " borne with, at a time when endeavours were em- " ployed ſo ſucceſsfully to reſtore the antient polite- " neſs; and ſince the French Monarchy had never " been dependent on the Roman, it was not fit that its " moſt authentic Acts ſhould be preſerved in this " tongue. It would have been ridiculous to tranſlate " them into proper Latin, ſince they then would have " been unintelligible to moſt people; and the King " was of opinion, that it were better to expreſs them " in good French than in bad Latin. Thus an or- " dinance was made for this purpoſe in 1539; and " none of all thoſe enacted by Francis I, have been " more univerſally or more conſtantly obſerved than " this (95)." This Hiſtorian obſerved juſt before, that Chancellor Poyet had procured this reformation in the Laws, a little before his fall. Germany had been reformed, in this particular, near three Centuries. Here follows a paſſage from Camerarius's Hiſtorical Meditations. *The Emperor Rodolphus I... moved by various complaints of the German nation, and finding himſelf, under the yoke as it were, of foreign Secretaries, verſed in the Latin tongue, whom he was forced to employ to the great prejudice of his affairs, becauſe theſe people often betrayed him; held a Diet at Nuremberg anno* 1252, *in which it was enacted, with the general conſent of all the States of the Empire, that thenceforward the German language ſhould be uſed in the chancelleries and in public contracts. This it was that gave the Germans an occaſion of improving their language, which is now arrived to ſuch a perfection, that any Hiſtory or Science may be perſpicuouſly and elegantly expreſſed and underſtood in it, either in manuſcript or in print* (96). Obſerve, that it has been ſaid, that the circumſtance which prompted the King of France to baniſh the Latin tongue from the Law-Courts, was, his being told that the firſt Preſident of the Parliament of Paris had made uſe of a ſurprizingly barbarous word, in procuring ſentence. *Scripſerat morem Galliæ fuiſſe, leges Regni ſemper Latino ſermone ſcribi, donec Franciſcus Rex ejus nominis primus id vetuit anno* 1539. *Sed debuerat Matharellus cauſam addere: quoniam videlicet Præſes Curiæ Parlamenti in arreſto pronunciando dixerat, debotamus & debotavimus: quod Gallice jam pronunciatur,* Avons debouté & deboutons (we have rejected and reject). *De quo Rex Franciſcus (ut quidam dicunt) multum riſerat: ut alii, multum iratus fuerat* (97).

(95) Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I*, Book 9. pag. m. 381.

(96) Camerarius's *Hiſtorical Meditations*, vol. 3. lib. 4. cap. 5.

(97) *Matagonis de Matagonibus adverſus Italogalliam Antonii Matharelli*, pag. m. 226.

[*BB*] *It has been falſely reported... that he was conveyed to the caſtle of Ambres near Inſpruck.*] I will here quote the *Hiſtorical Mercury* for March 1702. " By Letters from Vienna, dated the 4th of this " month, we are informed, that Marſhal de Villeroy " (98), by the Emperor's order, had been conveyed " from Inſpruck to the caſtle of Ambres, a league's " diſtance from it; and that he is in the ſame apart- " ment in which Charles V confined Francis I, after " taking him priſoner before Pavia." Some of the Dutch News-Papers had mentioned this circumſtance before. I wiſh that the Author of the *Mercury*, inſtead of copying thoſe News-Writers had refuted them. It is certain that Francis I was carried priſoner into Spain, not into Germany. Bouchet obſerves, that the Viceroy of Naples (99) *gave the Lord Alarcon Governor of Apulia and Calabria, the charge of the King of France's perſon, and that he carried this King priſoner to the caſtle of Piſqueton* (100). Paradin, Mezerai and ſeveral other Hiſtorians, give the name of Piſqueton to the caſtle in which that Prince was confined, before he was carried to Spain. This caſtle is ſituated on the river Adda in the Milaneze, and is called the Italian Picighitone. See Leander Alberti's Deſcription of Italy (101).

(98) He was taken priſoner in Cremona, the 1ſt of Feb. 1702.

(99) It was Charles de Lanoi.

(100) Bouchet, *Annals of Aquitaine*, folio m. 217.

(101) Folio 407 *verſo.* Venice edit. of 1561.

[*CC*] *I muſt not omit the compliments which have been paid him by the Literati, for his cauſing ſuch excellent Editions to be made of Books.*] We need but read the following words of Peter Victorius (102). *Veritas quoque non patitur, ut reticeam egregiam voluntatem atque operam, inferioribus temporibus in hac re poſitam à Franciſco primo Gallorum rege, qui ut erat omnibus in rebus magno animo ac vere regio præditus, procliviſque in humanum genus juvandum, rectaque ſtudia ſumma ope avgenda, curavit, ut quidquid antiquorum ingenii monumentorum reſtaret in afflicta Græcia, ad ſe mitteretur: cui beneficio magno addidit alterum, & ipſum valde utile ad hanc ipſam honeſtam artem ornandam: ſtuduit enim, magnis præmiis præpoſitis, ut lepidæ admodum formæ litterarum, & Græcarum & Latinarum, fingerentur; in quo etiam fælix fuit: ita enim pulchræ atque politæ fabricatæ fuere, ut non videantur ab humano ingenio venuſtiores, & exquiſitiores ullo pacto conformari poſſe; librique ipſis excuſi, non invitent tantum, ſed etiam aliquo modo rapiant ad ſe legendos.* i. e. " Truth will not per- " mit me to conceal the ſignal obligations we owe of " late years, in this reſpect, to Francis I King of " France, who, as he diſplayed a greatneſs of ſoul, " and a truly royal diſpoſition in all things, was ſtu- " dious of promoting the good of mankind; and en- " couraged, to the utmoſt of his power, all uſeful " learning; ſo he took care to have all ſuch antient " monuments of wit and genius, as ſtill exiſted in " widowed Greece, to be ſent him. To this noble " piece of ſervice he joined another, of the higheſt " importance

(102) Petrus Victorius, *Præfat. Comment. in VIII Libros Ariſtotelis de optimo Statu civitatis.*

mountain is very ſurprizing [*DD*]. I have ſomething to add with regard to the pretended oath which certain ſatyrical writers ſuppoſe he took to the grand Signior [*EE*], the very words of which I have copied (*t*).

(*t*) See the remark [*I*].

" importance for carrying on this excellent deſign ; " he endeavouring, by offering very ample rewards, " to get beautiful Greek and Latin types founded. " The King was extremely ſucceſsful in this attempt ; " ſuch beautiful and elegant ones being caſt, that it " was impoſſible for human art to ſurpaſs them : and " the Books which were printed with them, not only " invited, but forced, in ſome meaſure, men to per- " uſe them." To this may be added, what I relate in the article VERGERIUS (*Angelus*) (103), and the following paſſage from the *Antiquities of Paris :* " It " appears that, anno 1541, Angelus Vergerius, Greek " Secretary to the King, had a penſion of 450 livres " Tournois, charged on the Exchequer (104)."

(103) Citation (*b*).

(104) James du Breul, *Antiquitez of Paris*, pag. m. 568.

[*DD*] *The paſſage he cut thro' a mountain is very ſurprizing.*] Leger affirms (105), that *mount Viſol which is thought to be the higheſt in Europe, and where the Po takes its riſe, is the mountain which, (we are told in Hiſtory)* Francis I *cauſed to be cut quite thro', in order to open a paſſage into Italy.* " But, *adds this Author*, altho' " the French, ſince they have found out the ſecret to " open the paſſage of Mount Genevre, which is much " ſhorter and more commodious, make no farther uſe " of this hole, it ſtill exiſts, and will doubtleſs do ſo " to the end of the world, the greateſt part of it be- " ing cut quite thro' the rock. It takes up about two " hours to paſs thro' it, which may be done with load- " ed mules. The only inconveniency is, it is ſo very " dark, that there is no going into it but by torch- " light." As this Author has not ſpecified the date of this ſurprizing work, nor named any Hiſtorians who mention it ; the reſearches I my ſelf have made, induce me to think, that the expedition of Francis I into Italy, anno 1515, is the Æra of this. I imagined that Martin du Bellai had given an ample relation of the difficulties which the French ſurmounted in their paſſage over the Alps ; but I find that he makes only a very curſory mention of it (106), and does not give any idea of the prodigious labour it muſt have coſt. I conſulted Guiccardine (107) much more to my ſatisfaction, and was almoſt as well pleaſed with Varillas who writes thus (108), " Lautrec and Navarre, with " the flower of the French Army, left Geneva (109) " to the left ; forded the river Durance, and entred the " Argentaires (110) by a way called Gilleſtre, from " whence they pierced as far as the rock St. Paul, " which they were forced to open with iron inſtru- " ments and with fire. The two ſucceeding days, " moſt of the pioneers were uſeleſs ; for as now every " mountain was ſeparated from the reſt by abyſſes, the " mine and ſap were no longer of uſe, and they had " recourſe to bridges of communication to carry over " the Artillery. The ſoldiers and pioneers drew it " along in places inacceſſible to beaſts of burthen. " They filled up with faſcines, ſuch places as were ca- " pable of it ; and, when theſe were too wide, the " void was made up with props and large trees. In " this manner they reached Mount Pied-de-Porc, " which they deſpaired of being ever able to pierce " thro' becauſe it conſiſted of one entire ſolid rock, " ſteep and craggy on all ſides ; but Navarre, who exa- " mined every part of it, diſcovered one vein more " ſoft than the reſt ; and traced it ſo exactly, that he " opened himſelf a way thro' the middle of it. Thus " by the induſtry of the engineers, the labour of the " ſoldiers, and the perſeverance of the Chiefs, the " French Army arrived, about the cloſe of the eighth " day, in the Marquiſate of Saluces (*). " But how good ſoever the deſcription may be, it will be found flat and inſipid, if compared to that of Paulus Jovius (111), between whom and Varillas there is a remarkable difference. The latter does not make the leaſt mention of Trivulcio, to whom Paul Jovius aſcribes the glory of having found out this new paſſage, and being the principal director of the execution.

(105) John Leger, *Hiſt. des Egliſes Vandoiſes*, Part 1. pag. 2.

(106) Martin du Bellay, *Memoir*, liv. 1. *ad ann.* 1515, pag. m. 28.

(107) Guiccard. liv. 12. folio m. 356.

(108) Varillas, *Hiſt. of Francis I*, Book 1. pag. 43. Hague ed. 1690.

(109) He ſhould have ſaid *Mount Genevre.*

(110) He ſhould have ſaid *le col de l'Argentiere.* i. e. " the defile of " Argentiere."

(*) In the relation of the paſſage ſent to the King's mother by Count de Morette.

(111) Jovius, *Hiſt. ſui temp.* lib. 15. folio m. 301, *& ſeq.*

[*EE*] *I have ſomething to add, with regard to the pretended oath . . . he took to the Grand Signior.*] The reader has ſeen the reproach which John le Maire de Belges made to the Venetians, I add that the Saracens, who took the King St. Lewis priſoner, propoſed to him the formulary of an oath, much ſhorter than that which it is ſuppoſed the baſtard of Cyprus did not ſcruple to take, and which is the ſame that Francis I is falſely ſuppoſed to have taken. It is manifeſt that the one was copied from the other ; but St. Lewis would not ſubmit to this harſh condition.

(112) In the remark [*I*].

FRANCISCA or FRANCES, a devout Lady who was canonized in 1608, was born at Rome about the year 1384. She diſcovered, from her infancy, that her heart was inclined to celeſtial things ; ſhe loving ſolitude and prayer, and abhorring the pleaſures and diverſions ſo much coveted at that age. Being eleven years of age ſhe meditated a deſign of taking the veil ; but her father would not conſent to it, and married her to a wealthy Gentleman (*a*). In this change of condition ſhe ſtill loved retirement and prayer, and therefore devoted to them all the hours ſhe could ſpare from the duties of her family. She did not frequent ſhows, feaſts, houſes where weddings were kept, nor even viſited her relations, her only pleaſure being to go to Churches and Hoſpitals. She prevailed with a great number of maidens to leave the ſecular life, and founded a convent for them in Rome, according to St. Benedict's rule. They were called Oblates, and were of the Congregation of the Olivetans. Having loſt her huſband, ſhe begged, with the utmoſt humility, to be received into this Community ; where having taken the veil, ſhe diſcharged her ſeveral duties with wonderful exactneſs and punctuality. She died there the 9th of March 1440. Several miracles were wrought by her in her life-time, and ſoon after her death ; ſo that ſome months after this, the preliminaries of her canonization were begun (*b*). This affair was reſumed at different times at the requeſt of the Citizens of Rome, but was not concluded till the Pontificate of Paul V, anno 1608 [*A*]. I have met

(*a*) Named *Laurence Pontiani.*

(*b*) Extracted from the Bull of Canonization, inſerted by Bzovius in vol. 16. of his *Eccleſiaſtical Annals*, pag. 730, *& ſeq. ad ann.* 1440.

[*A*] *This affair was reſumed at different times . . . but was not concluded till* . . 1608.] The regular procedures were begun under Pope Eugenius IV, anno 1440. A Biſhop and a Prior of the Carthuſians were appointed to examine witneſſes, with regard to the life and miracles of St. Frances. Two years and ſome months after, the affair was referred to Cardinal Alberti ; and the teſtimony of thirty eight witneſſes were taken, on eighty articles. Nicholas V, ſucceſſor to Eugenius IV, cauſed new enquiries to be made by two Biſhops, who received judicially the depoſition of two hundred and thirty two witneſſes. The affair ſtopt here, till the Pontificate of Clement VIII, and nevertheleſs the devotion for the deceaſed Frances did not cool, and the day ſhe died was ſolemnized in Rome. Clement VIII, being ſollicited by the inhabitants of Rome to complete this work, ordered it to be diſpatched with all poſſible diligence. The Commiſſioners appointed by him examined all the proceedings and the ſeveral inſtruments from the beginning ; and made freſh informations or enquiries till the year 1604. The Pope dying during this interval, could not gratify the deſires of the people of Rome. Paul V, his ſucceſſor, being urged to put an end to this affair, ſet about it with great vigour ; and at laſt, after the formalities requiſite in ſuch caſes were over, he canonized our Frances the 29th

met with a very odd incident in Nicholas Vignier [*B*], and have ſought for the foundation of it, but to no purpoſe.

I have at laſt found in Volaterranus the words which occaſioned Vignier to mention this ſtrange incident. The public has been informed of it, and may be ſenſible that this hardly excuſes the writer in queſtion [*C*].

FRANCUS

of May 1608, and appointed the 9th of March as her feſtival (1). The Citizens of Rome defrayed the expences of this great ceremony, which amounted to above an hundred thouſand crowns (2).

(1) Extracted from the Bull of the Canonization, inſerted by Bzovius in tom. 16. of his *Eccleſiaſtical Annals*, pag. 730, & *ſeq.*

(2) *Continuat. Hiſt. Thuani*, lib. 1. pag. 30. *ad ann.* 1603, *in fine.*

[*B*] *I have met with a very odd incident in Nicholas Vignier.*] Here follow his words, I not making the leaſt alteration in them, as indeed I ought not to do (3). *A Roman Matron was rank'd among the Saints by the Pope, becauſe ſhe uſed to check her ſtimulations of the fleſh, by dropping ſcalding bacon on the pudenda. Volaterranus.* You ſee he cites Volaterranus after a very random manner, without ſpecifying the title, number of the book, chapter or ſection. This is pretty much his cuſtom; but methinks he ſhould have deviated from it on this occaſion, conſidering the oddneſs of the incident; and ought to have given the reader all the opportunity poſſible of verifying that paſſage eaſily. I look'd for it in Volaterranus (4), in every part where the Table of Contents, which is a very indifferent one, and the diſtribution of the ſubjects could ſerve as a guide to me, but could not find this paſſage. A man of letters had before told me, that he had not found any thing like this in Volaterranus's work. This is not the only reproach I have to make Vignier. I cannot conceive why he ſpeaks of this Roman Matron under the year 1505; for this is not the Æra in which ſhe either lived, died, or was canonized. Bzovius, under the year 1505, ſpeaks of two women who were reputed Saints at their death, the one dying in Bourges, the other in Ravenna; but neither of theſe were our Frances, the one being Joan of France, Foundreſs of the Nuns of the Annunciade, and the other's name being Margaret. Laſtly, I obſerve, that I could never believe that Vignier's citation is faithful, unleſs I ſaw thoſe very expreſſions in Volaterranus. It is altogether improbable, that Volaterranus ſhould have aſſerted, that Frances was canonized anno 1505, this not being till 1508; and it is leſs probable he ſhould have affirmed, that her canonization was founded merely on the reaſon aſſigned by Vignier. He was too well acquainted with the ſtyle and method of the Court of Rome, to advance a thing ſo diſtant as this is from the practice of canonizations. They are never founded ſolely on the virtue of perſons, how conſpicuous and eminent ſoever it may have been; it muſt likewiſe have been accompanied with true or falſe miracles, that is, witneſſes muſt be heard, and theſe muſt affirm that the interceſſion, relicks &c. of the perſon canonized, have been productive of miraculous cures &c. I would not alledge, againſt Vignier, the ſilence of Pope Paul the Vth's Bull; for I can eaſily conceive, that tho' it had been proved, by the enquiries made into the Life of St. Frances, that ſhe had mortified herſelf in the ſevere manner abovementioned, this would not have been expreſly inſerted in the canonizing Bull. I confeſs that ſome particular acts of auſterity, leſs ſurprizing than that in queſtion, are inſerted in it; but theſe bore no relation to obſcene images, which ought never to be introduced in ſuch a Bull. *Nec minori virtute in Chriſto Jeſu*, theſe are the words of Pope Paul V, *cum hoſte domeſtico pugnavit, ſed exemplo electorum Dei, admirabilem in modum caſtigavit corpus ſuum, & in ſervitutem redegit. Cibum illi ſemel in die herbæ, & legumina, aqua potum præbuerunt; ſive vigilaret, ſive dormiret, aſperum laneum induſium non exuebat, duroque cilicio, ac ferreo cingulo ſuper nudum membra mortificabat; accedebant flagella ferreis aculeis aſpera, quibus corpuſculum, quamquam aliunde attritum, ſeveriſſime atterebat* (5). Theſe Latin words inform us, that ſhe eat nothing but herbs and pulſe, and drank nothing but water; that ſhe wore night and day a woollen ſhift, a hair cloth, an iron girdle next her ſkin, and uſed to ſcourge herſelf in a moſt cruel manner. Perſons who act in this manner, have no occaſion for the ſcalding lard mentioned by Vignier, eſpecially when, after the example of Frances, they ſhun the company of worldly perſons, their viſits, their marriage feaſts, their profane diverſions &c. To this let us add, that ſhe was not a widow till a few years before ſhe died (6), and that ſhe died in the 56th year of her age. Here are ſeveral reaſons which may induce us to believe, that this Saint had no occaſion to employ ſo violent a remedy againſt uncleanneſs.

(3) Nicholas Vignier, *Recueil de l'hiſtoire de l'Egliſe*, pag. 626. *ad ann.* 1505.

(4) i. e. in the work intitled, *Commentariorum Urbanorum libri octo & triginta.* I have at laſt met with the paſſage. See the remark [*C*].

(5) *Literæ decretales Canonizationis S. Franciſcæ, apud* Bzovium, *Ann. Eccleſ.* tom. 16. pag. 732.

(6) *Defuncto marito, paucis annis ante ſuam dormitionem.* Ibid. pag. 731.

After all, had Frances made uſe of it, ſhe would not only merit the applauſe, but likewiſe the admiration of all good people. She would have diſplayed ſuch a love for chaſtity, as would be infinitely ſtronger and more lively, than if ſhe had imitated St. Aldhelme (7), and ſuch raſh devotees who blow up the fire of luſt, in order that they may acquire the greater merit in quenching it: a bad victory, which is not only dangerous, but of ſuch a caſt that there is no gaining it but at the expence of virtue itſelf, for whoſe ſake all thoſe ſtruggles are made. A bare thought, an image, or an impure emotion triumphed over, all theſe are a ſtate of impurity, and an object that can be no ways pleaſing in the eyes of the ſupreme Lawgiver, nor in thoſe of his holy Angels. St. Paul's, words (8), which ſignify according to moſt verſions, that the widow who paſſed her days in pleaſure, is dead while ſhe liveth, ought, according to Melanchthon to be interpreted in a different manner. The Apoſtle does not mean, that a widow who is fond of feaſting, gaming, parties of pleaſure, &c. has loſt the Holy Ghoſt, and the Life of Grace; his words imply, that this ſpiritual death belongs to ſuch widows as are expoſed to the unchaſte emotions of the fleſh; but do not mean ſuch temptations as lead them to the accompliſhment of their deſires, but ſuch temptations as divert the ſoul from meditating on heavenly things, and turn it to impure images. Melanchthon's words are as follow. *Accuſat Paulus illas mulieres non levibus verbis: Pruriens viva mortua eſt. Nam vocabulum σπαταλῶσα propriè ſignificat prurientem, quod plus eſt quàm appetere delitias ciborum, ſed eſt habere incendia libidinum, σπάτος, cutem ſignificat, σπατίζειν, σπάτος τίλλειν, vellicare cutem, ſeu titillare, σπατάλη pruritus ſeu titillatio cutis. Deinde καταστρηνιᾶν, ſignificat turgere ſeu diſtendi, ſaginatum & tumefactum eſſe contra Chriſtum. His infignibus verbis multi turpes motus pugnantes cum caſtitate ſignificantur. Hac ſalacitate dicit veram fidem expulſo Spiritu Sancto extingui. Hæc eſt nativa ſignificatio verborum Pauli* (9). What is properly to reſiſt theſe temptations? It is to wiſh yourſelf free from unchaſte deſires, and emotions; but ſtill you have them. The ſafeſt way therefore, is, to bring one's ſelf to ſuch a ſtate as may exclude all theſe deſires; and this our Frances did, if Vignier's ſtory be true (10).

(7) See the article FRANCIS d'Aſſiſi, remarks [*C*] and [*D*]. See alſo the article FONTEVRAUD, remark [*M*] and [*N*].

(8) Ἡ δὲ σπαταλῶσα ζῶσα, τέθνηκε. i. e. "She that liveth in pleaſure, is dead while ſhe liveth." 1 Epiſtle to Timothy, chap. v. ver. 8.

(9) Melanchthon, *Reſponſio ad impios articulos Bavaricæ Inquiſition.* Art. 26. folio m. H. 2.

[*C*] *I have at laſt found, in Volaterranus, the words which occaſioned Vignier to mention this ſtrange incident . . . but this hardly excuſes the Writer in queſtion.*] The Public has ſeen in a Letter, which I wrote the 6th of May 1702, this whole affair cleared up. *Obſerve, I intreat you, Sir*, theſe are the very words of my Letter (11), *that I did not charge Vignier with citing Volaterranus falſely; I ſaying only that* I look'd for it (the paſſage in queſtion) in Volaterranus, in every part where the Table of Contents, which is a very indifferent one, and the diſtribution of the ſubjects, could ſerve as a guide to me, but could not find this paſſage. *You yourſelf confeſs, that you have hitherto conſulted that Author's huge volume to no purpoſe; but add, that you are nevertheleſs perſuaded that Vignier had there read what is related by him. You are in the right, in general; and I am extremely glad, both for your ſatisfaction and that of all my readers, to inform the Public in this place, that happening to conſult Volaterranus, two days ago, upon another occaſion, I met with the paſſage in queſtion. It is in Book XXII, pag.* 810 *of the Frankfort Edition of* 1603, *where mention is made of Pope Urban V. We there find the following words:* Quam (*Catharinam Virginem filiam Brigidæ*) Julius jamjam in catalogum referre una cum Franciſca Romana matrona ſtatuit, quæ & ipſa ſub Eugenio claruit prodigiis & a ſanctitate: voluptatem inviti coitus ardente ſupra vulvam larido reprimebat. *I had copied, in my Dictionary*, pag. 1286, *Vignier's tranſlation of this paſſage* (12). *Examine my criticiſm thoroughly, and you'll find it juſt; for it is true that Volaterranus obſerves, that Julius II intended to canonize this Lady, but not that he had canonized her &c.*

(10) *Confer quæ ſupra Rem.* [*A*] of the article CORONEL (Alphonſus).

(11) *Journal of Trevoux*, for May 1702, Amſterdam edit. pag. 380, 381.

(12) See the citation (3) above.

FRANCUS (SEBASTIAN) an Anabaptiſt in the ſixteenth Century, publiſhed ſeveral pieces filled with errors, which the Lutherans refuted. He was a true fanatic. He taught that all ſins are equal, and attempted to invalidate the authority of the Scriptures, for he aſſerted, that men ought to ſeek for the ſuggeſtions or inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt, without regarding the revealed Word. He alſo was of opinion, that the true Church is a medley of ſeveral ſects, and that the Papiſts are as much included in it as the Proteſtants. The Divines of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, aſſembled at Smalcald in 1540, appointed Melanchthon to refute the chimeras of this man, and thoſe of ſome other fanaticks (*a*). Our Francus publiſhed a very ſatyrical piece againſt the fair-ſex, which John Frederus, and Luther refuted [*A*].

(*a*) Extracted from Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 3. pag. 268, 269.

I will add, that he drew very ſtrange conſequences from an axiom of Servetus with regard to the divine Preſence; he pretending, that not only beaſts, but likewiſe inanimate creatures, partook of a general ſoul that was divine. Mr. de Saincte Aldegonde who informs me of this, wiſhed that the principle whence theſe conſequences were drawn, might be thoroughly examined [*B*]. I am to obſerve that, according to him, Francus was

[*A*] *He publiſhed a very ſatyrical piece againſt the fair ſex, which John Frederus and Luther refuted.*] John Frederus wrote a Dialogue on marriage, to refute Francus's Satyr, and dedicated it to Dorothea Queen of Denmark (1) on whom he beſtowed a noble elogium. Luther wrote a Preface to this refutation, and exclaimed vehemently againſt Francus. He ſays, among other particulars, that he was a ſlanderer, who rak'd together all the filth of mankind, and publiſhed impudent relations of them. He compares him to flies &c. But I had better quote the words of the Author who furniſhes me with all theſe particulars. *Oppoſitus ille* (Dialogus de Conjugio) *eſt maledicentiæ* Sebaſtiani Franci . . . *qua fœmininum ſexum edito libello protervè inſectatus eſt.* Lutherus *in præfatione fatetur, ſe* Francum *hominem peſſimum reſponſo indignum judicaſſe, certum, quod ſcripta ejus lucem haud diu ſint latura, cum non niſi ſatyris & convitiis indulgeat, & aliorum detegat & exagitet vitia, illitaſque turpitudinum illarum inverecunda relatione chartas mundo obtrudat; comparat eum cum muſcis & veſpis, quæ fœdiſſima quæque pervolitantes & perrepentes, poſtea inquinatæ & fœtentes, naſo, oculis, genis, & labiis hominum impudenter inſidere velint. Taxari quidem merito vitia etiam à piis doctoribus, ſed non cum petulantia aut inſultatione, aut quod delectentur in eorum enarratione, ſed ut odium flagitiorum excitent, & viam ad emendationem oſtendant* (2). i. e. "The Dialogue relating to Marriage, is oppoſed to "Sebaſtian Francus's ſlanders . . . that Author having "written a little Book, in which he inveighs ſtrongly "againſt the female ſex. Luther owns, in the Preface, that he look'd upon Francus, a worthleſs "wretch, as unworthy of a reply, being firmly perſuaded, that his writings would not be long-liv'd, "becauſe he gives himſelf up to nothing but ſatyr "and railing; lays open and cenſures the vices of "others; and forces his books on the public, books "ſtuffed with immodeſt accounts of ſhameful actions. "He compares him to flies and waſps, which winging "their way up and down, creeping into the filthieſt "things, and being by this means polluted and ſtinking, audaciouſly attempt to ſettle on the noſe, eyes, "cheeks and lips of men. It is with juſtice that pious Teachers cenſure vice, but not with petulancy "and inſolence; or to ſhew that they are pleaſed with "what they relate, but to excite an averſion to vice, "and to ſhew the way that leads to amendment."

(1) King Chriſtian the IIId's Queen.

(2) Seckendorf, *Hiſt. Lutheran.* lib. 3. pag. 593. col. 1. *ad ann.* 1545.

[*B*] *Mr. de Saincte Aldegonde . . . . wiſhed that the principle whence theſe conſequences are drawn might be thoroughly examined.*] In a Letter which he wrote to Theodorus Beza, anno 1566, we find the following words. *Sebaſtianus Francus homo Germanus, qui mirifica hujuſmodi portenta congeſſit in ſuas farragines, ac in primis in eum, quem Paradoxa inſcripſit, librum, Axioma illud Serveti de Dei reali vel eſſentiali in omnibus & rebus & locis præſentia ita urget, ut ex eo colligat non modo brutas pecudes, ſed ipſa etiam corpora inanima, tamen anima quadam communi atque divina vel cæleſti vegetari, quæ niſi fallor à Virgilio mundi ſpiritus, ab hoc verbum internum, ſermo, ſpiritus, lux, potentia, vis, ac denique Filius ipſe Dei nominatur. Eam cùm hominum omnium animos communi quadam vi fovere, tum præſertim in piis viris facultatem quandam præcipuam ac ſingularem exerere. Eòque rectè illos vel Deos vel certè deificatos appellari. Quo ſenſu vult Chriſtum ipſum dici Filium Dei, cui Socratem ac Mercurium Trismegiſtum alioſque hujus ſtirpis nonnullos, tanquam æquales ac ſocios adjungit. Ejus infinitas blaſphemias ſtatuerunt quidam refutare, ſed hoc unum eos remoratur, quod haud ſatis illis conſtare poſſit quid de primo illo axiomate Servetico, ex quo cætera omnia manant, ſit judicandum. Mihi certè haud dubium ſit, quin ex eo multa non modo falſa, ſed prorſus etiam impia conſequantur. Tamen neque Joannes Calvinus neque ex veteribus (quod quidem ſciam) quiſpiam argumenta ad illius ipſius refutationem ſuppeditat. Quinimò verò veteres illi Theologi videntur mihi præſentiam illam realem Divinæ eſſentiæ in immenſum plerunque extendiſſe* (3). i. e. "Sebaſtian Francus a "German who heaped up in his Miſcellanies, many "wonderful portents of this ſort, eſpecially in that "Book to which he gave the title of *Paradoxes*, "wherein he urges the axiom of Servetus, with regard to the real or eſſential preſence of God in all "things and in all places, in ſuch a manner, as to "infer from thence, that not only brutes, but even "inanimate bodies, are vegetated or informed as with "one common, divine or celeſtial ſoul; which, if I "am not miſtaken, is called by Virgil, the ſpirit of "the world; and by this Writer, the internal word, "the ſpeech, breath, light, power, ſtrength, and "laſtly, the Son of God himſelf. He declares, that "this ſoul not only cheriſhes the ſouls or minds of "all men by a certain common force or energy, "but that it exerts a ſpecial and peculiar faculty or "ſtrength in pious men; and that theſe are therefore "juſtly called Gods or deified men. In this ſenſe he "aſſerts, that Chriſt himſelf is called the Son of "God, with whom he joyns as equals and companions, Socrates, Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, and ſome "others of that claſs. Some Writers intended to refute his numberleſs blaſphemies, but were reſtrained "from this ſingle conſideration, viz, that they know "not well what judgment to form of that firſt axiom "of Servetus, whence all the reſt flow. As to my "ſelf, I am certain, that not only many falſe, but "even impious conſequences will reſult from it. Nevertheleſs, neither Calvin, nor any of the old Writers, ſo far as is come to my knowledge, furniſh "any arguments to refute it. Nay, thoſe antient "Divines ſeem to me to have extended immenſely, "for the moſt part, that real preſence of the Divine "Eſſence." I omit what he obſerves afterwards, and which ſhews that the received opinion of God's immenſity puzzled him, and ſeemed to him as adapted to produce a great number of chimæras. I likewiſe paſs over the anſwer which Beza made to him (4); but ſhall obſerve by the way, that the opinion of the Divines, which declares, that the eſſence and ſubſtance of God is diffuſed in all bodies, is ſubject to numberleſs difficulties, as the Carteſians ſhow evidently. Read what Wittichius (5) obſerves againſt Suares, who has endeavoured to explain the manner in which God may be preſent in imaginary ſpace. Mr. Arnauld cenſured in this manner a Miniſter, who had made uſe of the common hypotheſis or received opinion, to prove, by an argument *ad hominem*, that marble or ſtone might be worſhipped (6). The Miniſter in his anſwer, ſaid many things, and the following among the reſt (7); that the Theology of Vaſques, according to which *all inanimate and irrational things may*

(3) Epiſt. 6. Th. Bezæ, tom. 3. Oper. pag. 206, 207.

(4) Ibid. Epiſt. 7. pag. 208, 209.

(5) Wittichius, *in Conſenſu Veritatis*, pag. 86, & *ſeq.* edit. 1682.

(6) Arnaud, *Reflexions ſur les Preſervatifs*, pag. 59, & *ſeq.*

(7) *Le Janſeniſte convaincu de vaine Sophiſtiquerie*, pag. 194.

was a German, but others declare him a native of Woerden, a city of Holland (*b*). He is ſirnamed *Werdenſis*, in the Abridgment of Geſner's *Bibliotheca* (*c*), where the titles of ſeveral of his works are given, among which I muſt not omit a German chronicle, wherein he relates a great number of ſurprizing particulars (*d*). Some Authors, even when they write in Latin, call him *Franck*. Moreri mentions him under this name, but ſays little or nothing of him, though Spondanus, whom he cites, might have furniſhed him with ſome particulars, and this among the reſt, that Francus was driven from Straſburg; that his chronicle was condemned there; and that he was the firſt who publiſhed, that there were above forty four ſects of the Anabaptiſts (*e*).

(*b*) Crenius, *Animadverſ.* Part 11. pag. 92.

(*c*) Pag. m. 746.

(*d*) *Quia homo fuit deditus Swenckfeldii phantaſiis, ideo mira ſubinde admiſcet.* Keckerm. *de Hiſtor.* pag. 209.

(*e*) Spond. *Ann. ad ann.* 1529, num. 9.

may be worſhipped, becauſe God is, by his eſſence, in all things, and ſupports them, is ſhocking; but *that it is no ways irrational, nor ill connected with his principles*...; that "Vaſques * argues admirably well upon "the ſubject of man, according to the doctrines of "the Church, of which he is a member, in order to "prove that man, who is the lively image of the "Deity, may be worſhipped with the ſame act of "adoration by which we worſhip God (8)." We are not to wonder after this, that the Sieur de Saincte Aldegonde (9) feared the ill conſequences which would flow from the doctrine of Servetus, adopted by Sebaſtian Francus.

* *In III Them. Diſp. CX. Quæſt. xxv. cap.* 3.

(8) *Janséniſte convaincu &c.* pag. 195.

(9) Epiſt. 6. Th. Bezæ, pag. 207.

FRANGIPANI, a very antient Roman family, and allied to the greateſt houſes in Europe [*A*], owes its name to ſome extraordinary acts of charity exerciſed towards the poor during a famine [*B*], One branch of this illuſtrious family ſettled glorioufly in Hungary ſome ages ſince [*C*]. MUTIO FRANGIPANI ſerved in France in the Pope's troops

[*A*] *A very antient Roman family, and allied to the greateſt Houſes in Europe.*] Le Laboureur (1) relates, that the Marquiſs Frangipani, whom he had ſeen in Rome, reckoned "among the younger branches of his family, "the Archdukes of Auſtria and the Kings of Spain, "grounded on the opinion of Raphael Volaterranus, "which opinion he would have been very ſorry to "have been undeceived in; and he was very trouble-"ſome to the new Princes of Rome, by the advan-"tage he pretended to have, on account of the anti-"quity of his family, to which, according to him, "none could be compared." This Author having deſcribed the dreſs and equipage in which he had ſeen the ſame Marquiſs in a great ceremony (2), adds (3) that this "gave him notions very oppoſite to "the eſteem which is due to the firſt and moſt antient "name in Rome, and to the moſt illuſtrious Houſe in "Dalmatia and Friuli, ſince that, about the year 1120, "one of this family married the daughter of Engilbert "Marquis of Friuli, ſiſter of Mahaut, wife to Thibaut IV "Count of Champagne and Brie, aunt to Alice of "Champagne wife to Lewis the younger, and mo-"ther to Philip Auguſtus of France. Zazzera, who "has writ concerning ſeveral families of Italy, and "was ignorant of that alliance, adds another which "he proves, viz. with the niece of an Emperor "of Conſtantinople, who, anno 1170, was ſent in "great pomp, attended by ſeveral Biſhops and great "Lords of Greece, to marry Eudes Frangipani. It "appears by the Hiſtory he has written of this il-"luſtrious Houſe, that it was the moſt powerful in "Rome; and that it there ſaw the riſe of the gran-"deur of all the reſt, who, by the abuſes of "the times have aſſumed to themſelves the title of "Princes." We ſhall ſee below (4), that the Frangipani pretend to be related to St. Gregory.

(1) *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 704.

(2) See the remark [*G*].

(3) *Addit. a Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 705.

(4) In the remark [*F*].

(5) *Apud* Menagium, *Origini della lingua Italiana*, pag. 231.

(6) Godefrid. Vindocinenſis, lib. 1. Epiſt. 8. *apud* Menagium, ibid.

(7) *Vetuſtiſſimæ ac nobiliſſimæ apud Romanos familiæ nomen nunc paululum inflexum*; Frangipanes *enim dicuntur*. i. e. "The name "of a moſt an-"tient and moſt "noble Roman "family is now "a little chang-"ed, it being "called *Frangi-"pani*" Sirmondus, *Not. in Ep. VIII. lib.* 1. Godefr. Vindoc. *apud* Menag. *ibid.*

(8) *Ad ann.* 1179, *apud* Menag. *ibid.*

[*B*] ... *Owes its name to ſome extraordinary acts of charity, exerciſed towards the poor during a famine.*] Frangipani in Italy, bears Azure, two hands Argent, holding a Loaf, Or, cut into halves; becauſe one of his predeceſſors was extremely bountiful, during the time of a famine, to all indigent perſons. Theſe are the words of Father Gilbert de Varenne in his *Theatres des Armoiries* (5). They were at firſt called *Fricapani*, as appears from the following words of Geofroi de Vendome: *Primo anno, quo, Deo volente vel permittente, nomen Abbatis ſuſcepi, audivi piæ recordationis Dominum Papam Urbanum in domo Joannis* Fricapani *latitare* (6). i. e. "The firſt year, in "which, by the will or permiſſion of God, I aſſumed "the name of Abbot, I was informed that Pope "Urban, of pious memory, lay hid in the houſe of "John Fricapani." See Father Sirmond's note on this paſſage (7). The name *Frangipani* was already in vogue in the twelfth Century; for we find the following words in the Chronicle of the Monaſtery of Anchin (8) *Schiſmatici quietem non ferentes Eccleſiæ, iterum quemdam Clericum de progenie illorum quos* Frangipanes *Romani vocant contra Papam Alexandrum, Antipapam ſtatuunt, quem mutato nomine, Innocentem III vocitarunt.* i. e. "The ſchiſmaticks being exaſpe-"rated at the tranquillity which the Church enjoyed, "again ſet up, in oppoſition to Pope Alexander III, "an Eccleſiaſtic, deſcended from thoſe whom the peo-"ple of Rome call Frangipani, which Anti-Pope's "name being changed, he was often called Innocent "III." Conrad Abbot of Urſperg makes uſe of the word *Frangentes panem*. Here follow his words. *Imperator convocavit ad ſe de civibus Romanis potentiſſimos & nobiliſſimos de familia eorum qui dicuntur* Frangentes panem, *& aliis ad quos præcipue habebat reſpectum populus Romanus* (9). i. e. "His Imperial "Majeſty ſent for the moſt powerful and moſt noble "of the Roman Citizens, of the *Frangentes panem* "(breaking bread) and of thoſe for whom the inha-"bitants of Rome had a more immediate reſpect."

(9) Conrad. *Abbas Urſperg. ad ann.* 1227, *apud* Menag. *ibid.*

[* There is, however, a different Etymology of that name of this family mentioned by other Writers. Frangipani, ſay they, ſignifies the *Frank Lord* †, and was the appellation given to a Roman Gentleman who entred into the ſervice of the Kings of Hungary during their firſt wars with the Turks. He ſettled in Croatia, and founded the family of the Frangipani. From this houſe was deſcended John, the ſon of Bernardine, who after the death of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, revolted from Ladiſlaus, and Duke John, the natural ſon of Matthias. The Duke, who was Ban of Croatia, beſieged Frangipani in the town of Brevia, and reduced him to ſuch extremity that he forced him to throw himſelf into the arms of the Turks; which gave Bajazet the Second an opportunity of making himſelf Maſter of Croatia, in the year of the Hejra 899, and of Chriſt 1493 §. ADD. REM.]

† *Pan*, or *Pani*, is a Sclavonian word, and ſignifies *Lord*; but is frequently uſed by the Turks, ſpeaking of the Sclavonians.

§ *See* D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* pag. 355.

[*C*] *One branch of this illuſtrious family ſettled gloriouſly in Hungary ſome ages ſince.*] Scioppius has produced an inſtrument or deed dated anno 1260, by which Bela King of Hungary acknowledges, that in the calamities which the Tartars brought upon his Kingdom, he was greatly comforted by Frederic and Bartholomew Frangipani, who, with their relations devoted themſelves to his ſervice, and aſſiſted him with a large ſum of money; in return for which, he made over to them the poſſeſſion of a maritime city, with all the rights and lands that belonged to him. See page 215 of the Book intitled *Oporini Grubinii Amphotides Scioppianæ*, Scioppius declares (10), that this deed was communicated to him by George Antigonus Frangipani, Gentleman of the bed chamber, and Maſter of the horſe to the Archduke Maximilian Erneſt. Here follows ſome part of it (11). *Deus totius conſolationis, qui conſolatur ſuos in omni tribulatione, etiam nobis fontem aperire dignatus eſt, & ad conſolandum nos* Feldericum & Bartolomæum *illuſtres & ſtrenuos viros* de Frangipanibus, *Nobiles de Weglia, quaſi de cœlo projecit, qui nobis cum omni parentela adhærentes inter actus promiſcuos, fideles exhibuerunt famulatus & non modicam pecuniam eorum, quæ ultra xx. marcarum millia tranſcendunt, in vaſis aureis & argenteis atque aliis rebus pretioſis nobis de bonis eorum præſentaverunt, & præſentando donaverunt. Demum nos, cum à nobis*

(10) Scioppius, *Amphot.* pag. 214.

(11) Ibid. pag. 218.

troops, in the reign of Charles IX [*D*]. One of his grandſons poſſeſſed employments in the ſame Kingdom, under Lewis XIII (*a*). One of his ſmart ſayings was made uſe of; but the perſon who cited it in a letter was ſeverely cenſured for it [*E*]. This grandſon of Mutio Frangipani invented *the compoſition of perfumes and odours, which ſtill retains the name of Frangipani* (*b*) [*F*]. *He thought it an honour to be the laſt of this illuſtrious name, and did not ſcruple to ſay, that he led a ſingle life out of neceſſity, becauſe his quality did not allow him to mix his blood with upſtart families of fortune, which diſhonours the antient Majeſty of Rome* (*c*). He was equipped, after a remarkable manner, in a cavalcade in Rome [*G*].

(*a*) See Balzac's words in the remark [*F*].

(*b*) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 705, where it is ſaid that the Marquis of Frangipani's own brother joined with him in inventing this compoſition.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 704.

FRATRICELLI,

nobis Deus ſuam indignationem amoverit, recompenſantes eorum ſervitia & dona, de conſilio dominæ Mariæ, chariſſimæ conſortis noſtræ, & Baronum noſtrorum fidelium, quandam civitatem noſtram, circa littus maris exiſtentem, SEGNIAM *vocatam, cum omnibus ſuis utilitatibus & pertinentiis univerſis, ſimul cum tributo ſeu Telonio, & aliis circumferentiis, & in eadem libertate, ſicut nobis ſervire conſueverant, dedimus & donavimus, & contulimus ipſis Felderico & Bartolomæo in filios filiorum perpetuo & irrevocabiliter poſſidendum.* i. e. "The God "of all conſolation, who comforts his children in "every tribulation, deign'd to open a fountain even "to us; and ſent us, as it were from heaven, to "conſole us, Felderic and Bartholomew, illuſtrious "and valiant men, of the houſe of the Frangipani; "Noblemen of Weglia, who adhering to us with all "their relations, ſent their faithful ſervants, and gave "us no inconſiderable ſhare of their wealth, amounting to upwards of twenty thouſand marks, in gold "and ſilver veſſels and other precious things. But "heaven having now averted his wrath from us, "we, to reward theſe ſervices and gifts, do, by the "counſel and advice of our moſt dear conſort Mary, "and of our faithful Barons, give and beſtow upon "the ſaid Felderic and Bartholomew, and their heirs "for ever, the irrevocable enjoyment and poſſeſſion of "one of our cities, ſtanding on the ſea ſhore and "called SEGNIA, with all and every its profits and "appurtenances, together with the tribute or cuſtom, "&c, as paid till this time to us." This Prince, by another inſtrument, granted them ſeveral privileges and immunities; and ſome of the reaſons he gave, why he indulged them, reflect the greateſt honour on thoſe who were the objects of his beneficence on this occaſion. For this reaſon I am under a neceſſity of citing his words, which will be as ſo many hiſtorical incidents ſuitable to this part of my work. *Deus ad refulciendum & corroborandum nos, Feldericum & Bartholomæum de Frangipanibus, illuſtres & ſtrenuos viros, Nobiles de Weglia alta ex proſapia urbis Romanæ ſenatorum ortos, tanquam angelos protectionis de arce Polorum miſit, qui nobis cum eorum parentela & familiarium caterva armigera in opem & noſtræ perſonæ ſaluberrimam tutelam adhærendo, per eorum ſtrenua certamina, quoſdam ductores ipſorum Tartarorum, ſequaceſque eorum diræ necis exterminio necari, & quoſdam captos nobis offerre, ubi etiam crebra ſtigmata, & gravia ſuſtulere, & multos ex eorum charis proximos & familiares amittere, ſupraque omnibus prænarratis copioſam pecuniarum ipſorum in auro etiam & argento ac rebus pretioſis quantitatem ad xx millia marcarum ſe extendentem nobis pro aſſumendis ſtipendiariis & expeditionibus variis offerre maluerunt &c* (12). i. e. "God, to ſtrengthen and ſupport us, "ſent from heaven, as guardian Angels, Felderic and "Bartholomew Frangipani, illuſtrious and valiant "men, Nobles of Weglia, ſprung from the exalted "lineage of Roman Senators; who adhering to us "with their kindred and armed friends, happily protected us with the greateſt vigour; and fought ſo "valiantly, that they ſlaughtered ſome of the Tartar "Generals and their followers, and brought us others "whom they had taken priſoners. In theſe engagements, they were frequently and very dangerouſly "wounded, and loſt ſeveral of their neareſt relations "and friends. Beſides all theſe ſervices, they preſented us, for the levying of troops and various expeditions, a large ſum of money in gold, ſilver and "valuable things, amounting to twenty thouſand "marks &c." See in the Supplement to Moreri, the tragical end of an Hungarian Nobleman of great diſtinction called Frangipani, who had engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the Emperor, anno 1671.

(12) *Apud* Scioppium, *Amphotid.* pag. 217, 218.

[*D*] *Mutio Frangipani ſerved in France . . . in the reign of Charles IX.*] "The Pope engaging warmly "in the wars, occaſioned by Religion in France, ſeveral perſons of high diſtinction among the Italians paſſed the Alps; ſome being officers in the troops which "he ſent; and others being volunteers, and who "were prompted to ſerve merely from the high regard "they had to this Crown. The Lord Mutio Frangipani thought himſelf the more obliged to engage "in this expedition, in as much as he was a partizan "of France, and had there a great many relations by "Julia Strozzi his wife, ſiſter to the Counteſs de "Fieſque, and who likewiſe had the honour of being "related to the Queen. He exhibited proofs of his "valour in the battle of Jarnac where he was wounded; after which he returned home, to enjoy peaceably the fame he had acquired in this war (13).

(13) Le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 704.

[*E*] *The perſon who cited . . a ſmart ſaying . . . of Frangipani . . was ſeverely cenſured for it.*] Coſtar, in a Letter to Mr. Colbert (14) has the following expreſſions: *How will it be poſſible for me to go to court? It is now almoſt five years ſince I retired into the country, becauſe I am no longer able to live as people do in Paris, and to frequent awful places, where a man muſt ſtand perpetually in that troubleſome poſture which ſeemed intolerable to the Marquis de Frangipani, when he was at the court of France, which made him ſay ſo agreeably,* ſtar ſempre dritto & ſcapellato (to ſtand for ever upright and uncovered.) *You know the reſt, Sir; and if you do not, you muſt not expect to be informed of it by an Archdeacon* (15). Let us now ſee in what manner he was cenſured for it. "Theſe words have no need of "an explication, ſince they are underſtood by every "one. This is an old jeſt, which is often repeated "by all who glory in their lewdneſs; and if my adverſary has been aſhamed to explain it, what man "will attempt it (16)?

(14) He was then only Steward of the Houſhold to Cardinal Mazarine.

(15) Coſtar, cited by Girac, *Replique*, pag. 27.

(16) Girac, ibid.

[*F*] *He invented the compoſition of perfumes and odours, which ſtill retains the name of Frangipani.*] Here follow the words of Menage (17): *Da uno di que' Signori Frangipani, (l'abbiam veduto qui in Parigi) furono chiamati certi guanti perfumati,* Guanti di Frangipani Lodovico Balzacio *in una ſua lettera a Madama Deſloges.* i. e. "From one of thoſe Lords Frangipani, "(we have ſeen him here in Paris,) certain perfumed "Gloves were called Frangipani's Gloves. Balzac in "a Letter to Madam Deſloges. "He yeſterday be"came willingly your Tributary, and obliged him"ſelf to ſend you, every year a pretty good quantity "of his paſtils (an odoriferous compoſition.) In caſe "you ſhould approve of them, they will become more "renowned than Frangipani's Gloves. But as your "people of Limouſin might very poſſibly miſtake on "this occaſion, you'll inform them (if you think pro"per) that the Perfumer in queſtion has thirty thou"ſand livres *per annum*, and enjoys the chief dignity "of this Province; and that this glover is a Roman "Lord, Camp-maſter or Major-general in the King's "armies, and related to St. Gregory the Great; and, "a circumſtance I value much more than all this, "one of the worthieſt men in the world." Menage afterwards quotes ſome Latin verſes of Ceriſantes which are very pretty. They are taken from an Ode which he addreſſed to Voiture, and printed at the end of Balzac's Latin Epiſtles.

(17) *Origini della Ling. Italiana*, pag. 231.

(18) *Amice, nil me, ſicut antea, juvat Pulvere vel Cyprio Comam nitentem pectere: Vel, quas Britannus texuit ſubtiliter, Mille modis varias Jactare ventis tænias: Vel, quam perunxit Frangipanes ipſemet, Pelle manum gracilem Coram Puellis promere,* i. e. "My friend, I "no longer delight as before, "to adorn my "ſhining hair "with powder "fetched from "Cyprus; or to "wear the fillets "wove ſo artfully by the Britons, and "which wanton "in the wind; "or in the fine "hand, ſcented "by Frangipani's "gloves, to "court the Ladies with."

[*G*] *He was equipped, in a remarkable manner, in a cavalcade, at Rome.*] Le Laboureur, who was an eye-witneſs on this occaſion, ſpeaks of it in the manner following: "I cannot forbear relating alſo, "concerning this laſt Marquis of Frangipani, that I "once ſaw him in a cavalcade, which is performed on "the Feſtival of St. Peter, conduct the Pope from "the Vatican to Montecavallo, extremely well mounted, and ſitting his horſe gracefully, but in a garb, "very unſuitable to this warlike ſolemnity, which "was celebrated by the firing of all the guns of caſtle

FRATRICELLI, hereticks who aroſe in Italy about the end of the thirteenth Century. They performed their devotions in ſecret places, where they uſed to aſſemble in the night; and there, after ſinging ſome hymns, they put out the candles, when every male dallied with his female as chance jumbled them together (*a*). The children that ſprung from this commerce were carried into the aſſembly, and handed round till they expired. The perſon in whoſe hands it breathed its laſt was choſen high Prieſt. They uſed to burn one of theſe children, and throw the aſhes into a veſſel, where they poured wine, and gave a cup of it to all thoſe whom they initiated into their fraternity. They exclaimed againſt ſeparate property; aſſerted that the faithful ought not to accept of any magiſterial dignity; and that the ſouls of the bleſſed will not ſee God till after the reſurrection (*b*). Madam des Jardins has given a very probable origin to this ſect [*A*]; for it is difficult to believe, that moſt of theſe religious hypocrites, who ſet up ſuch conventicles upon pretence of a reformation, have not the enjoyment of women chiefly in their view. They perſuade themſelves that the fair-ſex will be ſoon catched in the ſnare; and that their inclination to the exterior exerciſes of religion, and that of nature, which maintains an admirable correſpondence with the other, will give them an opportunity of obliging the women to comply with their wiſhes.

(*a*) *Noctu in abditis locis ſacra operari ſoliti poſt quoſdam hymnos ſeu cantilenas extinctis luminibus, promiſcuis ac fortuitis coïtibus ſeſe inquinabant.* Spondan. *ad ann.* 1297, num. 9. He cites Sabellic. 9. *en* 7. Prateolus, Sanderus, Gaultier.

(*b*) *Idem*, Spondanus, *ibid.*

But that I may obſerve the maxim, *audi & alteram partem* (hear both parties) I muſt here take notice, that an illuſtrious Proteſtant informs us, that the Fratricelli were not guilty of the infamous actions which were aſcribed to them [*B*]; but that the true reaſon, both

" St. Angelo. He was dreſſed in black taffety, his " cloak on his ſhoulder and turned up under his arm; " his clothes of the ſame materials, with hanging " ſleeves to his doublet. He was ſeated on a very " deep ſaddle; wore ſilk ſtockings, and garters roſe-" ways, and a ſwitch in his hand. Though I knew " him, I yet was reſolved to be certain that it was he; " it appearing to me very ſtrange, for him to appear " in this Citizen-like manner, on ſo very ſolemn an " occaſion as that I am ſpeaking of (19).

(19) Le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 705.

[*A*] *Madam des Jardins has given a very probable origin to this Sect.*] She ſuppoſes, that (1) *the fame of amorous atchievements having alarmed jealous huſbands, increaſed the number of ſpies, by which means this intercourſe was quite interrupted. Some young ſparks were extremely afflicted at this reformation. Seeing therefore that the noiſe their gallantries made, had occaſioned this diſorder, they reſolved to carry on their amours ſecretly, in order to ſave appearances, which nettled huſbands to ſuch a degree. Accordingly thoſe ſparks affected to lead a retired life; they ſtudiouſly aſſumed a mortified exterior, and founding a new Order of Monks, under the name of Fratricelli or Brethren, ſo much veneration was ſoon paid them, on account of their ſeeming ſanctity, that they now were always ſpoken of as new anchorets. Some of the moſt reſtleſs huſbands, and whoſe wives were none of the chaſteſt, had the curioſity to go and viſit theſe devout brethren. Perſons diſtracted with domeſtic cares, reap great benefit by conferences; and being very much edified by the converſation of the Fratricelli, there were none of them but hoped they ſhould complete the converſion of the moſt coquettiſh wives, by the charitable remonſtrances of the brotherhood. They were impatient to go home, to trumpet the praiſe of this new inſtitution or order; and the wives looking upon every pretence of making viſits, as ſo many ſteps towards recovering their liberty, expreſſed as earneſt a deſire to viſit the Fratricelli as the huſbands had that they ſhould do this. Thus are the brotherhood agreeably viſited, and the huſbands extremely well pleaſed at it: for, in order to eſtabliſh their new power, they preached on nothing but conjugal fidelity, on the obedience which women owe their huſbands, and a great number of other precepts, all very neceſſary for domeſtic peace, and exceedingly edifying to huſbands: but as the exhortations that were proper for ſome, did not ſuit the reſt, they intreated the Ladies to come and ſee them in private, in order, ſaid they,* that we may put the ax to the root of the tree, and to labour effectually at their entire converſion. *The brotherhood eaſily obtained, from the married women, this mark of their deference; they thoſe much rather to come to their Sermons than not go out at all; and as the ſecret inſtructions of the Fatricelli did not appear ſo hard to be followed as thoſe of the common ghoſtly Fathers, they received them with docility, and ſubmitted to them without reluctance.*

(1) *Annales Galantes*, Part. 3. *Hiſt.* 7. pag. 156. Dutch edit. 1677.

ENQUIRY into the cauſes, why ſo many women are drawn to fraternities or brotherhoods of an auſtere devotion.

It is an undoubted fact, and which has been verified by experience in all ages, that one of the ſureſt ways to draw the fair ſex, and make them run after men, is to eſtabliſh male communities of a ſevere reformation, and to make an outward ſhew of devotion in certain conventicles. Thoſe who ſearch for the cauſes of events, have not forgot to meditate on the reaſons of that in queſtion. Theſe divide our female pupils into two principal ſchools. Some go to the ſex inviting them thither. Others have been told a thouſand times, that there is a great deal of hypocriſy in the actions of theſe founders: that they are men as much as others; and that the only motive of their acting the hypocrites, is that they may carry on their amours without giving ſcandal, and under the veil of ſecrecy. There is no doubt but people have long ſung, in all countries, (but in other expreſſions) the following ſong.

Bourgeois de Sodome,
Voyant Don Côme
Dit en courroux,
Ces Bigots ſont tous en priere,
Ils ſont tous au ciel les yeux doux,
L'oraiſon ne leur ſert de guiere,
En amour ils ſont tous
Moins bêtes & plus fripons que nous.

The ſenſe is,

" A Citizen of Sodom ſpying Father Como, cried a-" loud in a rage, thoſe bigots are all at their prayers; " they caſt up the whites of their eyes to heaven: " But their devotion is to very little purpoſe; for all " theſe ſanctified brothers are, in love-affairs, better " ſkilled, and more wanton than we."

Hence it is that many women hope to meet with happy adventures in addreſſing theſe falſe devotees, and are overjoyed to put themſelves under their direction: they hope to be no loſers in the article of pleaſure, and to be great gainers in that of renown. They even hope, in caſe they are not hypocrites, that they ſhall have the art to tempt them ſtrongly and victoriouſly; for, of all vices, none is more ungovernable than uncleanneſs (2), nor that more eaſily throws off the yoke. As for the female pupils of the other claſs, they entertain ſo high a veneration for the pretended devotee, and even ſo much tenderneſs, that they blind themſelves in his favour. If it be neceſſary for him to perſuade them, that it is no crime to do certain things, he turns them on that ſide; and let what will happen, tenderneſs and affection will not ſuffer them to oppoſe the deſires of the holy man. Be this as it will, there never was any head of a Sect, nor founder of conventicles, how abominable ſoever their practices in them might be, but met with very tractable diſciples in the other ſex (3); and when we ſee the prodigious pains this ſort of men take, to draw women to them, we muſt have a very charitable way of thinking, not to perſuade ourſelves, that the ſcope of their devotion is directed rather to the gratification of the body which they received from nature, than to the ſalvation of their ſouls.

(2) What Seneca ſays in general, *nunquam bona fide vitia manſueſcunt*, is applicable in a particular manner to that in queſtion.

(3) See the remark [*A*] of the article GUILLEMETE.

[*B*] *An illuſtrious Proteſtant informs us, that the Fatricelli were not guilty of the infamous actions which were aſcribed to them.*] Du Pleſſis conſiders them as a branch of the Waldenſes. *But beſides that the Waldenſes,*

both of the ſlanders which were thrown upon them, and the ſeverity with which they were perſecuted, was their teaching doctrines in oppoſition to the Romiſh Religion. The anſwer which has been made to this Proteſtant will inform us, that according to ſome Authors, the Fratricelli did not lie with women in the view of enjoying them, but only to give a greater merit to their continence [C]. I muſt not omit that ſeveral among them called themſelves Monks of the Order of St. Francis. Bzovius, who ſtudiouſly affected to make this remark, was cenſured for it by the Franciſcans. We will give part of the particulars which have been alledged in his juſtification [D]. I muſt alſo obſerve that

(4) Du Pleſſis Mornai, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 412. He cites Guido Perpinia, *de Hereſib* Blond. *dec.* 2. lib. 9. Guillau. de Nangis.

denſes, ſays he (4), *continued in France, we trace them into Italy and Germany by their blood which was ſhed by the Inquiſitors. In Italy, where Boniface extirpated, by every kind of rigour, thoſe whom they called Fratricelli* (brothers), *whoſe teachers were Gerard Sagarolli of Parma, and Dulcino of Novarra, diſciples of Herman, who was look'd upon as a Saint in Italy, and whoſe body was afterwards dug up, by Boniface's order, in Ferrara. Theſe poor people, who, as is uſual, are charged with a thouſand infamous actions that have already been ſo much inveighed againſt, but who, in reality, taught, that the Pope is Antichriſt, and the Church of Rome the Babylon mentioned in the Revelations; theſe pretended inſpired men, people caſt out by the Lord, cenſured a great number of Romiſh Abuſes and Traditions; and their having been perſecuted by Boniface, one of the lewdeſt and profane Popes that ever lived, may make us preſume that it was not for their having committed lewd and infamous actions. We alſo find them at the ſame time in Germany.*

[C] *The Fratricelli did not uſe to lie with women, in the view of enjoying them, but only to give a greater merit to their continence.*] Cœffeteau, in anſwer to this paſſage in the *Myſtery of Iniquity* aſſerts (5): that the fautors themſelves of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, and even of theſe Fratricelli, relate ſuch things of them, as give an air of probability to what others ſay of them. Vignier ſpeaks of them as follows: "*Pope Clement,* ſays he (*), *being told that the aſſemblies and congregations of the people called Fratricelli, whoſe habitations and retreat were in the mountains of Piedmont and Lombardy, and even in the neighbourhood of Verſeil* (Verceil) *and Novara, increaſed more and more, inſomuch that they could not be ſuppreſſed; cauſed the Dominicans and Franciſcans to preach a cruſade againſt them. So that a great number of Croiſes* (†) *went in ſearch of them even to their mountains, and there killed, that year, by hunger, cold, or the ſword, upwards of* 400, *and burnt* 140 *of them; among whom were Dulcino their principal Miniſter, and Margaret his wife, who alſo were put to death. Some gave them the name of Dulcins or Dulcini, from the ſaid Dulcino, and others Freraux or Fratricelli, becauſe they called one another Brethren, and the women who accompanied them, ſiſters in Chriſt Jeſus, with whom (according to Platina and other Hiſtorians) they dwelt and whored indiſcriminately in their conventicles, after the ſame manner as thoſe called Adamites and Nicolaïtes, extinguiſhing the candles. But the Author of the* Mare Hiſtoriarum *ſays only, that they made no ſcruple of lying together, without having carnal knowledge of each other; they thinking ſuch a continence as meritorious, as the raiſing a perſon from the dead &c.* But does this lying together indiſcriminately, this beſtial indifference, more than half prove their obſcenities, unleſs we can ſuppoſe them to have been mere ſtocks and ſtones? But Vignier ſpares them as well as du Pleſſis. Public fame declares, that they uſed to commit a thouſand lewd actions, for which they deſerved to be extirpated as ſo many monſters, who reflected diſhonour on the Chriſtian name. Maſſæus, ſo often cited by du Pleſſis, ſpeaks of them as follows (‡). *In* 1308, *in Lent time, were ſought for, and taken, above* 400 *Dulcini, in the mountains of Novara and the neighbourhood of Verceil. Now theſe were a remnant of thoſe whom St. Bernard, on Solomon's ſong, takes notice of. Men and women uſed to mix indiſcriminately, lying in the ſame bed; the men ſaying, that they uſed to converſe with them in this manner, in order that being expoſed to thoſe temptations of ſinning, their continence might be more meritorious, by their leaving theſe women virgins,* &c." "I omit ſome little errors which have been cenſured. Rivetus, in his anſwering Cœffeteau, declares himſelf the Advocate of the Fratricelli. He does not own the fact, viz. that they endeavoured to ſignalize their continence, by lying in bed with a woman without going farther; he acknowledges that had they acted in this manner, they would have deſerved cenſure; but he nevertheleſs extenuates that fault in ſome meaſure. His words are theſe (6): *The witneſſes againſt the* Fratricelli, *agree like the witneſſes of Suſanna. What Vignier writes, and what Cœffeteau takes from him is a proof of this aſſertion; for what Platina charges them with, is more than the Author of* Mare Hiſtoriarum *ſays of them. And altho' I do not approve that men and women ſhould lie together indiſcriminately, to make their continence more painful, and conſequently more commendable; yet Cœffeteau might have cited ſeveral antient Clerks, as warranting this indecent conduct, againſt whom St. Cyprian and Jerom inveighed: for they had their Agapetæ, and companions of celibacy, whom they uſed to lie with, as I have ſaid elſewhere. However, I will not own what is ſaid of them in the* Mare Hiſtoriarum, *which is often a ſink of lies.* We may obſerve, by the way, that the indecent conduct with which Robert d'Arbriſſel has been reproached, is very ancient; and that it would be common to him with many who have lived both before and after him.

(5) Cœffeteau, *Réponſe au Myſtere d Iniquité*, pag. 1015, 1016.

(*) Vig. pag. 3. *de la Bib. Hiſt.* in the year 1308.

(†) Thoſe who engaged in the Cruſade.

(‡) *Maſſæ. Cb. maud. li.* 17.

(6) Rivet's *Remarks on the anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity*, Part. 2. pag. 478.

[D] *We will give part of the particulars which have been alledged in* Bzovius's *juſtification.*] The complaints of the Franciſcans, their anſwers and apologies, are found (7) in the work entitled, *Nitela Franciſcanorum contra Bzovium*; and in Waddingus, Tom. III, of the Annals of the Friars Minors or Franciſcans (8). The Reply for Bzovius, is found in a piece written by Nicholas Janſenius a Dominican. I ſhall refer my readers to it, and only obſerve, that Father Vincent Baron has ſhewn, by the teſtimony of Oderic Raynaldi, the continuator of Baronius, that the Fratricelli had obtained confirmations and privileges from Pope Celeſtine V, as being Monks of the Order of St. Francis. *Illi* (Bzovio) *aſſentitur, . . Odericus Raynaldus tomo quinto decimo ſuorum Annalium ad ann.* 1317. *n.* 56. *& ſequent. ita habet; variæ fuerunt Fratricellorum ſectæ; & certum eſt ex extravag. Joannis XXII* Sancta Rom. de Relig. Domib. Fratricellorum alios prætexuiſſe, habitum ſe, & vitæ ritum ab Epiſcopis, aut Eccleſiarum prælatis accepiſſe; alios jactaſſe ſe tertii Ordinis ſancti Franciſci, pœnitentium vocati, habitum induiſſe; finxiſſe alios ordinem Fratrum Minorum profiteri, & ſancti Franciſci regulam ad litteram obſervare, & objecto eo fuco, ipſos à Cæleſtino quinto hujuſmodi vitæ, & ſtatus privilegium obtinuiſſe: quamvis ea ratio non valeat; cum Bonifacius octavus conceſſa à Cæleſtino reſciderit, ac poſteriori decreto ſtandum eſſet: *Hæc Odericus* (9). i. e. "*Odericus Raynaldus agrees with Bzovius; the former, in Tom. XV, under the year* 1317, *n.* 56 *& ſeq. having the following words: There were various ſects of the Fratricelli; and it is certain from the extravagants of John XXII,* that ſome of the Fratricelli pretended, that they had received their habit and rule of life from the Biſhops and other Prelates of the Church; others boaſted, that they had aſſumed the habit of the Order of St. Francis, called Penitents; others feigned, that they profeſſed the Order of Friars Minors, and that they ſtrictly obſerved the rule of St. Francis; and by theſe inſidious pretences, they obtained a privilege with regard to the rule &c.. However, this reaſon does not avail, ſince Boniface VIII annulled Pope Celeſtine's grant, and they were obliged to abide by the latter Decree." He alſo cites a paſſage from Alvarez Pelagius, a Franciſcan Monk, in which, it is ſaid, that many Seculars and Franciſcan Friars, becauſe of their carnal ſpirit of liberty, were impriſoned by the Inquiſitors. *Multi ſæculares*

(7) *Ad ann.* 1317.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Vincent. Baronius, *Apologet.* lib. 4. Sect. 3. Art. 2. pag. 107.

that Prateolus, who ſtrongly affirms all the diſadvantageous things that have been related of the Fratricelli, owns that they oppoſed the Court of Rome, and the papal authority [*E*].

lares & Fratres Minores pro iſto carnali ſpiritu libertatis, per Inquiſitores hæreticæ pravitatis incarcerati fuerunt (10). Take notice that this paſſage of Raynaldi confirms what is obſerved by Hoſpinian, viz. that the Popes have differed in their judgment of the Fratricelli. *De Fratricellis à Johanne XXII condemnatis, à Gregorio XI & Eugenio approbatis, refert Hoſpinianus de Monachis lib.* 6. *cap.* 32. *Vides judiciorum Papalium auctoritatem* (11). i. e. "Hoſpinianus de Monachis, "Book 6. chap. 32, relates concerning the Fratricelli "condemned by John XXII, and approved by Gre- "gory XI and Eugene. You may here ſee the au- "thority of Decrees made by the Popes."

(10) Alvar. Pelagius, *de Planctu Eccleſiæ*, lib. 2. cap. 52. *apud* Vinc. Baron. ibid. pag. 108.

(11) Gisb. Voetius, *deſperata cauſa Papatus*, pag. 211.

[*E*] *Prateolus, who ſtrongly affirms all the diſadvantageous particulars which have been related of the Fratricelli, owns that they oppoſed the Court of Rome and the Papal authority.*] The things related by him, are interſperſed with various particulars which have not appeared in the foregoing remarks; and for that reaſon I believe I ought to tranſcribe from him, in order to give the reader a more ample account of theſe heretics. "Some, who were deſirous of being thought of the "third Order of St. Francis's inſtitution, and were "called by the Italians, Sicilians and inhabitants of "the Province of Narbonne, *Fratriculi*, *Fratricelli*, "or *Fratres de paupere vita* (brothers who profeſſed a "life of poverty) *Beſochi*, *Beguini*, and other names, "were, at this time, charged with, and condemned "for hereſy, by Pope Boniface VIII; though ſome "ſay that this was firſt done by Pope John XXII. "Theſe people deſpiſed the Sacraments of the Church. "They aſſerted, that it was not lawful for Chriſtians "to poſſeſs any thing as their immediate property, "nor to concern themſelves with the adminiſtration "and government of Commonwealths. Farther, "that the ſouls of the Bleſſed had no fruition and enjoyment of the beatific viſion till the day of Judgment. In their aſſemblies (in like manner as the Adamites of this age, who declare that all women are common) after the ſolemnization of their myſteries, they uſed to immerſe themſelves in carnal luſt, with the firſt woman that came in their way, in oppoſition to the virtue of the marriage-ſtate; and this they uſed to do in the night-time, after having put out the candles. The Writers of Chronicles relate the manner in which the people of this Sect were diſcovered, viz. by a Merchant, named Conrad, of Milan, who perceiving his wife got up often in the night, would know whither ſhe went, and why ſhe roſe. Accordingly he once followed her ſecretly, and entred their ſynagogue, where, after their rites and myſteries had been performed and the candles extinguiſhed, he held her ſo cloſe that he enjoyed her; when taking a ring from her finger as a token, he afterwards declared the whole to ſome people, and likewiſe to the Inquiſitor. All the women of this Sect had a crown like to the Clerks and Monks, by which means they were all diſcovered. See the Supplement to the Chronicles. They likewiſe aſſerted, that the power of the Church, becauſe of the irregularities of Churchmen, had been long annulled and extinct; and that themſelves only formed the Church of God, and imitated the Apoſtles. That the Church of Rome was a whore, and that the Popes, ever ſince the time of Silveſter I, had been all wicked, becauſe they had not led a life of poverty, and therefore that people ought not to pay tithes to them. They were ſo impudent, that they declared that one Margaret, concubine of one of their chief Miniſters and Preachers called Dulcino, had conceived of the Holy Ghoſt (12).

(12) Du Preau (*or* Prateolus,) *Hiſtory of the State and Succeſs of the Church*, tom. 2. folio 2 *verſo & fol.* 3. *ad ann.* 1300.

FRAUWENLOB (HENRY) a German Author, who died at Mentz in 1317, was buried after a very odd manner. The women carried him from his houſe to the great Church, weeping and groaning through all the ſtreets, after which they poured ſo great a quantity of wine over his grave, that they quite overflowed the Church. All this was done out of gratitude for the encomiums he had beſtowed on their ſex in his writings. See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *See the remark.*] This article is extracted from Albertius Argentinenſis, one of the Writers of the Hiſtory of Germany (1). I am perſuaded that the Reader will not be diſpleaſed at ſeeing his own words. *Anno Domini* 1317 *ſepultus eſt Henricus dictus* Frauwenlob *in ambitu majoris Eccleſiæ ... qui deportatus fuit à mulieribus ex hoſpitio uſque ad locum ſepulturæ, & lamentationes & querelæ maximæ auditæ fuerunt ab eis propter laudes infinitas quas impoſuit omni generi fœmineo in dictaminibus ſuis. Tanta etiam ibi copia fuit vini fuſa in ſepulchrum ſuum, quod circumfluebat per totum ambitum Eccleſiæ.*

(1) It is in the Collection of *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, by Uriſtiſius.

FREIGIUS (JOHN THOMAS) the grandſon of a peaſant, and the ſon of a Civilian [*A*], lived in the ſixteenth Century. He was born at Friburgh in Briſgaw, and acquired great reputation by his learned labours. He ſtudied the Law in his native country

[*A*] *He was the grandſon of a Peaſant, and ſon of a Civilian.*] This Civilian's name was NICHOLAS FREIGIUS, whoſe father was an honeſt peaſant or huſbandman who lived near Baſil.

Me pater aggreſti genuit ſub rure colonus,
Hic ubi Rauriacos Rhenus adurget agros (1).

"My father got me in a rural hutt,
"Near Baſil, where the Rhine conveys it ſtream."

(1) Jo. Thomas Freigius, *Triſtium Libro*, Eleg. 4. pag. m. 366. He ſuppoſes his father ſpeaking here. *Extracted from* Melch. Ad. *in Vit. Juriſcon.* pag. 252.

The love he had for ſtudy, carried him as far as the degree of Doctor of Laws. He married at Friburg at Briſgaw, and made himſelf known to the public by ſome works of Zaſius, the editions of which he procured. He was a Counſellor of Law at Enſheim in Alſatia; and afterwards removing with his family to Ulm, was one of the Counſellors of that city. He died of a dropſy in 1550, and his wife buried him in a Convent of Nuns at Sefflingen near Ulm. Melchior Adamus cites the Latin verſes of John Thomas Freigius (2), which contain theſe particulars; and nevertheleſs he had ſaid before, that Nicholas Freigius ſurvived his wife, who died in 1564 (3); *& matrem quidem primo amiſit* (Jo. Thomas Freigius) *peſte ſublatam cum duabus ſororibus* (4) *anno Chriſti* milleſimo, quingenteſimo, ſexageſimo, quarto. *Has ſubſecutus eſt pater.* Had he examined theſe verſes, he would have found that they were writ in 1569, fourteen years after the death of Nicholas Freigius.

(2) Extracted from *Elegy IV* above cited.

(3) Melch. Adam. *in Vit. Juriſc.* pag. 252.

(4) He ſhould have ſaid *cum tribus*. See *Elegy* 3. of John Thomas Freigius.

Hic jam namque, pater, bis ſeptimus ingruit annus
Ex quo te triſti fata tulere nece (5).

"My father, twice ſeven years have run their "courſe,
"Since relentleſs fate bereaved me of thee."

(5) Joh. Thomas Freigius, *Eleg.* 4. *Libri Triſtium*, pag. 365.

Moreri is guilty of ſeveral errors, he ſaying, I, that Nicholas Freigius, died of the plague; II, that it was in 1564; III, that it was with his wife; IV, and with two of his daughters (6); V, that he had made *great diſcoveries in both civil and canon* Law; VI, that his ſon *ſtudied the Law under the greateſt men of that*

(6) Three died with their mother.

try under the famous Zaſius, and had likewiſe Henry Glarean and Peter Ramus for his maſters. He was ſtrongly attached to the principles and method of the laſt mentioned. He firſt taught at Friburgh and afterwards at Baſil; but finding himſelf not favoured by fortune, he was going to diſengage himſelf from the ſociety of the Muſes, and turn peaſant. He was revolving this thought in his mind, when the Senate of Nuremberg, at the deſire of Jerom Wolfius, offered him the Rectorſhip of the new College at Altorf, which employment was become vacant, by the death of Valentine Erythreus, the firſt who had exerciſed it. Freigius took poſſeſſion of this employment the 30th of November 1575. He diſcharged the duties of it with ardour, he explaining the Hiſtorians, Poets, Juſtinian's Inſtitutes, &c. He returned to Baſil, and died there of the plague anno 1513 (a) [B]. This contagious diſeaſe had a little before bereaved him of a very promiſing ſon, and of two daughters, one of whom had already made ſome progreſs in her ſtudies [C]. Freigius publiſhed a great number of books [D]. Moreri has committed ſome errors (b).

(a) *Extracted from* Melch. Adam. *in Vit. Juriſconſ.* pag. 252, *& ſeq.*

(b) See the remark [A] at the cloſe.

that age. This is ſuppoſing falſely that Glareanus and Ramus taught him Law. VII, He calls his Chriſtian name Thomas, whereas he ſhould have called him John Thomas.

[B] *He died of the plague anno* 1583.] It was the 16th of January, if Melchior Adamus may be credited, who adds, that according to others, it was in 1582. The Abridgment of Geſner's Bibliotheque (7) affirms, that he died in the College of Altorf, anno 1582. I am of opinion that Melchior Adamus is not miſtaken, and that there is an error in the date of the Dedication of *Joan. Thomæ Freigii Quæſtiones Geometricæ & Stereometricæ.* The Author himſelf dedicated this work to ſix Mathematicians his good friends. It is a Book which was printed at Baſil, by Sebaſtian Henricpetri, in March 1583. The Dedication is dated from Baſil the 1ſt of March of the ſame year, which cannot agree with the advertiſement printed at the end of the Book. This advertiſement relates to the Elegies which Freigius had publiſhed anno 1564, whereof he made a new Edition which was added to the *Quæſtiones Geometricæ* &c. He dedicates this new Edition to his two ſons, and dates his Dedication from Baſil, the laſt of December 1582. It is declared in the advertiſement, that whilſt theſe Elegies were reprinting, the Author was ſeized with the plague, which, in 40 hours carried him off, the 16th of January. It is added, that the two ſons to whom the work had been dedicated, died of the ſame diſeaſe a week after. The date of the impreſſion, at the foot of the page, is this month of March 1583.

(7) Pag. m. 503.

[C] *The plague had a little before bereaved him of a very promiſing ſon, and of two daughters, one of whom had made ſome progreſs in her ſtudies.*] He informs us of this in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the ſecond Edition of his Elegies. *Cum hoc anno*, ſays he to his two ſons, *ſorores duas veſtras Urſulam & Barbaram, ac fratrem Matthiam peſte acerba nobis ex oculis eripuiſſet* (fatum meum) &c. . . . *amiſi ego in Barbara noſtra Oeconomiæ meæ fidelem adminiſtram & diſpenſatricem: amiſiſtis vos in eadem ſtudiorum veſtrorum ſociam: quæ ſi diutius hujus lucis uſura frui potuiſſet, aliam Cæliam* (8), *aliam Fulviam Moratam habuiſſemus. Jam enim puella XII ferè annorum Latinæ & Græcæ Grammaticæ, aliarumque artium rudimenta ita peragraverat, ut Latinè quædam ex vernaculo ſermone convertere, Græce declinare & conjugare, precationem Dominicam Hebraicè recitare, poëtarum verſus ſcandere, Arithmeticos numeros addere & ſubducere, Muſicas melodias artificioſè canere, teſtudinem tractare poſſet. Hanc Matthias frater, puer ſeptem annorum, non longe ſecutus eſt, qui qua fuit naturali indole præditus, ſororem paucis annis ſuperaſſet. Is mane quamprimum è ſomno experrectus erat ſtatim ad libros ultro ſe transferebat, & aut Geographicas tabulas aut urbes, homines,* animalia tam ſolerter, tamque graphicè depingebat: in abaco Pythagoræ tam ſtudioſè ſe exercebat, ut vos ad laudem puerilis & præcocis ingenii, ejus manuum monumenta conſervare ſoliti ſitis, ego vero mihi omnia ſumma polliceri de *eo auſus fuerim.* i. e. " When I was ſo unhappy, *ſays he to his* " *two ſons*, as to loſe this year, by the plague, your " two ſiſters Urſula and Barbara, and your brother " Matthias, &c. . . In Barbara I loſt a faithful ma- " nager of the affairs of my family; and both of you " loſt in her, a companion of your ſtudies; and had " ſhe not been ſnatched away by death, we ſhould " have enjoyed in her another Cælia and another " Fulvia Morata. For this girl, though ſcarce " twelve years old, had yet made ſuch a progreſs " in the Latin and Greek Grammars, and the rudi- " ments of other ſciences, that ſhe could tranſlate out " of her mother tongue into Latin, decline and con- " jugate Greek, repeat the Lord's Prayer in Hebrew, " ſcan verſes; underſtood addition and ſubſtraction, " could ſing by note, and play on the lute. Her " brother Matthias, though but ſeven years of age, " was not far behind her; and ſo great was his genius " and capacity, that he would have ſurpaſſed his " ſiſter in a few years. This boy, the inſtant he " waked in a morning, uſed to go of his own accord " to his books, and there draw very artfully and " neatly either Geographical maps, or cities, or men " or animals. He exerciſed himſelf ſo ſtudiouſly in " Pythagoras's Tables, that you your ſelves uſed, in " applauſe of his forward though infant genius, to lay " up and keep his handy work; whilſt I dared to " promiſe my ſelf the greateſt things from ſo hopeful " a child &c." It would be unjuſt, and a ſort of inhumanity, to reproach this good parent, as diſcovering a weakneſs, becauſe he endeavours to procure ſome conſolation, by informing the public of theſe little domeſtic particulars.

(8) See remark [C] of the article CURION.

[D] *He publiſhed a great number of Books.*] The firſt was his *Liber Triſtium*, or the Elegies ſpoken of above (9). I ſhall only point out, among others, his Supplement to the Hiſtory of Paulus Æmilius and Ferron, as far as the year 1596. His *Logica Conſultorum*, a Latin Tranſlation of Forbiſſer's Voyages, and of the Africans wars in which Don Sebaſtian King of Portugal loſt his life. His Orations of Cicero, *perpetuis Notis Logicis, Arithmeticis, Ethicis, Politicis, Hiſtoricis, Antiquitatis illuſtratæ*, in 3 volumes, 8vo, at Baſil, 1583. See the reſt of the particulars in the Abridgment of Geſner, and in Melchior Adamus.

(9) In the remark [B].

☞FREIND (JOHN), a moſt learned Engliſh Phyſician and Writer in the 18th Century, was born at Croton in Northamptonſhire in 1675. His father was Rector of that pariſh, and a man of great learning, piety, and integrity (a). Our Author, with his brother Robert Freind, D. D. ſince maſter of Weſtminſter-School, was educated at that ſchool under Dr. Richard Buſby; from whence he was elected into Chriſt-Church College in Oxford in 1691, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with ſuch vigour, as ſoon diſtinguiſhed him to great advantage. In 1696 he publiſhed, in conjunction with Mr. P. Foulkes, an edition of two Greek Orations, one of Æſchines *againſt Cteſiphon*, and the other of Demoſthenes *de Coronâ*, with a new Latin Verſion [A]. In 1699 he wrote a letter

(a) *Joanni Wigan M. D. Præfatio ad Opera Medica Joannis Freind*; London, in fol.

[A] *In* 1696 *he publiſhed, in conjunction with Mr.* P. Foulkes, *an Edition of two Greek Orations, one of Æſchines againſt Cteſiphon, and the other of Demoſthenes* de Corona, *with a new Latin Verſion.*] It was printed

letter to Dr. Sloan concerning an *Hydrocephalus*, publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (*b*); and another letter in Latin to the ſame Gentleman *de Spaſmi rarioris hiſtoria*, printed in the ſame *Tranſactions* (*c*). In 1703 his *Emmenologia* appeared [*B*], which gained him a very great reputation. It was tranſlated into Engliſh by Thomas Dale, M. D. and printed at London 1729 in 8vo. In 1704 he was choſen Profeſſor of Chymiſtry in the Univerſity of Oxford; and his Lectures were greatly frequented. In 1705 he attended the Earl of Peterborough to Spain, as Phyſician to the army there, in which poſt he continued two years; and upon his return in 1707 publiſhed an *Account* of the *Earl's*

(*b*) Num. 256. for September 1699.

(*c*) Num. 270. for March and April 1701.

ed at Oxford 1696 in 8vo, under the following title: *Æſchinis contra Cteſiphontem & Demoſthenis de Coronâ Orationes, Interpretationem Latinam & Vocum difficiliorum Explicationem adjecerunt* P. Foulkes & J. Freind, *Ædis Chriſti Alumni*. The Authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic (1) in their Account of this Edition, ſtyle the Editors *Viri doctiſſimi*, and their Edition *nitida*; and compare their Verſion of the firſt Paragraphs of Æſchines's and Demoſthenes's Orations with the Tranſlation of Jerom Wolfius, which is much inferior in point of elegance.

(1) For September 1696, pag. 439.

[*B*] *In* 1703 *his* Emmenologia *appeared.*] It was printed at London 1703 in 8vo under the following title: *Emmenologia, in quâ Fluxus muliebris menſtrui Phænomena, Periodi, Vitia, cum medendi Methodo, ad rationes mechanicas exiguntur. Authore* Johanne Freind, *M. B. Æd. Chriſti Alumno.* In the 2d Chapter he recounts the various opinions concerning the cauſes of the *Menſes*, both final and efficient. With regard to the final *Cauſes*, Authors have aſſigned theſe two, either for the rendering females more capable of conception, or after conception for affording nutriment to the fœtus. The laſt of theſe is Galen's opinion, who writes thus in his *Phyſical Definitions*, τὰ καταμήνια παρέχεται τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐκκενούμενα, ἐπιχεθέντα δὲ διὰ τὴν σύλληψιν, τῷ ἐμβρύῳ τὴν τροφὴν παρέχει. i. e. *Tribuuntur mulieri menſtrua, quæ ſanitatis gratiâ vacuentur; Embryoni autem nutrimentum præbeant, per conceptum ſuppreſſa.* Our Author agrees to this opinion of Galen, and defends it from two exceptions, which are made to it. As to the efficient cauſe of this *Profluvium*, Writers differ much about it, ſome aſcribing it to the Moon, others to a certain Ferment, and others to a Plethora. The two former of theſe opinions he rejects, and gives his reaſons for ſo doing; but to the laſt, which is Galen's, he adheres. But tho' many have been of this opinion, yet our Author obſerves, that this point has not yet been fully cleared up. For the better underſtanding therefore of the nature of this purgation, he inquires firſt into the origin of it, how the plethora grows to ſuch an height in females: ſecondly, by what force and by what cauſe it diſcharges the blood thro' the uterine veſſels: laſtly, he adds ſome arguments to prove and illuſtrate the periodical recourſe of this *Profluvium*. In the 3d chapter he treats of the cauſes of the Plethora. Soon after the publication of this Treatiſe, our Author's opinion, that the *Menſes* are occaſioned by a Plethora, was attacked by *Snellenus*, a Flemiſh Chymiſt, who aſcribes that purgation to a Ferment. And in 1712 *Peter Freſart*, a Phyſician of Liege, publiſhed an *Emmenologia*, in which he rejects our Author's notion as well as that of a ferment, and aſſerts the cauſe of the *Menſes* to be *Sal evectum purgaminis uterini in vaſis collecti.* And ſince Dr. Freind's death Dr. Thomas Simſon, Chandos-Profeſſor of Phyſic and Anatomy in the Univerſity of St. Andrews, in his *Syſtem of the Womb: with a particular Account of the* Menſes, *independent of a* Plethora: *to which are ſubjoined a few obſervations relating to cold and its effects upon the body*, printed at London 1730 in 8vo. has declared againſt the doctrine of a *Plethora*, and aſſigns another cauſe of it. Monſieur Tellier, the Younger, Phyſician at Peronne, in his *Reflections Critiques ſur l'Emmenologie de Mr.* Freind, printed at Paris 1730, recommends our Author's *Emmenologia*, on account of its perſpicuity, ſtrength of argument, and the uſeful obſervations contained in it; and owns that the *Plethora* contributes not a little to the menſtruous purgation; but differs with Dr. Freind in this among other points, that the latter ſuppoſes the flux to be occaſioned by the rupture of the capillary veſſels, whereas Monſr. Tellier affirms it to be done by the influx of the blood into the lymphatic veſſels, or, as Helvetius calls them, the lymphatic arteries. But Dr. John Wigan (2) obſerves, that tho' Dr. Freind often ſpeaks of the rupture of the veſſels, yet we are not to imagine, that he meant a preternatural or violent breaking of them, ſince he expreſly ſays, that "the orifices of the veſſels open upon the impulſe of "the blood:" *Per impulſum ſanguinis eorum orificia diſſilire.* Upon this view Dr. Wigan does not perceive any great difference between the Theories of our Author and Monſieur Tellier. He acknowledges, that Freſart, Simſon, and Tellier have raiſed ſome difficulties againſt Dr. Freind's doctrine, which deſerve to be ſolved; and that the Doctor has been miſtaken in ſome points of leſs importance, and advanced ſome things in this Treatiſe not altogether conſiſtent with what he wrote afterwards in his riper years; and he aſſures us, that the Doctor deſigned in the ſecond Edition publiſhed at London, to have corrected ſome things, added others, and anſwered ſome objections, but was prevented by buſineſs from executing that deſign. But Dr. Wigan thinks, that none of the objections are of ſuch weight but that the ſubſtance of his doctrine, namely the Hypotheſis of a Plethora, ſtill ſtands firm and unſhaken. *Non inficior quin Viri tres poſtremo memorati contra Freindi Doctrinam nodos nectant, qui ſolvi mereantur; hunc in levioribus quibuſdam lapſum eſſe, & quædam hic iis quæ maturiore ætate ſcripſit haud uſque congruentia reperiri facile concedo. Ac pro certo habeo, in ſecundâ, quæ Londini prodiit, hujus operis Editione quædam illum reformare, quædam adjicere, quibuſdam objectionibus reſpondere voluiſſe; ſed negotiorum mole præpeditus conſilium illud abjicere coactus eſt. Verum ea, quæ contra dicuntur, haud ita magni momenti ſunt, ut non etiamnum ſumma ejus doctrinæ, ſcilicet Plethoræ Veritas, ſtabilis & inconcuſſa maneat.* In 1735 there was publiſhed an Academical Exercitation upon Dr. Freind's *Emmenologia* under the following title: *Exercitatio Academica ad Emmenologiam* Freindianam: *quâ Fundamenti loco ſuppoſitæ quædam Doctrinæ modeſte examinantur. Præſide* Jo. Friderico Herelio, *Medicinæ Doctore & Phyſico Reipublicæ Norimbergenſis deſignato, placidæ Eruditorum diſcuſſioni A. D. Martii* CIↃ IↃCCXXXV *ſubjicienda, reſpondente* Jo. Philippo Zellmano Hertzbergæ-Hannoverano: *Halæ Magdeburgicæ*, in 4to pagg. 26. Dr. Herelius in his Preface obſerves, that though a great many Foreigners as well as Engliſh extoll Dr. Freind's Book as a compleat work, and adhere to his doctrine; yet that when he ſtudied Phyſic under Dr. *John Henry Schulze*, he perceived many reaſons, which weakened the authority of that Book, and ſhewed its inſufficiency both in theory and practice. Theſe reflections were confirmed by Monſieur Tellier's Treatiſe abovementioned; upon which Dr. Herelius tranſlated it into Latin, and wrote notes upon it, and deſigned to publiſh his Tranſlation with an *Appendix* containing further Animadverſions upon Dr. Freind's *Emmenologia*; but was prevented for the preſent from executing this deſign by his travels. However he committed the *Exercitation* abovementioned to Dr. *Schulze* in order to be publiſhed, which was accordingly done. It contains five *Theſes*, which the Author amply explains and illuſtrates, and which are as follow. I. Freindi *Syſtema non ſuppeditat ullam rationem, cur fluxus menſtruus ſit periodicus, & non perpetuus.* II. Freindius *nihil agit, quando ſolis humanis fœminis purgationes uterinas vindicatum it, ideoque uteri ſitum perpendicularem in mulieribus, in quadrupedibus horizontalem urget.* III. Freindius *Plethorâ ſuâ, quam a Galeno adoptat, rem minimè expedit, nec alii expedient, quamdiu nihil aliud niſi Plethoræ imminuendæ viam interpretantur menſtruæ evacuationis negotium.* IV. Freindius *nullam rationem indicavit, cur ſuppoſitâ Plethorâ vim potius in vaſa capillaria, uſque ad diſruptionem eorum, edat, quam majores truncos, quos tamen prius debet ingredi, antequam ad capillares perveniat.* V. Freindius

(2) *In Præfatione ad Opera Medica Joannis Freind.*

Earl's Conduct in that Kingdom [*C*]. June the 12th the ſame year he was created Doctor of Phyſic by Diploma. In 1709 he publiſhed his *Chymical Lectures* [*D*]; which being animadverted upon by the writers of the *Acta Eruditorum* at Leipſic in 1710, he wrote a defence of them in Latin, printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N° 331, for July, Auguſt, and September 1711, and afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh. In 1712 he was elected a Member of the Royal Society, and the ſame year attended the Duke of Ormond in Flanders as his Phyſician, and returned from thence within a year after. July the 3d 1713 he paſſed through his firſt examination before the College of Phyſicians in London, and was admitted a candidate on the 30th of September following, and was elected a Fellow on the 9th of April 1716 *(d)*. The ſame year he publiſhed the *firſt* and *third* books of Hippocrates *de Morbis Popularibus*, with a *Commentary on Fevers*, written by himſelf, and divided into nine parts [*E*]. This work being animadverted upon by Dr. John

(d) From the Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians; for the favour of conſulting of which we are obliged to the very learned Dr. Thomas Pellet, Preſident of that College, and F. R. S.

contendit, quod in gravidis menſtrua ceſſent, quia ſanguis alendo fœtui inſumitur. Id ſi verum eſt, concipi non poteſt, cur fœmina paupercula, laborioſa, & non plethorica, non diutius uterum gerat, aut minores fœtus excludat, quam fœmina ſanguine ad modulum Freindianæ *Hypotheſeos abundans, tantamque abundantiam ſuo fœtui impendens.*

[*C*] *In* 1707 *he publiſhed an* Account *of the Earl's* Conduct *in that Kingdom.*] The third Edition was printed at London in 1708 in 8vo under the following title: *An Account of the Earl of* Peterborow's *Conduct in Spain, chiefly ſince the raiſing the Siege of Barcelona* 1706. *To which is added the Campaigne of Valencia. With Original Papers.* In the Dedication to the Earl, he obſerves, that "his Lordſhip had put ſome of his Original Papers into his hand; and that the Facts related in this "Account are ſo important, and the Evidences of "them ſo bright and glaring, that a bare repreſentation of them (by how unequal a hand ſoever) muſt "needs command the eſteem and acknowledgment of "every true Engliſhman."

[*D*] *In* 1709 *he publiſhed his* Chymical Lectures.] They were printed at London in 8vo under the following title: *Prælectiones Chymicæ, in quibus omnes fere Operationes Chymicæ ad vera principia & ipſius Naturæ leges rediguntur. Anno MDCCIV, Oxonii in Muſæo Aſhmoleano habitæ a* Johanne Freind, *M. D. Æd. Chriſti Alumno.* Theſe Lectures are dedicated to Sir Iſaac Newton, and are nine in number, beſides three Tables. In the firſt Lecture, after having obſerved the great defects of all Chymical Writers in the Theory of Chymiſtry, he proceeds to take notice, that no perſon had contributed more to the improvement of this art, than Mr. Boyle, who did not ſo much lay new foundations of it, as deſtroy the old ones; and though he left ſufficient materials, from whence to deduce a true explication of things, yet his explications themſelves are very defective. As to the way of deducing the Operations in Chymiſtry from the true Mechanical Principles, this he aſcribes to Dr. John Keil, as its firſt diſcoverer. Our Author's deſign is from theſe principles to diſcourſe ſomewhat largely upon ſuch things as tend moſt to the illuſtration of the nature of Chymiſtry, and to explain as clearly as he can its principal Operations. This method he thought the moſt proper to be made uſe of, becauſe it is the moſt natural and ſimple, and alſo becauſe he found by experience, that the common confuſed *Courſes* were of ſuch little advantage, as not to leave the leaſt tolerable idea of Chymiſtry upon the minds of thoſe, who hear them. Upon this account he proceeds in the following method. Firſt, to explain all the Operations in their natural order, and to ſhew by what Laws of Mechaniſm they are produced, and to what uſes and purpoſes they are principally ſubſervient. Secondly, to ſhew all the ways, in which they either are or may be performed. Thirdly, to record all the experiments relating to this ſubject under their proper heads, and to reduce them to the general Theory.

[*E*] *In* 1716 *he publiſhed the firſt and third Books of Hippocrates de* Morbis popularibus, *with a Commentary on Fevers written by himſelf, and divided into nine parts.*] This Book was printed at London in 8vo under this title: ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΩΝ τὸ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, καὶ τὸ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ. *Hippocratis de Morbis popularibus Liber primus & tertius. His accomodavit novem de Febribus Commentarios* Johannes Freind, *M. D. Coll. Med. Lond. & Soc. Reg. Socius.* The Dedication to Richard Frewin M. D. is dated December the 1ſt 1716; and in it our Author obſerves, that the antient Phyſicians were not only well ſkilled in their profeſſion, but likewiſe in all other parts of Learning, and diſtinguiſhed for the elegance of their ſtyle. They applied themſelves to give an exact account of diſeaſes and their different ſymptoms, and explain them with the utmoſt perſpicuity and accuracy. Among the Latin Phyſicians he particularly extols *Celſus* as an admirable Writer, as well as an excellent Phyſician; and obſerves, that *Cælius Aurelianus* would deſerve a place among the principal Phyſical Writers, if his ſtyle had been leſs barbarous. Among the Greek Writers, he commends *Alexander Trallianus*, who expreſſes himſelf politely enough, except with regard to ſome few words. We find ſome things in him which ſavour of the Empiric and the Man of Superſtition, and he is too diffuſe upon the remedies; but he gives a very clear and exact account of the diſeaſes. Dr. Freind ſeems to doubt whether Galen is to be ranked among the Phyſicians, who have explained the nature of diſeaſes, ſince this does not appear to be his deſign in any one of his Books, though he was himſelf an excellent Phyſician, and delivers the notions of his predeceſſors, and eſpecially of Hippocrates, with great ſubtilty and elegance. Our Author recommends *Aretæus*, and then proceeds to the character of *Hippocrates*, whom he ſtyles the moſt compleat Phyſician of all Antiquity, and is ſurprized that ſeveral moderns neglect the ſtudy of him, as if he was of little conſequence, and prefer ſeveral later Writers to him. He remarks, that thoſe who abandon the Antients, do not underſtand the ſubjects, which they treat of, or expreſs themſelves in a very bad manner; and that the reaſon why we ſee ſo few good Writers among the vaſt number, who have treated of diſeaſes in the two laſt Centuries, is, that they never read the Antients, and formed their ſtyle merely upon the Moderns; and not content with writing ill, have added to the explication of diſtempers ſo many vain chimera's of Philoſophy that they ſeem rather to have compoſed Fables than Hiſtories of diſeaſes; for being infatuated with their own Hypotheſes, they lay down not only uſeleſs, but even falſe and pernicious rules of the cure of them. *Nec aliam cauſam reperio, cur in infinito penè Scriptorum numero, qui his duobus proximis ſeculis hunc de morbis locum attigerunt, tanta ſit benè ſcribentium paucitas; niſi quod veterum ſcripta minus verſaverint, ſtylumque vel ad nullam, vel ad recentiorum quorundam normam effinxerint. Ad quæ ſane exempla quicunque ſe nimium ſtudioſe componit, multa inde vitia, tum in ſcribendo, tum in judicando contrahit; priſcamque illam ſcriptionis Medicæ ſanitatem haud usquam aſſequetur. Neque enim ſermonem ſolummodo inquinatum, & verborum quaſi monſtra recentiores intulere, ſed morborum explicationem omnem ita commentis Philoſophicis referſere, ut fabulas potius Medicas, quam Hiſtorias concinnaſſe videantur. Hinc fit, ut, ſi medendi ſcientiam ſpectes, vel futilia tradunt præcepta, vel etiam, quod legentibus magis fraudi eſt, vitioſa; quippe quæ ut plurimum ad ipſorum Hypotheſes, ita quippe loqui amant, accomodata ſint & conficta.* Dr. Freind does not pretend to deprive the Moderns of the honour due to them; he owns, that they have cultivated Anatomy, and inriched it with a great many new diſcoveries, and explained the vertues of medicines with great diligence and accuracy. But perhaps, *ſays he*, the uſe which Anatomy may be of in Phyſic, has not yet been ſufficiently

John Woodward, Profeſſor of Phyſic in Greſham College, in his *State of Phyſick and of the Diſeaſes* [*F*], printed at London 1718 in 8vo, our Author wrote a letter to Dr. Richard Mead in Latin concerning the advantage of purging in the ſecond fever of the confluent kind of ſmall-pox [*G*], printed at London in 1719 in 4to. He is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be the Author of a pamphlet, intitled, *A Letter to the learned Dr. Woodward: By Dr.* Byfielde [*H*], London 1719 in 8vo, pagg. 51. It is dated December the 14th 1718.

ciently ſhewn. And with regard to medicines it may be affirmed, that they frequently perplex the Phyſician, and the vaſt multitude of them is a great obſtacle to the cure of diſeaſes. In the Preface our Author informs us, that all the Editions of Hippocrates's Works are full of errors. That of Aldus Manucius is very defective, but Frobenius's is more correct. Jerom Mercurialis has followed the latter ſo implicitly, that he has ſometimes copied even the faults. Though Foeſius's Edition is not exempt from miſtakes, it is more correct. Charterius's is the moſt erroneous. There is but one manuſcript in England of Hippocrates *de Morbis popularibus*, which was of great advantage to Dr. Freind, who, in order to publiſh the text as correct as poſſible, conſulted all the Editions, without adhering to any one in particular. After the Preface follows Hippocrates's Treatiſe in Greek with Foeſius's Latin Verſion at the bottom of the page. Dr. Freind's Commentary is divided into eight parts, the titles of which are as follow. I. *De Ratione ſcribendi, quam in Epidemiorum Libris tenuit Hippocrates.* II. *De ſanguinis miſſione, præſertim de Venarum jugularium ſectione.* III. *De Sudoribus.* IV. *De Vomitione.* V. *De Excreatione purulentâ: De Pleuritide, item & de Peripneumonia.* VI. *De Abſceſſu; Deque Coli & Veſicæ ulcere.* VII. *De Purgatione: Quam vim habeat in febri putridâ, quæ Variolis confluentibus ſupervenit, inque Capitis Eryſipelate. Quædam etiam de Excretione Inteſtinali.* VIII. *De Urinæ profluvio.* IX. *De Veſicantibus, quæ Cantharidas recipiunt.*

[*F*] *Animadverted upon by Dr. John Woodward ... in his* State of Phyſic, and of the Diſeaſes.] Dr. Woodward tells us (3), that his book, "together with "Remarks upon ſome of the other heads treated of "by Dr. Freind in his *Commentaries*, were drawn up "in the winter of the year 1716, ſoon after theſe "Commentaries came out;" and in the *ſecond Section* (4) he writes thus: *In every thing that Dr. Freind hath hitherto publiſhed, and particularly the preſent* Commentaries, *he hath advanced ſeveral hypotheſes, ſome of which are rightly ſupported, and the reſt all ſo ingenious, that I cannot but be pleaſed with them. But then I can ſee no reaſon to debar my ſelf of the ſame pleaſure from thoſe of Dr. Willis, Dr. Sydenham, Dr. Morton, and other Phyſicians, to whoſe hypotheſes Dr. Freind* (*) *is ſo very averſe, he having not, excluſive of others, the ſole privilege of entertaining the world in this way.* Dr. John Quincy (5) remarks upon this paſſage of Dr. Woodward, that "every one, who "has read Dr. Freind, will find it very difficult to "underſtand what is here meant by *hypotheſes*. That "Gentleman has advanced many propoſitions, which "he has fully proved; but for *hypotheſes*, in the common acceptation, he diſclaims them, and is an utter enemy to them. But yet in this ſenſe Dr. "Woodward muſt uſe the word, becauſe he ſays juſt "after: *But then I can ſee no reaſon to debar my ſelf of "the ſame pleaſure from thoſe of Dr. Willis &c.* "Yet here again we are in a contradiction; for "Willis's works are profeſſedly an hypotheſis, being "founded upon ſuppoſititious principles, ſuch as *Sulphur, Salt*, &c. and Dr. Morton accounted for "diſeaſes and their cures from a ſuppoſition of their "ſeat being in the animal ſpirits. But then Dr. Sydenham went upon no hypotheſis, but utterly diſclaimed all ſuch deluſory conceits, and drew no "concluſions except from facts and experience." Dr. Woodward particularly excepts againſt the method propoſed by Dr. Freind, *of purging upon the acceſs of the ſecond fever in the confluent Small-Pox* (6), and conſiders the purges made choice of by that Gentleman and the other Phyſicians, whoſe Letters are publiſhed with his *Commentaries* (7); and inquires into the ſucceſs of the purges uſed in the caſes related by them (8); and remarks (9), that Dr. Freind's accounts are *full* and *diſtinct*, but the others *perplexed* and *defective*. Dr. Quincy in the Tract (10) above quoted has conſidered Dr. Woodward's charge againſt Dr. Freind and the other Phyſicians for introducing a new practice, which Dr. Woodward diſguiſes under the name of *purging in the ſmall-pox*; and he tells us (11) "that thoſe Phyſicians have adviſed that evacuation "only in ſome particular circumſtances of that diſ-"temper; that is, chiefly in ſuch caſes of the con-"fluent kind, where the whole load of humours "cannot be thrown off by the ſurface and glands "about the mouth, but ſtopping when the puſtules "grow hard, returns back into the blood, and raiſes "a ſecondary fever, which proves often fatal; and "their reaſons for thus doing they have communicated to one another in the Latin language, as a point "in practice of great importance. But Dr. Woodward in Engliſh has harangued the populace, and "endeavoured to frighten people with a belief that "their general practice in this diſtemper is by purging; and from inſtances of its impropriety in ſome "caſes, takes occaſion to be very compaſſionate for "his country, to weep over the weekly bills, and inveigh as bitterly againſt purges, as a crafty Enthuſiaſt would againſt the *Scarlet Whore*, by this means "proſtituting the honour of the profeſſion, and marking out thoſe of greateſt eminence therein to "public reſentment. He traduces theſe Gentlemen "alſo by a deluſory name; for purging in the common acceptation in Engliſh has a very different "idea from thoſe terms of the learned, whence it is "tranſlated. Solliciting the diſcharge of an overload "of bad humours by ſtool, which the conſtitution is "not of itſelf able to ſtruggle with, is amongſt them "expreſſed in terms, which may bear the Engliſh "word *purging* in a reſtrained ſenſe; but in the moſt "inlarged acceptation of it, and as Dr. Woodward "uſes it, it is not true of their writing or practice... "After all, ſo far as theſe Phyſicians adviſe purging "in the ſmall-pox, it is alſo practiſed by common "conſent in many other caſes of fevers: that is, "where-ever nature makes an imperfect criſis, and "the efforts of the conſtitution are not able to bring "the peccant matter to a head, or throw it off the "principal parts; and where-ever ſuch matter threatens miſchief to ſome noble part. Theſe happen "frequently in inflammatory fevers; and evacuation, "often by ſtool, is promoted, both to eaſe the conſtitution of the overload, and draw off the humours "that would be otherwiſe troubleſome, And this aſſiſtance in ſome particular caſes of the ſmall-pox "ſeems ſo conſonant to nature and reaſon, that an "omiſſion of it can ariſe only from an unacquaintance "with the true procedure of the diſtemper."

[*G*] *Our Author wrote a letter to Dr. Richard Mead in Latin concerning the advantage of purging in the ſecond fever of the confluent kind of the ſmall-pox.*] The title of it is, *Johannis Freind M. D. de Purgantibus in ſecundâ Variolarum confluentium febre adhibendis, Epiſtola.* It is dated at London Sept. 20, 1719.

[*H*] *Suppoſed to be the Author of a Pamphlet, intitled,* A Letter to the learned Dr. *Woodward.* By Dr. *Byfielde.*] Dr. Wigan informs us (12), that he publiſhed a pamphlet under the name of a certain Empiric, in which he ridiculed his antagoniſt. *Huic* (13) *Freindus nihil reſpondit ſeriò: id idem fuiſſet ac cum umbrâ pugnare. Libellum autem ſub* Empirici *cujuſdam nomine edidit, ubi riſu lepidiſſimo acrem exagitavit hominis præfervidi bilem, & acerbiſſimas injurias elegantibus facetiis propulſavit.* About the ſame time there was likewiſe publiſhed another pamphlet againſt Dr. Woodward, intitled, *A Letter from the facetious Dr.* Andrew Tripe *at Bath to his loving Brother the profound* Greſhamite, *ſhewing, that the* Scribendi Cacoethes *is a diſtemper ariſing from the redundancy of* bilioſe ſalts, *and not to be eradicated but by a diurnal courſe of* oils *and* vomits. *With an* Appendix *concerning the Application of* Socrates *his Clyſter, and the Uſe of clean Linen in controverſy.* London 1719 in 8vo, pagg. 48. In anſwer to this and

(3) In his Preface.

(4) Pag. 54.

(*) Epiſt. Dedic. pag. 15, & ſeqq.

(5) Examination of Dr. Woodward's *State of Phyſick and Diſeaſes. By John Quincy, M. D.* pag. 2. edit. London 1719 in 8vo.

(6) *State of Phyſic*, pag. 130.

(7) Ibid. pag. 145.

(8) Ibid. pag. 151.

(9) Ibid. pag. 158.

(10) Pag. 72, & ſeqq.

(11) Ibid. pag. 73-75.

(12) *Ubi ſupra.*

(13) Woodward

1718. In this piece Dr. Woodward is rallied with great force and ſpirit. March the 7th 1717 he read the Gulſtonian Lecture in the College of Phyſicians; and on the 30th of September 1718 he was choſen one of the Cenſors of the College, which place he held for two years. March the 25th $17\frac{10}{20}$ he gave fifty pounds towards the repairs of the College (*e*). October the 18th 1720 he made the anniverſary Oration in Latin before the College of Phyſicians in London, which was afterwards printed [*I*]. He ſate as a Member for the Borough of Launceſton in Cornwall in the Parliament, which was called in 1722, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral ſharp ſpeeches in oppoſition to the meaſures of the adminiſtration. But on Tueſday March the 12th $172\frac{2}{3}$ he was taken into cuſtody, and on the 15th of the ſame month was committed priſoner to the Tower on a charge of High-Treaſon. June the 21ſt following he was admitted to bail. While he was under this confinement he wrote a Latin Epiſtle to Dr. Mead *de quibuſdam Variolarum Generibus* (*f*), and began his *Hiſtory of Phyſic from the time of Galen to the beginning of the ſixteenth Century*, the *firſt* part of which was publiſhed in 1725, and the ſecond in 1726 in 8vo [*K*]. It was tranſlated into French, and afterwards into Latin by John Wigan, M. D. It was animadverted upon in a pamphlet, ſaid to be written by Dr. William Cockburn, and intitled, *Obſervations on Dr. Freind's* Hiſtory of Phyſick; *ſhewing ſome falſe Repreſentations of ancient and modern Phyſicians. By C. W. M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians in Edinburgh* [*L*], London 1726 in 8vo, and in the *Bibliotheque*

(*e*) From the Regiſter of the College.

(*f*) It is dated March the 20th 1723.

the *Letter by Dr. Byfielde* there was publiſhed, *The two Sofias: or the true Dr.* Byfielde *at the Rainbow Coffee-Houſe to the Pretender in* Jermyn-Street; *in anſwer to a* Letter, *wrote by him, aſſiſted by his two Aſſociates. With a Preface relating to the late famous exploits of the facetious Dr.* Andrew Tripe. *As alſo an account of the new Creed of theſe Phyſicians, deſigned as an Appendix to the* Religio Medici. London 1719 in 8vo pagg. 58. In this pamphlet Dr. Freind is every where repreſented as the Author of the *Letter from Dr. Byfielde*, and ſeverely reflected upon, and *his Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain* is particularly cenſured (14).

(54) See pag. 55, 56.

[*I*] *October 18th 1720 he made the Anniverſary Oration in Latin before the College of Phyſicians in London, which was afterwards printed.*] It was publiſhed under this title: *Oratio Anniverſaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londin. habita ex Harveii Inſtituto, in eorum commemorationem, qui ſuâ in hoc Collegium beneficentiâ claruerunt. Die XVIII Octobris, Anno* 1720.

[*K*] *His* Hiſtory of Phyſic . . . *the firſt part of which was publiſhed in* 1725, *and the ſecond in* 1726 *in* 8*vo.*] The title of this work is, *The Hiſtory of Phyſick from the time of Galen, to the beginning of the ſixteenth Century. Chiefly with regard to practice. In a Diſcourſe written to Doctor* Mead. *By* J. Freind, *M. D.* In the Preface to the *firſt part* he obſerves, that theſe papers were for the greateſt part written, juſt as they now appear, ſome time before, only to paſs away a few leiſure hours, and without any deſign of making them public; but that he had ſince been perſuaded to review them, and had made ſome Additions here and there, as he found occaſion. The firſt part is dated May 10th 1723. His obſervation (15), that "St. "Luke's Greek comes nearer to the antient ſtandard "than that of the other Evangeliſts," is ſaid to have been communicated to him by Dr. Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter. But Monſr. *Armand de la Chapelle* in his Account of this Work (16), having quoted this paſſage of our Author obſerves (17), that he does not doubt that Dr. Freind is maſter of all the delicacies of the Greek Language; but that he cannot tell whether there is not a little partiality in this place, and whether the firſt profeſſion of St. Luke did not prejudice a Phyſician in his favour. The Doctor had remark'd (18) that the woman, who had the *iſſue of blood*, is deſcribed by St. Mark, as παθοῦσα ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς, καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθοῦσα; all which particulars are omitted by St. Matthew; but St. Luke, tho' he mentions them, gives them quite another turn, and ſoftens the paſſage very much in regard to his faculty; and inſtead of relating how much ſhe *ſuffered* by the ſeveral Phyſicians, or how much ſhe grew *worſe* upon her remedies, he ſays only that her diſtemper was above the reach of any of them to remove it: οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς θεραπευθῆναι; "and when he comes to ſpeak of "the charges the woman had been at, he uſes a very "proper expreſſion προσαναλώσασα, whereas the word "δαπανήσασα uſed by St. Mark properly ſignifies *ſpend*-"*ing* only in a *riotous* and luxurious manner; and ſo "St. Luke applies it in the caſe of the prodigal ſon." Monſr. de la Chapelle (19) objects to this critical remark, and tells us, that δαπανᾶν is not always taken in a bad ſenſe, ſince Ælian (20) uſes it in the ſame ſentence in a good as well as a bad ſenſe, where ſpeaking of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had raiſed himſelf an annual income of twelve hundred talents, he adds, ἐκ τούτων ὀλίγα μὲν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδαπάνα, τάδε λοιπὰ εἰς τὴν ἀκολασίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, i. e. "he ſpent a ſmall part "of it in maintaining of his troops, and the reſt in his "own luxury and extravagance." Xenophon likewiſe, a model for purity of ſtyle, does not ſeem to have been acquainted with this nice diſtinction of Dr. Freind, as appears from two paſſages in the eighth Book of his *Cyropædia*; in the former of which (21) that Author repreſenting the noble uſe, which Cyrus made of his riches, writes thus: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ὥστε χρήμασιν εὐεργετεῖν, δόκει ἡμῖν γνῶναι, πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς εὐεργέτημα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἥδιόν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δαπανῆς ἐπιχαριτώτερον ἢ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν μετάδοσις. The ſecond paſſage is ſtill more preciſe than this. It is part of the admirable Dialogue, which Xenophon ſuppoſes to have been between one of the Courtiers, whom Cyrus had raiſed to a conſiderable fortune, and a common Sacian Soldier (22). Ἀνάγκη δέ τοι ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὦ Σάκα, τὸν πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ καὶ δαπανᾶν, καὶ εἰς θεοὺς, καὶ εἰς φίλους, καὶ εἰς ξένους. Ὅστις δ' ἂν ἰσχυρῶς χρήμασιν ἥδηται, ἴσθι τοῦτον καὶ δαπανῶντα ἰσχυρῶς ἀνιᾶσθαι· μὰ δία, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας, ἀλλὰ σὺκ ἔγωγε τούτων εἰμὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦτο νομίζω, τὸν πολλὰ ἔχοντα, πολλὰ καὶ δαπανᾶν. Monſr. de la Chapelle then obſerves (23), "that it appears "from hence, that Dr. Freind is ſo little inclined to "betray the cauſe of his profeſſion, that he ventures "ſometimes to ſerve it by inſtances, which are very "doubtful. Some will perhaps conſider in the ſame "light the little critical diſſertation, in which he en-"deavours to ſhew the Hiſtorian Procopius to have "been a Phyſician, becauſe he has applied the terms "of art properly, and appears to have underſtood them.

(15) Pag. 221, & ſeqq.

(16) *Biblioth. Angloiſe*, tom. 12. Part. 2. Art. 9.

(17) Pag. 522.

(18) *Hiſt. of Phyſic*, pag. 222.

(19) *Bibl. Angl.* pag. 522, & ſeq.

(20) *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 9. cap. 9.

(21) Pag. 164. edit. Baſil. 1595.

(22) Ibid. pag. 173.

(23) Pag. 527, 528.

[*L*] *Animadverted upon in a Pamphlet . . . intitled,* Obſervations on Dr. *Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic &c.*] This piece is written with prodigious warmth and aſperity of ſtyle, as appears from the firſt paragraph of it, which is as follows. "Dr. *Freind's* principal "ſcheme in writing his *Hiſtory of Phyſic* was to repre-"ſent himſelf firſt, and after him Dr. *Mead*, as the "only Phyſicians at this time, in London eſpecially. "As for Hiſtory, that is made ſubſervient to the men-"tioned deſign; and indeed that part of the perform-"ance is very imperfect and ſuperficial, he ſeeming to "contrive how to corrupt the *Hiſtory of Phyſic*, and to "abuſe men by a corrupted Hiſtory. Did I propoſe "to examine the Book, it might be made very mani-"feſt, that he was little acquainted with his Authors, "and leſs in what they excelled. His great unhap-"pineſs is moſt commonly to propoſe their errors, or "their weakeſt performances, to our imitation; ſo "that the miſtake ſhould not be great, if I affirmed, "that his end ſeems to be a banter on the ancient as "well as our own Phyſicians. All theſe his talents "will ſufficiently appear in the following examinati-

"on

(g) Vol. 27. Part. 2. Art. 8.

otheque ancienne & moderne (g) [*M*]; but it was defended by Mr. John Baillie in *A Letter to Dr. . . . . in Anſwer to a Tract in the* Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne, *relating to ſome paſſages on Dr. Freind's* Hiſtory of Phyſic; *with Remarks upon the Ages of the Greek Phyſicians, the Introduction of Chymiſtry into Phyſick, the Antiquity of compound Medicines, the Age of Fallopius, &c.* printed at London 1728 in 8vo (*h*) [*N*]. Upon the acceſſion of

(g) Pagg. 30.

" on of that part of the Book, which at preſent falls " under our conſideration." He proceeds afterwards to refute what Dr. Freind had advanced, that the antient Phyſicians never had a *Noſtrum* or a ſecret medecine, and that a *Noſtrum* is the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing mark of a Quack; and affirms (24), that Phyſicians of every ſect, both rational and empirics, had their *Noſtrums*, and that from antient times down to this day; and among the moderns he particularly inſtances in Dr. *Cockburn, a moſt rational Phyſician*, ſays he (25), *who has always vindicated this antient practice, and has an* Arcanum. The Author defends likewiſe Dr. Cockburn's Book concerning the *Gonorrhœa*, and his *Tables of Doſes* (26), in oppoſition to what Dr. Freind had (27) urged from Avenzoar, that it is vain and uſeleſs, to " pretend to find out the proportio- " nable quantity and quality of any purge, ſo as to " ſquare it exactly to the conſtitution of the patient, " and the nature of the humours to be diſcharged, and " calculate it ſo as not to be even a hair under or over; " ſince ſuch ſpeculations contribute very little to form " a judgment about any right method of cure."

(24) Pag. 7.

(25) Pag. 9.

(26) Pag. 34, & ſeqq.

(27) *Hiſtory of Phyſick*, vol. 2. pag. 77.

[*M*] *It was animadverted upon in the* Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne.] Theſe Animadverſions were written in defence of Dr. Daniel Le Clerc, the three parts of whoſe *Hiſtory of Phyſic* Dr. Freind had highly extolled, but had ſpoken with ſome contempt of the *Supplement* to that Work publiſhed in the new Edition of 1723, and repreſented it as *not only a very imperfect and ſuperficial performance, but in many particulars inaccurate and erroneous*. The Author of the *Memoir* in the *Bibliotheque* obſerves, that it will be no difficult matter to ſhew that Dr. Freind had not a juſt idea of the piece, which he ſo raſhly condemns; but that he is miſtaken in ſeveral points. For firſt he did not underſtand what Dr. Le Clerc's meaning was by theſe words, *Eſſay d'un Plan pour ſervir à la Continuation de l' Hiſtoire de la Medicine*, which Dr. Freind thought to be the ſame thing as if Dr. Le Clerc had ſaid that that *Plan* was a *Continuation* or a *Sequel of the Hiſtory of Phyſic*, whereas the Author only meant it as a *Plan* or *Rough-Draught*, which might be of uſe to ſuch as would undertake to bring that Hiſtory down to the time, which he has mentioned. The Author of the *Memoir* proceeds then to vindicate Dr. Le Clerc from the particular exceptions of Dr. Friend, and concludes with obſerving, that as the Plan of the former contains but ſix or ſeven ſheets, if it were true, that there are as many errors in it, as the latter pretends, one might juſtly conclude as Dr. Friend has done, that it is a very *imperfect, ſuperficial, inaccurate and erroneous* performance. " But I think, *ſays the Writer*, " that I have ſufficiently demonſtrated, that nothing " could be charged on Dr. Le Clerc with leſs reaſon, " not to ſay with more folly; ſince if there are faults, " they are few and inconſiderable. However ſuch as " they are, if Dr. Freind had contented himſelf with " ſetting him right, he was at liberty to do it; but " to endeavour, as he has done, to find errors where " there are none, it is what one ſhould not have ex- " pected, and what has occaſioned this anſwer."

[*N*] *Defended by Mr. John Baillie in* A Letter to Dr. * * * in anſwer to a Tract in the *Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne*, relating to ſome paſſages in Dr. *Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic.*] Mr. Baillie obſerves (28), that one would imagine, upon viewing the number of pages in the piece abovementioned, Dr. Freind had certainly been guilty of a great many miſtakes, and that Mr. Le Clerc had been very groſly miſrepreſented. *Yet upon looking into this Critic*, ſays he, *we find nothing like this; and that however vigorous in general he appears in Mr.* Le Clerc's *Defence, he nevertheleſs acknowledges moſt of the errors alledged againſt him, and this not faintly* (29), *but in full as ſtrong expreſſions as the Doctor himſelf uſes.* He then conſiders ſeveral parts of that piece, and remarks (30), that the Author is very fond of repreſenting Dr. Freind as a Plagiary, when he has but the leaſt ſhadow of a reaſon to give; but that notwithſtanding what he may ſay, he will never perſuade a judicious reader, that the Dr. is not an *original Writer*. " Any man, *ſays he*, " who has taken pains in conſidering ſtyles, will ea- " ſily perceive, that an equal uniform one is utterly " inconſiſtent with the patched-up works of plagiaries. " Nor is that ſtrength of reaſoning and acuteneſs of " judgment, which appear with ſo equal a tenor " through the whole of the Doctor's writings, any " thing like the breaks and inconſiſtencies in the " reaſonings and language of thoſe, who intirely de- " pend on the fragments of other Authors. However I " would not be miſunderſtood, nor have you imagine, " that I repreſent the Doctor as one who does not ac- " knowledge himſelf obliged to other men's labours; " for he already in his *Hiſtory* has fully declared his " opinion of thoſe, who ſo arrogantly ſcorn the aſſiſt- " ance of Authors, and value themſelves in ſuch a " manner as to think, that, like ſpiders, they can " work all things out of their own bowels. Never " to ſearch into other men's writings is undoubtedly " a very wrong way to form an original Writer. It " is enough to avoid the character of a plagiary, if, " whatever a man culls from different Authors, he " can by reflection and judgment ſo aſſimilate to his " own thoughts, that at laſt they ſhall even appear " his own; ſomewhat in imitation of a bee, who " forms from different flowers and different mixtures " one ſimple unmixed ſweet." Mr. Baillie at the cloſe of his Pamphlet (31) tells us, that the defender of Dr. Le Clerc ſet out with the mighty appearance of running down every thing, which was objected againſt the *Plan*; and yet in the iſſue yields up every thing. *This certainly muſt appear a very burleſque Defence to the greateſt favourers of the* Supplement. *For what can be more ridiculous than to pretend he would defend an Author, and yet in almoſt every inſtance to own he is in the wrong? To be convinced, that he does this, you need do no more than caſt your eye back on the three principal points of diſpute. Does he not acknowledge Mr.* Le Clerc's *error in the ages of* Oribaſius, Aetius, Alexander *and* Paulus? *And notwithſtanding his ſophiſtical ſubterfuges doth he deny that ſome of the Greeks mention* Rhubarb, *contrary to Mr.* Le Clerc's *aſſertion? Nay doth he not in expreſs terms own it? After the ſame manner doth not he confeſs, that* Rhazes *firſt introduced* Chymiſtry *into* Phyſic? *And as to the age of* Fallopius, *he ſays Mr.* Le Clerc *is deceived in it.* Mr. Baillie ſeems to have been of opinion, that Mr. *John Le Clerc* brother of Dr. *Le Clerc*, was the Author of the *Memoir* in the *Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne*; as appears from the following paſſage (32). " I am " afraid the Doctor will have ſtronger reaſon to " complain of this negligence in not examining into " the original Writings of an Author. For while " ſuch numbers content themſelves with the ac- " counts they get of them in *Journals, Bibliotheques*, " &c. no wonder, if a great many paſs a wrong " judgment, and amongſt others, even on his " own Writings. For it is no ſuch uncommon " thing in theſe periodical writers to miſrepreſent " an Author; and however ſerviceable they may " be commonly eſteemed to learning, I cannot help " being of a very different opinion, having often " found their accounts exceedingly imperfect or exceed- " ingly unjuſt Whether from their ignorance in not " underſtanding the piece, or their careleſsneſs in " reading it, I will not ſay; but this I will affirm, " that none of this ſort of writings are more remark- " able for it than the *Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne*; " a glaring inſtance of which is the preſent piece I " am examining; where there appears net only the " want of candour, but likewiſe of knowledge in the " things treated of. And were it not foreign to my " purpoſe, I could inſtance in more Treatiſes than " one thus miſrepreſented." Mr. Baillie acknowledges (33) a miſtake in Dr. Freind in the ſpelling of *Aetius* with *Æ*, inſtead of an *A* and an *e* ſeparate.

(28) Pag. 4.

(29) Art. 1. pag. 395.

(30) *A Letter to Dr.* ——, pag. 24, 25, 26.

(31) Pag. 77.

(32) Pag. 12, 13.

(33) Pag. 36.

of his preſent Majeſty to the Throne, he was appointed Phyſician in ordinary to her Majeſty; who ſhewed the utmoſt regard and eſteem for him. He died at London July the 26th 1728 in the fifty third year of his age, and was interred at Hitcham in Buckinghamſhire; but a monument is erected to his memory in Weſtminſter-Abbey [O]. He left one ſon, who was educated in Weſtminſter-ſchool, and is now a Student in Chriſt Church in Oxford. Our Author's widow had a very handſome penſion ſettled on her by her Majeſty, out of regard to his merit. His Works were publiſhed together in Latin at London 1733 in fol. and dedicated by his brother Dr. Robert Freind to the Queen (*h*); and reprinted at Paris 1735 in 4to, under the following title: Joannis Freind *M. D. ſereniſſimæ Reginæ Carolinæ Archiatri, Opera omnia Medica. Editio altera, Londinenſi multo correctior, & accuratior.* His character is repreſented to great advantage in the *Harveian Oration* of Dr. Edward Wilmot, Phyſician to her Majeſty [*P*].

(*h*) The Dedication is dated Nov. 13, 1732.

FROISSARD

Every one knows it is Ἀέτιος *in the Greek, and yet very commonly it is writ with an Æ in Latin, as you may ſee in ſeveral books. So the Iſland* Aeria *is very often writ* Æria, *though no doubt it is the* Ἀερία *of Stephanus.* He believes (34) the Doctor likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he ſays, that Dr. Le Clerc ſuppoſes the *Vena Medinenſis* the ſame as another diſtemper deſcribed by the Arabians, the *Affectio Bovina*; *and I dare ſay,* continues he, *the Doctor upon conſidering the paſſage in the Supplement again, will own, that theſe two diſeaſes are there plainly diſtinguiſhed. So far is true, and the Doctor's expreſſions are no doubt too general in this caſe, and what I believe he is not very often guilty of, a little unguarded. But what he intended, I ſuppoſe, was chiefly this, to ſhew, that even by the* Affectio Bovina, *deſcribed at large by the Arabians, and in a ſeparate article, was not a diſtemper unknown, as Mr. Le Clerc aſſerts, to the Greeks. For* Aetius, *as the Doctor remarks, mentions the* little Dracunculi, *as well as the great, which latter the Arabians call the* Vena Medinenſis. *And what* Aven Zoar, Alſaharavius, *and* Albucaſis *ſay of the former, amounts to nothing more than what* Aetius *had in general and in ſhort ſaid before, that the worms in this caſe were little.* Monſieur Armand de la Chapelle in his account of this piece of Mr. Baillie (35) complains of its being written with too great an acrimony of ſtyle, and treating Dr. Le Clerc and his brother John Le Clerc in too contemptuous a manner. Dr. William Cockburn publiſhed at London 1728 in 8vo, a Tranſlation of the *Memoir* in the *Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne*, with a long *Preface*, in which he reflects with great ſeverity upon Mr. Baillie's Letter, and endeavours to anſwer moſt of the particulars contained in it. The title of this pamphlet is, *An Anſwer to what Dr. Freind has written in his* Hiſtory of Phyſick *concerning ſeveral miſtakes, which he pretends to have found in a ſhort work of Dr.* Le Clerc, *intitled,* An Eſſay of a Plan, &c. *Tranſlated from the eighth Article of the* Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne, *Vol.* 27. *Part* 2. *by Mr.* Le Clerc. *To which is added, A Preface by* W. Cockburn, *M. D.* Dr. Cockburn concludes his Preface with theſe words: "This Preface "is longer than I deſigned, though not ſo long as "Dr. Freind expected; yet I muſt add a piece of "Hiſtory, becauſe it ſhews the Doctor's applauded "exactneſs in relating the diſcoveries of Phyſicians; "for he reads every thing himſelf, as he pretends, "and never truſts to any other Hiſtorian in his ac"counts of Authors. Oribaſius, ſays the Doctor, "*gives us the firſt account of the ſalivary glans,* "*which is either omitted by* Galen, *or is loſt together* "*with ſome of Galen's works.* But it ſeems *Galen* "was not worthy Dr. Freind's reading, for if he had, "he might there have found (*) Oribaſius's account in "ſo many words. Oribaſius did well to copy *Galen* "in his accurate deſcription. Dr. *Freind* has nothing "to value himſelf on his reading."

(34) Pag. 37.

(35) *Bibliotb. Angloiſe*, tom. 15. Part. 2. Art. 9. pag. 487, & ſeqq.

(*) Book II. *of the uſe of the Parts*; and in the book of the *Voice* and *Breath.*

[O] *A monument is erected to his memory in Weſtminſter Abbey.*] The Epitaph is as follows.

JOHANNES FREIND, *M. D.*
Archiater
Sereniſſimæ Reginæ Carolinæ.
Cujus perſpicaci Judicio cum ſe approbâſſet,
Quantâ prius apud omnes Medicinæ famâ,
Tantâ apud Regiam Familiam gratiâ floruit.
Ingenio erat benevolo & admodum liberali,
Societatis & Convictuum amans,
Amicitiarum
(Etiam cum ſuo alicubi periculo)
Tenaciſſimus.
Nemo beneficia
Aut in alios alacrius contulit,
Aut in ſe collata libentius meminit.
Juvenis adhuc ſcriptis cœpit inclareſcere,
Et aſſiduo tum Latini tum Patrii ſermonis uſu,
Orationem perpolivit.
Quam vero in umbraculo coluerat facundiam,
Eam in Solem atq; Aciem Senator protulit.
Humanioribus Literis domi peregreq; operam dedit;
Omnes autem, ut decuit, nervos intendit,
Suâ in arte ut eſſet verſatiſſimus.
Quo ſucceſſu Orbis Britannici
Cives & Proceres,
Quam multiplici ſcientiâ Viri omnium Gentium eruditi,
Quam indefeſſo ſtudio atq; induſtriâ
Id quidem non ſine lacrymis Amici loquentur.
Miri quiddam fuit,
Continuâ occupatione,
Inter tot circuitiones,
Scribendo etiam vacare poſſet:
Quod tanto oneri diutius ſuſtinendo impar eſſet,
Nihil miri.
Obiit ſiquidem, vigente adhuc ætate,
Annum agens quinquageſimum ſecundum,
Anno Æræ Chriſti 1728 26 *Julii.*

[*P*] *His character is repreſented to great advantage in the* Harveian Oration *of Dr.* Edward Wilmot *Phyſician to her Majeſty.*] We ſhall give an Extract of that elegant Oration, which was publiſhed at London 1735 in 4to under the following title, *Oratio Anniverſaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinenſium, ex* Harvæi *Inſtituto habita die XVIII Octobris A. D. MDCCXXXV.* dedicated to Dr. *Thomas Pellet* the Preſident, and the Fellows of that College. Dr. Wilmot having commended our Author's Writings, proceeds thus (36). *Tanta de uno aliquo viro prædicari, magnum quidem eſt; majus autem, quod de tali Viro prædicantur, qui nihil ſuum eſſe duxit, quod aliis beneficio eſſe poſſit. Si quid eximii, ſi quid recondili habuit, (quid autem utriuſq; non habuit?) non ſolitariâ famâ contentus, in apertum liberè protulit. Scivit egregiè? ut alii itidem ſcirent, operam ſedulo dabat. Medicinæ peritus fuit? Ut alii etiam eſſent, ſtudio flagrabat. Gloriam attigit? ſi aliorum accenderet, lucro apponebat, alienæ inſerviens, ſuæ profuſus. Secundum divini Senis effatum,* * ideo artem ſuam quamplurimum amans, quia hominum amantiſſimus. *In malam rem abire jubebat, qui neſcio quod Arcanum ſuperbè venditabant; ſi non haberent, falſos; ſi celarent invidos; utroque nomine aut neglectui aut odio habendos. Id nimirum patriæ, id ſuo & artis commodo inſerviturum eſſe putabat, ſi alios ſui ſimiles inveniret, vel, quoad poſſet, faceret; & ut eſſent, omnia ſua cum illis communicabat, præceptis inſtituebat, exemplo præibat. Imperitiam Medico non opprobrio ſolum, ſed crimini vertere ſolebat; & mortuo nihil intereſſe, ſeu ignorantiâ ſeu fraude periret, benevole dictitabat. . . . Cum legendis, condendis libris incumberet, & quotidianis muneris ſui officiis occuparetur, nec ſuæ, nec alienæ mille curæ circa caput ſalientes, impedimento erant, quo minus Rempublicam capeſſeret: auſpicato die Regni ſenatum intravit Vir ad omnia natus, & ſedem ſuam dignitate implevit, eloquentiâ ornavit. Medicinam proſperè fecerat, ſcriptis illuſtraverat, famâ auxerat; deerat in laudis cumulum, ut perielitanti opem ferret, in diſcrimen adductam eriperet.*

(36) Pag. 19, & ſqq.

* Ἦν γὰρ παρὰ φιλανθρωπίην, παρίεσι καὶ φιλοτεχνίην. Hippocrat.

FROISSARD (JOHN) a native of Valenciennes, Canon and Treaſurer of Chimai in Hainault, flouriſhed in the fourteenth Century [*A*]. His chief work is a hiſtory which extends from the year 1326 to 1399 (*a*). He took care to inform himſelf well of things; and, for this purpoſe, went to the Courts of Princes (*b*), either to collect memoirs, or to hear the diſcourſes of thoſe who had had the direction of affairs. He deſerved no leſs fame as a Poet than as an Hiſtorian, and yet few people are acquainted with his Poems. They were not known to Menage, though his memory was ſo ſtocked with theſe kind of works, and a numberleſs multitude of other things. Had he known that Froiſſard has compoſed a great number of love verſes, he would have added our Author to the liſt he publiſhed of Eccleſiaſticks who have written amorous Poems [*B*]. Moreri ſhould not have aſſerted, that John Sleidan tranſlated Froiſſard into Latin [*C*]. He has committed ſome other miſtakes which ſhall be pointed out in the firſt remark.

La Popeliniere accuſes Froiſſard of having beſtowed too many encomiums on the Engliſh (*α*), and too few on the French, becauſe the latter did not pay him for his labours, whilſt he received a very good ſalary from the former (*c*).

(*a*) Voſſius, *de Hiſtor. Lat.* pag. 543. Valer. Andreas, *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 503. is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that this Hiſtory begins at the year 1355. La Popeliniere, *Hiſtoire des Hiſtoires*, pag. 434, makes it begin at the year 1335.

(*b*) See a curious detail concerning this in Bullart, *Academ. des Arts & Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 125.

(*c*) La Popeliniere, *Hiſt. des Hiſtoires*, liv. 8. pag. 434. *See alſo* Bodinus, *Meth. Hiſt.* cap. 4. pag. m. 58.

eriperet. Nec in morâ res fuit; hanc etiam merendi partem oblatam avide arripuit, fortiter explevit: Collegii hujus jura, avita, ſanctiſſima, Regum dona, erant qui in jus vocabant, imminutum ibant. Accurrit, dixit, propugnavit, literarum fautor, artium patronus. Argumentis, auctoritate, gratiâ, ſuâ & Artis felicitate, omnes in unam ſententiam diſcedentes habuit, & privilegia noſtra, non tantum ſarta tecta ſervavit, ſed confirmata, ampliata reddidit. Stetit reipublicæ noſtræ fortuna, illibata, integra, ſplendida, præſtigiatorum opproprium; quod oppugnata fuerat, illuſtrior; quod inſidiis petita, munitior; quod à malevolis odia habita, bonis omnibus charior. T.

[*A*] *He flouriſhed in the fourteenth Century.*] I cannot conceive how Voſſius could miſtake in this place. He owns that Froiſſard reſided a conſiderable time in the court of the Princeſs Philippa, daughter of the Earl of Hainault, and wife of Edward III, King of England *Diu ſectatus eſt regum principumque familias, imprimis Philippæ ... Eduardi III, Anglorum, regis, uxoris*(1). Should he not therefore have conſidered him as an old man, in the beginning of the fifteenth Century (2)? Wherefore then does he ſay, that Froiſſard became to be famous under the Empire of Rupert, that is, ſince the year 1400? The reader is to know, that Froiſſard went and preſented the firſt Books of his Hiſtory to the Princeſs Philippa, wife of Edward III. Moreri, miſled by Voſſius, places this Hiſtorian in the fifteenth Century. La Croix du Maime is in the other extreme, by making him flouriſh anno 1326, that is, ſeven years before he was born (3). Moreri is the more excuſable, in that he ſays, that this Author dedicated his *Chronicle to Edward III, King of England*. It is univerſally known that this Monarch died in an advanced age, anno 1377: beſides as Moreri acknowledges, that this Chronicle extends to the year 1400, it is plain that he does not expreſs himſelf right with this reſpect to the Dedication in queſtion.

(1) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 543, 544.

(2) Bullart, *Academie des Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 126. ſays he was then 67.

(3) He was born about the year 1333, as appears from his writings, Bullart, *Acad. des Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 126.

[*B*] *Menage would have added our Author to the liſt he publiſhed of Eccleſiaſtics who have written Love Poems.*] The bare title of Froiſſard's Poems, might inform him, that they were very proper to be inſerted in his liſt. Here follows what we meet with in Paſquier (4). *He who, I find, has greatly improved this ſpecies of Poetry* (5) *was John Froiſſard, who alſo obliged us with that long Hiſtory extant of his, from the reign of Philip de Valois to the year* 1400. *I am ſurprized that he has not been recommended antiently for his being a Poet; for I have formerly ſeen, in the Library of the great King Francis in Fontainebleau, a large volume of his Poems, intitled as follows.* "*You* "*are to know, that this Book contains ſeveral ſayings* "*or treatiſes of love and morality, which Mr. John* "*Froiſſard, Prieſt and Canon of Canay, and native of* "*the city of Valentianes in the county of Hainault, has* "*dictated and compoſed with the aid of God and of* "*the Loves, for the contemplation of ſeveral Nobles* "*and Worthies, which works were begun by him in the* "*year of Grace* 1362, *and finiſhed in the year of Grace* "1394... *The Paradiſe of Love, the Temple of Honour,* "*a Treatiſe in which is an encomium on the month of May,* "*the Dazy, ſeveral amorous Lays, Paſtorals, the Love-*"*Priſon, Royal Songs in honour of our Lady, the Inſtructions* "*of the amorous Spinet, Ballades, Virelaix, Rondeaux,* "*the Plea or Speeches of the Roſe and the Violet.*" *I purpoſely copied this title word for word, eſpecially as, ſince that time, all our Poetry conſiſted chiefly in this kind of prettineſſes.* Menage's Liſt is in Tom. II of the *Anti-Baillet* (6).

(4) Paſquier, *Recherches des de la France*, lib. 7. chap. 5. pag. 612.

(5) That is *Chants Roiaux, Ballades, Rondeaux, & Paſtorales.*

(6) Pag. 334, & ſeq.

[*C*] *Moreri ſhould not have aſſerted, that John Sleidan tranſlated Froiſſard into Latin.*] Sleidan only abridged Froiſſard; and as this Hiſtorian is vaſtly prolix, and very much crowded with many, not very neceſſary, circumſtances; it has ſo happened that Sleidan, having ſelected ſuch particulars only as are eſſential, has reduced a huge book to the ſize of a pocket-volume. I have not this Latin abridgment now by me, and therefore make uſe of the French Tranſlation, to quote a paſſage from the Preface, whereby the Reader will ſee Froiſſard's method. "It is indeed true that "the French work is very voluminous; but I can juſtly "affirm, that I have not omitted in this little abridg-"ment, any hiſtory in the ſaid work that is worthy "of being known. The reaſon is, becauſe the Au-"thor relates every particular at large: and to ſay the "truth, he ſometimes dwells too long, and is very "redundant, when he deſcribes the military prepara-"tions, ſkirmiſhes, ſingle combats, ſtorming of places, "with the diſcourſes and converſations of Princes. "Now, as the recital of ſuch particulars are of little "moment, I thought it would be needleſs to inſert "them, confining my ſelf to ſuch things only as are "material, and may be of advantage to the reader."

[§ (*α*) I do not find that the Gothick Editions of this Hiſtorian, printed at Paris for John Petit, without the date of the year; and for Anthony Verard, Paris alſo, and undated likewiſe, differ in any conſiderable point from that of Denys Sauvage, publiſhed at Lyons in 1559, and at Paris in 1574; but theſe latter are not faithful nor accurate; they not giving the plain, unaffected language of the Author (*). As the French charge Froiſſard with ſhewing a partiality for the Engliſh Nation, they have caſtrated his Hiſtory in ſeveral places; nevertheleſs, a complete manuſcript of it, adorned with beautiful miniatures, is kept in St. Elizabeth's Library in the city of Breſlaw. *Non nego magnam picturarum elegantiam eſſe*, (he ſpeaks of the manuſcript in queſtion) *ſed majora hic ſunt quæ animum meum afficiunt. Putat Orbis eruditus, ſe textum Froiſſardi egregie poſſidere quem Dionyſius Salvagius, Regis Henrici II juſſu quinquageſimo nono ſuperioris ſæculi anno Lugduni publicavit, ſed fæde decipitur, dum codex hic impoſturam detegit, & Salvagii manu omnia quæ Aulæ Galliæ diſplicebant, deleta, vixque decimam hiſtoriæ partem integram relictam eſſe manifeſtum reddit* (†). i. e. "I do not deny but that the miniatures are very "beautiful, but there are ſome things of greater im-"portance, which give me much concern. The learn-"ed imagine they are poſſeſſed of the genuine text of "Froiſſard, publiſhed at Lyons, in 1559, by Denys "Saulvage, at the command of Henry II; but they "are baſely impoſed upon, ſince this manuſcript lays "open the cheat; and ſhews evidently, that all ſuch "paſſages as gave umbrage to the French Court were "erazed by Saulvage himſelf, and that ſcarce an in-"tire tenth part of the Hiſtory is left. REM. CRIT.

(*) Sorel, *Biblioth. Fr.* ch. 11. pag. 198. edit. of 1664.

(†) Gotleb Krantz, in his *Memorabilia Bibliotheca Eliſabethana Wratiſlavienſis*. Breſlau, 1699.

FRONTO (MARCUS CORNELIUS) (a) a famous Orator, was choſen, on account of his great eloquence, to inſtruct the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Rhetoric (b), in recompence of which he was promoted to the Conſulate, and a ſtatue was erected in his honour [A]. His eloquence was of a grave kind [B]. He was maſter of a vaſt deal of erudition, and underſtood the Latin tongue in the utmoſt perfection (c). A ſect was formed of thoſe who looked upon him as a model of perfect eloquence, and theſe were called *Frontoniani* (d). It may be proved, by an inſcription (e), that his deſcendants were honoured with the Conſulate. It is not improbable that the Civilians, whoſe names are Fronto (f), mentioned in the Pandects, were deſcended from him; but there is no proof that the Orators of this name belonged to Aquitain, and in particular to Auvergne [C]. Some are of opinion that our Fronto is the

(a) I know not where Moreri has borrowed the pretended prænomen *Priſcus*, which he gives him.

(b) Capitolin. *in M. Aurelio*, cap. 2. *& in L. Vero*, cap. 2.

(c) *See* Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 26; lib. 19. cap. 8, 10 and 13.

(d) *Frontoniani*. Sidon. Apollinaris, Epiſt. 1. lib. 1.

(e) *Apud* Gruterum, pag. 369.

(f) *See* Bertrand. *de Juriſperitis*, lib. 2. pag. m. 290.

[A] *He was raiſed to the Conſulate, and a ſtatue was erected in his honour.*] Here follows a paſſage from Auſonius with regard to the Conſulate (1). *Unica mihi amplectenda eſt Frontonis imitatio, quem tamen Auguſti magiſtrum ſic Conſulatus ornavit ut præfectura non cingeret. Sed Conſulatus ille cujuſmodi? ordinario ſuffectus, bimeſtri ſpatio interpoſitus, in ſexta anni parte conſumptus; quærendum ut reliquerit tantus orator quibus conſulibus geſſerit conſulatum* (2). Theſe words inform us, that Fronto was Conſul but two months, that is, that he was only raiſed to the Conſulſhip in the room of one of the ordinary Conſuls, who either died, or was removed, two months before the year was expired. This made a wide difference between the favour of Marcus Aurelius and that of Gratian; for Auſonius was appointed ordinary Conſul by Gratian his pupil. This Poet was afraid that, in making this remark in the thanks he returned to Gratian, he ſhould be accuſed of comparing himſelf to Fronto, and therefore obviated very ingeniouſly this objection. I ſhall cite his words, becauſe they are a proof, both of Marcus Aurelius's gratitude to Fronto his Preceptor, and of the eſteem in which Fronto was held. *Ecce aliud quod aliquis opponat. In tanti te ergo oratoris faſtigium glorioſus attollis? Cui talia requirenti reſpondebo breviter. Non ego me contendo Frontoni, ſed Antonino præfero Gratianum* (3). i. e. "Some perſon may make this farther objection: Are you ſo vain, as to ſet yourſelf "in competition with ſo great an Orator? To ſuch a "queſtion I ſhall make the ſhort anſwer following. "I do not pretend to compare my ſelf to Fronto, but "prefer Gratian to Antoninus." Here follows another proof of the gratitude in queſtion. *Multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui & ſtatuam in Senatu petiit* (here we have the ſetting up a ſtatue) *Proculum vero uſque ad Proconſulatum provexit* (4). That is, "He aſcribed to "Fronto much of this; and demanded of the Senate "to have a ſtatue erected in his honour; but as for "Proculus, he made him Proconſul." Since Capitolinus obſerves, that Proculus, one of the Grammarians who had taught Marcus Aurelius, was made Proconſul, and does not ſay that Fronto was raiſed to the conſular dignity, he muſt have been ignorant of the laſt circumſtance; and we therefore may charge him with having made a conſiderable omiſſion. Chariſius cites a Letter which ſhews the gratitude of Marcus Aurelius: *Mihi ſatis abundeque honorum eſt quos mihi cotidiane tribuis.* i. e. "The honours which you daily "beſtow upon me, ſatisfy me ſufficiently." Fronto writes this to this Emperor.

(1) Auſon. *in Gratiarum Actione*, pag. 714.

(2) See a like thought, citation (39) of the article BALEUS.

(3) Auſon. *in Gratiar. Actione*, pag. 714.

(4) Capitol. *in Marco Aurelio*, cap. 2.

[B] *His eloquence was of a grave kind.*] This we are told by St. Jerom (5). *Ut poſt Quintiliani acumina, Ciceronis fluvios*, GRAVITATEM *Frontonis, & lenitatem Plinii alphabetum diſcerem.* i. e. "That, after "Quintilian's wit, Cicero's flowing periods, Fronto's GRAVITY and Pliny's ſoftneſs, I might learn the "Alphabet." Macrobius ſays very near as much, tho' in a leſs obliging manner with reſpect to Fronto, whoſe eloquence he declares to be dry. *Quatuor ſunt genera dicendi*, ſays he, *copioſum, in quo Cicero dominatur; breve, in quo Salluſtius regnat; ſiccum quod Frontani adſcribitur; pingue & floridum in quo Plinius Secundus quondam, & nunc nullo veterum minor noſter Symmachus luxuriatur* (6). i. e. "Oratory, is of four kinds; "the copious, in which Tully excells; the conciſe, "in which Saluſt is ſupreme; the dry, which is aſcribed to Fronto; the florid and luxuriant, in "which Pliny Junior formerly, and, in this "age, our Symmachus, who is not inferior to any "of the antients, abounds." Sidonius Apollinaris gives a very high idea of Fronto's ſtyle. *Nec Frontonianæ gravitatis aut ponderis Apuleiani fulmen æquiparem* (7). i. e. "Nor would I pretend to equal the "thunder of Fronto's gravity, and Apuleius's weight "and dignity."

(5) *Epiſt. ad Ruſticum Monachum.*

(6) Macrob. *Saturnal.* lib. 5. cap. 1.

(7) Sidon. Apollinar. *Epiſt.* 3. lib. 4. pag. m. 235. See alſo *Epiſt.* 10. lib. 8. pag. 523.

[C] *There is no proof that the Orators of this name belonged to Aquitain, and in particular to Auvergne.*] Sidonius Apollinaris, in a Letter (8) to Leo Counſellor to a King of the Goths (9), delivers himſelf as follows: *Suſpende perorandi illud quoque celeberrimum flumen quod non ſolum gentilitium ſed domeſticum tibi, quodque in tuum pectus per ſucciduas ætates ab atavo Frontone tranſfunditur.* i. e. "Suſpend that renowned flow of elo"quence, which is peculiar, not only to your coun"try, but to your family; and has been transfuſed "into your breaſt, thro' a ſeries of ages, from Fronto "your great grandfather's grandfather." This proves nothing with reſpect to the Fronto's of Auvergne, whatever Savaron may ſay, who, on theſe words of Epiſtle XXI of Book IV, *Hinc avus Fronto blandus tibi, ſibi ſeverus*, gives us the following remark; *Fronto ex veteri illa Frontonum familia, qui in arte Rhetorica principem locum tenuere, quos ſibi ſuos Aquitania jure vendicat, quantum ex L. 2. C.* de Municip. & Originariis *licet colligere, & ex Epiſt. 3. lib.* 8. Sidonii Apollinaris. i. e. "Fronto ſprung from the antient family "of the Fronto's, who ſurpaſſed all others in Rhetoric, and who is juſtly claimed by Aquitaine as her "own; ſo far as can be collected from Lib. 2. C. *de* "*Municip. & Originariis*; and from Epiſt. 3. Lib. 8. "of *Sidonius Apollinaris*." Though it could even be proved, that the perſon to whom this third Epiſtle of Book VIIIth was writ, was a native of Auvergne; there yet would be no reaſon to infer from thence, that the Orator Fronto, his great grandfather's grandfather, was of the ſame country.

(8) The 3d of Book 8.

(9) His name was Evarix.

One of our moſt curious Antiquaries, for whom I have the higheſt eſteem, obliges me to ſtop here a moment. This Gentleman aſſerts (10), that Sidonius Apollinaris *makes* M. Cornelius Fronto *the greateſt Orator of his age, ſpring from the illuſtrious family of the Fronto's of Aquitain. Sidonius*, continues he, *writing to Aper (it is in Epiſt. 21, of Book 4.) informs him, that Fronto, his grandfather on the mother's ſide, was born in Auvergne, that he might have ſerved as a model to thoſe who are propoſed to us as examples. . . He writes in another Letter (which is the 3d of Book 8.) to another perſon, and declares that the ſame Fronto was his great grandfather; and tells him, that he not only bears his name, but has alſo inherited his eloquence; that it is as natural to him, and comes to him, in a direct ſucceſſion, from that excellent Orator.* The Author adds that, I, *there was in Aquitain, in the reign of the Emperor Gordian, a family named* Fronto, *as we find by* Law the 2d of the Code de Municip. & Origin. *Lib.* 10, *where one* A. Fronto, *having, by a feoffment of truſt, been enfranchized by a woman, who was originally of Aquitain; and aſking, whether he ſhould follow the origin of the woman who had made him free, in that of the Teſtator, the Emperor anſwered in favour of the woman who manumitted him.* II. That if Æmilius Fronto, who dedicated the monument of which an explanation is given, is not the ſame Fronto who was made free; we may very well believe, that he is the ſecond great grandſon of M. Cornelius Fronto, *who lived under Antoninus the Philoſopher, and who taught him Rhetoric.*

(10) Abbé Nicaiſe, who has been mentioned before in the remark [G] of the article ARETINE (Peter), in the explanation of an antient monument found on Guienne, printed at Paris in 1689, pag. 14, 15.

The Reader may have ſeen, in the preface to the plan or ſpecimen of my work, that there are no Writers on whom I more freely venture to make obſervations, than on thoſe for whom I have a particular eſteem; for, ſhould I ſcruple to propoſe my petty difficulties to them, it would intimate that I imagined they entertained

the ſame whom the younger Pliny mentions, or who is ſpoken of in the 56th Epigram of the 1ſt Book of Martial. This is attended with ſome difficulty [*D*]. It would be a great

entertained prejudices, which I look upon as a great fault. I repeat here this caution, and deſire that it may be remembred in every caſe of the like nature.

I, I obſerve, that it would be extremely agreeable to me, could it be proved that the illuſtrious Cornelius Fronto was a native of Aquitain. This would reflect a great honour on ancient Gaul, and add high luſtre to the liſt of learned and able men who were born in it. But it does not appear to me that this can be proved by the two Epiſtles of Sidonius Apollinaris abovecited. One of thoſe Letters was writ to Aper, and the other to Leo, Counſellor to a King. The firſt ſhews only this, that there had been in Auvergne, a man of very great worth, named Fronto, whoſe daughter was mother to the perſon to whom Sidonius wrote. The other Letter (ſo far as I can underſtand it) does not ſay that the Fronto in queſtion, a native of Auvergne, was great grandfather to the perſon to whom Sidonius addreſſes himſelf. Sidonius employs the word *Atavus*, which ſignifies great grandfather's grandfather; and thence it appears, that the Fronto mentioned in the firſt Letter, is not the Fronto of the ſecond; for it can hardly happen, that a man ſhould correſpond with two friends, the grandfather of one of whom is the great grandfather's grandfather of the other. Beſides, it ſeems evident to me, that the Fronto of the firſt Letter had been dead but a few years. He had been concerned in the education of his grandſon (11); and Sidonius Apollinaris had perhaps been acquainted with him. This cannot be ſuppoſed with reſpect to the Fronto of the other Letter; with reſpect, I ſay, to the Orator Marcus Cornelius Fronto, Preceptor of Marcus Aurelius; for it is he, who is hinted at by Sidonius. Now Sidonius lived in the fifth Century, and Marcus Aurelius in the ſecond. This is my firſt remark, and here follows a ſecond. I do not ſee how Æmilius Fronto, who dedicated the monument, could be at one and the ſame time A. Fronto, manumitted by a woman of Aquitain; and could have M. Cornelius Fronto for his great-great grandfather; for this Orator, left his family in exceeding good circumſtances, his pupil having been very munificent to him, and raiſed him to the Conſulſhip. His ſon, his grandſon, and great grandſon, were poſſeſſed of the higheſt employments in Rome (12); ſo that it does not appear, how one of his deſcendants could have been ſlave to a woman of Aquitain, a Province of the Roman Empire.

(11) *Hinc avus Fronto blandus tibi.*

(12) See the inſcription given by Gruter, pag. 369. *and* Bertrand, *de Juriſperitis*, lib. 2. pag. 291. Some are of opinion, that the grandſon's father was only ſon-in-law to our Fronto.

[*D*] *This is attended with ſome difficulty.*] He whom Pliny mentions was named Fronto Catius. He pleaded for Marius Priſcus, impeached by the Africans. It was a great and glorious cauſe, but difficult to maintain, both becauſe Marius was guilty, and that Pliny and Tacitus pleaded againſt him. Marius's Advocate employed his uſual talent, which was, to move his Judges to compaſſion. *Reſpondit Fronto Catius deprecatuſque eſt, ne quid ultra repetundarum legem quæreretur, omniaque actionis ſuæ vela vir movendarum lachrymarum peritiſſimus, quodam velut vento miſerationis implevit . . .* (13). *Dixit pro Mario rurſus Fronto Catius inſigniter, utque jam locus ille poſcebat, plus in precibus temporis, quam in defenſione conſumpſit* (14). i. e. "Fronto Catius anſwered, and humbly beſought the "Judges not to enquire farther than the Law enacted "againſt bribery and extortion; and as he had an ad- "mirable talent in raiſing pity, he exhibited the cauſe "in ſuch a light, as might incline the Court to mercy. ". . . Fronto Catius pleaded again admirably well in "favour of Marius; and, as the cauſe required, em- "ployed more time in endeavouring to awake the "compaſſion of the Court for his Client, than he did "in defending him." This cauſe was pleaded under Trajan. Our Cornelius Fronto muſt therefore have lived to a very old age, in caſe he was the ſame Fronto Catius whom we juſt now mentioned; for, between Trajan's death, and the beginning of Marcus Aurelius's reign, there was an interval of forty years; and we cannot ſuppoſe Marius's pleader to have been a young man. He doubtleſs, at the time that he defended this cauſe, was one of the moſt famous Orators of that age. To this we may add, that the character of pathetic which was given to his eloquence, does not ſuit very well with the dry and grave eloquence which diſtinguiſhed that of Cornelius Fronto: I therefore am of opinion that Cataneus is miſtaken (15) in affirming, that the Fronto Catius of Pliny is the ſame Cornelius Fronto who was Preceptor to Marcus Aurelius, and whom Juvenal mentions in his firſt Satire. Cataneus doubtleſs hints at the following verſe of Juvenal,

(13) Plin. lib. 2. Epiſt. 11. pag. m. 98.

(14) Ibid. pag. 105.

Frontonis platani convulſaque marmora clamant,

Which ſhows that this Fronto had a fine houſe, and that he let ſuch Poets as repeated their compoſitions have the uſe of it. Now as Juvenal flouriſhed under the Empire of Domitian, I leave the reader to judge whether he could ſpeak this of a man who was raiſed to the Conſulate by Marcus Aurelius. According to the moſt common opinion, the following verſe of Martial (36),

Clarum militiæ Fronto togæque decus,

" Fronto, the glory of both peace and war,"

is addreſſed to that Fronto, at whoſe houſe Poets uſed to go and read their works. In this caſe, methinks it ſhould not be ſaid that Martial has mentioned our Cornelius Fronto; for I do not find it related by any Author, that this Orator ever ſignalized himſelf in the field. Some are of opinion, that the perſon on whom Martial has beſtowed ſo fine an encomium in a ſingle line, is the ſame Fronto who was Conſul with Trajan, Anno Dom. 100 (17). He therefore was not Marcus Aurelius's Preceptor, ſince that Prince's Preceptor owed the enjoyment of the Conſulate entirely to the favour of his pupil. The reader muſt obſerve particularly, that Trajan's Collegue in the Conſulate Anno Dom. 100, was then made Conſul a third time; and that Marcus Aurelius's Preceptor, according to Euſebius's Chronicle, flouriſhed Anno Dom. 164. Here therefore in all probability, are two perſons, notwithſtanding the aſſertion of the Jeſuit who wrote the Commentary *in uſum Delphini*, upon Aulius Gellius (18). How was it poſſible for him not to perceive, that Auſonius would not have looked upon, as a ſignal favour, the Conſulſhip of two months, beſtowed by Marcus Aurelius on his pupil, had this pupil been ordinary Conſul a long time before, and that too in conjunction with a great Emperor? I obſerve that our Fronto ſurvived his Conſulſhip; which appears from Aulus Gellius (19), who ſpeaks of him as a perſon of Conſular Dignity, where he mentions the viſit he made him with Favorinus. The Delphin Scholiaſt ſuppoſes that Aulus Gellius, in Chap. VIII, Book XIX, ſpeaks of the Fronto who ſignalized himſelf both in the field and at the bar under Domitian, that is, of the ſame Fronto mentioned by Martial. But I am of a different opinion, and think that Aulus Gellius ſtill ſpeaks of him who taught Marcus Aurelius Rhetoric; and conſequently that he does not hint at a Fronto, who, as early as Domitian's reign, was a great ſoldier and a great ſtateſman. William Grotius is of opinion, that the perſon who was viſited by Favorinus and Aulus Gellius, is Marcus Aurelius's preceptor; but he declares him to have been Conſul, in the 6th year of Severus, that is, Anno Dom. 199. *Cujus conſulatum in annum ſextum Severi rejiciendum puto* (20). But this is a notorious error, ſince this Conſulſhip was owing to the favour of Marcus Aurelius; not to obſerve that our Fronto was certainly not alive in 199. Was he not the chief, and the moſt applauded Orator that was in Rome under the Emperor Hadrian? Ἀμέλει καὶ Κερνήλιος Φρόντων, ὁ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐν δίκαις φερόμενος, ἐσπέρας ποτὲ βαδείας ἀπὸ δείπνου οἴκαδε ἐπανιὼν καὶ μαθὼν παρά τινος ᾧ συνηγορήσειν ὑπέσχετο, δικάζειν αὐτὸν, ἔν τε τῇ σολῇ τῇ δειπνίτιδι ὥσπερ εἶχε εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτῷ εἰσῆλθε (21). i. e. "Cornelius Fronto had alſo great "authority, and was conſidered as the fineſt pleader "in Rome. This perſon returning home late one "evening from an entertainment, and hearing "from one of his clients, that the Emperor was ſit- "ting upon cauſes, he, without changing his dreſs, "went into court." He therefore muſt have been forty years old at leaſt, when this Prince died anno 138.

(15) *Fuit igitur Cornelius Fronto Catius orator nobiliſſimus, Romanæ eloquentiæ non ſecundum ſed alterum decus (quamquam illi Macrobius ſiccum dicendi genus aſcribat) Antonini Philoſophi præceptor.* Cataneus *in Plin. Epiſt.* 11. lib. 2. pag. 98. Theſe words *Fronto Romanæ facundiæ non ſecundum ſed alterum decus*, are cited by Savaro in Sidon. Apoll. *Epiſt.* 10. lib. 8. pag. 524. as extracted from a Panegyric of Maximian.

(16) Epig. 56. lib. 1.

(17) This opinion does not agree with Pliny, who ſays in *Panegyr.* pag. m. 116. that Trajan, in his third Conſulate (that is *Anno* 100) choſe a man, for his collegue, who was not a warrior. *See* Tillemont, tom. 2. pag. m. 896.

(18) *In Caput XXVI libri* 2.

(19) Lib. 2. cap. 26. Obſerve that the perſon whom he here calls *M. Fronto*; and he whom he calls *Fronto Cornelius*, in chap. 8. and 10. of book 19. are the ſame perſon. He, mentioned in chap. 26 of book 2, has ſore feet, and he of chap. 10. book 19, is afflicted in the ſame manner.

(20) Grotius, *de Vitis Juriſcon.* pag. 188.

(21) Xiphilin. *Hadriano*, pag. m. 265.

great miſtake not to diſtinguiſh him from FRONTO, a Roman Conſul under the Emperor Nerva. He delivered an Apophthegm that is extremely ſolid [*E*]. Some writers pretend that our Cornelius Fronto compoſed a diſcourſe againſt the Chriſtians [*F*]. He not only taught Marcus Aurelius Rhetoric, but alſo inſtilled into him ſeveral excellent moral precepts (*g*), which had a near relation to the duties of Kings.

(*g*) M. Antel. *de Seipſo*, lib. 1. n. 8.

[*E*] *He delivered an Apophthegm that is extremely ſolid.*] It is an unhappineſs, ſaid he, to live under an Emperor, who will not permit a perſon to do any thing: but it is a ſtill greater unhappineſs to live under a Prince, who ſuffers all ſorts of perſons to behave and act as they pleaſe. The Epitomizer of Dion has preſerved this Apophthegm (22); but then he has broke the thread of the narration in ſuch a manner, that we are obliged to gueſs, in order to diſcover on what occaſion Fronto the Conſul ſpoke thus. Probably it was, upon his obſerving that, in remedying the irregularities and diſorders which informers had introduced under Domitian, ſuch exceſſes were committed as occaſioned ſtill greater confuſion. In all probability the caſe ſtood thus. Informers were ſtrictly called to account, and puniſhed ſeverely as they deſerved. But then, upon pretence of extirpating that deteſtable race of men, thoſe peſts of ſociety, every man, who wanted to rid' himſelf of an enemy, charged him with being an informer. The mild diſpoſition of Nerva, joyned to the hatred that was entertained againſt ſuch as had been creatures of Domitian, made way for the committing a numberleſs multitude of unjuſt actions; ſo that Fronto, comparing Nerva's reign with that of Domitian, judged the former to be the worſt. His Apophthegm was of good ſervice, the Emperor putting a ſtop to ſeveral proſecutions (33).

(22) Xiphilin. *in Nerva.* pag. m. 40.

(23) Ibid.

[*F*] *Some Writers pretend, that our Fronto made a Speech againſt the Chriſtians.*] This aſſertion is grounded on what follows. Cæcilius the heathen, in the dialogue of Minutius Felix, charges the Chriſtians with committing many abominable actions, and cites the teſtimony of an Orator, who was born in Cirta a city of Africa, *& de convivio notum eſt: paſſim omnes loquuntur: id etiam Cirtenſis noſtri teſtatur oratio.* i. e. "The practice at their entertainments is well "known; it is talked of by every one, and our Ora"tor of Cirta teſtifies it." The Chriſtians were accuſed of aſſembling on certain days in order to feaſt together. Perſons of both ſexes and of all ages were admitted indiſcriminately there; and after they had heated themſelves with drinking, bread was thrown to a dog that was tied to a candleſtick. The dog, leaping at the bread, beat down the candleſtick, when all being then in the dark, the two ſexes mixed indiſcriminately as chance huddled them together; and every man ſatiated his luſt with the firſt woman he laid hold of in the dark, though ſhe were his ſiſter, his daughter or mother. *Ad epulas ſolemni die coeunt, cum omnibus liberis, ſororibus, matribus, ſexûs omnis homines, & omnis ætatis. Illic poſt multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit, & inceſtæ libidinis fervor ebrietate exarſit, canis, qui candelabro nexus eſt, jactu offulæ ultra ſpatium linea, qua vinctus eſt, ad impetum & ſaltum provocatur: ſic everſo & extincto conſcio lumine, impudentibus tenebris nexus infandæ cupiditatis involvunt per intertum ſortis: &, ſi non omnes opera, conſcientia tamen pariter inceſti; quoniam voto univerſorum appetitur, quicquid accidere poteſt in actu ſingulorum* (24). When Octavius the Chriſtian, in the abovementioned Dialogue of Minutius Felix, refutes this impudent calumny, he obſerves, that the witneſs whoſe teſtimony had been alledged was named Fronto; and that he ought not to be cited as a witneſs who makes his depoſition, but as an Orator who throws out his invectives. *Sic de iſto & tuus Fronto, non ut affirmator teſtimonium fecit, ſed convicium ut Orator aſperſit* (25). We therefore cannot doubt, but that an Orator named Fronto made a very ſevere ſpeech againſt the Chriſtians; but the queſtion is, whether this Fronto, and he who taught Marcus Aurelius Rhetoric, are the ſame perſon. Francis Balduinus the civilian (26) inclines to the latter opinion, and chuſes to aſcribe this ſpeech to Cornelius Fronto the Orator, preceptor to Marcus Aurelius, rather than to Papyrius Fronto the civilian, mentioned in the Pandects. Rigaltius (27) approves the opinion of Balduinus. Some other Commentators, as Wower and Elmenhorſt, declare in poſitive terms, that Cornelius Fronto the Orator, and preceptor of Marcus Aurelius, is the perſon mentioned in the Dialogue of Minutius Fælix. Daillé makes the ſame aſſertion without once heſitating; he thereby ſettles the true age of Minutius Fælix, and clears himſelf of the anachroniſm with which he was reproached, and which was ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the order in which he ſet down ſome names, he placing Minutius Felix before Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus. "I knew very well, "*ſays he* (28), that your Bellarmin places him after "Tertullian, and that the late Rigaltius, not to men"tion others, is of the ſame opinion; but I had my "reaſons for thinking otherwiſe, for this Author "ſpeaks * of the Orator Fronto, born in the city of "Cirta in Africa, as of a man who was his contem"porary, and a friend of that Cæcilius the heathen, "whom Octavius, in the ſame Dialogue converts to "Chriſtianity. Now it is certain that Fronto was "living under the firſt Antoninus, who died about "Anno Dom. 161; and that he was preceptor to "Antoninus Verus †, and Marcus Aurelius ‡, who "ſucceeded the firſt Antoninus, and lived, one till "the year 170, and the other till the year 180 of our "Lord." I ſhall make three obſervations on all this. I. That it is not certain that Minutius ſpake of Fronto the Orator, *as of a man who was his contemporary, and of a friend of Cæcilius the heathen*; for the words *Cirtenſis noſtri* may barely ſignify that Cæcilius, and the perſon to whom he ſpoke, were of the ſame country with that Orator. A Norman, who was born threeſcore years after the death of Malherbe, would not ſcruple to cite *our Malherbe*. It is very common for an Engliſhman, a German, and ſo of other nations, in quoting an Author of their country, to expreſs themſelves thus, *our ſuch a one*, although this *ſuch a one* had been dead many Ages. When Daillé in the above cited paſſage, ſays to Father Adam, *your Bellarmine*, he does not mean that thoſe two Jeſuits were contemporaries. II. The following expreſſion of Daillé *It is certain that Fronto was living under the firſt Antoninus*, does not ſuit a man who remembred that Fronto was the chief of the pleaders in Rome under the Empire of Hadrian (29). III. In the main, I join in opinion with Daillé: I believe that our Cornelius Fronto is the ſame with him who is cited by Minucius Felix, and we therefore know his native country, he being a native of Cirtha in Numidia. Let it not be objected to me, that it is improbable ſo able a man, ſo famous an Orator ſhould have interſperſed a Book with the ridiculous ſtories and infamous calumnies, which ſome ignorant and paſſionate men of that time vented againſt the Chriſtians. We ſhould judge of thoſe Ages by the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth Centuries. What ſett of people ſpread with greater fury the moſt falſe and moſt bitter accuſations againſt their adverſaries, than Orators and ſuch like? Was it not they, in the ſixteenth Century, who calumniated the Proteſtants with the greateſt boldneſs. Let this inſtance ſerve for all the reſt: *Sit unum inſtar omnium.*

(24) Minucius Felix, pag. m. 89, 90.

(25) Ibid. pag. 303.

(26) *In Prolegom. ad Minuc. Felicem.*

(27) *In notis ad Minuc. Felicem*, pag. m. 89. He quotes Lampridius inſtead of Capitolinus; for it is the latter, and not the former, who relates that Cornelius Fronto taught Marcus Aurelius Rhetoric.

(28) *Replique à Adam & à Cottiby*, Part 3. chap. 8. pag. m. 187. I ſhall tranſcribe his quotations without making the leaſt alteration in them; obſerving only that that of Marcus Aurelius, *de Vita ſua*, Book 12. is not juſt. He ſhould have cited book 1. chap. 8.

* Minut. *in Octav.* pag. 23 and 92.

† Hier. *in Melit. Lib. de Scrip. Eccl.*

‡ Marc. Aurel. *de Vita ſua*, lib. 12.

(29) See above, citation (21).

FUGGER (HULDRIC) born at Augſburg of a family conſiderable for its antiquity and riches [*A*], deſerves a place in this work, for the affection he diſcovered for learning and

[*A*] *Of a family conſiderable for its antiquity and riches.*] See the Supplement to Moreri in the Article *Foukers*, and the Remark [*EE*] above of the Article CHARLES V. Thuanus (1) relates, that when this Emperor changed the Government of Augſburg anno 1548, he nominated the family of the Fuggers, among thoſe

(1) Thuan. lib. 5. pag. m. 99.

and learned men. He had been Chamberlain to Pope Paul III, and afterwards turned Proteſtant. He laid out great ſums in purchaſing good manuſcripts of ancient Authors, and getting them printed; and for this purpoſe he allowed, for ſome time, a ſalary to the learned Henry Stephens. His relations were ſo incenſed at him for the monies he expended on theſe occaſions, that they brought an action againſt him for it, and got him to be declared incapable of managing his affairs. Some Writers, without mentioning the repealing of this decree obſerve, that the ſentence pronounced againſt Fugger plunged him into a deep melancholy which accompanied him almoſt to the grave (*a*): but it is declared in his epitaph, that he was unmoved at this ſhock; that he was reſtored to his eſtate, and inherited that of his brother [*B*]. He had retired to Heidelberg, and died there in June 1584, aged fifty eight years, bequeathing his Library, which was very conſiderable (*b*), to the Elector Palatine, and a fund for the maintenance of ſix ſcholars. He alſo left ſome foundations for the poor, as is manifeſt from his epitaph. He had bought the Library of a Phyſician, Achilles Gaſſarus by name, and had a good purchaſe; this Phyſician, according to Melchior Adam, being a *helluo librorum*, having a raging paſſion for books (*c*). By the way, Huldric Fugger was not the firſt of his family who poſſeſſed a fine Library; for we read in Melchior Adam (*d*), that Jerom Wolfius being in Augſburg, was entertained there very kindly by ANTHONY FUGGER; and that the famous Library of JOHN JAMES FUGGER was committed to his care [*C*]. The latter had diſcovered a ſtrong love for learning. He cauſed ſome pieces of James Ziegler to be printed (*e*). Cardinal de Granvelle uſed to write often to, and had a great eſteem for him. In 1692 (*f*) was publiſhed an Italian Letter he wrote to him, dated the 21ſt of July 1564.

(*a*) *Patrimonii aviti ampliſſimi adminiſtratione dejectus eſt, unde mœrore contracto in melancholiæ morbum incidit quo fere tota vita conflictatus eſt.* Thuan. lib. 80. *ſub fin.*

(*b*) *Inſignem Bibliothecam mille aliquot voluminibus manuſcriptis Græcis, Latinis, Hebraïcis, ſpectatiſſimam.* Gruterus, *Chron. Eccleſ.* lib. 2. pag. 1306.

(*c*) Melch. Adam. *in Vit. Medicor.* pag. 234.

(*d*) Melch. Adam. *in Vit. Philoſoph.* pag. 305.

(*e*) Thuan. lib. 6. pag. 118.

(*f*) *See* Peliſſon's *Treatiſe concerning the Toleration of Religions*, pag. 96 of the additions, and the remark [*A*] below.

Beatus Rhenanus gives us a very grand idea of the magnificence and good taſte of ANTHONY and RAYMOND FUGGER. He deſcribes the beauty of their houſes and gardens, where excellent pictures were ſeen, the moſt conſiderable plants in Italy, and a great number of antiques [*D*]. Read the Letter he wrote to the Elector of Mentz's Phyſician, dated the 6th of March 1531. It is the fiftieth of the Century of Philological Letters, collected and publiſhed by Goldaſtus.

FULGINAS

thoſe who thenceforward were to be raiſed to the dignity of Senators. Abbé Boiſſet ſending Peliſſon the copy of a Letter extracted from the Memoirs of Cardinal de Granvelle, writes as follows. *The perſon who wrote it, was one of the Fuggers, thoſe famous and illuſtrious Merchants of Augſburg, very little inferior, in credit and ſplendor, to thoſe whom an univerſal commerce, which was altogether noble, and great riches that attended it, have ſometimes raiſed to all the moſt exalted ſtations in Commonwealths. This man held a very great correſpondence with the Cardinal, and often gave him extreme good counſels* (2). Rabelais writing from Rome in 1536 to the Biſhop of Maillezais, tells him, that *next to the Fourques of Augſburg, Philip Struſſi is reputed the richeſt Merchant in all Chriſtendom* (3). Now the following Hiſtorical Note has been made on theſe words of Rabelais. "The family of the Foucres or "Fuggers, *Fuggerana*, makes at this time a conſi- "derable figure in Germany, in the Dioceſe of "Conſtance, where it is poſſeſſed of the Baronies of "Kircberg and Weiſſenhorn. They lived firſt in the "city of Augſburg, and were the richeſt Merchants in "Germany about an hundred and fifty years ago. "By the Emperor's munificence they were honoured "with the dignity of Baron anno M. D. X. in the "perſons of Raymond Foucre Baron of Kircberg and "Weiſſenhorn, and of Anthony Fugger, whoſe "grandſon was James, Biſhop and Prince of Conſtance, "anno 1604. The circumſtance which darts the "greateſt luſtre round this family, is its being allied "to the beſt families in Germany, viz. with "the Counts of Zollern, Schuartzemberg, Eber- "ſteyn, Koningſeck, Montfort, Ottingen, and "Truceſes; with the Barons of Madruce, the Counts "of Lodron, and other perſons of the higheſt qua- "lity in Bavaria." Hippolitus à Lapide obſerves (4), that the Fuggers were created Counts, but that they were not inſerted in the Rolls or Records of the Empire till the year 1582. I have ſeen a German Book printed anno 1620, conſiſting of the engraved heads of the perſons of both ſexes of that family, with a ſhort Diſcourſe upon each of them. The firſt mentioned there is JAMES FUGGER, ſirnamed the antient, who died the 14th of March 1469. All the Genealogical Writers of Germany take notice of this illuſtrious family, and do not ſcruple to confeſs, that it ſprung from a weaver, who, in 1370 was made a freeman of the city of Augſburg (5), and was born in the village of Geggingen, at half a league's diſtance from that city (6).

(2) Peliſſon, *Traité de la Tolerance des Religions*, pag. 95. of the Additions.

(3) Rabel. *Epit.* pag. 9.

(4) *De Rat. Stat. in Imp. Germ.* Part. 2. cap. 7. Sect. 8. pag. m. 458.

[*B*] *It is declared in his epitaph that he was unmoved at the ſhocks that he was reſtored to his eſtate, and inherited that of his brother.*] This is what we are aſſured of. The Reader may credit it ſo far as he pleaſes, for the friends of deceaſed perſons do not ſcruple very much to tell a little officious lie. *Apud Fridericum III Electorem Palatinum fortunam conſtantia & æquanimitate ſuperavit. Suis interea reſtitutus, fraternis quinetiam bonis auctior, eundem in re lauta quem in afflicta vultum animumque retinuit.* See Mr. Teiſſier (7).

(5) See Mr. Hoffman, tom. 3. of his *Dictionary*, pag. 773. I cannot reconcile with the German book in queſtion, what he relates of James Fugger, a weaver's ſon. He declares that he was Counſellor to Maximilian I. Now the German book places his death at 1469: and Maximilian aſcended the Imperial Throne in 1493.

[*C*] *The famous Library of John James Fugger was committed to the care ... of Jerom Wolfius.*] Wolfius wrote ſome Greek verſes, in which he declares that this Library, containing as many Books as there are ſtars in the ſky, was a place in which he uſed to paſs whole days in gathering fruits and flowers, in diverting and inſtructing himſelf, and that he preferred it to all others.

Ἀντὶ μὲν ἓξ πάντων αἱρεῖμαι βιβλιοθήκην
Φυκκαρίην, ψυχῆς κρείσσονα τήνδε φιλῶ (8).

That is,

"No Library affords ſuch ſweets as thine,
"And with ſuch various Learning ſtores my mind."

(6) Cruſ. Part. 3. *Annal. Suev.* lib. 5. cap. 9. *apud* Magirum, *Eponym.* pag. 366.

(7) *Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 4.

(8) *Script. Publ. Academ. Witteb.* tom. 3. folio 121. *apud* Lomier. *de Bibliotb.* pag. 398.

[*D*] *They had a great number of Antiques.*] Raymond Fugger ſpared no coſt to procure as many of them as he could. He himſelf had ſome Learning, and was very fond of Antiquity. *Narrabatur vero nobis ex toto propemodum orbe convecta fuiſſe ea vetuſtatis monumenta, præcipue tamen ex Græcia atque Sicilia. Adeo nullius ſumptus Raimundum pœnitet ob amorem, quem literarum minime expers erga antiquitatem gerit, modo poſſit talibus rebus potiri. Id quod vere nobilem & generoſum hominis animum oſtendit* (9). i. e. "It is "related that thoſe monuments of antiquity were "fetched from almoſt every part of the world, and "eſpecially from Greece and Sicily. Raymond, who "was a Scholar, was ſo fond of antiquity, that he "ſpared no coſt in purchaſing the monuments of it: "a circumſtance that ſpeaks his truly noble and gene- "rous mind."

(9) Beat. Rhenan. *apud* Goldaſt. *Centuria Epiſt. Philolog.* pag. 212.

FULGINAS, or DE FULGINEO (SIGISMUND) is ranked among the learned men of the fifteenth Century. He wrote a hiſtory of his own times. Felinus (*a*) refers to it, with reſpect to the diſputes between Sixtus IV and Ferdinand King of Naples. Voſſius might have diſcovered, better than by this citation, the period in which Fulginas lived, had he called to mind the firſt chapter of Book VI of the *Geniales Dies* of *Alexander ab Alexandro*. We are there informed, that the latter had been extremely intimate from his youth with Fulginas, a learned man, who had been very much employed by the Popes, and who ſtole as much time as he could from buſineſs, either to read good books, or to write the annals of his time. The idea which is given us of his riches and the table he kept is very mean [*A*], and vaſtly beneath that of his genius and learning. He wrote ſome Latin verſes on the death of Bartholomew Platina; on which occaſion he entitles himſelf Apoſtolical Secretary. Thoſe verſes were publiſhed at the end of Platina's works who died in 1481; which circumſtance I remark only for this reaſon, that my reader may know the better in what period Fulginas lived. He is little known to Bibliographers.

(*a*) *Epitom. de Sicil. & Apul. Regib.* cap. 29. and not 39. as is cited by Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 661.

He was not dead in 1511, as is manifeſt from a Letter, the third of the fifth book, which Bembus wrote to him. The preceding epiſtle, dated the 25th of November 1510, ſhews that Fulginas was in the ſervice of Julius II, and that he is one of the chief interlocutors in Bembus's dialogue *de Urbini Ducibus*.

[*A*] *The idea which is given us of his riches, and the table he kept is very mean.*] The Reader may judge of this from the following words of Alexander ab Alexandro (1). *Nonnunquam in ſuo prædiolo in monte Janiculo, miro proſpectu & collibus amœno, ubi ædiculas habebat, cum amicis ſe recipiebat, ibique lepidis jucundiſque ſermonibus, id quod erat laxamenti, una familiariſſime conferebat. Præſtabat nonnunquam nobis ipſe cœnulam, ut non nimis inſolentem, ſic profecto ſobriam & modeſtam, ac temporibus conſentaneam: & ut erat ipſe comis, faciliſque natura, ita facilem nobis victum non exquiſitis valde obſoniis apparabat, ſiquidem aſparagos altiles acido vino & pipere conditos cum juſculo tepidulo, ac ferculum cucurbitæ, cum immatura uva ibidem expreſſa, & decocta largo ſucco, quibus perlibenter veſcebatur, obſonia nobis exhibebat: addebat etiam pyrum pomumque Perſicum miro odore fragrantia. Poſt cœnulam* &c. i. e. "He would ſometimes retire with his "friends, to his little eſtate on mount Janiculum, "where he had a lovely proſpect, (the hills being de-"lightful,) and a ſmall country ſeat. Here they uſed "to converſe together, and unbend their minds with fa-"cetious diſcourſes. He has ſometimes entertained me "there with a ſupper, which was altogether ſober and "modeſt, and ſuitable to the times; and as he himſelf "was of an affable and eaſy temper, ſo he uſed to give "us an eaſy repaſt, in which no dainties were ſeen; "his entertainment being compoſed of aſparagus ſea-"ſoned with vinegar and pepper, and warm ſauce; "a meſs of gourd, with the juice of unripe grapes "ſqueezed therein, and a large quantity of ſoup; "of which he eat very heartily. To all this was "added pears and peaches, of exquiſite odour. Af-"ter this little ſupper &c."

(1) Alexander ab Alexandro, *Genial. Dier.* lib. 6. cap. 1. pag. m. 391, 392.

☞FULLER (THOMAS), a learned Engliſh Divine and Hiſtorian in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Mr. Fuller Miniſter of All-Wincle near Oundle in Northamptonſhire, and born in that town (*a*) about the year 1608 [*A*]. The chief aſſiſtance he had in grammar-learning was from his father; and at twelve years of age he was tranſplanted to Queen's College in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he purſued his ſtudies with ſuch vigour, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1624, and that of Maſter in 1628 (*), at ſo early an age, that ſuch a commencement was not within memory (*b*). During his reſidence in this College (*c*) he ſtood Candidate for a vacant Fellowſhip, prompted thereto by a double plea of merit and intereſt, beſides the deſire of the whole houſe; but a ſtatute of the College prevailing againſt them all, which admitted not two Fellows of the ſaid County of Northampton, he quitted his pretenſions and deſignation to that preferment. And though he was well aſſured of a diſpenſation from the ſtrict limitation of that ſtatute to be obtained for him, yet he totally declined it, as not willing to owe his advancement to an ill precedent, which might uſher in more immodeſt intruſions upon the privileges and laws of the College (*d*). But this gave him a fair occaſion to transfer himſelf to Sidney College, whither by ſome of his learned friends he had often been invited. He had not been long there before he was choſen Miniſter of St. Bennet's Pariſh in the town of Cambridge, in which Church he offered the firſt fruits of his miniſterial functions, being univerſally admired as an excellent Preacher. He was now about three and twenty years of age (*e*), when his uncommon merit procured him a Fellowſhip in Sidney-College, and a Prebend in Saliſbury, to which he was collated June the 18th 1631 (*f*). He was ſoon after ordained Prieſt by the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and preſented to the Rectory of Broad Windſor in Dorſetſhire, where he married a young Gentlewoman, by whom he had ſeveral children (*g*). In 1635 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*h*). It was during his receſs at his Rectory that he began to compleat ſeveral of his works, the foundations of which he had laid at the Univerſity (*i*). But growing weary of the narrow limits of a country-pariſh, and uneaſy at the unſettled ſtate of public affairs, he removed to London, where he preached with great applauſe in the

(*a*) *Life and Death of that reverend Divine and excellent Hiſtorian, Dr. Thomas Fuller*, pag. 1, 2. edit. Oxon. 1662. *and* Fuller's *Mixt contemplations in better Times*, Part 2. p. 64. edit. London 1660.

(*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*b*) *Life and Death of Dr. Fuller*, pag. 3, 4.

(*c*) He tells us in his *Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge*, pag. 82. that he continued eight years in this College.

(*d*) *Life*, &c. pag. 4.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 4, 5.

(*f*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 556. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*g*) *Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller*, pag. 8-13.

(*h*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*i*) *Life* &c. pag. 7 and 12.

[*A*] *Born . . . about the year* 1608.] This we may collect from the Account of Mr. *David Lloyd* *, who tells us, that he was 53 years of age, when he died in 1661. The Author of his *Life*, printed at Oxford 1662 in 12mo, likewiſe informs us (1), that *his great ſufficiencies* (*being now but about the age of* twenty three *years*) *tendered him a Prebendary of Saliſbury, and at the ſame time a Fellowſhip in Sidney-College.* Now as it appears, that he was collated to the Prebend *of Netherbury in Eccleſia* in the Cathedral of *Sarum* on the 18th of June 1631 (2), it follows that he was born in the year 1608.

* *Memoirs of the Lives &c. of thoſe noble, reverend, and excellent Perſonages, that ſuffered Death, &c. in our late inteſtine wars*, pag. 524. edit. London 1668 in fol. (1) Pag. 5. (2) *Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Saliſbury, and the Abbey Church of Bath*, pag. 332. edit. London 1719 in 8vo. *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 556.

the moſt eminent pulpits, eſpecially in the Inns of Court; and at laſt was invited by the Maſter and Brotherhood of the Savoy, as well as earneſtly intreated by that ſmall pariſh, to accept of the Lecturer's place (*k*), which he diſcharged with prodigious ſucceſs [*B*]. In 1640 he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of the Holy War* [*C*]; and in 1642 his *Holy State* [*D*]. He continued at the Savoy to the great ſatisfaction of his people, and the neighbouring Nobility and Gentry, till the breaking out of the civil wars; labouring all that while in private and public to ſerve the King's intereſt [*E*]; and in April 1643, upon the preſſing of the Covenant, he retired to Oxford where he preached before the King at St. Mary's [*F*], and afterwards attended Sir Ralph Hopton, afterwards Lord Hopton, as his Chaplain in the army [*G*]. With the progreſs of the war he marched from place to place; and wherever there happened for the better accommodation of the army any reaſonable ſtay, he allotted it with great ſatisfaction to his ſtudies, and

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 13, 14.

[*B*] *The Lecturer's place, which he diſcharged with prodigious ſucceſs.*] He had a great concourſe of hearers from diſtant congregations, *inſomuch*, ſays the Writer of his life (3), *that his own Cure were, in a ſenſe, excommunicated from the Church, unleſs their timous diligence kept pace with their devotions; the Doctor affording them no more time for their extraordinaries on the Lord's Day, than what he allowed his habituated abſtinence on all the reſt. He had in his narrow chapel two audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little church and the ſextonry ſo crowded, as if bees had ſwarmed to his melliſluous diſcourſe.*

(3) Pag. 15.

[*C*] *In* 1640 *he publiſhed his* Hiſtory of the holy War.] It was printed at Cambridge 1640 in fol. with the following title: *The Hiſtorie of the Holy Warre; by* Thomas Fuller, *B. D. Prebendarie of Sarum, and late of Sidney-College in Cambridge.* The Dedication to the honourable Edward Montagu, and Sir John Powlet, ſons and heirs to Edward Lord Montague of Boughton, and John Lord Powlet of Hinton St. George, is dated at Broad-Windſor March 6th 1638. In the Preface he obſerves, that in this work he can challenge nothing but the compoſing of it; the materials were found to his hand; "which if any Hiſtorian, *ſays he*, will "make, let him be commended for wit, but "ſhamed for falſhood. If every where I have not "charged the margin with the Author's names, it is "either becauſe the ſtorie is the Authour for itſelf, (I "mean generally received) or to avoyd the often citing of the ſame place. Where I could not go abroad my ſelf, there have I taken air at the "window, and have cited Authours on others citations; yet ſo that the ſtream may direct to the fountain." There are commendatory Verſes prefixed to it by Robert Gomerſall, Vicar of Thorncombe in Devon, Robert Tyrling, James Duport, B. D. of Trinity College, J. Booth, D. D. of Chriſt-College Cambridge, H. Atkins, H. Hutton, M. A. of Jeſus-College, H. Vintener, Tho. Jackſon, William Johnſon of Queen's College, and Clement Bretten of Sidney-College.

[*D*] *His* Holy State.] It was printed at Cambridge 1642 in fol. with this title: *The Holy State. By* Tho. Fuller, *Bachelour of Divinitie, and Prebendarie of Sarum, late of Sidney-College in Cambridge.* In the *Preface* he tells us, that with regard to the characters, he has "conformed them to the then ſtanding laws of "the Realm (a twelvemoneth agoe were they ſent to "the preſſe) ſince which time, *ſays he*, the wiſdome of "the King and State hath thought fitting to alter many things, and I expect the diſcretion of the Reader "ſhould make his alterations accordingly." He afterwards obſerves, that if God ſhould be pleaſed to *diſcloud theſe gloomy times with the beams of his mercy, it will then encourage me*, ſays he, *to count it freedome to ſerve two apprenticeſhips* (*God ſpinning out the thick thread of my life ſo long*) *in writing the* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *from Chriſt's time to our dayes, if I ſhall from remoter parts be ſo planted, as to enjoy the benefit of walking and ſtanding Libraries, without which advantages the beſt vigilancie doth but vainly dream to undertake ſuch a taſk.*

[*E*] *Labouring all that while in private and public to ſerve the King's intereſt.*] His exhortations to peace and obedience were his conſtant ſubjects in the church, while his ſecular days were ſpent in vigorouſly promoting the King's affairs either by a ſudden reconciliation or powerful aſſiſtance. To this end on the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Inauguration on the 27th of March 1642 he preached at St. Peter's Weſtminſter on this text, 2 *Sam.* xix. 30. *Yea, let him take all, ſo that my Lord the King return in peace.* This Sermon, which was printed at London in 4°, gave great offence to thoſe, who were engaged in the oppoſition to his Majeſty (4). We are told (5) that "there were few or none of the "orthodox Clergy then remaining within the Lines "of Communication (new invented limits for the city's old liberties,) ſome being dead in reſtraint, or "through more harſh and cruel dealing, the reſt outed "and ſilenced; ſo that their inſpection and ſpyall "was confined almoſt to the Doctor's pulpit as to public Aſſemblies; where nevertheleſs he deſiſted not, "nor altered his main courſe, the doctrine of Allegiance, till ſuch time as the *Covenant* was obtruded "upon his conſcience, and muſt through his perſuaſions be likewiſe preſt upon his people. Several "falſe rumours and cavils there are about his carriage "and opinion touching that ſacrilegious thing, by perſons, who were diſtanced as far from the knowledge "of thoſe paſſages, as fortunately from being concerned and engaged within the reach of that ſnare. It "was not only eaſy, but moſt prudential for other "eccleſiaſtical perſons to quit their livings, who were "out of the gripes and clutches of thoſe ravenous Reformiſts, in order to keep their conſcience inviolable. "But it was difficulty enough of itſelf for the Doctor "to eſcape and get out of that place, where the next "preferment would have been a dungeon. Some velitations, tranſient diſcourſes he made about that "frequent and thumb'd ſubject of the Reformation, "the rather to ſuſpend the buſy cenſures of the Parliament and their party; wherein though he ſeemed "to comply (but as far as the rule and example would "allow) and indulge the miſapprehenſion of thoſe "men, yet theſe his charitable diſguiſes could not obſcure him from the ſevere animadverſions of ſeveral "Miniſters eminent in thoſe reforming times, particularly Mr. *Saltmarſh*." The occaſion of the diſpute between our Author and Mr. Saltmarſh was on account of Dr. Fuller's *Sermon of Reformation*, preached at the Savoy on *Heb.* ix. 10. and printed at London 1643 in 4to; againſt which Mr. Saltmarſh wrote *Animadverſions on Mr.* Tho. Fuller's *Sermon*, in which he chargeth him with Popery. Upon this our Author publiſhed at London in 4to, a Vindication of himſelf under the title of *Truth maintained.*

(4) *Life &c.* pag. 16, 17.

(5) Ibid. pag. 17, & *ſeqq.*

[*F*] *Where he preached before the King at St. Mary's.*] In this Sermon he laid open the bleſſings of an accommodation, *as being too too ſenſible, and that ſo recently of the virulency and impotent rage, though potent arms, of the diſloyal* Londoners, *which, as the Doctor then Chriſtianly thought, could not better be allayed than by a fair condeſcenſion in matters of Church Reformation. It ſeems ſome particulars in that Sermon gave offence to ſome at Court, as if the good Doctor were a luke-warm Royaliſt, and did not throughly own his Majeſty's cauſe; which ill grounded conceit, (though he were well ſatisfied in that his plea for compoſure) did not a little trouble him. To explain and free himſelf, an opportunity was wanting both of preſs and pulpit, and the hurry of the war gave not his prejudiced hearers leiſure for his particular vindication* (6).

(6) Pag. 23, 24.

[*G*] *Afterwards attended Sir Ralph Hopton . . . as his Chaplain in the Army.*] Sir Ralph Hopton, though as glorious and expert and ſucceſsful a General, as any the King had, was never averſe to an amicable concluſion of the war upon fair and honourable terms; and therefore well approved of our Author and his deſires and purſuit after peace †.

† Ibid. pag. 24, 25.

and collecting materials for his *History of the Worthies General of England* [*H*]. After the battle at Cheriton-Down, March the 29th 164$\frac{3}{4}$, the Lord Hopton drew down his army and artillery to Basing, where he left our Author; who animated the garrison to so vigorous a defence of that place, that Sir William Waller was obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss (*l*). But the war hastening to an end, and part of the King's army being driven into Cornwall under the command of Lord Hopton, Mr. Fuller took refuge at Exeter, having his leave of that Nobleman, where he resumed his studies, and preached constantly to the Citizens. During his residence here he was appointed Chaplain to the Princess Henrietta Maria (*m*), and the King soon after gave him a patent for his presentation to the Living of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, worth four hundred pounds *per ann.* This favour our Author declined, continuing his attendance on the Princess till the surrender of Exeter to the Parliament in April 1646 (*n*); notwithstanding he accepted not the Living of Dorchester, because he determined to remove to London upon the expiration of the war, as the most proper place for finishing his *Worthies* (*o*). Accordingly he came to that city, but found his Lecturer's place at the Savoy filled by another. In 1647 he published at London in 4to, *A Sermon of Assurance fourteen years agoe preached at Cambridge &c* [*I*]. The death of King Charles struck him with prodigious grief. Not long after he was presented by the Earl of Carlisle to the Living of Waltham-Abbey, and was appointed Lecturer of St. Clement's, where he preached every Wednesday in the afternoon to a very numerous audience; and, shortly after was removed to the Lecture of St. Bride's in Fleetstreet, the day being changed to Thursday (*p*). Having continued a widower for twelve years, (the war finding him so,) he married one of the sisters of the Viscount Baltinglasse, by whom he had issue one only son (*q*). In the year 1655 the Lord Protector Cromwell published an interdict against ecclesiastical persons, schoolmasters, and others, who had adhered to the late King, or assisted his son Charles II, prohibiting them to perform any ministerial office, teach school, &c. upon several pains and forfeitures. However, notwithstanding this, our Author continued to preach as before. In 1656 he published at London in fol. his *Church-History of Britain* [*K*]. About

(*l*) *Life of Dr. Fuller*, pag. 29, 30.

(*m*) She was born at Exeter June 16, 1643.

(*n*) *Memorials of the English Affairs. By Bulstrode Whitelock, Esq*; pag. 200. edit. London 1732 in fol.

(*o*) *Life &c.* pag. 34, 35.

(*p*) Ibid. pag. 40, 41.

(*q*) The Author of the *Life of Dr. Fuller*, pag. 42. says he was six years old in the year 1662.

[*H*] *Collecting materials for his* History of the Worthies General of England.] This Work was not printed till 1662 at London in fol. after the Author's death. Archdeacon Nicholson observes (7), that tho' this Work pretends to give an account of the native commodities, manufactures, buildings, proverbs, &c. of all the Counties of England and Wales, as well as of their great Men in Church and State; yet "this latter looks like "the principal design, and makes up the greatest part "of the volume. It was huddled up in haste (*c*) *for* "*the procurement of some moderate profit to the Author*, "tho' he did not live to see it published. It corrects "many mistakes in his *Ecclesiastical History*; but "makes more new ones in their stead. The best "things in it are the Catalogues of the Sheriffs, and "the Lists of the Gentry, as they were returned from "the several Counties (twelve only excepted) in the "12th year of Henry the sixth. His chief Author "is Bale for the Lives of his eminent Writers, and "those of his greatest Heroes are commonly mis-shapen "scraps, mixed with tattle and lies."

(7) *English Historical Library*, Part 1. pag. 14. edit. London in 8vo.

(*c*) Pag. 2.

[*I*] *In* 1647 *he published at London in* 4*to* A Sermon of Assurance fourteen yeares agoe preached in Cambridge, since in other places. Now by the importunity of his friends exposed to publike view.] In the title he styles himself *late Lecturer in Lombard-Street*. In the Dedication to the *Honourable and nobly accomplished Knight*, *Sir* John D'Anvers, he observes, that "it had been the pleasure of the present Authority "(to whose commands, *says he*, I humbly submit) "to make me mute, forbidding me till further or-"der the exercise of my public preaching." In the Preface to the *Christian Reader* he writes thus: *Were I finally interdicted my calling without the hope of recovery, I would bespeak thy pity to bemoan my estate. But lying as yet in the marshes between hope and fear, I am no fit subject to be condoled for, or congratulated with. Yet it is, I trust, no piece of Popery to maintain, that the prayers of others may be beneficial and available for a person in my purgatory-condition. Which moves me to crave thy Christian suffrages, that I may be rid out of my present torment on such terms as may most tend to God's Glory, mine own good, and the edification of others. However matters shall succeed, it is no small comfort to my conscience, that in respect of my Ministerial function I do not die* felo de se; *not stabbing my profession by mine own laziness, who hitherto have, and hereafter shall improve my utmost endeavours by any lawful means to procure my restitution... Some perchance would persuade me to have the pulpit carried after me along with me to my private lodgings; but hitherto I have refrained from such exercises as are subject to offence, hoping in due time to be brought back to the pulpit.*

[*K*] *In* 1656 *he published at London in folio his* Church-History of Britain.] The whole title is as follows, *The Church-History of Britain; from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year* 1648. *Endeavoured by* Thomas Fuller. In the Preface dated *from his chamber at Sion-College in London*, he observes, that the three first Books of this Work were for the main written in the reign of King Charles I, "as appeareth by "the passages then proper for the Government. The "other nine Books were made since Monarchy was "turned into a State." To this Work are subjoined, *The History of the University of Cambridge since the Conquest*. London 1655; and *The History of Waltham-Abby in Essex founded by King Harold. By* Thomas Fuller, *Curate thereof*. London 1655. Our Author's *Church-History* was animadverted upon by Dr. Peter Heylin in the *first Part* of his *Examen Historicum*; *or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some modern Histories. Occasioned by the Partiality and Inadvertencies of their severall Authors*. London 1659 in 8vo. In this first Part, *containing necessary Animadversions on the* Church-History of Britain, *and the* History of Cambridge, Dr. Heylin observes, that Mr. Fuller in the *Preface* to his *Holy State*, printed in 1642, had declared, that he should "count "it freedom to serve two apprenticeships (God spin-"ning out the thick thread of his life so long) in "writing the *Ecclesiastical History from Christ's time* "*to our Days*." The Doctor therefore examines whether our Author's *Church History* is agreeable to his promise and such a tedious expectation. Dr. Heylin remarks, I, That the Reader might expect from the former passage, that our Author designed the *General History* of the Church from the first preaching of Christ, and the calling of the twelve Apostles to the times, in which we live; whereas he hath restrained himself to the Church of Britain, "which he conceives "to be so far from being founded in the time of "Christ, that he is loth to give it the antiquity of "being the Work of any of the Apostles, of any of "the seventy Disciples, or finally of any Apostolical "spirit of those oldest times." II. That though he intitles it by the name of the *Church-History of Britain*,

About this time he became Chaplain to the Lord Berkley, having quitted Waltham, for the Living of Cranford in Middleſex, to which he was preſented by that Nobleman. He was a little before ſollicited to accept of a Living in Eſſex, in which he continued till his ſettlement at London, where ſome time before the Reſtoration he was invited to his former place of Lecturer at the Savoy. Upon the Reſtoration he recovered his Prebend in the Cathedral of Saliſbury, and was appointed Chaplain in extraordinary to

tain, yet he purſues not his deſign agreeably to that title, there being little ſaid of the affairs of the Church of Scotland, which certainly makes up a conſiderable part of the iſle of Britain, and leſs (if any thing at all) of Ireland, which antiently paſt in the account of a *Britiſh Iſland*. III. Nor is it a *Church-Hiſtory* rightly and properly ſo called, but an Aggregation of ſuch and ſo many heterogeneous bodies; that Eccleſiaſtical affairs make the leaſt part of it. *The name of a* Church-Rhapſody *had been fitter for it ... for ſuch and ſo many are the impertinencies, as to matters of hiſtorical nature, more as to matters of the Church, that without them this great volume had been brought to a narrower compaſs, if it had taken up any room at all.* The firſt particular of this kind, which Dr. Heylin notes, is " a mere extrinſical and " outſide unto thoſe impertinencies, which are couched " within; conſiſting of *Title-pages*, *Dedicatory Epiſtles*, " and ſeveral intermediate *Inſcriptions* unto every " ſection." In the next rank of impertinencies, which are more *intrinſical*, part of the ſubſtance of the Work, Dr. Heylin accounts our Author's Heraldry, Blazons of Arms, Deſcents of noble Families, with their Atchievements intermingled as they come in his way, not pertinent to a Church Hiſtorian, unleſs ſuch perſons had been founders of Epiſcopal ſees or Religious houſes; or that the Arms ſo blazoned had belonged to either. The next kind of impertinencies are the verſes and old ends of Poetry ſcattered in all parts of the Hiſtory; for which our Author hath no precedent in any Hiſtorian, Greek or Latin, or any of the national Hiſtories of theſe later times. The next impertinency is his raking into old Popiſh Legends written in the darker times of ſuperſtition; and his introducing of *merry Tales*, and ſcraps of *Trencher Jeſts*, which is inconſiſtent with the gravity of a Church-Hiſtorian, and indeed the nature of a ſober argument. In the laſt place Dr. Heylin mentions our Author's " manifold excurſions about the antiquity " of Cambridge, built on as weak authority as the " Monkiſh Legends, and ſo impertinent to the matter " in hand, that the moſt reverend *Matthew Parker* " (though a Cambridge man) in his *Antiquitates Britannicæ* makes no buſineſs of it: the more impertinent, in regard that at the fag-end of his Book " there follows a diſtinct Hiſtory of that Univerſity, " to which all former paſſages might have been reduced ... All theſe extravagancies and impertinencies (which make up a fifth part of the whole volume) being thus diſcharged, it is to be preſumed, " that nothing ſhould remain but a meer *Church-Hiſtory*, as the title promiſeth. But let us not " be too preſumptuous on no better grounds; for " on a *melius inquirendum* into the whole courſe of " the Book, which we have before us, we ſhall find " too little of the Church, and too much of the " State; I mean too little of the *Eccleſiaſtical* and too " much of the *Civil* Hiſtory." Dr. Heylin afterwards obſerves, that it were well, *if only Aberrations from* Hiſtorical Truth *were to be met with in our Author; in whom we find ſuch a continual vein of Puritaniſm, ſuch dangerous grounds for inconformity and ſedition to be raiſed upon, as eaſily may pervert the unwary Reader, when the facetiouſneſs of the ſtyle (like a hook baited with a painted fly) may be apt to work on.* The Doctor aſſures us, that upon reading this work of Mr. Fuller, he found himſelf poſſeſs'd with much indignation, " and long expected, *ſays he*, when ſome " Champion would appear in the liſts againſt this " Goliah, who ſo reproachfully had *defied the whole* " *tribes of Iſrael.* And I muſt needs confeſs withall, " that I did never enter more unwillingly upon any " undertaking, than I did on this. But being ſollicited thereunto by letters, meſſages, and ſeveral " perſonal addreſſes by men of all orders and dignities " in the Church, and of all degrees in the Univerſities, I was at laſt overcome by that importunity, " which I found would not be reſiſted." To theſe *Animadverſions* is ſubjoined *an Appendix containing the Apology of Dr.* John Coſins, *Dean of Peterborough: in anſwer to ſome paſſages in the* Church-Hiſtory of Britain, *in which he finds himſelf concerned.* In the Introduction to this *Appendix* Dr. Heylin tells us, that his *Animadverſions* were finiſh'd and fitted for the preſs before Michaelmas 1657; but that the reaſons why they had lain ſo long unpubliſhed were theſe two eſpecially: Firſt, a report that the taſk was undertaken by a Cambridge man, who had more knowledge of Mr. Fuller than the Doctor could pretend to, who deſired rather that the burthen of it, the public ſatisfaction to all parties intruſted, ſhould be born by any than by himſelf. Secondly, *there was a general opinion*, ſays Dr. Heylin, *ſpread abroad in all places (to what ends I know not, nor much care) that the* Church Hiſtorian *was in hand with a* Review *of the Work before us, in which he was reſolved to make ſome fair amends to truth, to correct the errors of his pen, and to make reparation to the injured Clergy .... But the reports being thought at laſt to have ſomewhat in them of deſign or artifice to ſtave off the buſineſs, I was ſollicited with greater importunity to publiſh the foregoing* Animadverſions, *than I was at firſt to undertake them.* Dr. Coſins's Letter in anſwer to Mr. Fuller's charge, in his *Church Hiſtory, B. XI. fol.* 173. with regard to the former's uſage of Mr. *Smart*, a Prebendary of Durham, for a Sermon againſt ſuperſtitious Innovations, is dated at Paris April 6th 1658; and in it he complains of the injury done no leſs to truth than to himſelf in that paſſage of Mr. *Fuller's* Hiſtory, " which I be- " lieve, *ſays Dr. Coſins*, he inſerted (as he doth many " things beſides) upon the falſe reports and informati- " ons of other men, that were loth to let an old ma- " licious accuſation die, as it might well enough have " done, if he had not kept it up ſtill alive, and re- " corded it to poſterity; whereof he is ſo ſenſible al- " ready himſelf, that by his own Letter directed to " me more than a year ſince he offered to make me " amends in the next Book he writes; but he hath " not done it yet. Having never been acquainted " with him more than by his Books, which have " many *petulant*, *light*, and *indiſcreet* paſſages in them, " I know not how to truſt him; and therefore if the " Authors of the intended *Animadverſions*, which you " mention, will be pleaſed to do me right, you may " aſſure them there is nothing but truth in this enſu- " ing relation." Mr. Fuller wrote in anſwer to Dr. *Heylin's Animadverſions*, a piece, intitled, *The Appeal of injured Innocence to the learned and impartial Reader.* London 1659 in fol. This *Appeal* is replied to by Dr. Heylin in his *Appendix* to his *Certamen Epiſtolare*; which *Appendix* contains the *Exchange of Letters between Mr.* Thomas Fuller *of Waltham and Dr.* Peter Heylin *of Abingdon: with an Examination of ſome paſſages in Mr.* Fuller's *late* Appeal for injured Innocence. (8) Pag. 312. London 1659, in 8vo. In this *Appendix* Dr. Heylin obſerves (8), that Mr. Fuller's *Appeal* is " a well ſtu- " died Anſwer, compoſed with ingenuity and judg- " ment, not ſtanding wilfully in an error, of which " he finds himſelf convinced, though traverſing many " points in debate between us, which with more ho- " nour to the truth might have been declined." With the *Appeal* Mr. Fuller ſent a Letter to Dr. Heylin, *tending eſpecially*, ſays the Doctor, *to the begetting of ſuch a friendly correſpondence betwixt us, as may conduce to the eſtabliſhment of a following peace.* In this Letter he aſſures the Doctor that he was " cordial to " the cauſe of the Engliſh Church, and that his hoary " hairs would go down to the grave in ſorrow for her " ſufferings." Upon which Dr. Heylin in his Letter (9) Ibid. pag. to him dated at Lacies-Court in Abingdon May 16th 392. 1659 writes thus (9): " I am confident, there are very " few true ſons of the Church of England, who could " make any other judgment of you out of your *Hi-* " *ſtory*, than was made by me; and therefore you muſt " thank

to his Majeſty (*r*), and was made Doctor of Divinity by the King's letter to the Univerſity of Cambridge dated Auguſt 2, 1660 (*s*). Upon his return from Saliſbury in Auguſt 1661, he brought with him a feveriſh diſorder, which proved fatal to him on Thurſday the 16th of that month. He was interred at the coſts of the Lord Berkley at his pariſh of Cranford in Middleſex in the Chancel of the Church, his body being attended thither by at leaſt two hundred of his brethren of the Miniſtry; and his funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. Hardy Dean of Rocheſter. Beſides his writings already mentioned, he publiſhed ſeveral others [*L*]. We ſhall give his character in the note [*M*]. He had ſo

(r) *Life of Dr. Fuller*, pag. 52, 53.

(s) Kennet's *Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, &c.* pag. 220. edit. London 1728, fol.

" thank yourſelf, if any greater noiſe hath been made " about it, than you could willingly have heard... " What mean thoſe dangerous poſitions, and thoſe " many inconvenient expreſſions (that I may give them " no worſe name) which occur ſo frequently in your " Book, and which no man, who is *cordial to the cauſe* " *of the Engliſh Church*, can either read with patience, " or paſs over with pardon." The Doctor obſerves (10), that the reaſons why he has made ſo ſhort a Replication to ſo long an Anſwer, were, becauſe three parts in five of the *Appeal* are the very words of his *Animadverſions*; and in the two remaining parts there are many things, in which Mr. Fuller confeſſeth himſelf to have been formerly miſtaken, of which he promiſes a reformation in the next Edition of his Hiſtory. *Some other paſſages there are*, ſays the Doctor, *in the* Animadverſions, *to which the traverſes of the* Appellant *are ſo ſlight and perfunctory, that they are tantamount to a plain acknowledgment, and theſe are to paſs in the Account of Confeſſions alſo. But his Avoidings, as they make up the greateſt part of his own Diſcourſes, ſo I conceive they will appear no otherwiſe to a learned and judicious Reader than as Subterfuges and Avoidings only, not to be qualified by the name of ſatisfactory and ſufficient Anſwers; and therefore no eſpecial Replication to be needful to them.* Archdeacon Nicholſon obſerves (11), that " Mr. Fuller's *Worthies* were ſent abroad to apologize " for the miſtakes in his *Church-Hiſtory*; and we have " here an ample inſtance of the truth of that Remark. " Upon the King's Reſtoration, Dr. *Coſin* was deſerv- " edly advanced to the See of *Durham*; and it was " then high time to harp upon another ſtring, and to " turn his eloquence another way. The late waver- " ing Doctor (12) is now the very (*a*) *Atlas of the* " *Proteſtant Religion, confirming the ſame with his piety* " *and learning, &c.* But to what purpoſe ſhould we " inſiſt upon particulars? Through the whole he is ſo " full of his own wit, that he does not ſeem to have " minded what he was about. The gravity of an Hi- " ſtorian (much more an Eccleſiaſtical one) requires a " far greater care both of the matter and ſtyle of his " Work, than is here to be met with. If a pretty " ſtory comes in his way that affords ſcope for clinch " and droll, off it goes with all the gaiety of the " ſtage, without ſtaying to enquire whether it have " any foundation in truth or not; and even the moſt " ſerious and moſt authentic parts of it are ſo interlaced " with pun and quibble, that it looks as if the man " had deſigned to ridicule the Annals of our Church " into fable and romance. Yet, if it were poſſible to " refine it well, the work would be of good uſe; " ſince there are in it ſome things of moment, hardly " to be had elſewhere, which may often illuſtrate " dark paſſages in more ſerious Writers. Theſe are " not to be deſpiſed, where his authorities are cited " and appear credible. But otherwiſe, in matters " where he is ſingular, and without his vouchers, μείμ- " νησο ἀπιστεῖν."

(10) Ibid. pag. 388, 389.

(11) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part 2. pag. 92, 93. edit. 1697 in 8vo.

(12) Cofins.

(*a*) Fuller's *Worthies*, pag. 295. in Durham.

[*L*] *He publiſhed ſeveral others.*] Beſides ſeveral Sermons, printed ſeparately, or in volumes, he publiſhed, *Andronicus, or the Unfortunate Politician*, London 1649 in 8vo. *A Piſgah-Sight of Paleſtine.* London 1650 in fol. Abel Redivivus: *or Lives and Deaths of the modern Divines.* London 1651 in 4to. *A triple Reconciler ſtating three Controverſies, I. Whether Miniſters have an excluſive power of barring Communicants from the Sacrament. II. Whether any perſon unordained may lawfully preach. III. Whether the Lord's Prayer ought not to be uſed by all Chriſtians.* London 1654 in 12mo. *Speeches of the Beaſt and Flowers*, in 8vo. *Mixt Contemplations in better times. By* Thomas Fuller, *B. D.* London 1660 in 12mo. The Dedication to the Lady Monk is dated at Sion College, May 2d 1660. He began alſo a Tract in Latin concerning the Church, but did not compleat it; and wrote a *Life of Dr. John Colet*, Dean of St. Paul's, prefixed to an Edition of that Divine's *Daily Devotions: or the Chriſtian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice.*

[*M*] *We ſhall give his character in the Note.*] He was of ſtature ſomewhat tall, with a proportionable bigneſs to become it, but no way inclining to corpulency; of an exact ſtraitneſs of the whole body, and a perfect ſymmetry in every part thereof. His complexion was florid; his hair of a light colour and curling. He was careleſs in his dreſs, temperate in his diet, and indulged himſelf in but little ſleep. He was a kind huſband, and a tender father, a good friend and neighbour, reſpectful to his Superiors without ceremony or officiouſneſs, to his equals without neglect or unſociableneſs, and courteous to his inferiors without pride or diſdain. He had a memory of that vaſt comprehenſiveneſs, that he is deſervedly known for the firſt Inventor of that noble art, whereof having left behind him no rules or directions, except only what fell from him in diſcourſe, no farther account can be given but a relation of ſome very rare experiments of it made by him. He undertook once in paſſing to and fro from Temple-Bar to the fartheſt conduit in Cheapſide, at his return to tell every ſign as it ſtood in order on both ſides of the way, repeating them either backward or forwards, as he ſhould be deſired; which he exactly did, not miſſing or miſplacing one, to the admiration of thoſe, who heard him. The like he would alſo do in words of different languages, and difficult to be pronounced, to any number whatſoever. But that which was moſt ſtrange and very rare in him, was his manner of writing, which ſomething like that of the *Chineſe*, was from the top of the page to the bottom. The manner was thus: He would write near the margin the firſt words of every line down to the foot of the paper; then by beginning at the head again fill up every one of theſe lines, which without any interlineations or ſpaces, but with the full and equal length, would ſo adjuſt the ſenſe and matter, and ſo aptly connect the ends and beginnings of the ſaid lines, that he could not do it better, as he ſometimes ſaid, if he had written all out in a continued ſeries (13). The treaſury of his happy memory was a great advantage to him in his preaching; but being aſſiſted with as rich an invention, and extraordinary reading, abſolutely compleated him for the pulpit; ſo that upon ſome emergent occaſions, upon two hours warning, and upon a ſubject of his friends choice, which was knotty and very difficult, he hath performed his taſk with great accuracy (14). He uſed a conſtant form of prayer in his family, as well as in his public Miniſtry (15). He was very zealous againſt Popery; and oppoſed the ſchemes of Preſbytery and Independency with vigour, tho' his zeal againſt the Profeſſors was allayed with a greater compaſſion than to the Papiſts (16). He uſed to call " the controverſies concerning Epiſcopacy, " and the new invented arguments againſt the Church " of England, with the anſwers and refutations there- " of, Ἡμερόβια, things of a day's life and no perma- " nency. The Church being built upon a rock, as no " ſtorms could ſhake or move it, ſo needed it not any " defences of art and learning: being of the ſame " mind with Sir Henry Wotton, *Diſputandi pruritus,* " *ſcabies Eccleſiæ.* He was wholly converſant, during " the broils and diſſenſions of the Clergy in the " thoughts and conſiderations in that text; *Let your* " *moderation be known to all men*; on which place he " once preached a while before his Majeſty's Reſtitu- " tion to a very great auditory.... In this he was the " ſame ſtill, but more ſollicitous in the glimmering " of that happy Revolution, when he plainly ſaw how " indiſpenſably neceſſary the mutual condeſcenſions of " all parties were to the eſtabliſhment and conſolidat- " ing of peace (17)." There were very few Sundays in the year, in which he preached not twice, beſides

(13) *Life &c.* pag. 66-77.

(14) Ibid. pag. 78, 79.

(15) Ibid. pag. 79.

(16) Ibid. pag. 85.

(17) Ibid. pag. 86, 87, 88.

ſo uncommon a ſtrength of memory, that he was able to repeat five hundred ſtrange words after twice hearing of them, and to make uſe of any man's exerciſe or ſermon *verbatim*, if he once but either ſaw it or heard it (*t*).

(t) Memoirs of the Lives &c. of thoſe noble, reverend and excellent Perſonages, that ſuffered by Death, &c. for the Proteſtant Religion, and, the great Principle thereof, Allegiance to their Sovereign in our late inteſtine Wars, by David Lloyd, M. A. pag. 523. edit. London 1668, fol.

the duties performed in his own houſe, or in his attendance upon thoſe noble perſons, to whom he was ſucceſſively Chaplain (18). *He was a perfect walking Library, and thoſe, that would find delight in him, muſt turn him. He was to be diverted from his preſent purpoſe with ſome urgency; and when once unfixed and unbent, his mind freed from the incumbency of his ſtudy, no man would be more agreeable to civil and ſerious mirth; which limits his moſt heightened fancy never tranſgreſſed. He had the happineſs of a very honourable and that numerous acquaintance; ſo that he was no way undiſciplined in the arts of civility; yet he continued* ſemper idem, *which conſtancy made him always acceptable to them* (19). However Mr. James Harington (20) ſtiles Dr. Fuller and Mr. David Lloyd, *mean and fanciful Authors*. And Mr. White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, having mentioned our Author's friendſhip with Mr. William Somner, obſerves (21), that if Dr. Fuller had been guided by Mr. Somner, "he would never have defiled his writings with "puns and tales."

(18) Ibid. pag. 99, 100.

(19) Ibid. pag. 69.

(20) Preface to the 2d vol. of Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

(21) *Life of Somner*, pag. 114. prefixed to Somner's *Treatiſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, edit. 1693, in 8vo.

T.

FULVIA, a Roman Lady, who diſcovered the conſpiracy of Catiline. See the Remark [*D*] of the following Article.

FULVIA, wife of Marc Antony, had no more of her ſex than her body (*a*), for her mind and her courage breathed nothing but war, and public affairs. After the victory gained at Philippi over Brutus and Caſſius by Octavius and Marc Antony, this laſt went over into Aſia to ſettle the affairs of the Eaſt. Octavius returned to Rome, where he ſoon fell out with Fulvia, and could not decide the quarrel but by the ſword. This woman took arms, and engaged Lucius Antonius, her huſband's brother, to do the ſame [*A*]. Their levying of war was favourable to Octavius alone, who obtained a complete victory over his enemies, after which Fulvia went into Greece, and died there of a diſeaſe occaſioned by her grief [*B*]. She left two ſons (*b*). Female paſſions had a part in the war which ſhe raiſed againſt Octavius [*C*]. She had had two huſbands before ſhe married

(*a*) *Nihil muliebre præter corpus ferens.* Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 74. See the Remark [*A*].

(*b*) See the Remark [*L*] at the end.

[*A*] *This woman took arms, and engaged Lucius Antonius, her huſband's brother, to do the ſame.*] Underſtand this in the moſt literal ſenſe; for it is certain ſhe was ſeen with a ſword by her ſide. She was not ſatisfied with retiring to Prænеſte, and making it her place of arms: ſhe was not ſatisfied with drawing thither the Senators and Knights of her party, and to hold council with them there, and frequently to publiſh Edicts according to the exigency of affairs. She armed herſelf in perſon: ſhe gave the word to the ſoldiers; and made ſpeeches to them on ſeveral occaſions. Καὶ τί ταῦτα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὁπότε καὶ ξίφει παρεζώννυτο, καὶ συνθήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδίδου, ἐδημηγόρει τε ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλάκις. *Id quidem mirandum adeo non eſt quum gladio etiam ſe accinxerit ipſa, teſſeram militibus dederit, ſæpenumero concionem apud eos habuerit* (1). The Hiſtorian who informs me of theſe things, ſays that in the year 713 Publius Servilius and Lucius Antonius were Conſuls in name, and that the latter and Fulvia were Conſuls in effect. We are afterwards told that Lucius Antonius had no authority but by Fulvia's means, and that it was ſhe who procured him the honour of a triumph; for he could not obtain it till after he had engaged her, by his ſubmiſſions, to give him her intereſt. For which reaſon ſhe was more vain of that triumph, than the perſon himſelf who triumphed (2). It may be proper to hear what Plutarch ſays of Fulvia (3). Φουλβίαν ἀγάμενος τὴν Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ συνοικήσασαν, οὐ πάλαισαν, οὐδὲ αἰχμὰν φρονοῦν γύναιον, οὐδὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλὰ ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν, καὶ στρατηγοῦντος στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον· ὡς τε Κλεοπάτραν διδασκάλια Φουλβίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικοκρατίας ὀφείλειν, πάνυ χειροήθη καὶ πεπαιδαγωγημένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι γυναικῶν, παραλαβοῦσαν αὐτόν. *Fulviam Clodii, plebis concitatoris, viduam* (4) *uxorem duxit, mulierem non ad lanificium aut ad rei familiaris adminiſtrationem factam, neque in virum contentam dominari privatum, ſed quæ imperanti imperare & ducem vòlebat ducere: ut mercedem Fulviæ, quod ancillari Antonium docuiſſet fœminis, debuerit Cleopatra, quæ plane cicurem atque à tyrocinio inſtitutum ad obtemperandum mulieribus recepit.* i. e. "He marries Fulvia the widow of Clodius (4), the "great ringleader of the people, a woman not born "for ſpinning or houſewifry, nor one that could be "content with the power of ruling a private huſband, "but a Lady capable of adviſing a Magiſtrate and of "ruling the General of an army; ſo that Cleopatra "had great obligations to her for having taught Anthony to be ſo good a ſervant, he coming to her "hands tame and broken in all obedience to the commands of a miſtreſs." Here is a woman who, ſetting chaſtity aſide, was not much unlike Virgil's Camilla (5): the diſtaff did not ſuit her; domeſtic cares were not her occupation: to govern her huſband at home was not an advantage that would content her; ſhe wanted to govern him abroad alſo; that is, with regard to the great offices which he bore in the State. Cleopatra had no great trouble to reduce him under the obedience of a woman; he had learned that ſubmiſſion at a good ſchool.

(1) Dio, lib. 48. pag. m. 414.

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. 409, 410.

(3) Plutarch. *in Antonio*, pag. 920, D.

(4) *Fulvia had loſt another huſband ſince Clodius; wherefore* Plutarch *is not ſo exact as he ought to be.*

(5) *Non illa colo calathiſve Minervæ Fœmineas aſſueta manus, ſed prælia virgo Dura pati.* i. e. "Unbred to "ſpinning, in "the loom un-"ſkill'd, "She choſe the "nobler Pallas "of the field." Æneid. lib. 7. ver. 805.

[*B*] *She died in Greece, of a diſtemper occaſioned by grief.*] Marc Antony, having heard of the diſorders in Italy, was on the road to go and remedy them. Being arrived at Athens, he there found his wife, who had been forced to fly out of Italy. He extremely blamed the authors of that war; that is, Lucius Antonius, Fulvia, and Manius (6). When he continued his journey, he left Fulvia ſick at Sicyon (7). She died there ſome time after, and the news of it was brought to her huſband during the ſiege of Brunduſium, in the year 714. It is very probable that he received it with joy: for he had put himſelf into a violent paſſion againſt Fulvia; and tho' he knew, when he departed from Sicyon, that ſhe was fallen ill becauſe he had chid her, he made her no viſit, which haſtened the death of that proud woman (8).

(6) Appian. lib. 5. *Bell. Civil.* pag. m. 409.

(7) Ibid. pag. 411.

(8) Ibid. pag. 414. *See alſo* Dion, lib. 47. pag. 407.

[*C*] *Female paſſions had a part in the war which ſhe raiſed againſt Octavius.*] The daughter ſhe had by Clodius was married to Octavius, and repudiated ſome time after. Octavius ſwore that he had not conſummated the marriage; but this oath was the moſt likely thing in the world to affront Fulvia. Motherly affection ſuffers very much by the thought that a daughter bears the name of a wife, without any of the reality. Wherefore Fulvia could not think on the divorce of her dear child without grief: ſhe ſaw her deprived of the realities of marriage; and this deprivation was a mark of extreme contempt; for Octavius was of a very amorous complexion. She very well knew that few people would give credit to Octavius's oath, and ſo her daughter, who had been deſpiſed by her huſband ſo far as to preſerve her virginity with him a conſiderable time, would nevertheleſs paſs for one who could grant nothing but the leavings of a firſt huſband. Fulvia might conſider, beſides, that Octavius had not entred into an alliance with her, but with a diſtruſtful mind, which had prevented him from enjoying his ſpouſe, to the end that, according to the courſe affairs might take, he might be at liberty to diſmiſs her, and to declare on oath that he had not touched her. Dion (9) obſerves that Octavius, when he made this oath, put himſelf in very little pain whe-

(6) Dio, lib. 47. pag. 410.

married Marc Antony; the firſt was Clodius, that great and mortal enemy of Cicero; the ſecond was Curio, who was killed in Africa on Cæſar's ſide, before the battle of Pharſalia. It is not true that ſhe had been married to Catiline [*D*]. She had the ſatisfaction to wreak her vengeance on the tongue of Cicero [*E*], who had uſed her huſband ſo

ther it would be believed that he had kept the young Lady with him ſo long without enjoying her, or that he had abſtained from her; becauſe he had deſigned beforehand to prepare his way to a divorce. Theſe precautions, too captious and full of artifice, are not pleaſing to a mother; and conſequently a female paſſion might have a part in the deſign which Fulvia formed of making war on Octavius. And here is another paſſion of the ſame kind. Fulvia knew her huſband was captivated by the beautiful Cleopatra; jealouſy induced her to free Marc Antony from this new engagement; ſhe eaſily believed thoſe who told her that her unfaithful huſband would never return to her, while Italy was quiet (10); but that a war in Italy would oblige him to come back. So Fulvia carried matters to extremity againſt Octavius (11). But if Auguſtus's Epigram, which is to be ſeen among thoſe of Martial, was an hiſtorical Narration (12), we might then boldly aſſert that Fulvia engaged in the war thro' female paſſions.

(10) Manius, Marc Antony's agent, *Appian.* lib. 5. *Bell. Civil.* pag. m. 395, told Fulvia this. Idem pag. 397.

(11) Appianus, ibid.

(12) See the Remark [*C*] of the Article of the firſt GLAPHYRA.

[*D*] *It is not true that ſhe had been married to Catiline.*] The reaſon which Glandorpius makes uſe of to refute this (13) ſeems to me a very good one. He takes it from Cicero's ſecond Philippic. *Cujus* (P. Clodii) *quidem te fatum ſicuti C. Curionem manet, quoniam id domi tuæ eſt, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale.* Cicero means that Marc Antony, having at home the ſame wife who had been fatal to Clodius and Curio, would not fail coming to an unhappy end, like them. He repeats the ſame thought at the end of his Oration. *Eripiet & extorquebit tibi iſta populus Romanus: utinam ſalvis nobis: ſed quoquo modo nobiſcum egeris, dum iſtis conſiliis uteris non potes (mihi crede) eſſe diuturnus. Etenim iſta tua minime avara conjux, quam ego ſine contumelia deſcribo, nimium debet diu populo Romano tertiam penſionem* (14). i. e. "The Roman people will force "and extort theſe things from you: I wiſh it may be "with our ſafety: but in whatever manner you treat "us, while you make uſe of thoſe counſels, believe "me, you cannot continue long. For that wife of "yours, who is not at all covetous, and whom I de"ſcribe without ill language, has for too long a time "owed a third payment to the Roman people." Every body muſt plainly ſee that if Fulvia had been married to Catiline, the tragical death of that huſband would have been added to thoſe of the other two, in Cicero's Oration. Both general and particular reaſons would have engaged the Orator not to forget Catiline on this occaſion. The error which Glandorpius refutes had its riſe, perhaps, from not ſufficiently attending to the circumſtances of a ſtory in Salluſt. That Hiſtorian informs us that a great Lady (15) named FULVIA diſcovered the conſpiracy of Catiline. Q. Curius, one of the accomplices, who had long carried on a criminal correſpondence with her, had by his ſtarts of paſſion and rodomontades given her an opportunity of diſcovering the plot. He was reduced to want, and immediately the Lady became extremely cold in her behaviour to him. To warm her again, he preſently bragged of a thouſand things, and promiſed her mountains and wonders; he behaved inſolently, and threatened to kill her if ſhe continued to act the coy one. She penetrated the cauſes of theſe new bravado's, and informed ſeveral perſons of what ſhe had learned concerning the deſigns of Catiline. *Erat ei* (Q. Curio) *cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, ſtupri vetus conſuetudo, cui cum minus gratus eſſet, quod inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians, maria, monteſque polliceri cæpit, minari interdum ferro, ni ſibi obnoxia foret; poſtremo, ferocius agitare, quam ſolitus erat. At Fulvia, inſolentiæ Curii cauſſa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit; ſed, ſublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ quo modo audierat, compluribus narravit* (16). In all probability ſeveral Readers have had the luck in this paſſage to miſtake one perſon for another, and to think it was Catiline who kept Fulvia (17). After this miſtake, nothing was more eaſy than to ſay that Catiline was betrayed by Fulvia, his miſtreſs, or concubine; and then it was no hard matter to go on, and ſay that his wife Fulvia diſcovered the conſpiracy. They who are acquainted with the malice of Marc Antony's wife, might eaſily imagine her capable of whatever was attributed to the other Fulvia; and ſo they might make one and the ſame perſon of theſe two Fulvia's. I muſt add here, in order to make the miſtreſs of Curius better known, that ſhe had ſo much diſcretion, and fidelity for her gallant, as not to ſay that he was an accomplice, or that ſhe had learned from him what was plotting againſt the State. She did not break with him; on the contrary, it ſeems ſhe entred into a ſtricter intimacy with him. She was made uſe of to gain her gallant by a thouſand fair promiſes (18); and he made uſe of her to diſcover the deſigns of the conſpirators to Cicero. *Curius ubi intelligit quantum periculum Conſuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enunciat* (19). i. e. "When Cu"rius knew what danger hung over the Conſul, he "immediately acquainted Cicero, by Fulvia, of the "plot which was contriving." So true it is that every thing has its uſe in a State, and that Curtezans, and Ladies of gallantry, in particular, ſometimes do great ſervices to the public, by the dexterity they have of getting the moſt important ſecrets communicated to them. It is true by this means they ſometimes ruin the affairs of their country, by revealing the ſecrets of the cabinet to a liberal enemy; but ſuch is the condition of human affairs, that what may do hurt, may alſo do ſervice. I cannot well ſay whether the Fulvia of whom Valerius Maximus makes mention, is the ſame with her whom Salluſt ſpeaks of. Glandorpius is not far from that opinion: but others chuſe rather to attribute this adventure to our Fulvia, ſo capable do they judge her to be of all manner of irregularity. However it be, the ſtory is thus. One Gemellus, an Officer of the Tribunes of the people, made an entertainment for his Maſters, and the Conſul Metellus Scipio, and regaled them with an infamous diverſion: he brought two Roman Ladies to them who had each a father and a huſband; one of whom was named Mucia and the other Fulvia. *Æque flagitioſum illud convivium quod Gemellus tribunicius viator ingenui ſanguinis, ſed officii intra ſervilem habitum deformis, Metello Scipioni conſuli ac tribunis plebis magno cum rubore civitatis comparavit. Lupanari enim domi ſuæ inſtituto, Muciam & Fulviam, tum à patre tum à viro utramque abductam, & nobilem puerum Saturninum in eo proſtituit* (20). The Conſulſhip of Metellus Scipio falls on the year of Rome 701, eleven years after the conſpiracy of Catiline. What probability is there that the Fulvia of Salluſt had then both a father and a huſband? Our Fulvia was then purſuing the avengement of Clodius: and the cauſe of Milo, the murtherer of Clodius, was determined in the year 701. What likelihood is there that his widow ſhould be married again under the ſame Conſul? Beſides, we know that in the year 696 her father was dead, and her mother married again to Murena (21).

(13) Gland. *Onomaſt.* pag. 84.

(14) Cicero, Philipp. II, *ſub fin.*

(15) *Mulier nobilis*, γυνὴ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, according to *Plutarch* in *Cicer.* pag. 868, C. from whence it appears that *Florus*, who in the 1ſt Chapter of the 4th Book calls her *viliſſimum ſcortum*, i. e. "a "moſt baſe pro"ſtitute," did not well know who ſhe was.

(16) Salluſtius, *in Bello Catil.* pag. m. 63.

(17) The perſon who made the Table to the *Salluſt Variorum*, has committed this miſtake. Fulvia, *ſays he*, nobilis mulier cum qua Catilinæ vetus ſtupri conſuetudo fuerat, conjurationem ejus, clam noctu profecta, Ciceroni detexit.

(18) *Neque* Ciceroni *ad cavendum dolus aut aſtutiæ deerant, namque principio conſulatus ſui multa per Fulviam pollicendo effecerat, ut* Q. *Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, conſilia Catilinæ ſibi prodederet.* Salluſt. *in Bello Catilin.* pag. 70.

(19) Idem, ibid. pag. 75.

(20) Valer. Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 1. num. 10.

(21) *See* Cicero, *Orat. pro domo ſua.*

[*E*] *She had the ſatisfaction to wreak her vengeance on the tongue of Cicero.*] She admirably ſeconded her cruel huſband during the maſſacres of the Triumvirate: ſhe put ſeveral perſons to death of her own head, either out of avarice, or a ſpirit of revenge; and even people whom her huſband did not know. Marc Antony cauſed the heads of thoſe whom he had proſcribed to be brought to table, and fed his eyes a long while with that unhappy ſpectacle. The head of Cicero was one of thoſe which were brought to him; he ordered it to be fixed on the *Roſtrum* from whence Cicero had made ſo many ſpeeches againſt him. But before that order was executed, Fulvia took the head, and ſpat on it, and placing it on her lap, drew out the tongue, which ſhe pierced ſeveral times with her bodkins, uttering at the ſame time the moſt opprobrious language of all ſorts againſt Cicero. Ἡ δὲ δὴ Φυλσία ἔς τε τας χεῖρας αὐτὴν πρὶν ἀποκομισθῆναι ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐμπικραναμένη οἱ καὶ ἐμπλύσασα ἐπί τε τὰ γόνατα ἐπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς διοίξασα τήν τε γλῶσσαν ἐξείλκυσε, καὶ ταῖς βελόναις αἷς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχρῆτο κατεκέντησε πολλὰ ἅμα

ſo ill in the Philippics. Thoſe who ſay ſhe was Marc Antony's firſt wife are miſtaken [*F*]. If they had had the patience to examine things exactly, they would have known

ἅμα καὶ μιᾷ προσεπισκώπτουσα. *Fulvia autem id caput acceptum priuſquam auferretur, inſultanſque amarulentis verbis & conſpuens, genibus ſuis impoſuit, orique ejus aperto linguam extractam acubus (quales ſecum comendi capitis cauſa mulieres ferunt) compunxit, additis crebris ac turpibus opprobriis* (22). Behold a wicked woman of a ſtrange ſpecies. There are ſome villains whom we are almoſt forced to admire, becauſe they ſhew a certain greatneſs of ſoul in their crimes; but here is nothing to be obſerved but brutality, baſeneſs, and cowardiſe, and one cannot help conceiving an indignation full of contempt. Yet Moreri acquaints his Readers, *that* Fulvia *is ſaid to have had ſome generoſity.*

(22) Dio, lib. 47. pag. 378.

[*F*] *Thoſe who ſay ſhe was Marc Antony's firſt wife are miſtaken.*] Moreri and Chevreau have been guilty of this fault: the firſt in the Article ofMarc Antony, and the other in his Hiſtory of the World, page 105 of the ſecond volume. I make uſe of the Dutch Edition. Marc Antony's firſt wife was named Fadia: he married her becauſe ſhe was rich, and made no ſcruple of her giving him a father-in-law who was as deſpicable on account of his perſonal defects, as the baſeneſs of his extraction. *Tuæ conjugis bonæ fœminæ, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui propter hæſitantiam linguæ, ſtuporemque cordis, cognomen ex contumelia traxerit. At avus nobilis, Tuditanus nempe ille qui cum palla & cothurnis nummos populo de roſtris ſpargere ſolebat. Vellem hanc contemptionem pecuniæ ſuis reliquiſſet.* i. e. "The "father of the good woman your wife, who was rich "at leaſt, was one Bambalio, a fellow of no account. "Nothing was more contemptible than he, who had "an opprobious ſurname given him, by reaſon of "his ſtuttering and ſtupidity. But ſhe had a noble "grandfather, namely that ſame Tuditanus who in "his fidler's mantle and his buſkins uſed to ſcatter "money from the Roſtra among the people. And "I wiſh this contempt of money had deſcended to "his poſterity." This is what Cicero advances in his third Philippic, page 782 of my Edition. A little after he tells us this wife of Marc Antony was the daughter of a freed-man (23): *Ipſe ex libertini filia ſuſceperit liberos.* He had ſaid the ſame thing towards the beginning of the ſecond Philippic. *Hoc idcirco commemoratum à te puto, ut te infimo ordini commendares: cum te omnes recordarentur libertini generum, & liberos tuos, nepotes Q. Fadii* (24) *libertini hominis fuiſſe.* i. e. "This, I ſuppoſe, you mentioned that you might "recommend your ſelf to the moſt inferior people; "when every body called to mind that you was the "ſon-in-law of a freed-man, and your children the "grandchildren of Q. Fadius (24), a perſon who "had been made free." Glandorpius (25) is in the right to ſuſpect that the children of Marc Antony and Fadia did not live long, ſince neither Cicero nor any other Writer mentions their names. We only know that the hoſtage ſent by Marc Antony to the aſſaſſins of Cæſar, was the ſon of Marc Antony and Fadia. This Cicero ſuffers us not to doubt of. *Pacem haberemus quæ erat facta per obſidem puerum nobilem Marci Antonii filium, M. Bambalionis nepotem* (26). i. e. "We ſhould "have the peace which was made on giving in hoſtage "a noble youth, the ſon of Marc Antony, and grand-"ſon of M. Bambalio." Glandorpius was greatly miſtaken when he ſuppoſed that Bambalio was the father of Fulvia, and that the paſſage of the third Philippic does not wholly relate to Fadia. This falſe imagination has occaſioned him raſhly to cenſure Maturantius, for not having divided Cicero's words between two wives of Marc Antony. *Ex iis quæ retulimus quivis facile perſpexerit quam probe Franciſcus Maturantius, vir alioquin doctiſſimus, Fadiæ Bambalionem patrem tribuat, eamque fuiſſe Tuſculanam aſſerat. Deinde quæ Ciceroni Philipp. 3. de Fulvia ſeorſim & Fadia dicuntur, ipſe cuncta miſcens ad unam Fadiam omnia referat* (27). i. e. "From what we have "ſaid any one may eaſily perceive how juſtly Francis "Maturantius, a man otherwiſe of very great learn-"ing, makes Fadia the daughter of Bambalio, and "aſſerts her to have been of Tuſculum; and then "confounds every thing, by referring to Fadia alone "whatever Cicero has ſaid in the third Philippic of "Fulvia and Fadia ſeparately." Maturantius is here perfectly in the right, and I cannot ſufficiently wonder how Paul Manutius could fancy that theſe words of the third Philippic, *at avus nobilis, &c.* belong to Fulvia. If it were ſo, it might be juſtly ſaid that Cicero has diſpoſed both his words and his thoughts very ill. But, with ever ſo little attention, it is plainly ſeen that Cicero reproaches Marc Antony only with his marrying Fadia. He obſerves, 1, that the father of that woman was a worthleſs fellow: 2, he propoſes an objection to himſelf; that her grandfather was noble: 3, he relates the extravagancies and public follies of the grandfather. Nothing could have been more ridiculous than to ſuppoſe, with reſpect to the marriage with Fulvia, that if Marc Antony had not married beneath himſelf, the reaſon of it was becauſe Fulvia's grandfather by the mother's ſide was noble: now it is viſible that if the objection which Cicero makes to himſelf relates to the marriage with Fulvia, the proof that M. Antony would not have matched himſelf would be founded on the nobleneſs of his wife's maternal grandfather (28); it is by no means credible, therefore, that the objection concerns this marriage. I have ſaid it would be ridiculous to have recourſe to the nobility of the maternal grandfather of Fulvia, to juſtify Marc Antony from having miſmatched himſelf, and I prove it eaſily. Fulvia was of one of the moſt ancient and moſt illuſtrious families of Rome. The Fulvii drew their deſcent from a diſciple of Hercules in matters of Religion: ſuch was the nobility of Fulvia. Her father ought not to be expelled the family of the Fulvii, as he has been ſerved by Glandorpius: this woman had a brother who was really of that ancient family: he was Pontif *ex Maximus*, and was obliged for it to Clodius his ſiſter's huſband (29): his wife had been married again to Murena (30). Theſe facts we have from Cicero. *Te ad tuum affinem non delectum à te, ſed relictum à cæteris contuliſti, quem ego tamen credo, ſi eſt ortus ab illis, quos memoriæ proditum eſt, ab ipſo Hercule perfuncto jam laboribus ſacra didiciſſe, in viri fortis ærumnis, non ita crudelem fuiſſe, ut &c.* (31). i. e. "You repaired to your kinſman, who "was not choſen by you, but abandoned by the others, "who nevertheleſs, I believe, if he is deſcended "from thoſe who, as tradition goes, learned ſa-"cred rites from Hercules, after he had gone thro' "his labours, would not have been ſo cruel, during the "troubles of a worthy man, as to &c." Muſt he not have been drunk, if he had pretended that Marc Antony could not alledge the paternal nobility of Fulvia, againſt thoſe who ſhould accuſe him of having married beneath himſelf?

(28) *Manutius* and *Glandorpius* ſuppoſe that Sempronia, the daughter of Tuditanus, was the mother of Fulvia.

(29) Cicero, *pro domo ſua*, folio 180, *A.*

(30) Ibid. folio 181, *A.*

(31) *Idem, ibid.* He ſpeaks to Clodius: he had related, *folio* 180, *A.* how Clodius had employed his wife's brother, whom he had made Pontif. He ſays in the Oration *pro Murena*, folio 148, *A.* that the ſon of Murena's wife is *ſummo loco adoleſcens*, a young man of a very great family.

There remains a conſiderable difficulty. Aſconius Pedianus relates that the laſt witneſſes, who were examined againſt Milo the murtherer of Clodius, were Sempronia Tuditana, and Fulvia; the latter the widow of Clodius, and the former the mother of Fulvia. *Ultimæ teſtimonium dixerunt Sempronia Tuditani filia, ſocrus P. Clodii, & uxor Fulvia, & fletu ſuo magnopere eos qui adſtabant, commoverunt* (32). I anſwer that this difficulty, as great as it is, cannot ſupport the opinion of Manutius, ſo much as my objections batter it in breach. What hinders but that Fadia and Fulvia might both be deſcended from a Sempronius Tuditanus? There might be ſeveral brothers of them, and ſeveral couſin germans, who all bore the name of Sempronius Tuditanus, and they were only diſtinguiſhed by their prænomens. Fadia's mother might be the daughter of one of them; and Fulvia's mother might be the deſcendant of another. At the worſt, I ſhould rather ſay that Cicero confounded the maternal grandfather of Fulvia with the maternal grandfather of Fadia, than that he looked on the marriage of Marc Antony with Fulvia as a diſhonourable match. I muſt not forget to ſay that Glandorpius condemns what he does himſelf. He thinks it wrong that the whole paſſage of the third Philippic ſhould be underſtood of one ſingle wife of Marc Antony, and yet he applies it intirely to Fulvia; for he pretends that ſhe was the daughter of Bambalio, and grandaughter of Tuditanus, and by that means leaves nothing in Cicero's words which can relate to Fadia. Beſides, it

(32) Aſcon. Pedian. *Argum. Orat. pro Milone*, pag. m. 192.

(23) Or granddaughter; for the appellation of *Libertinus*, which properly ſignified only the ſon of a Freedman, was afterwards given indifferently to the Freedman himſelf, by the ill cuſtom of extending titles of honour, and ſhewing civility at the expence of words.

(24) He calls him Caius Fadius, *Epiſt.* 11. *ad Attic. lib.* 16. Conſult *Corradus* on that paſſage, who gueſſes that the Tranſcribers have changed the C into a Q, or *vice verſa*. But what ſhall we ſay when we ſee that *Cicero* below, Citation (26), calls him *M. Bambalio*? There are ſome MSS, which inſtead of *Q. Fadii*, have *M. Fundi*.

(25) Gland. *Onomaſt.* pag. 83.

(26) Cicero, *Philipp. II.*

(27) Gland. *Onomaſt.* pag. 83.

known that when he married her he had had as many wives as ſhe had had huſbands [*G*]; and that he had divorced Antonia, his ſecond wife, on a pretence of adultery, without having any regard to his uncle, who was the father of Antonia. He did not ſhew him much reſpect on other occaſions [*H*]. As brave, as violent, and as brutal as he is a great abſurdity to imagine that Bambalio, the vileſt fellow in the world (33), was the father of Fulvia. It is charging Cicero with the greateſt faults a Writer can be guilty of. It is to ſuppoſe he retorted the reproach of miſalliance (34), by accuſing Marc Antony with having married a Lady of the firſt quality: for ſuch he himſelf repreſents (35) the *Fulvian* family, when he examines an action of Clodius's brother-in-law. It is ſaying he could not draw any advantage from the baſeneſs and ſtupidity of a father, to form prejudices againſt the conduct of the ſon, and that among ſo many abuſes with which he loaded Clodius, he has never reproached him with an alliance which furniſhed ſo much matter for ſatire. Let us conclude from the whole, that Glandorpius has wrongly cenſured Maturantius; and here are freſh proofs of it. He has paſſed over three groſs miſtakes of his on theſe words of Cicero, *At avus nobilis, Tuditanus nempe ille.* Maturantius imagines, in the firſt place, that this grandfather was the grandfather of Bambalio (36): 2, that this grandfather reſembled Tuditanus, but was not Tuditanus himſelf (37): 3, that he was the grandfather of the wife of Marc Antony. The laſt of theſe three miſtakes is but a few lines diſtant from the firſt; ſo true it is that Authors are ſubject to contradict themſelves in the ſame page. It is becauſe every period ſometimes takes up their whole attention; for which reaſon they cannot think on the foregoing words.

(33) *Homo nullo numero: nihil illo contemptius.*

(34) *Cicero*, in this paſſage of the *III Philippic*, refutes what M. Antony had reproached Octavius with, viz. that he was the ſon of a country woman. *Aricinam Matrem.*

(35) In *Orat. pro domo ſua.*

(36) *Occurrit dicens Bambalionis hujus avum nobilem fuiſſe. Reſpondet, ſtultumque fuiſſe dicit, Tuditano illi ſimilem de quo Valerius Maximus.* Maturant. *in III Philipp.* folio m. 101.

(37) *Vellem ita contemneretis & vos pecuniam, ſicut ille contempſit uxoris tuæ avus.* Ib.

Reflection on a falſhood in Dion.

I am much more concerned at a miſtake I have found in Dion. That Hiſtorian has inſerted in his Work a direct Oration of Cicero againſt Marc Antony. It cannot be denied that he himſelf is the Author of it, ſince we have Cicero's Philippics yet extant, and we may convince our ſelves by comparing them with the words of Dion, that the Oration of this latter is by no means a Tranſlation of any of the Philippics. It is Dion, therefore, who has forged the Oration. I will ſuppoſe this to be allowable in him; but at leaſt he ought to have ſaid nothing but what was taken from the Latin of Cicero. Now here are two things which he has manifeſtly falſified: I have not examined the reſt. He ſuppoſes that Cicero reproaches Marc Antony with not having recalled his uncle, either during the life of Cæſar, or after his death; and with loving Bambalio, a man ſufficiently diſgraced by his name. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε ταῦθ' ὅτι πολλὰς φεύγοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναγνὼν, οὐκ ἐπεκέρασε τῷ Θείῳ . . . καὶ τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιδόητον ἀγαπᾷ. *Id vero neminem latet, quod quum multos in exilium miſſos non Cæſare modo ſuperſtite, ſed defuncto etiam, ex libellis ſcilicet ejus in urbem reduxerit, patruo ſuo non ſubvenerit . . . Bambalionem etiam ipſius cognomenti ratione infamem diligit* (38). Cicero did not make his adverſary ſuch reproaches. Does he not expreſly take notice that Caius Antonius was in the Senate, when his nephew ſpoke againſt Dolabella? Cæſar was then alive. Marc Antony was not reproached with being a friend of Bambalio, who in all likelihood was dead. Cicero contented himſelf with telling him that he who married the daughter of an inhabitant of Tuſculum, the daughter of Bambalio, who had that name given him out of ignominy, was much in the wrong to alledge that Octavius's mother was a woman born at Aricia. Ought not theſe falſifications to give us a diſtruſt with relation to a thouſand things which Dion has ſaid, the Originals of which are now loſt?

(38) Dio, lib. 45, *ſub fin.*

[*G*] *Marc Antony had had as many wives as ſhe had had huſbands.*] We ſhall ſee preſently that thoſe who have ſaid that Fulvia was Marc Antony's ſecond wife (39), have only been miſtaken a little leſs than Chevreau. Marc Antony's ſecond wife was named Antonia: ſhe was his couſin german, and daughter of Caius Antonius, Cicero's Collegue in the Conſulſhip. He did not keep her long: for under pretence that ſhe carried on a criminal correſpondence with Dolabella, he divorced her. He was not aſhamed to publiſh himſelf the injury his wife had done him before the Senate, and in the preſence of his father in law; and he made that injury one of the reaſons for which he had broke with Dolabella. We muſt ſee how Cicero handles him on this occaſion; Cicero, I I ſay, who pretends Antonia was not guilty. *Omnibus eum* (Caium Antonium) *contumeliis oneraſti, quem patris loco, ſi ulla in te pietas eſſet, colere debebas: filiam ejus, ſororem tuam, ejeciſti, alia conditione quæſita, & ante perſpecta. Non eſt ſatis, probri inſimulaſti pudiciſſimam fœminam: quid eſt, quod addi poſſit? Contentus eo non fuiſti: frequentiſſimo ſenatu Kalendis Jan. ſedente patruo, hanc tibi eſſe cum Dolabella cauſſam odii dicere auſus es, quod ab eo ſorori, & uxori tuæ ſtuprum eſſe oblatum comperiſſes. Quis interpretari poteſt, impudentiorne, qui in ſenatu; an improbior, qui in Dolabellam; an impurior, qui patre audiente; an crudelior, qui in illam miſeram tam ſpurce, tam impie dixeris* (40)? i. e. "You "have loaded your uncle with all manner of affronts, "whom, if you had any natural affection, you ought "to reſpect as a father: you have turned away his "daughter, your ſiſter, in order to another match "which you had before in view. Nor is this enough; "you have accuſed a moſt modeſt woman of an infamous "crime. What greater inſult could be added? Yet this "would not ſatisfy you: you had the aſſurance to ſay "on the Calends of January, in a full Senate, and in "the preſence of your uncle, that the reaſon why "you had fallen out with Dolabella was, becauſe you "had diſcovered he had debauched your ſiſter and "wife. Who can determine which was greater, your "impudence in declaring this in the Senate; your "injuſtice, in charging Dolabella with it; your "baſeneſs, in doing it in the preſence of her father; "or your cruelty, in expoſing an unfortunate Lady?" Plutarch will help us to diſcover at what time Marc Anthony was divorced from Antonia. He ſays (41) that Dolabella, being Tribune of the people, had a mind to get ſome Laws paſſed, and deſired his friend Marc Antony to ſecond him. Marc Antony refuſed to do it: he thought his wife Antonia had ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by Dolabella; wherefore he divorced her, and joining that Tribune's adverſaries, overthrew his deſigns. Cæſar, on his return to Rome, pardoned Dolabella; and having been made Conſul the third time, he took Lepidus for his collegue, and not Marc Antony (42). This ſhews us that the troubles of Dolabella preceded the year of Rome 707 (43): we may place them, therefore, a year after the battle of Pharſalia, and the ſame will alſo be the year of Antonia's divorce. Now as Marc Antony had another match in view before he diſmiſſed Antonia (44), it is very probable that one of the reaſons which occaſioned that divorce was the deſire he had to marry Fulvia. If we believe Plutarch this wedding was celebrated while Cæſar made war in Africa, in the year 707: and thus Fulvia became the third wife of Marc Antony. It is without any foundation that Glandorpius (45) aſſerts that Marc Antony having repudiated her married Antonia, and that ſoon taking a diſlike to the latter, he diſmiſſed her and took Fulvia again.

(39) Glandorpius, *Onomaſt.* pag. 83, aſſerts it.

(40) *Philipp. II.* pag. m. 758, edit. Manut. in 8vo.

(41) Plut. in *Anton.* pag. 919.

(42) Ibid. pag. 920.

(43) This was the year of Cæſar's third Conſulſhip.

(44) *Alia conditione quæſita & ante perſpecta.* Cicero, *Philipp. II.* pag. 758.

(45) Gland. *Onomaſt.* pag. 86.

[*H*] . . . . *He did not ſhew Caius Antonius much more reſpect on other occaſions.*] I make this Remark to quit my ſelf of my promiſe (46). We have heard Cicero reproaching Marc Antony with having had the cruelty to ſet forth the lewdneſs of Antonia in a full Senate, when the father of that Lady was preſent. It was a great mortification to that unhappy father; but it was not the firſt time his nephew had uſed him ill. Had he not left him in baniſhment when he recalled a great number of exiles? Cicero did not forget to reproach him with it (47): *Omnia perfecit quæ Senatus ſalva republ. ne fieri poſſent perfecerat: cujus tamen ſcelus in ſcelere cognoſcite: reſtituebat multos calamitoſos, in his patrui nulla mentio. Si ſeverus, cur non in omnes? ſi miſericors, cur non in ſuos?* i. e. "He did every thing "which the Senate had taken care ſhould not be done "while the Commonwealth was ſafe: yet I ſhall "mention one vile action, which exceeds the reſt: he "reſtored many unhappy exiles to their native coun-"try, but took no notice of his uncle. If he muſt "be ſevere, why not towards all? If compaſſionate, "why

(46) See above, Remark [*A*] of the Article of the firſt ANTONIUS (CAIUS).

(47) *Philipp. II.* pag. 734.

he was, he met with his maſter in Fulvia: ſhe made him ſerve ſo hard an apprentice-ſhip of obedience (*c*), that Cleopatra, who found him quite tamed and broken to this manage, had no great trouble to get the better of him. He had at length the courage to be in a terrible paſſion with Fulvia, and to give her ſuch evident marks, either of his contempt, or of his hate, that ſhe fell ſick and died (*d*). A Rhetorician, who had rallied her becauſe ſhe had one cheek thicker than the other, became for that reaſon more acceptable to Marc Antony than he had been before (*e*): an evident proof that ſhe had no great ſhare in the affection of her huſband. She would have deſerved it, had nothing more been required to make her worthy of it than to be able exactly to imitate the eagerneſs with

(*c*) See the Remark [*B*].

(*d*) See the Remark [*B*].

(*e*) *Ejuſdem uxorem Fulviam, cui altera bucca inflatior erat, acumen ſtili tentare dixit, nec eo minus, immo vel magis ob hoc Antonio gratus.* Sueton. *de claris Rhetor.* cap. 5.

" why not to his own relations?" Here are other affronts. Cicero ſets them forth on mentioning a Law for the recalling of the exiles, which had been publiſhed after Cæſar's death, as if made by him. Cicero aſks, among other things, why three or four perſons were ſtill left in baniſhment (48). *Cur tua miſericordia ſimili non fruuntur? Cur eos habes in loco patrui, de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluiſti? Quem etiam ad cenſuram petendam impuliſti, eamque petitionem comparaſti quæ & riſus hominum & querelas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuiſti? An quia tribunus plebis fulmen ſiniſtrum nunciabat? Cum tuâ quid intereſt, nulla auſpicia ſunt, cum tuorum, tum ſis religioſus. Quid? eundem in ſeptemviratu nonne deſtituiſti? Intervenit enim, cum metuiſti credo, ne ſalvo capite negare non poſſes. Omnibus eum contumeliis oneraſti quem patris loco.* . . i. e. " Why do they not partake of the like mercy? " Why do you treat them as you did your uncle, " whom you would not include in the general Law? " whom you alſo perſuaded to ſtand for the Cenſorſhip, and procured him ſuch competitors as raiſed " every body's laughter and indignation. But why " did you not hold the Court at that time? Was it " becauſe the Tribune of the people declared that it " had thundred inauſpiciouſly? When your own intereſt is concerned, omens are nothing; but when " your relations are concerned, you then become ſuperſtitious. What? did you not abandon him likewiſe as to the Septemvirate? For he came in when " you was afraid, I believe, that you could not ſafely " deny him. You have loaded him with all manner " of affronts &c." You will find the reſt of this paſſage above (49). Manutius thinks this full of obſcutity. *Hic mihi, quod aiunt, tenebræ ſunt. Non enim video, quo modo C. Antonius Kalendis Jan. vivo Cæſare in ſenatu eſſe potuerit: cum eum poſt Cæſaris interitum, id eſt, poſt latam ab Antonio de exſulibus legem, exſulare, ex iis verbis intelligatur; cur eos habes in loco patrui? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluiſti* (50). i. e. " This is all darkneſs to me. For I do not ſee " how Caius Antonius could be in the Senate on the " Calends of January, during Cæſar's life; when it " appears from Cicero's words that he was in baniſhment after Cæſar's death, that is, after the Law concerning the exiles was publiſhed by Antony." Here is Caius Antonius, on the one hand, neglected by his nephew, when after Cæſar's death all the exiles except three or four were recalled; and here he is, on the other hand, in the midſt of the Senators, when Marc Antony makes a ſpeech againſt Dolabella, before the death of Julius Cæſar. Thus Manutius conceived the matter; and no wonder he found contradictions in it: but it is eaſy to remove them, by ſhewing him the ſource of the ſuppoſed obſcurity. He imagines that when Marc Antony, after Cæſar's death, publiſhed a pretended Law of that Emperor for the recalling of the exiles, Caius Antonius was left in baniſhment. But he miſtakes Cicero's meaning. That Orator's thought is this: Marc Antony had excluded three or four wretches from the benefit of that pretended Law. Cicero aſks him the reaſon of it; and in order to remind him of ſome other faults, he maliciouſly compares the exception of thoſe three or four perſons with the exception which he, Marc Antony, had made of his uncle in the time of his Tribuneſhip. *Why do you treat theſe three or four perſons*, ſays he, *as you treated your uncle, whom you did not propoſe to call from baniſhment, when you propoſed the recalling of others?* This ought to be referred to Marc Antony's Tribuneſhip, I ſay, which he exerciſed while Cæſar was in Spain againſt Pompey's Lieutenants, before the battle of Pharſalia. In a word, it is the ſame fact which we have ſeen above, in theſe words of Cicero. *Reliquæ partes Tribunatus principiis ſimiles . . . . reſtituebat multos calamitoſos: in his patrui nulla mentio.* We muſt not wonder therefore that the ſame Cicero ſays Caius Antonius heard in the Senate his nephew's invective againſt Dolabella, in which his daughter was ſo ignominiouſly mentioned. I acknowledge this is a proof of his return from baniſhment before the death of Cæſar, ſince that Invective was pronounced to hinder the deſign which Cæſar had formed of reſigning his fifth Conſulſhip to Dolabella (51): but there ariſes thence no juſt reaſon to cenſure Cicero; for there is nothing in his Philippics which import that Marc Antony left his uncle in baniſhment after Cæſar's death. It is certain Caius Antonius muſt have been recalled during the time which elapſed between the beginning of Cæſar's Dictatorſhip, and his fifth Conſulſhip. He was Conſul the fifth time in the year 709, and he had been made Dictator on his return to Rome after the defeat of Pompey's Lieutenants. He began the functions of his Dictatorſhip by recalling the baniſhed (62): I do not know whether Caius Antonius was comprized in the recall at that time; but I know Dion (53) aſſures us that Milo was the only perſon who was not recalled. Glandorpius aſſerts that Caius Antonius, after the death of Julius Cæſar, was reſtored by Marc Antony his nephew, who was Conſul. This is not true with regard to his return to Rome, and his right of going to the Senate, ſince Caius Antonius ſat among the Senators, and heard his nephew's Invective againſt Dolabella in Julius Cæſar's life-time. We learn from Strabo that this exile ſtaid in the Iſle of Cephalonia, and kept it under his obedience. He was building a city there, but had not time to finiſh it; for having obtained leave to return home he formed greater deſigns, and died during theſe tranſactions (54).

(48) Ibid. pag. 757.

(49) In the preceding page, Citation (40).

(50) Manutius, *in II Philipp.* pag. 761.

(51) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πέμπτον ἀπεδείχθη Καῖσαρ ὕπατος, προσεῖλετο μὲν εὐθὺς συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐβούλετο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπάμενος Δολοβέλλα παρεγγυῆσαι. καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξήνεγκεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ τραχέως ἀντιπισύντος καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπόντος κακὰ Δολοβέλλαν, οὐκ ἐλάττονα δὲ ἀκουσαντος, τότε μὲν αἰσχυνθεὶς τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπηλλάγη. *Creatus Cæſar quintum conſul, illico coptavit collegam Antonium. Intendit autem abdicare ſe magiſtratu, & tedere Dolabellæ, idque ad ſenatum retulit: verum repugnante aſpere Antonio, multaque maledicta in Dolabellam congerente, nec pauciora audiente, illius indignitatis Cæſar pudore rem in præſentia omiſit.* Plutarch. *in Antonio*, pag. 921, *A.*

(52) Idem, *in Cæſare*, pag. 725, *D.*

(53) Lib. 41. pag. 191.

(54) Strabo, lib. 10. pag. 314.

(55) Made by F. P. G. an Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, and printed at Paris in the year 1685.

(56) In *Philipp. II*, folio 82.

(57) *See* Dion, lib. 38. pag. 71. *and* Cicero, *in Orat. pro Cœlio & in Vatinium.*

I have read a French Tranſlation of the ſecond Philippic (55), wherein there is ſome confuſion with regard to the fact I am here ſpeaking of. It is ſaid in the 166th page, that *Caius Antonius* was *one of thoſe three or four unhappy perſons* whom his nephew had left in exile: but in page 168 we are aſſured he was preſent at the ſpeech which Marc Antony made in a full Senate the firſt of January. It is needleſs for me to ſhew theſe two things to be inconſiſtent; every body muſt perceive it, and I have already ſaid all that is neceſſary to remove the whole difficulty. Maturantius (56) has committed a great many more faults than this Tranſlator. I, He thinks Caius Antonius was baniſhed by Julius Cæſar, for having followed Pompey's party; than which nothing is more falſe. Caius Antonius was accuſed in the year 694 of two crimes; of being an accomplice with Catiline, and of public extortion (57). Cicero, who pleaded for him, loſt his cauſe. In the ſecond place, Maturantius affirms that Marc Antony, when he recalled the exiles after Cæſar's death, took no care to get Caius Antonius recalled. III, He aſſerts that Marc Antony, having at length recalled his uncle, perſuaded him to ſtand candidate for the Cenſorſhip, and ſet up very worthleſs competitors againſt him, in order to expoſe him to deriſion. This is aſcribing a ſenſeleſs impertinence to Cicero: for if he had ſaid that Caius Antonius was not recalled from his baniſhment, when his nephew, after Cæſar's death, recalled almoſt all the exiles, he would have advanced two things which are contradictory in the ſame Oration: 1, That at the time he was ſpeaking, Marc Antony had not yet recalled his uncle; for it is evident that the three or four wretches whom Marc Antony had not ſuffered to partake of the benefit of the pretended Law of Julius Cæſar, were actually in exile when Cicero pronounced the ſecond Philippic: 2, That ſome time before, Marc Antony, having recalled his uncle, had fraudulently engaged him to ſue for the Cenſorſhip.

with which he ſcraped up money by the moſt unjuſt means. It was in Fulvia's chamber that Kingdoms and Provinces were put up to auction [*I*]. It is thought that ſhe incited Marc Antony to repudiate his ſecond wife [*K*]: yet it ſeems ſhe did not marry him

Was I not convinced of it by experience, I could never believe it was poſſible for thoſe who have written Commentaries on the Claſſic Authors, not to perceive the contradictory abſurdities which they tack together.

[*I*] *It was in Fulvia's chamber that Kingdoms and Provinces were put up to auction.*] Every body knows the revolution which happened in the minds of the Roman people after Cæſar's death. At firſt Marc Antony did not think himſelf ſafe in Rome, and a few days after it was he who was dreaded there; it was on his account that Cæſar's murtherers durſt not ſtay. It is impoſſible to tell the unjuſt actions he committed to heap up money, under the falſe pretence that Cæſar had ordered ſuch and ſuch things. He forged them himſelf, and took care to be well paid for it. It was in that manner that he cheated the Embaſſadors of Dejotarus. He forged a pretended order of Cæſar, by vertue of which Dejotarus was to be reſtored; but he made the Embaſſadors ſign a note for a large ſum of money, in his wife's chamber (58). Cicero has deſcribed, with his uſual eloquence, the prodigious venality to which Marc Antony and his wife ſubjected the Commonwealth. And when we know Fulvia's character beſides, we are ready to fancy, on reading Cicero's words, that we ſee her ſelling Provinces and Kingdoms in her chamber, with the ſame eagerneſs after gain that is obſerved in women who ſell the ribbons and linnen &c. of their ſhop. *Quid illi immanes quæſtus? ferendi ne? quos M. Antonii tota exhauſit domus. Decreta falſa vendebat: regna, civitates, immunitates in æs, accepta pecunia, jubebat incidi. Hæc ſe ex commentariis Cæſaris, quorum ipſe auctor erat, agere dicebat. Calebant in interiore ædium parte totius reipubl. nundinæ: mulier ſibi felicior, quam viris, auctionem provinciarum, regnorumque faciebat* (59). i. e. "What "ſhall we ſay to thoſe monſtrous gains which Marc "Antony's whole family has ſwallowed? Are they to "be born with? He ſold forged Decrees: he granted "Kingdoms, Cities, and Immunities for money. Theſe "things he pretended to do in purſuance of Cæſar's "orders, which were of his own contrivance. A "thronged fair was held for the whole Commonwealth "in the inner apartment of his houſe; where his wife, "more lucky for herſelf than her huſbands, put up Pro-"vinces and Kingdoms to auction". I think both huſband and wife were equally of Catiline's character, *Alieni appetens, ſui profuſus* (60): they knew as well how to ſquander away money, as to get it. Fulvia had not a groat left, a year after theſe rich auctions; ſo that Pomponius Atticus was obliged to paſs his word for her to every body, and to lend her large ſums (61).

(58) *Syngrapha H S centies per legatos viros bonos, ſed timidos & imperitos, ſine Sexti, ſine reliquorum hoſpitum regis ſententia facta in Gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt & veneunt.* Cicero, *Philipp.* II. pag. 756. See alſo *Epiſt. ad Attic. XII* lib. 14.

(59) Cicero, *Philipp. V.* pag. 814.

(60) Salluſt. *in Catilina.*

(61) Corn. Nepos, *in Vita Attici*, cap. 10.

[*K*] *It is thought* Fulvia *incited Marc Antony to repudiate his ſecond wife.*] This opinion is grounded on the following words of Cicero: *Filiam ejus ſororem tuam ejeciſti alia conditione quæſita & ante perſpecta*; which ſignify that, before Antonia's divorce, her huſband had ſo well taken his meaſures, that he was well acquainted with the perſon of the new wife he deſigned to marry. It is, at leaſt, very probable that Cicero had ſome ſly meaning in his *ante perſpecta*, and that when he mentioned a certain deſign deviſed by Marc Antony in Clodius's houſe (62), he meant that he had tried to lie with Fulvia, the wife of Clodius. However, I reject Manutius's thought with relation to the word *conditio*, which Cicero makes uſe of. That learned Commentator imagines Cicero meant that Marc Antony had himſelf viewed, or cauſed another to view for him, all the parts of the body of the woman he had a mind to marry. He thinks the Latin phraſe *quærere conditionem*, does not merely ſignify to look out for a match, but likewiſe to inſpect the moſt hidden parts which are the object of love, and take an exact view of them, in order to avoid all ſurprizes and miſtakes, to which thoſe may be expoſed who buy a pig in a poke, if I may be allowed to uſe that vulgar expreſſion. As long as the paſſage of Manutius is, I think my ſelf obliged to tranſcribe it, leſt my Reader ſhould object to me that it is very eaſy to reject a man's opinion, when his reaſons are ſuppreſſed or enervated. *Invenio apud veteres uſurpari ſolitum hoc loquendi genus, conditiones quærere, de iis, qui mulieres ad concubitum appetentes, prius vel ipſi, vel per amicos inſpiciebant quales eſſent, num candor in corpore, num lævitas, num ſucci plenæ; denique num appetentis libidini reſponderent, ut eas ne acciperent, aut admitterent, niſi prius hoc tanquam experimentum cepiſſent. Id, ut dixi, vocabant, conditiones quærere. Itaque exprobravit Antonius Auguſto, id, quod Suetonius litteris prodidit, conditiones quæſitas per amicos, qui matres familias, & adultas virgines denudarent, atque perſpicerent, tamquam Thoranio mangone vendente. Et, quod apud eundem Suetonium ſcriptum eſt, Cæſar ad retinendam Pompeii neceſſitudinem, ac voluntatem, Octaviam, ſororis ſuæ neptem, conditione ei detulit: facta ſcilicet inſpiciendi poteſtate, ut niſi probatam non acciperet. Arnobius quoque, ſcriptor in primis eruditus & reconditarum rerum notitiæ refertus, libro* IV. *adverſus gentes, Dei uxores, inquit, ducunt conditionibus ante quæſitis. Sic de Fauſtina quærente ſibi conditiones in viris, ut cum iis, quorum conditiones probaſſet, concumberet, dixit Capitolinus in Antonino Philoſ. multi ferunt, Commodum omnino ex adulterio natum: ſiquidem Fauſtinam, ſatis conſtet, apud Cajetam conditiones ſibi & nauticas, & gladiatorias elegiſſe. Et Lampridius in Heliogabalo: Romæ denique nihil egit aliud, niſi ut emiſſarios haberet, qui bene vaſatos (ſic n. lego, non, naſatos) perquirerent, eoſque ad aulam perducerent, ut eorum conditionibus frui poſſet. Nec multo poſt: Lavacrum publicum in ædibus aulicis fecit, ſimul & palam populo exhibuit, ut ex eo conditiones bene vaſatorum hominum colligeret. Nec alio ſenſu accipiendum illud pro Cœlio: Habes hortos ad Tiberim: ac diligenter eo loco præparaſti, quo omnis juventus natandi cauſſa venit, hinc licet conditiones quotidie legas. Quibus adductus exemplis, Quæſita, & Perſpecta, ad conditionem malo, quam ad mulierem referre: ut ſit: quæſiviſti, & ante perſpexiſti aliam conditionem, non contentus ea, quam in ſorore tua jam perſpexeras. Jam enim conſtat, conditionem eſſe partem corporis, quam vel in muliere vir, vel in viro mulier, explendæ libidinis cauſſa quærit, & qua inventa fruitur* (63). i. e. "I find the ancients made "uſe of this phraſe, *Conditiones quærere*, in ſpeaking "of thoſe who, having a deſire to enjoy women, firſt "examined, either by themſelves or by their friends, "their perſonal qualifications; as whether they had a "fair and ſmooth ſkin, or a plump body; in a word, "whether they might anſwer the deſire of a lover; "being determined not to accept of them without "making this previous experiment. This, I ſay, "they termed *conditiones quærere*. Antony therefore, "as Suetonius writes, reproached Auguſtus with *conditiones quæſitas per amicos*, employing his friends "to examine women's perſonal beauties and defects, "to ſtrip matrons and marriageable virgins naked, and "to ſearch them, as if they were ſelling by the cock-"bawd Thoranius. The ſame Suetonius informs us "that Cæſar, to keep up his relation and friendſhip "with Pompey offered him Octavia his ſiſter's grand-"daughter, *conditione*, that is, with liberty of view-"ing her, and if ſhe was not approved, of rejecting "her. Arnobius alſo, a very learned Writer, and "full of recondite knowledge, in his IVth Book *ad-"verſus Gentes*, ſays the Gods marry *conditionibus an-"te quæſitis*, having previouſly examined their ſpouſes. "So likewiſe Capitolinus, in the Life of Antoninus "the Philoſopher, ſpeaking of Fauſtina, *quærente "conditiones in viris*, who examined the men ſhe had "a mind to lie with, ſays, it was reputed by ſeveral "that Commodus was certainly the fruit of adultery; "ſince it was well known that Fauſtina, at Cajeta, "made choice of ſailors and gladiators after ſhe had "examined them, *conditiones ſibi & nauticas & gla-"diatores elegiſſe*. And Lampridius, in the Life of "Heliogabalus, has this paſſage: In ſhort, he did no-"thing elſe at Rome but keep emiſſaries, whoſe bu-"ſineſs it was to look out for perſons properly furniſh-"ed, and bring them to Court, that he might make "uſe of them, *ut eorum conditionibus frui poſſet*. And "a little after he ſays: He built a public bath in the "palace

(62) *Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio . . , cujus etiam domi jam tum quiddam molitus eſt: quid dicam ipſe optime intelligit.* Philipp. II. pag. 730. Maturantius ſays thereupon, *Fulviam credo Clodii uxorem de coitu appellavit, aut eam adulteravit.* Manutius ſays, *De ſtupranda ejus uxore.*

REFUTATION of Manutius's opinion as to the phraſe, *Quærere conditiones.*

(63) Paulus Manutius *in II Philipp.* pag. m. 759, 760.

him immediately after the divorce; I ſhould rather ſay that he continued for ſome time to love a concubine [*L*]. Several Dictionaries (*f*) have aſſerted that he divorced Fulvia at

(*f*) *Thoſe of* Charles Stephens, Lloyd, Hofman, *and* Calepine.

" palace, and openly admitted the people into it, that " he might have opportunities of judging what men " were for his purpoſe, *ut conditiones hominum colligeret.* " Nor are we to underſtand in any other ſenſe theſe " words in Cicero's Oration *pro M. Cælio:* You have gar- " dens on the Tiber; and have there made proper con- " veniencies, where all the youth come to ſwim, that " you may daily examine their qualifications, *ut con-* " *ditiones legas.* By which examples I am induced to " refer the words *Quæſita* and *Perſpecta* rather to *con-* " *ditio* than to *mulier*; that the ſenſe may be: *Quæ-* " *ſiviſti & perſpexiſti aliam conditionem,* You have " made another view and examination of parts or qua- " lifications, not being ſatisfied with thoſe you had " already found in your ſiſter. For it is now evident " that *conditio* ſignifies a part of the body, which a " man ſeeks for in a woman, or a woman in a man, " for the ſake of ſatisfying their inclination, and which " each enjoy when found." Among all theſe paſſages I ſee none which hinders me from being fully perſuaded that the terms *quærere conditiones* ſignified the ſame as our phraſes, *to look out for, to chooſe a match, a gallant, or a miſtreſs,* and nothing more. The firſt example which Manutius alledges plainly ſhews it; for if his opinion took place, it would not have been neceſſary for Suetonius (64) to add to *conditiones quæſitas per amicos* theſe other words, *qui matres familias, & adultas virgines denudarent atque perſpicerent tanquam Thoranio mangone vendente.* This addition ſhews that the preceding words imported no more than this, *he employed his friends to look out for miſtreſſes for him*; and becauſe that did not expreſs the infamous practice which Antony deſigned to reproach his adverſary with, it was neceſſary to deſcend to the particular explications of the enquiries which Auguſtus ordered his friends to make. Thus, to repreſent the cuſtom in Moſcovy with regard to the choice of the maid whom the Grand Duke is to marry, it would not be ſufficient to ſay that perſons are ſent into all the Provinces, with orders to look out and chooſe the moſt charming and the moſt lovely maids; but it would be neceſſary to go farther, and ſay in what manner thoſe maids are viewed, ſearched, and examined. *Solent autem Moſchovitæ quum de uxore ducenda deliberant, omnium toto Regno puellarum virginum delectum habere, ac forma, virtuteque animi præſtantiores ad ſe perduci jubere, quas demum per idoneos homines, fideleſque matronas inſpiciunt, ita diligenter, ut ſecretiora quoque ab iis contrectari explorarique fas ſit. Ex iis vero, magna atque ſolicita parentum expectatione, quæ ad Principis animum reſponderit, regiis nuptiis digna pronunciatur. Cæteræ verò, quæ de formæ pudicitiæque, & morum dignitate contenderant, ſæpe eadem die, in gratiam Principum, proceribus atque militibus nubunt, ſic ut mediocri loco natæ plerunque, dum Principes regiæ ſtirpis clara ſtemmata contemnunt, ad ſummum regalis thori faſtigium, uti & Turcas Ottomannos ſolitos eſſe videmus, pulchritudinis auſpiciis evehantur* (65). i. e. " It is the cuſtom of the Moſcovites, when they are " determined to marry, to ſelect all the young maids " in the whole Kingdom, and to order thoſe who ex- " cell in beauty, and the virtues of the mind, to be " brought to them, whom they cauſe to be ſo carefully " examined, by proper men and truſty matrons, that " they are allowed to touch and ſearch even the more " ſecret parts: and of theſe, the parents, in the " mean time, being in great and ſollicitous expecta- " tion, ſhe who pleaſes the Prince moſt, is declared " worthy of the royal bed. And the others, who " had vied with her in beauty and accompliſhments, " are frequently, in compliment to the Princely pair, " married the ſame day to the Nobles and Officers; ſo " that while the Princes of the royal blood deſpiſe high " birth, virgins of mean extraction are uſually raiſed to " the throne by their beauty, as we ſee it alſo frequently " happen among the Turks." I cannot ſufficiently wonder that Manutius ſhould paraphraſe his ſecond example as he has done; could he really believe Cæſar ever had ſo little ſpirit, or ſo little honour? For, without inſiſting on the violence which muſt have been offered to Octavia's modeſty, would it not have been a baſe condeſcenſion in Cæſar, and enough to expoſe him to contempt, to allow Pompey, when he offered him his niece, the liberty of refuſing her, if he did not find her to his mind, after he had ſeen her naked? But to ſhew how abſurd Manutius's opinion is, I need only refer him to theſe words of Suetonius, in the LXIII Chapter of the Life of Auguſtus: *Hoc* (Agrippa) *quoque defuncto multis ac diu etiam ex equeſtri ordine* CIRCUMSPECTIS CONDITIONIBUS, *Tiberium privignum ſuum elegit.* i. e. " Agrippa alſo being dead, after long " deliberating on many MATCHES among thoſe of " the Equeſtrian Order, he pitched upon Tiberius for " his ſon-in-law." According to Manutius, we ought to ſay that Auguſtus, having a mind to marry again his daughter Julia, the widow of Agrippa, ſpent a conſiderable time in cauſing ſeveral Roman Knights to be ſtripped naked, and that at laſt he made choice of Tiberius. I ſhall not ſtand to ſhew the extravagance of ſuch a ſuppoſition; neither ſhall I cite a hundred paſſages of good Writers which prove that *conditio*, in ſpeaking of marriage, ſignifies nothing more than what we call a *match: bona conditio, a good match.* I ſhall only quote a few words out of the CCLVIIth Declamation of Quintilian. They are as good as a definitive ſentence againſt Manutius: *Sed neque in me ille* (ſocer) *probavit aliud quam pietatem: vidit fletus meos, vidit totius animi atque etiam corporis defectionem: ſic homini inter principes noſtræ civitatis numerando cæpi bona eſſe* CONDITIO. i. e. " Neither did he approve of " any thing in me beſides my pious affection; he ſaw " my tears, he ſaw my great affliction both in mind " and body: thus I began to be eſteemed a good " MATCH by one who is deſervedly reckoned among " the principal perſons of our city." See Gronovius's Obſervations, in the ſixth Chapter of the firſt Book, page 62 and 63. It muſt be allowed that Manutius would aſcribe a very obſcene form to the ancient Law-ſtyle; for the old Lawyers made uſe of this phraſe in divorce, *conditione tua non utor.* Conſult Torrentius's Commentary on Suetonius, in the XXVIIth Chapter of the Life of Cæſar. I am greatly ſurprized that a learned Jeſuit did not find this Erudition of Manutius to be falſe, after he had produced ſo many fine examples of the ſignification of the word *Conditio. Quid ſit autem ante perſpicere conditionem malo te ex Pauli Manutii in hunc locum quam ex meis verbis addiſcere.* i. e. " What the meaning of *ante perſpicere conditionem* " is, I had rather you ſhould learn from Paul Manu- " tius on this paſſage than from me." Theſe are the words of Father Abram, in his Commentary on Cicero's ſecond Philippic, page 725.

(64) *In Auguſt.* cap. 69.

(65) Paulus Jovius, *in Moſchovia*, pag. m. 32, 33.

But, to come to the point, are we to believe Cicero meant that Marc Antony caſt his eyes on Fulvia before he put away Antonia? I ſhould willingly come into that opinion, though it ſeems there was a conſiderable diſtance between Antonia's divorce and Fulvia's wedding. This is the ſubject of the following Remark. Maturantius and Lambin have been both miſtaken here: the former imagines Marc Antony had Calpurnia in view; and the latter that he had thoughts of Octavia. I do not know who this Calpurnia is; but as for Octavia, I know ſhe was Auguſtus's ſiſter, and that ſhe did not marry Marc Antony till after Fulvia's death.

[*L*] ... *Marc Antony continued ſome time in love with a Concubine.*] This Concubine was an Actreſs. Cicero calls her Cytheris, and obſerves that Marc Antony carried her with him in an open litter. *Hic tamen Cytheridem ſecum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem; ſeptem præterea conjunctæ lecticæ amicarum ſunt, an amicorum? vide quam turpi leto pereamus* (66). i. e. " Yet here he carries Cytheris with him in one " open litter, and his wife in another: and the ſeven " litters which are joined to theſe, do they carry his " miſtreſſes or his friends? See what a ſhameful death " we are dying." Cicero wrote this while Cæſar was going into Spain againſt Pompey's Lieutenants, that is, the firſt year of the war. Marc Antony was then Tribune of the people, and had been left at Rome to keep Italy in awe, and in Cæſar's intereſt. This is the equipage with which he travelled. Theſe were the men to whom God thought fit to deliver up as a prey the moſt illuſtrious perſons in the Roman Republic. But that is not the preſent queſtion. With this equipage of his Marc Antony was reproached to his face,

(66) Cicero, *Epiſt. XI. lib.* 10. *ad Atticum.* In the *XVIth Letter* of the ſame Book he ſpeaks thus: *Hoc quidem melius quam collega noſter Antonius, cujus inter lictores lectica mima portatur.* See alſo the *XXIId Letter* of the 15th Book, where *hic autem noſter Cytherius* is Marc Antony, according to the Commentators.

at the beginning of the Triumvirate, to marry Octavia. This is falſe; for he did not wed

face, in the ſecond Philippic, *cap.* 23 *and* 24, in the following elegant terms: *Ecquid enim unquam in terris tantum flagitium exſtitiſſe auditum eſt? tantam turpitudinem? tantum dedecus? vehebatur in eſſedo tribunus plebis: lictores laureati antecedebant: inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur: quam, ex opidis municipales homines honeſti obviam neceſſario prodeuntes, non noto illo, & mimico nomine, ſed Volumniam conſalutabant. Sequebatur rheda cum lenonibus* (67), *comites nequiſſimi: rejecta mater amicam impuri filii, tamquam nurum, ſequebatur. O miſeræ mulieris fœcunditatem calamitoſam! Horum flagitiorum iſte veſtigiis omnia municipia, præfecturas, colonias, totam denique Italiam impreſſit.* i. e. "Was there ever ſo ſhameful a behaviour heard "of in the world? ſuch baſeneſs? ſuch diſgrace? A "Tribune of the people rode in a chariot: lictors, "crowned with lawrel, marched before: amidſt "whom an Actreſs was carried in an oppen litter, "who was ſaluted by the honeſt inhabitants of the "municipal towns, who were obliged to come out to "meet her, not by her well-known theatrical name, "but by that of Volumnia. A coach followed with "a ſcandalous retinue of pimps: the neglected mo"ther followed her lewd ſon's miſtreſs, as if ſhe had "been her daughter-in-law. O the fatal fruitfulneſs "of that unfortunate Lady! The marks of theſe vile "actions did he leave in every borough, prefecture, "and colony; in a word, all over Italy." Note, that, among other indignities, Marc Antony is here reproached with having obliged his mother to follow the litter of Cytheris in another convenience. In the letter which I have quoted, Cicero does not ſay this of the mother, but of the wife of Marc Antony (68). It is hard to conceive why Cicero ſhould ſay nothing of the indignities done to the wife, and ſuppreſs them in an Oration wherein he had made it his endeavour to cover his adverſary with ſhame. He might have ſaid in three words, that Marc Antony had allowed neither his mother nor his wife a place in his own coach, but had obliged them to take up with other coaches which followed the litter wherein he had put his Concubine. The treatment of the wife ſerved no leſs than that of the mother to render the man's behaviour odious; and therefore no good reaſon can be given for the Orator's ſilence but this, that Marc Antony's wife did not bear him company in this progreſs, and that inſtead of reading *altera uxorem*, in the Letter to Atticus, we ſhould read *alteram uxorem:* and the ſenſe will be, that our Tribune carried Cytheris along with him, as if ſhe had been his wife; as if ſhe had been his ſecond wife. Boſius (69), and Lipſius (70), have adopted this correction. Popma maintains the contrary (71): he is of opinion, not only that Cytheris and the lawful wife were in different carriages; but alſo that the lawful wife was Fulvia; which is likewiſe the opinion of Manutius. They quote the ſecond Philippic to a wrong purpoſe (72), ſince that Oration does not acquaint us that Marc Antony placed his wife among the attendants of Cytheris. Grævius has preferred Popma's opinion to that of Lipſius (73). It is certain, at leaſt, that Fulvia was not then Marc Antony's wife; I have ſhewn he did not marry her till after Antonia's divorce: now Antonia was ſo far from being divorced when Marc Antony made his progreſs through the towns of Italy with his Cytheris, that it is very likely ſhe was not yet his wife. He repudiated her at the time that he oppoſed the deſigns of Dolabella; that is, ſome time after he was returned to Rome, after the battle of Pharſalia (74). Now the progreſs he made with Cytheris was antecedent to that return to Rome; it is probable, therefore, that when he made that progreſs he was not yet married to his couſin Antonia; for he did not keep her long. We may add that Fulvia was not a woman to bear that a Concubine ſhould receive the honours due to the lawful wife, during her huſband's progreſs. She was too haughty to follow, in a ſeparate coach, the litter of the favorite Cytheris. Let us confirm the conjecture of Boſius and Lipſius. If it had been ſaid in the Letter to Atticus, *Cytheridem portat alteram uxorem*, there would have been nothing but what would agree with other expreſſions which are to be met with in the ſecond Philippic. *At etiam quodam loco facetus eſſe voluiſti: quàm id te, dii boni, non decebat! in quo eſt tua culpa nonnulla, aliquid enim ſalis ab* ÜXORE MIMA *trahere potuiſti* (75). i. e. "Once alſo you endea- (75) Philip. 2. cap. 2.
"voured to be witty: good Gods! how ill it became
"you! in which you are ſomewhat to blame, ſince
"you might have learned a little wit from your
"THEATRICAL WIFE." When Cicero relates that Marc Antony at laſt broke with Cytheris, he makes uſe of the terms which were employed in divorcing one's wife (76). It is probable, therefore, that we ought to read *alteram uxorem* in the Letter to Atticus. We muſt not forget that the diſmiſſion of Cytheris was poſterior, not only to the battle of Pharſalia, but even to the war of Alexandria. Marc Antony, after the battle of Pharſalia, was ſent back into Italy, in order to keep matters in ſubjection to the conqueror, while Cæſar purſued Pompey. The Actreſs Cytheris went to meet her gallant as far as Brunduſium, and returned with him to Rome, almoſt in the ſame equipage which Cicero has deſcribed above. *Veniſti Brunduſium, in ſinum quidem, & in complexum tuæ mimulæ: quid eſt? num mentior? quam miſerum eſt, id negare non poſſe, quod ſit turpiſſimum confiteri. Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit qui Brunduſii illam non viderit? Quis, qui neſcierit veniſſe eam tibi tot dierum viam gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit tam ſero ſe, quam nequam hominem ſecutus eſſet, cognoſcere? Italiæ rurſus percurſatio, eadem comite mima* (77). i. e. "You arrived at (77) Ibid. cap. 25.
"Brunduſium, to throw your ſelf into the boſom and
"embraces of your Actreſs: what! do I bely you?
"How wretched is it that you cannot deny what is
"moſt diſgraceful to confeſs! If you were not aſhamed
"of behaving ſo before the municipal towns, did not
"your veteran troops make you bluſh? For what ſol"dier was there who did not ſee her at Brunduſium?
"Which of them knew not that ſhe came ſo many
"days journey to congratulate you? And which of
"them was not ſorry to find out ſo late what a ſcan"dalous leader he had followed? You again traverſed
"Italy, in company with the ſame Actreſs." While Cæſar was, at Alexandria, inveſted a ſecond time with the Dictatorſhip, Marc Antony was made General of the Horſe, and committed a thouſand extortions at Rome: he proceeded by degrees to the enormous audaciouſneſs of ſelling Pompey's goods by auction. By this means he became poſſeſſed of the houſe and furniture of that great man, and ſoon ſquandred away in that houſe all the riches he had gotten by the aforeſaid ſale: for he daily abandoned himſelf to the moſt expenſive debaucheries. He had his Cytheris ſtill with him; he had already lodged in Pompey's houſe, when he ſent away that proſtitute (78). I obſerve this in order to ſhew that it is very probable he kept her ſome time after Antonia's divorce; for Pompey's goods were not ſold till after Cæſar had left Alexandria (79). Plutarch, deſcribing the debaucheries of Marc Antony, his paſſion for Cytheris, &c. plainly inſinuates that thoſe diſorders continued after the battle of Pharſalia; and as he ſays that Cæſar, on his return to Rome, ſhewed himſelf very much diſpleaſed with Marc Antony, which produced two notable effects, he gives us reaſon to believe that ſome time paſſed between the divorce of Antonia, and the marriage of Fulvia: for the two effects I ſpeak of are, the one that Marc Antony would not follow Cæſar in his expedition to Africa; the other that he threw off his debaucheries, he changed his courſe of life, reſolved to marry, and made choice of Fulvia (80). However, I would not deny that, when he put away his ſecond wife, he had already taken meaſures to marry a third: for an engagement with a curtezan does not hinder great Lords from marrying: but in all probability, he made no great haſte in the matter; it was neceſſary that Cæſar's diſpleaſure ſhould ſerve him for a ſpur. Therefore I do not cenſure thoſe who apply to Fulvia theſe words of Cicero; *Sororem tuam* (that is, Antonia) *ejeciſti alia conditione quæſita & ante perſpecta.*

I know ſome able men who apply them to Cytheris; but they are miſtaken: for there is no likelihood that Marc Antony ever thought of marrying that creature. It was enough for them both to do all that married folks do, *to eat, drink, and lie together*; and as to living

(67) Some celebrated Critics will have it that we ought to read *leonibus*, becauſe it is certain that in theſe progreſſes Marc Antony had a chariot drawn by Lions. See the Article LYCORIS, Remark [C].

(68) *Cytheridem ſecum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem.* Cicero, *Epiſt. XI. Libri X. ad Atticum.*

(69) *In Epiſt. ſupra dictam Ciceronis ad Atticum.*

(70) *Epiſtolicar. Quæſt.* 11. lib. 4.

(71) *In eam Epiſtolam Ciceronis.*

(72) It is *Popma* who quotes it.

(73) *Sed rectius Popma cui adſtipulantur, &c.* Grævius *in Ciceron. ad Atticum*, tom. 2. pag. 164.

(74) This is plain from *Plutarch*, in *Antonio*, pag. 919.

(76) *Frugi factus eſt: illam ſuam ſuas res ſibi habere juſſit ex duodecim tabulis: claves ademit: exegit. Quam porro ſpectatus civis, quam probatus, cujus ex omni vita nihil eſt honeſtius, quam quod cum mima fecit divortium.* Ibid. cap. 23.

(78) *See* Cicero, *II Philipp.* cap. 25, *& ſeq.*

(79) *Cæſar Alexandria ſe recepit... haſta poſita pro æde Jovis Statoris, bona Cn. Pompeij... voci acerbiſſimæ ſubjecta præconis.* Ibid. cap. 26.

(80) Ἔοικε μέντοι τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀβελτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσωτείας ἀφελεῖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἀναισθήτως τὰ πλημμελήματα δεξάμενος, ἀπαλλαγὴς γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου, γάμῳ προσέσχε, Φουλβίαν ἀγάμενος. *Apparet tamen multum de Antonii amentia & intemperantia Cæſarem, peccata ejus non diſſimulando, detraxiſſe. Siquidem explicuit ſe illa vita, animoque ad nuptias applicato Fulviam duxit.* Plut. *in Anton* pag. 920, C.

wed the latter till after the death of Fulvia. It is not true that Joſephus has ſpoken of this Fulvia [*M*].

living with a Concubine, and all the exceſs of complaiſance which a gallant may ſhew a miſtreſs he enjoys, Marc Antony could add nothing, after Antonia's divorce, to what he had already practiſed before the battle of Pharſalia. Father Abram has ſtumbled in this place: Marc Antony, according to him (81), had a mind, when he divorced his ſecond wife, to marry Cytheris, and did actually marry her; and afterwards he put her away, and married Fulvia. Father Abram's proofs are very bad ones. He pretends Cicero and Plutarch aſſert that Marc Antony, ſoon after the divorce of Antonia, carried Cytheris in proceſſion through the towns of Italy. He thence concludes that the marriage with Fulvia was not yet celebrated, it being very improbable that the new married man would have ſo ſoon given his bride ſuch a mortification. But he ſhould have conſidered that Cicero plainly gives us to underſtand, that all the progreſſes of Marc Antony and Cytheris, through the towns of Italy, preceded Antonia's divorce. Cicero obſerves that Concubine made two ſuch progreſſes: 1, before the battle of Pharſalia; 2, when Marc Antony returning to Rome, after that memorable action, met his miſtreſs Cytheris at Brunduſium, whither ſhe was come to receive him. It is certain that the quarrels of Marc Antony and Dolabella did not break out till after this ſecond progreſs of Cytheris through the towns of Italy. It is equally certain that the divorce of Antonia, and her huſband's quarrel with Dolabella, happened at the ſame time. The Author whom I refute ought not to rely ſo much on the word *uxor* made uſe of by Cicero with regard to Cytheris; for the words which follow a little after in Cicero, *rejecta mater* AMICAM *impuri filii* TANQUAM *nurum ſequebatur*, evidently ſhew that there was no true marriage.

(81) *Certè cum, ut ex Plutarcho & Cicerone conflat, ſtatim poſt repudiatam Antoniam Italiæ oppida obierit cum illa mimula, non videtur adhuc de Fulviæ nuptiis cogitaſſe, ne recentem uxorem iis flagitiis offenderet. Quare nihil obſtat quo minus ille Cytheridem verè tum uxorem acceperit, ut loquitur Orator, à qua tamen paulò poſt fecit divortium, & Fulviam duxit uxorem.* Abram. *in Cicer. Oration.* tom. 2. pag. 553.

I doubt not but the reaſon which obliged Marc Antony to ſend away Cytheris, was becauſe he plainly ſaw, without that, he could not conclude his marriage with Fulvia. I place this marriage in the year of Rome 707, when Cæſar was in Africa. Two years after there was reaſon to ſuſpect that Marc Antony was ſtill in love with Cytheris; for the Letter which he delivered himſelf to Fulvia, and which he feigned to bring as a meſſenger from Marc Antony, contained little elſe beſides aſſurances and proteſtations that he was no longer in love with that Actreſs, and that all the paſſion he had for her was now turned towards Fulvia. *Confeſtim ad eam, cujus cauſſa venerat, deducitur, eique epiſtolam tranſdidit, quam cum illa legeret flens, (erat enim amatorie ſcripta: caput autem litterarum, ſibi cum illa mima poſthac nihil futurum, omnem ſe amorem abjeciſſe illinc, atque in hanc transfudiſſe) cum mulier fleret uberius, homo miſericors ferre non potuit, caput aperuit, in collum invaſit* (82). i. e. "He is immediately introduced to her, on whoſe account he came, and delivered her the Letter, which when ſhe read with tears (for it was written in very affectionate terms, and chiefly imported that he would have nothing to do with that Player for the future, that he had thrown off all love to her, and transferred it to the other;) when the Lady wept heartily, my tender-hearted Gentleman took compaſſion on her, diſcovered himſelf, and fell on her neck." This was on his return from Narbonne, whither he went to meet Julius Cæſar, who had defeated Pompey's ſons in Spain. *Cæſari ex Hiſpania redeunti obviam longiſſime proceſſiſti* (83). We ſhall ſee in the Article LYCORIS that he ſoon forgot his promiſe. What Plutarch has obſerved as to the time of Marc Antony's marriage with Fulvia, is confirmed by the obſervation Dion has made, that Antyllus, their eldeſt ſon, received the virile gown after his father was defeated at Actium and was returned to Egypt (84). According to Plutarch the marriage was celebrated in the year 707, and Dion aſſures us that Antyllus received the virile gown in the year 724; at which time he might very well be ſixteen years old. He had been betrothed to the daughter of Auguſtus (85); but they cauſed him to be put to death, and it was his virile gown that expoſed him to that fatal misfortune (86). Auguſtus judged it not proper to ſuffer him to live, ſince the Egyptians might conſider him as a man grown. Marc Antony had another ſon by Fulvia; of whom I have ſpoken above (87).

(82) Cicero, *II Philipp.* cap. 21. *See alſo* Plutarch, *in Antonio*, pag. 920.

(83) Cicero, ibid. cap. 32.

(84) Dio, lib. 51. pag. 511.

(85) Ibid. pag. 519.

(86) Ibid. pag. 511.

(87) Article ANTONIUS (Marcus Julius).

[*M*] *It is not true that Joſephus has ſpoken of this Fulvia.*] Glandorpius (88) has committed two faults in this particular: he refers us to the Vth Chapter of the XVIIIth Book of the Jewiſh Antiquities, to learn news of Fulvia the wife of Marc Antony; and he ſays in the ſame page that Joſephus in that paſſage ſpeaks of a Fulvia who lived in the time of Tiberius. This is deceiving the Reader twice; it is making him believe that the Jewiſh Hiſtorian has ſpoken of two Fulvia's in the ſame chapter, and that one of them is ſhe who was married to Marc Antony. The truth is, he ſpeaks but of one Fulvia, a Roman Lady married to Saturninus, who had embraced the Jewiſh Religion at the ſollicitation of four raſcals. She gave them whatever they aſked of her under the ſpecious pretext of Religion; but when her huſband found that they had converted to their own uſe all the preſents which ſhe intended ſhould be ſent to the Temple of Jeruſalem, he complained of it to Tiberius, who, without diſtinguiſhing the innocent from the guilty, ordered all the Jews to depart Rome.

(88) *Onomaſt.* pag. 358.

FUNCCIUS (JOHN) a Lutheran Preacher, ſon-in-law to Oſiander, and his ſecond in the controverſies relating to imputative juſtice, diſturbed the tranquillity of the public by other methods, I mean by engaging in State cabals, for which he was beheaded at Konigſburg in Pruſſia, the 28th of October 1566 (*a*). He was then in his forty ninth year (*b*). See Moreri for the two verſes which, it is ſaid, he compoſed the day of his execution. They contain a Greek word which Moreri has tranſlated into French (*c*); but having tranſlated that word only, he has made nonſenſe of it. He ſhould have ſaid, that theſe two verſes admoniſhed all men to profit by the example of Funccius, in order to ſhun, as one would the plague, the itch of meddling with too many things. Moreri has committed another error [*A*], and Voſſius is miſtaken with regard to that of Funccius [*B*].

(*a*) Melch. Adam. *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 412.

(*b*) See the Remark [*B*].

(*c*) Πολυπραγμοσύνη, *de qua voce vide* A. Gellium, lib. 11. cap. 16.

FURIUS

[*A*] *Moreri has committed another error.*] He ſays that Funccius carried on his Chronology as far as 1352, and afterwards to 1560. But he ſhould have ſaid that Funccius printed, anno 1544, the firſt part of his Chronology, which extended from Adam to the birth of Jeſus Chriſt (1); and that, anno 1554, was publiſhed his whole Chronology, which began from the Creation of the world, and ended anno Dom. 1552. He extended it as far as the year 1560, in a new Edition reviſed and corrected.

(1) See the Dedication to this *Chronology*.

[*B*] *Voſſius is miſtaken with regard to the age of Funccius.*] He ſays that he was beheaded in the 40th year of his age (2): But we will aſcribe this error to the Printers, and only blame Voſſius for having ſent them a very needleſs addition. He had ſaid, page 231, that Funccius being born in 1518, loſt his life at 48 years of age; and he ordered that, in page 454, an addition ſhould be printed, declaring that Funccius was beheaded in 1566. Now could any thing be more needleſs than this? Was it not plain enough to all his readers, from page 231, that Funccius died in 1566? The only way to excuſe him would be to ſay, that he was deſirous of ſhewing by this Addition, that Funccius was beheaded in the 49th year of his age; but that the Printers, inſtead of 49 compoſed 40.

(2) Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 454.

It is certain that Melchior Adamus is not accurate: for, having fixed the birth of Funccius to the month of February 1518, and his execution to the 28th of October 1566; he ſhould have ſaid that he died in his 49th year, and not at 48 yearr of age.

FURIUS (FREDERICK) ſirnamed *Cæriolanus*, becauſe he was a native of Valentia in Spain [*A*], flouriſhed in the ſixteenth Century. He ſtudied at Paris under Audomarus Talæus, Hadrian Turnebus, and Peter Ramus (*a*); and afterwards came to Louvain, where he publiſhed a treatiſe of Rhetoric; and aſſerted, in oppoſition to a Doctor of Divinity (*b*), that the Scriptures ought to be tranſlated into the vulgar tongue (*c*). He wrote, in this city, a very fine treatiſe on that ſubject [*B*], and went into Germany to print it. This brought him into trouble (*d*); but the Emperor Charles V being informed of his learning, piety and candour, he was ſheltered from the ſtorm. This Prince ſent him into the Low-Countries, and placed him near Philip his ſon (*e*), and he was appointed Hiſtorian (*f*). Furius devoted the remainder of his life to the ſervice of this maſter; and having accompanied him to the States of Arragon, he died in Valladolid anno 1592 (*g*). I cannot ſet down his age very exactly [*C*]. He employed his utmoſt endeavours in order to pacify the troubles of the Low-Countries (*h*) [*D*]. Furius was never married (*i*), nor was he Chancellor to the King of Poland (*k*). His treatiſe *of the Counſellor* has been very much eſteemed [*E*]. GABRIEL

(*a*) And. Schottus, *Bibl. Hiſpan.* pag. 615.

(*b*) He was a Sicilian called *Bononia*, and a Divinity Profeſſor in Louvain. Thuan. lib. 104. pag. 486. I have written an article concerning him.

(*c*) *Idem* Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 615.

(*d*) Thuan. lib. 104. pag. 486.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 615.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*h*) Thuan. lib. 104. pag. 486.

(*i*) Idem, ibid.

(*k*) See the laſt remark.

[*A*] *Sirnam'd* Cæriolanus, *becauſe he was a native of Valentia in Spain.*] Nicholas Antonio (1) relates, that the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Valentia are vulgarly called *Seriols*; and that our Furius had, for this reaſon, the ſirname of *Seriolanus*. He nevertheleſs does not ſpell this name ſo, for at the beginning of his Book intitled, *Bononia*, he writes it *Cæriolanus*. In the Catalogue of Thuanus's Library (2), he is miſcalled *Coriolanus*.

(1) Nichol. Anton. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 277.

(2) Page 500. Part 1.

[*B*] *He wrote . . . a very fine Treatiſe on this ſubject.*] It is intitled, *Bononia, ſive de Libris ſacris in vernaculam linguam convertendis, libri duo ad Franciſcum Bovadillium Mendozium, Cardinalem Burgenſem*; and was printed at Baſil by John Oporinus, anno 1556, in 8vo. It contains 365 pages, and the reading of it was prohibited by the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Council of Trent.

[*C*] *I cannot ſet down his age very exactly.*] The following words of Thuanus are no ways determinate. *Ad meliorem vitam haud paullum Montano ſenior hoc anno migravit* (3). They inform us only, that Furius died in a much more advanced age than Montagne, who lived but till threeſcore years of age (4). Theſe words were not underſtood in the *Elogia* of Teſſier, it being ſaid there, that *Furius died at about ſixty years of age.*

(3) Thuan. lib. 304. pag. 486.

(4) *Montanus haud ſexagenario major vitæ ultimum diem clauſit.* Idem, ibid.

[*D*] *He employed his utmoſt endeavours in order to pacify the troubles of the Low Countries.*] The Reader will find in Thuanus, the ſubſtance of a plan or propoſals for peace, which Furius publiſhed in 1575. The conditions which he propoſed to the Provinces that had revolted, appeared very reaſonable; but the Prince of Orange replied that there was no truſting to them, and that they were offered too late; and he therefore preferred war to ſo ſuſpicious a peace (5).

(5) *Ex* Thuano, lib. 60. pag. m. 108, 109, *ad ann.* 1575.

It is to be obſerved that Furius made the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations, that the King of Spain would ratify the conditions contained in his plan; and that in caſe it was thought neceſſary to bind this Monarch more ſtrongly to the obſervation of the Treaty, it ſhould be ſigned by the Nobles of the higheſt quality in Spain as well eccleſiaſtical as ſecular; by the Princes of the Empire, and by ſome of the moſt conſiderable cities of the Low-Countries. The Author of the Plan gives his word, that the Inquiſition ſhould not be ſet up; that the impoſition of the tenth penny ſhould be taken away; that the Edicts againſt the new Religion ſhould be mitigated by certain proviſo's, which ſhould be amicably agreed by both parties; and that ſuch as ſhould not be ſatisfied with theſe proviſo's, ſhould have full liberty to go and ſettle elſewhere, without loſing any part of their goods and chattels; that the foreign ſoldiers ſhould be diſbanded, and ſent out of the Low-Countries, if deſired by the male-contents &c. Furius offered to ride poſt, in order to carry to the King of Spain the acceptance of theſe conditions of peace; however, he had no occaſion to undertake this journey, the overtures in queſtion not being accepted. *Ad ea Arauſionenſis, quoniam jam conventus delegatorum diſſolutus erat, pridie Non. Maias reſpondet, quæ in pacis formula proponantur, de promiſſis ſervandis cautiones, qua in re totius negotii cardo vertitur, eas non ita prudenti viro tutas videri, quin P. R. ſi non ſerventur, diſpenſare poſſint, & violatores abſolvere; ea diffidentia fieri, & quoniam formula hæc ſerius tranſmiſſa ſit, ut ipſe abjecta omni meliori ſpe certum licet dubii eventus bellum incertæ atque adeo inſidioſæ paci præferendum duxerit* (6). i. e. "The Prince of Orange, as the aſſembly of the Commiſſioners was already diſſolved, anſwered, the day "before the nones of May, that a prudent man could "not ſafely rely on the promiſes given in the Plan "or Propoſals of Peace, which was the hinge on "which the whole affair turned; becauſe the Pope, "in caſe they were not fulfilled, could grant a Diſpenſation, and abſolve thoſe who ſhould violate the "articles on this occaſion; that the Plan had been "ſent too late; ſo that himſelf, rejecting all better "hopes, concluded that a certain war, tho' doubtful "as to the iſſue of it, was preferable to an uncertain, "and therefore inſidious peace."

(6) Thuan. lib. 60. pag. 109, C.

The ſame happens to hiſtorians as to travellers; they ſometimes meet with certain ſubjects, which are either as quagmires, or like a ſmooth, broad, and well paved road &c. Furius's Plan of Peace is a favourable ſubject with reſpect to the Hiſtorians who write for Spain, and diſadvantageous with regard to the Hiſtorians of the oppoſite party. It is fair and bright for the former, but dull and ſad for the latter; for what nobler field could an Hiſtorian deſire; in order to diſplay the clemency of a Prince, and caſt an odium on the ſtubbornneſs of his revolted ſubjects, than this ſtep which was taken by Furius, and the conſequences that enſued upon it? What greater perplexity than for ſubjects to be forced to declare, that they dare not rely on the promiſes of a Sovereign who promiſes to redreſs all their grievances, and remove all thoſe things which forced them to the neceſſity of taking up arms? Nevertheleſs, in this particular caſe, the Prince of Orange had good reaſons to miſtruſt the King of Spain. Matters were come to ſuch a paſs, that he was forced to practiſe, (as he was very able to do) the following maxim, that when a ſubject has once drawn his ſword againſt his Prince, he muſt throw away the ſcabbard.

[*E*] *His treatiſe* of the Counſellor *has been very much eſteemed.*] He intitled it *del Conſeio y Conſeiero.* Simon Schardius was the firſt who tranſlated it into Latin, and his verſion was publiſhed at Colen in 1618, by Andrew Schottus, with the Treatiſes of Peter Magnus and Hippolytus à Collibus on the ſame ſubject. Chriſtopher Warſevicius gave another Latin Verſion of it, and publiſhed it with his Treatiſe *de Legato & Legatione.* It was publiſhed at Dantzick in 1646, according to Nicholas Antonio, who doubtleſs was miſtaken, Warſevicius not being then living; and we have ſome pieces of his printed in 1582, and an Edition of his Treatiſe *de Legato & Legatione*, in 1595. Nicholas Antonio took, by miſtake, for the edition procured by the Pole in queſtion, that which was made after his death. But be this as it will, Warſevicius has beſtowed the following encomium on Furius's book. *Hoc opus multis multorum vel longiſſimis commendationibus eſt præferendum. Sic enim reſpondet acumen ingenii pectoris candori, & diſputandi ſubtilitas ſententiarum gravitati, ut tales Ceriolæ Conſiliarii omni ævo optari quam ſperari videantur mihi magis potuiſſe* (7). i. e. "This work is preferable to all Commen- "taries whatſoever, tho' of ever ſo great a length: for "the Author's wit and ſenſe anſwer ſo well to his "candor, and the ſubtlety of his reaſoning to the "gravity and dignity of his ſtyle, that it is my opi- "nion ſuch Counſellors as our Author deſcribes, are "to be wiſhed, rather than expected, in every age."

(7) Warſevicius, *apud* Nicol. Antonium, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 277.

A Latin Tranſlation of this work was printed at Baſil anno 1563 in 8vo, and at Straſburg in 12mo (8). By the way, Gaſpar Eſcolanus, who, in his Hiſtory of Valentia, ſays that Furius was Chancellor to the King of Poland (9), was probably led into this miſtake by ſome book, which contained both the *Treatiſe of the Counſellor*, and ſome other Diſſertation dedicated to the Chancellor of Poland.

(8) See the *Catalogue of Thuanus's Library*, pag. 500. tom. 1.

(9) *See* Nicholas Ant. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 277.

G.

GABRIEL (GILES DE), Licentiate of the Univerſity of Louvain, Prieſt, Monk of the third Order of St. Francis, Definitor General, and Apoſtolic Commiſſary in the Netherlands, was a native of Liege, who publiſhed at Bruſſels in 1675, a book intitled *Specimina Moralis Chriſtianæ & Moralis Diabolicæ*. i. e. "Specimens of Chriſtian Morality and Diabolical Morality." This title *alarmed the Court of Rome, and obliged the Author to go thither to juſtify his doctrine, which being found to be perfectly ſound, he thought himſelf obliged to communicate it again to the public*, reforming the Title a little (*a*). He therefore cauſed his Work to be reprinted, and intitled it *Specimina Moralia*, i. e. *Moral Specimens*. This ſecond Edition is of Rome 1680. There is a third, which is in French, reviſed, corrected, and inlarged. It is intitled *Les Eſſais de la Theologie Morale*, or *Eſſays on Moral Divinity*, and contains 316 pages in 12mo. This Author approaches infinitely nearer to the ſevere, than to the relaxed ſcheme of morality. I believe he is no friend to the Jeſuits, nor, conſequently, beloved by them.

(a) *Journ. des Savans* of the 14th of April 1681, pag. 139, of the Dutch Edition. *See alſo* Mr. Baillet in the 1ſt Tome of the *Jugemens des Savans*, pag. 506.

GAFFAREL (JAMES), a learned man who has been much talked of in the ſeventeenth Century, was a Provençal (*a*). He underſtood the Oriental and ſeveral other Languages, and pretended to know every thing, but principally the occult and cabaliſtic Sciences. Cardinal Richelieu made choice of him for his Library-keeper (*b*), and ſent him *into Italy to collect the beſt manuſcripts and printed books that could be found* (*c*). Mr. de la Thuillerie, Ambaſſador of France at Venice, had a mind to have him near him as his learned companion [*A*]. Gaffarel publiſhed a Book intitled *Curioſitez Inouïes*, i. e. *Unheard of Curioſities*, which made a great noiſe, and was cenſured by the Sorbonne [*B*]. He was obliged to make ſome retractations; for being poſſeſſed of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices [*C*], he could not ſafely bring his orthodoxy into queſtion. Before that time he had been expoſed to many untoward ſuſpicions [*D*], and it is highly probable he

(a) He was born at Mannes in Provence, *Merc. Galant*, for the month of January 1682, pag. 159.

(b) Ibid. pag. 160.

(c) Father Jacob, *Traité des Biblioth.* pag. 479. *See alſo* pag. 704, where he cites what Gaffarel has ſaid in the Preface to the *Hiſtory of the War of Conſtantinople, by Paul Rammuſio.*

[*A*] *Mr. de la Thuillerie ... had a mind to have him near him as his learned companion.*] Gaffarel did not propoſe to live with the Ambaſſador (1) on the foot of a man who was only proper to divert him at his leiſure hours by learned converſation. He did not believe Politics to be above his ſphere: he thought he might be of uſe to Mr. de la Thuillerie even in the affairs of his embaſſy; for which reaſon he deſired his good friend Mr. Naudé to ſend him a liſt of thoſe Authors who had written on Politics; and this was the occaſion which gave birth to the *Bibliographia politica* of Gabriel Naudé, which has been ſo often reprinted. To prove it, let us quote the beginning of that book. *Quæris à me, mi Gaffarelle eruditiſſime, atque etiam frequentibus literis vehementius urges, ut pro ea, quam in me non ſemel deprehendiſti, diverſorum Librorum ac Scriptorum cognitione, eorum nomenclaturam aut potius œconomiam ad te tranſmittam, quos inſtituendis tractandiſque cum recta ratione, & methodo, Politicæ ſtudiis, non inutiles fore cenſeo. Quandoquidem ipſa tibi in præſentiarum maximopere eſſe neceſſaria, vel te ipſo tacente cæteri omnes facilè intelligunt, quos minimè fugit, te unum præ multis, non ut liberalibus modo diſciplinis excultum, imbutumque ſanctioris linguæ facultate præclariſſima, ſed tanquam ad reliquas omnes diſciplinas factum à naturâ, & diligenti arte expolitum, ab Illuſtriſſimo, Sapientiſſimoque viro Domino* THUILLERIO, *Chriſtianiſſimi noſtri Regis ad Sereniſſimam Rempublicam Venetam Oratore Excellentiſſimo, ſelectum fuiſſe; quo cum de rebus graviſſimis communicare, & ſubciſivis horis ſermones literarios miſcere poſſet* (2). i. e. "You deſire of me, my learned "friend Gaffarel, and earneſtly requeſt, as you have "more than once found me acquainted with a great "variety of Books and Writers, by repeated Letters, "that I would ſend you a Catalogue, or rather a "regular Series of ſuch as I think may be of uſe in "ſetting about and purſuing the ſtudy of Politics in a "rational and methodical way. How very neceſſary "ſuch a courſe of ſtudies is for you at this juncture, "may be eaſily conceived, though yourſelf were ſi-"lent, by every body who is apprized that the illuſtri-"ous and diſcerning Mr. de la Thuillerie, Embaſſador "from the moſt Chriſtian King to the Serene Republic "of Venice, has made choice of you, preferably to a "great many others, not only on account of your "ſkill in the Liberal Sciences, and your perfect ac-"quaintance with the Hebrew Tongue, but as one "framed by nature, and fitted by art, for the ac-"quiring all other kinds of knowledge; and a per-"ſon with whom he may communicate the moſt im-"portant affairs, and paſs his leiſure hours in learned "converſation."

(1) It appears from *The Life of Peireskius* that Gaffarel was at Venice in the year 1633.

(2) Naudæus, *in Bibliographia Politica*, init.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a Book ... which was cenſured by the Sorbonne.*] Here is the title at length: *Curioſitez inouïes ſur la ſculpture taliſmanique des Perſans, Horoſcope des Patriarches, & lecture des eſtoiles.* i. e. "Unheard of Curioſities concerning the Taliſmanic "Sculpture of the Perſians, the Horoſcope of the Pa-"triarchs, and Reading of the Stars." The Author "pretended to ſhew that Taliſmans, or conſtellated "figures, had the vertue to make a man rich and "fortunate, to free a houſe, and even a whole coun-"try, from certain inſects and venomous creatures, "and from all the injuries of the air (3)." Sorel, under the feigned name of the Sieur de l'Iſle refuted Gaffarel's work; and his Refutation met with a good reception from the public. You will find in it (4) Gaffarel's Recantation. The firſt Edition of the *Unheard-of Curioſities* is that of Paris 1629. There was another printed at Roan in the year 1631; and two others, without the name of the Printer, or of the place where they were printed, in the years 1637, and 1650, in 8vo. The laſt has additions to it. This Work was alſo printed in Latin at Hamburg, in the year 1676, with the notes of Gregory Michael.

(3) *See* Sorel's *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. 415.

(4) In page 305, *teſte* Colomeſio, *Gall. Orient.* pag. 154.

[*C*] *Being poſſeſſed of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.*] I ſhall ſet down in this Remark all the titles which I find to have been given him. He was Doctor of Divinity and Canon Law, Protonotary of the Holy Apoſtolic See, and Commendatory Prior of St. Giles (5). When he died he was Dean of Canon Law in the Univerſity of Paris, Prior of le Reveſt de Brouſſe in the Dioceſe of Ciſteron, and Commander of St. Omeil (6). Konig ſtiles him, *Sigonciæ apud Gallos Abbas.*

(5) *See* F. Jacob, *Traité des Biblioth.* pag. 704, 705.

(6) *Merc. Galant*, Jan. 1682, pag. 159.

[*D*] *Before that time he had been expoſed to many untoward ſuſpicions.*] This appears from the Preface to the *Unheard-of Curioſities*. *A perſon of quality*, ſays he, *whoſe deſire it is a crime to refuſe, has drawn them*

he held ſome very peculiar opinions. It is ſaid that Cardinal Richelieu deſigned to employ him in his grand project for the reunion of Religions; and that, in order to try if it were feaſible, he authorized him to preach againſt the Doctrine of Purgatory [*E*]. Gaffarel died at Sigonce in the year 1681, at the age of fourſcore (*d*). He had almoſt finiſhed the Work upon which he had been employed a good many years [*F*]: I do not know whether his friends will publiſh it. I ſhall not give an exact Liſt of his Works [*G*].

(*d*) *Merc. Galant*, Jan. 1682, pag. 160.

them out of my cloſet, where they ſhould for ever have remained, ſince I had determined, after ſuffering ſo many calumnies, never to publiſh any more; having a thouſand times ſighed out theſe words formerly familiar to a Roman Prince, Utinam neſciſſem literas! i. e. "O "*that I had never learned to write!*" How many Authors are there who would make the ſame wiſh, if they had not reſolution enough to deſpiſe the unjuſt cenſures of certain people?

[*E*] *It is ſaid that Cardinal Richelieu ... authorized him to preach againſt the Doctrine of Purgatory.*] "When, in one of the cities of Languedoc the Mi-"niſters of the place did themſelves the honour to "pay their reſpects to him (7), the converſation turn-"ing upon the project for a reunion in matters of "Religion, which he ſaid he wiſhed for, ſince it had "been happily reſtored in matters of State; they an-"ſwered him, that they ſaw but little appearance of "effecting it, ſo long as the Pope inſiſted on retain-"ing his authority in its utmoſt extent, and his abſo-"lute infallibility: to which he mildly replied, that "means might be eaſily found out to bring the Pope "to reaſon. And as the Gazettes then publiſhed what "the Sieur Gaffarel, a man of known learning and "reputation, authorized by his Eminence, had pub-"licly preached in Dauphinè againſt Purgatory; we "likewiſe knew, in proper time, of the ſecret nego-"ciations which by his direction were entred upon "by Father Audebert, a famous Jeſuit, with ſome of "our moſt celebrated Miniſters, in order to a-"gree upon certain propoſitions, which might be "adjuſted between both parties, concerning their "principal differences." This I take from a Preface of Samuel Des-Marets (8). I know Gaffarel publiſhed a Book about the Pacification of Religions.

(7) That is, to Cardinal Richelieu.

[*F*] *He had almoſt finiſhed the Work upon which he had been employed a good many years.*] "He had been "labouring for ſeveral years on a Hiſtory of the ſub-"terranean world, wherein he treated of the caves, "grotto's, mines, vaults, and catacombs, which he had "met with in thirty years travels thro' all parts of "the world. He had almoſt finiſhed this Work; "plates for it were already engraven, and it was juſt "going to the preſs, when death prevented the exe-"cution of his deſign. We are put in hopes that thoſe "two learned friends (9) of Mr. de Gaffarel who ſurvive "him, and whom he entruſted with his laſt deſires, "will not deprive the public of ſo rare and curious a "Work (10)."

(8) Prefixed to *The Summary Anſwer to the Method of Cardinal Richelieu.* This Anſwer was printed at Groningen, in the year 1664. A new Convert, couſin to Father Maimbourg, was the Author of it. He there takes the name of the Sieur R. de la Ruelle.

(9) That is, the Abbot Pecoil, a great traveller, and Mr. Chorier, Advocate at Grenoble.

(10) *Merc. Galant*, Jan. 1682, pag. 161, 163.

[*G*] *I ſhall not give an exact liſt of his Works.*] Here are only the titles of ſome of them: *Abdita divinæ cabalæ myſteria contra Sophiſtarum logomachiam defenſa*, at Paris, 1623, in 4to. *Ars nova & perquam facilis legendi Rabbinos ſine punctis. De Muſica Hebræorum ſtupenda libellus. In voces derelictas V. T. centuriæ duæ. De ſtellis cadentibus opinio nova. Quæſtio Hebraico-Philoſophica, utrum a principio mare ſalſum exſtiterit.* Mr. Colomies (11) refers us to the *Apes Urbanæ* of Allatius, from whence he has taken theſe titles, and where he has left ſeveral others. The *Widow of Sarepta* and a *Treatiſe of good and evil Genii*, are two of Gaffarel's productions (12).

(11) Colomeſii] *Gall. Orient.* pag. 260, 261.

(12) *Merc. Galant*, Jan. 1682, pag. 161.

GAIGNEUR (WILLIAM LE) was of Angers (*a*), and lived at the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century. We have ſeen his name (*b*) among thoſe who have excelled in the Art of Writing. I have read in a Deſcription of France, that he was *the firſt of all the Writers of the Kingdom*, and that he *paved the way for a great many men, who* at that time *profeſſed the Art of Writing* (*c*). There are ſome verſes in praiſe of him among the Poems of Peter le Loyer, who ſtiles him *Secretary to Monſieur the King's brother* (*d*).

(*a*) François des Rues, *Deſcript. de la France*, pag. 283, of the Edition of Conſtance, 1608. (*b*) In the Remark of the Article ROCCO. (*c*) Fr. des Rues, *Deſcript. de la France*, pag. 283. (*d*) See the *Works and Miſcellany Poems of P. le Loyer*, folio 248, *verſo*, of the Paris Edition 1579.

☞GALE (Dr. THOMAS) a very learned Engliſh Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Scruton in Yorkſhire in the year 1636, and educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool, from whence he was removed to Trinity College in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and at laſt that of Doctor of Divinity, and was elected Fellow of that College, and Profeſſor of the Greek Language in that Univerſity. July 12, 1669 he was incorporated Maſter of Arts into the Univerſity of Oxford (*a*). In 1671 he publiſhed at Cambridge in 8vo a Collection of *Opuſcula Mythologica, Ethica, & Phyſica*, in Greek and Latin [*A*]; which was afterwards reprinted at Amſterdam

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 177.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Collection of* Opuſcula Mythologica, Ethica, & Phyſica, *in Greek and Latin.*] This Collection contains the following Tracts. I. *Palæphatus de incredibilibus Hiſtoriis, & ejuſdem Fragmenta duo de Inventione purpuræ, & de primo Ferri Inventore.* II. *Heraclitus de Incredibilibus, cum Verſione Latinâ Leonis Allatii.* III. *Anonymi longè Heraclito recentioris libellus de Incredibilibus, cum Leonis Allatii Verſione Latinâ.* IV. *Phornuti Commentarius de Naturâ Deorum, Latine redditus a Conrado Clauſero.* Mr. Gale in his *Preface* obſerves, that Aldus in the title page of his Edition calls this Writer *Phurnutus*, but in the end of it *Cornutus*; and that there is the ſame uncertainty in the Manuſcripts at Oxford; but that the moſt antient of them, as well as one in the Vatican Library, gives the inſcription of the Work thus, Κορνῦτυ ἐπιδρόμη τῶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεωρίαν παραδιδομένων, in the ſame manner as Diocles Magneſius is likewiſe ſaid to have inſcribed his Book Ἐπιδρομὴ φιλοσόφων. Mr. Gale therefore inquires who this *Cornutus* is; and remarks, that *Annæus Cornutus*, a Greek, and a Stoic, flouriſhed at Rome under Nero, and had for his auditors in Philoſophy Claudius Agaternus, a Lacedemonian Phyſician, Petronius Ariſtocrates Magneſius, Annæus Lucan, and A. Perſius. He appears to have been a conſiderable critic, ſince Nero deſired his judgment upon a Poem of his, which Cornutus giving too freely, he was baniſhed. The Author of the *Life* of *Perſius* the Satyriſt informs us, that he left ſeveral Philoſophical Writings. Mr. Gale then endeavours to ſhew, that this *Cornutus* is the Author of the *Commentarius de Naturâ Deorum* from the manner of writing, and the principles of his Philoſophy, which he diſcovers in this Tract. V. *Salluſtius Philoſophus de Diis & Mundo, cum Leonis Allatii Verſione Latinâ.* Mr. Gale has collected ſome Notes upon this Author from *Jamblichus de Myſteriis Ægyptiorum, Syrianus, & Damaſcius* περὶ ἀρχῶν. VI. *Ocellus Lucanus Philoſophus de Univerſâ Naturâ*, with the Latin Tranſlation of Lodovico Nogarola, and his Notes upon Ocellus, and his Epiſtle concerning the illuſtrious

Amſterdam 1688 in 8vo. In 1672 he was choſen Head-Maſter of St. Paul's School in London, in the room of Mr. Samuel Crombleholme; and had the honour of being employed by that City in writing thoſe elegant inſcriptions on the monument erected in memory of the conflagration in 1666; for which he was preſented with a piece of plate (*b*). In 1675 he publiſhed at Paris in Greek and Latin *Hiſtoriæ Poeticæ Antiqui Scriptores*, in 8vo; and the year following at Oxford in 8vo in Greek and Latin *Rhetores Selecti: Demetrius Phalereus*, *Tiberius Rhetor*, *Anonymus Sophiſta*, *Severus Alexandrinus* [*B*]. June the 7th 1676 he was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral of St. Paul's He was likewiſe elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which he preſented a Roman Urn with its aſhes. In 1678 he publiſhed at Oxford in fol. *Jamblichus Chalcidenſis de Myſteriis. Epiſtola Porphyrii de eodem Argumento. Græcè & Latinè ex Verſione Thomæ Gale*; and likewiſe *Pſalterium juxta Exemplar Alexandrinum, Editio nova Græcè & Latinè.* Oxon. 1678 in 8vo. The year following his edition of Herodotus was printed at London in fol. under this title: *Herodoti Hiſtoria. Ejuſdem Narratio de Vitâ Homeri. Excerpta ex Xenophonte, Cteſiâ, &c. Græcè & Latinè. Henrici Stephani Apologia pro Herodoto, &c. ex Editione Thomæ Gale.* In 1687 he publiſhed at Oxford in fol. *Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ Scriptores quinque ex vetuſtis Codicibus MSS. nunc primum in lucem editi* [*C*]; and in 1691 *Hiſtoriæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ Scriptores quindecim*

(*b*) *Life of Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's. By Samuel Knight, D. D.* pag. 382. edit. London 1724, in 8vo.

illuſtrious Italians, who have written in Greek. VII. *Platonis Timæus Locrus de Animâ Mundi, id eſt, Naturâ.* VIII. *Demophili, Democratis, & Secundi, veterum Philoſophorum, Sententiæ Morales.* IX. *Sexti Pythagorei Sententiæ è Græco in Latinum à Ruffino verſæ, & Xyſto Romanæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopo falsò attributæ.* Mr. Gale tells us, that the Author of theſe *Sentences* lived in the time of Julius Cæſar, and was that *Sextius* the Roman Philoſopher, who is commended by Plutarch in his *Morals*, and by Seneca in his LIXth Epiſtle, where he ſtyles him *Virum acrem, Græcis verbis, Romanis Moribus philoſophantem.* He was a Pythagorean, as appears from Seneca *de Irâ, L. III. c.* 36. and St. Jerom's Epiſtle to *Cteſiphon.* X. *Theophraſti Notationes Morum*, with the Latin Verſion of Iſaac Caſaubon, and the various Readings collected from a Manuſcript in Trinity College Cambridge, and the beſt editions. Mr. Gale obſerves, that with regard to the Notes at the end, he can ſcarce acknowledge them for his own, ſince there are ſo many typographical errors in them occaſioned by his abſence from the preſs. XI. *Pythagoreorum Fragmenta, partim apud Stobæum, partim alibi reperta.* The Pythagoreans, whoſe fragments are here publiſhed, are *Hippodamus Thurius, Eurypha-mus, Hipparchus, Archytas, Theages, Metopus, Clinias, Crito*, and *Polus*; to which are ſubjoined *Diſſertations* by an unknown Author, Fragments of *Archytas* from *Jamblichus's Protrepticon*, two Epiſtles of *Pythagoras*, an Epiſtle of *Lyſis* to *Hipparchus*, three Epiſtles of *Theano*, an Epiſtle of *Meliſſa*, and another of *Mya.* XII. *Heliodori Lariſſæi Capita Opticorum, ad Hetruſci Codicis fidem Græcè & Latinè edita & recenſita.*

[*B*] *His* Rhetores Selecti.] This Collection is dedicated to the Mercer's Company, and the Dedication is dated *ex Ædibus Coletinis* September the 1ſt 1676. This Volume contains, I, *Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione*, corrected by Mr. Gale. II. *Tiberius Rhetor de Schematibus apud Demoſthenem.* This Writer, who, according to our Editor in his Preface, is an *antient, elegant*, and *conciſe* one, was never publiſhed till Mr. Gale has here done it with a Latin Verſion. Suidas ſtyles this Tiberius a Philoſopher and Sophiſt, and tells us, that he wrote "De Formis ſivè Generibus Ora-"tionis lib. 3; De Apparatu; De Commutatione; "De Hiſtoriâ; De Diſpoſitione & Compoſitione Ora-"tionis; De Civilis Orationis Mutatione; De de-"monſtrativis Orationibus; De Præfationibus & Pro-"œmiis; De Augmentis; De Demoſthene & Xeno-"phonte; De Herodoto & Thucydide." He is likewiſe cited ſometimes by the *Scholiaſt* upon *Hermogenes*; but what he quotes is out of another Work. Father Labbe likewiſe in the tenth Supplement to his *Bibliotheca Nova* mentions him after *Geſner*, and tells us, that Leo Allatius publiſhed at Rome in 1643 Tiberius the Sophiſt and other Writers *de Figuris Grammaticis Græcè & Latinè.* Labbe acknowledges that he had not then ſeen this Collection, and Mr. Gale obſerves that he knew nothing more of it; and that he was therefore greatly in doubt whether Tiberius ever treated *de Figuris Grammaticis.* "Perhaps, *ſays he*, the title "was *de Schematibus.* It is uncertain, whether *Suidas* "ſpeaks of this piece; but it is not improbable that "*Tiberius* treated περὶ σχημάτων παρὰ Δημοσθένει, when "he wrote περὶ Δημοσθένους." II. *Anonymus Sophiſta de Rhetoricâ.* Mr. Gale tells us, that this Writer was joined in his Manuſcript to Tiberius; and he has given us a Latin Verſion of it. IV. *Severi Sophiſtæ Alexandrini Ethopœiæ.* This piece had been publiſhed by Frederic Morell in Greek and Latin at Paris in 1591; and Leo Allatius having procured better Manuſcripts of it publiſhed it intire, as he thought, with a new Latin Verſion. But Mr. Gale has given us here a more correct and perfect Edition, with a new Tranſlation. He has illuſtrated all theſe Writers with Notes.

[*C*] *In* 1687 *he publiſhed at Oxford in fol.* Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ Scriptores quinque ex vetuſtis Codicibus MSS. nunc primum in lucem editi.] Dr. Gale's Preface is dated at London May 1ſt 1687. This volume contains I. *Annales Marganenſes*, written in the Monaſtery of *Margan* in Wales; but by whom, or when, is uncertain. Theſe Annals give a ſhort account of the tranſactions not only in England, but likewiſe in France and Paleſtine, from the year 1066, in which Edward the Confeſſor died, to the year 1232, when Henry III aſcended the throne. II. *Chronicon Thomæ Wikes.* This Writer flouriſhed about the year 1290, and is highly applauded by Bale and Pits on account of his extenſive learning. His *Chronicle* begins at the ſame time with the *Annales Marganenſes*, but extends to the end of Edward I's reign. III. *Annales Waverleienſes.* Theſe Annals were written by divers perſons, who probably all belonged to the Monaſtery of Waverly of the Ciſtercian Order, ſince they are ſo diligent in relating the affairs of that Monaſtery. Dr. Gale conjectures, that the Writer of the firſt part was originally Saxon; and it is certain, that he lived in the time of William the Conqueror, ſince he tells us, that he ſaw that Prince, and was at his Court. Theſe Annals begin with the year 1066, and conclude with the year 1291. IV. *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi & aliorum in terram Hieroſolymorum, auctore Gaufrido Viniſauf.* Dr. Gale aſſerts, that *Geoffrey Viniſauf* was the Author of this *Itinerarium*, in oppoſition to Trithemius, Blondus, and the Editor of *Geſta Dei per Francos*, who aſcribe it to *Rupert* a Monk. This Geoffrey lived at the latter end of the twelfth Century under King Richard I and John; and had the ſurname of *Viniſauf* or *de Vino ſalvo* given him, on account of his having written a Book upon the Method of managing of Vines and keeping of Wine, which is ſaid to be ſtill extant at Cambridge. He left likewiſe ſeveral other Works, and was a man of conſiderable learning for that time, and dedicated to Pope Innocent III, a Book written by him in proſe and hexemeter verſe *de arte dicendi.* To this *Itinerary* is ſubjoined an Account of the taking of *Damietta*, found by Dr. Gale in the ſame manuſcript, but it is uncertain who was the Author. V. *Chronica Walteri Hemingfort, Canonici de Giſſeburne, de Geſtis Regum Angliæ.* This Writer is ſaid to have died in 1347. His Chronicle extends from the year 1066 to 1308, that is, from William the Conqueror to the time of Edward II; but it is not inſerted intire in this collection, but only to the year 1273, in which Henry III died. Dr. Gale

tim ex vetuſtis Codicibus MSS. editi, opera Thomæ Gale [*D*], Oxford in fol. About the year 1697 he gave to the new Library at Trinity College in Cambridge a great number of Arabic manuſcripts (*d*). September the 16th 1697 he was admitted Dean of York (*e*), where he kept an hoſpitable table, and was particularly remarkable for his care and good government, and repairing and beautifying the fabric of the Cathedral (*f*). He died at York April the 8th 1702 in the ſixty ſeventh year of his age, and was interred in the Cathedral there, and over his grave is a black marble with an inſcription [*E*]. He was a learned Divine, a great Hiſtorian, and one of the beſt Greek ſcholars of his age. He had a correſpondence with the moſt learned men abroad as well as at home, particularly

(d) Dr. Knight, *ubi ſupra.*

(e) *Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. By Browne Willis Eſq;* pag. 70. edit. London 1727 in 4to.

(f) Dr. Knight, *ubi ſupra.*

tells us, that he reſerved the remaining part of this Chronicle for another volume, which he deſigned to begin with King Edward I.

[*D*] *In* 1691 *he publiſhed* Hiſtoriæ Britanniæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores quindecim &c.] The *Imprimatur* is dated February 3d 1690. In the *Preface* Dr. Gale tells us, that Dr. John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, was very importunate with him, even at his death, to proceed in publiſhing the Writers of the Britiſh Hiſtory, which had never been printed. This volume contains, I. *Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ*, publiſhed from an ancient manuſcript at Cambridge, with the various readings, and an *Epiſtle*, in which that Writer ſeverely remonſtrates againſt the vices of the Britons. II. *Vita S. Wilfridi Epiſcopi Eboracenſis*, written by *Eddius* or *Heddius*, a Monk of Canterbury in the eighth Century under Ofric King of Northumberland. III. *Hiſtoria Britonum*, written by *Nennius* or *Ninnius*, Abbot of Bangor, who in the ſeventh Century propagated the Chriſtian Religion over Wales and the Iſlands of Scotland. IV. *Aſſerii Menevenſis Chronicon Fani Sancti Neoti*, written in the 9th or 10th Century. V. *Ranulphi Higdeni Polychronicon*, written in the 14th Century. This Chronicle contains ſix Books, and extends from the Creation to the year 1343. Dr. Gale has retrenched every thing, which does not relate to the Engliſh Hiſtory. Voſſius tells us (1), that John Treviſa tranſlated this *Polychronicon* into Engliſh, and continued it to the year 1398. VI. *Gulielmi Malmſburienſis Liber de Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Glaſtonienſis*, written in the twelfth Century. The Author died in 1142. Sir Henry Savile publiſhed five Books of this Writer *de Rebus geſtis Anglorum*, two *Hiſtoriæ novellæ*, and four *de geſtis Pontificum Anglorum*, at London 1596 in fol. VII. *Vita S. Aldelmi*, written by the ſame *William of Malmeſbury*, and cited by Bale (2) under the title of *Antiquitates Malmeſburienſes*, who thinks it a different work from the *Life of St. Aldelm*; whereas in reality they are the ſame. VIII. *Hiſtoria Rameſienſis*, or an Account of the Foundation and Benefactions of the Monaſtery of Rames, written by an anonymous Author, not inelegantly. It contains 121 chapters, which are compriſed in three parts; but the fourth, which gave an account of the ſtate of that Monaſtery after the entrance of the Normans, could not be diſcovered by Dr. Gale, tho' he made great enquiry for it. IX. *Hiſtoriæ Elyenſis Eccleſiæ Liber primus*, written by a Monk of that Monaſtery in the twelfth Century. It gives an acconnt of the Life and Miracles of St. Æthelwold Biſhop of Wincheſter, and his Benefactions to that Monaſtery. X. *Hiſtoriæ Elyenſis Eccleſiæ Liber ſecundus*, written by *Thomas* a Monk of that Monaſtery in the twelfth Century. It gives an account of the Dedication of the Church of Ely; the Donations to it; the Lives of the Abbots Brithnod, Ælſin, Leofwin, Leofric, and Wulfric; the Privileges granted to it by King Edgar in 970, and Æthelred in 974; and the tranſlation of the relicks of St. Wendrede the Virgin thither. XI. *Chronica Jo. Wallingford.* This Writer was Abbot of St. Alban's, and his Chronicle gives an account of the Saxon and Daniſh Kings, who made themſelves maſters of Britain, and of ſome of their actions, from the time of Wortigern in 449 to the reign of Edward the Confeſſor in 1026. XII. *Radulphi de Diceto Hiſtoria de Regibus Britonum.* This Writer was Dean of St. Paul's in London, and his Hiſtory ſeems to have been written in the XIIIth Century. It mentions ninety eight Kings from Brutus to Cadwaladar, who died in the year 689. XIII. *De Partitione Provinciæ Angliæ*, written by an anonymous Author. It treats of the Diviſion of England into thirty two Shires, twenty Biſhoprics, two Archbiſhoprics viz. that of Canterbury and that of York. It informs us, that after the expulſion of the Giants there reigned ninety nine Britiſh Kings, the firſt of whom was Brutus; ninety ſix German, the firſt of whom was Hengiſt; and fifteen Engliſh, the firſt of whom was Alfred. XIV. *Joannis Fordun Scoti-Chronicon ſive Scotorum Hiſtoria*, written in the fourteenth Century. It begins from the Origin of the World, and mentions one *Geythelos* King of the Scots, when they fled from Egypt, and his ſon *Hyber*, from whom *Hybernia* took its name; and relates the manner of the Scots paſſing over into the Iſland of Albion. This is the ſubject of the firſt Book. In the ſecond Book the Author tells us, that Brutus, the great-grandſon of Æneas, and ſon of Silvius, who was Aſcanius's ſon, had three ſons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who divided the Kingdom of Britain between them. And he gives an account of the bold anſwer given by the Scots to Julius Cæſar's Embaſſadors; the Birth of Chriſt; and the Converſion of the Scots to the Chriſtian Religion under Pope Victor I, in the year 203. In the *third* Book he treats of Palladius, the firſt Inſtructor and Biſhop of the Scots, the Invaſion of the Saxons, the inteſtine Diviſions of the Britons, the Prophecies of Gildas; of King Arthur, St. Columb, Colman, Merlin, &c. In the *fourth* Book he diſcourſes of the Wars againſt the Picts, and the Kings of the Picts and Scots. In the *fifth* he treats of the Advice given by Macduff to Malcolm, and the Death of Edward. This whole Hiſtory is extracted from Beda, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmeſbury. XV. *Flacci Alcuini Poema de Pontificibus & Sanctis Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis*, written in the eighth Century. Dr. Gale has added an *Appendix* to this Collection, in which, beſides ſeveral paſſages concerning Britain, which he has extracted from *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and *Antoninus's Itinerary*, and illuſtrated with Notes, he has inſerted from the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii*, and the *Geography* of an anonymous Writer of Ravenna printed at Paris in 1688, what relates to the Provinces of Britain; and given a Catalogue of the Hydes in ſome countries on this ſide of the Humber, with an Account of the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons from *Doomes-Day* Book, and an alphabetical Liſt of the antient people, cities, rivers, and promontories, from Camden, and a Genealogy of the Britiſh Kings from the *Textus Roffenſis*. To the whole is ſubjoined a copious Index.

(1) *De Hiſt. Latin.* lib. 3. cap. 2.

(2) *Centur. II.* cap. 73.

[*E*] *With an Inſcription.*] It is as follows:

Æ. M. S.
THOMÆ GALE, *S. T. P. Decani Ebor.*
Viri, ſi quis alius
Ob multifariam Eruditionem
Apud ſuos Exteroſque celeberrimi.
Quale Nomen & ſui Deſiderium
Poſteris reliquit,
Apud Cantabrigienſes
Collegium SS. Trinitatis &
Græcæ Linguæ Profeſſoris Regii Cathedra;
Apud Londinates
Viri litteratiſſimi in Rempublicam
Et patriæ commodum
Ex Gymnaſio Paulino emiſſi;
Apud Eboracenſes
Hujus res Eccleſiæ
Heu! vix quinquennio,
At dum per mortem licuit,
Sedulo & fideliter adminiſtrata;
Et ubicunque agebat donata luce
Veneranda Linguæ Græcæ
Et Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ
Monumenta,
Marmore loquaciora,
Perenniora,
Teſtantur.
Ob. Aprilis VIII. A. S. H. 1702. *ætatis ſuæ LXVII.*

particularly Mabillon, Allix, Baluze, Jacobus Cappellus, Ludolfus, Grævius, and Huetius, Biſhop of Avranches (*g*), who has given him a very advantageous character in his *Commentarii de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus* (*h*), and the *Huetiana* printed at Paris in 1722 in 12mo. Since his death there have been publiſhed from his manuſcripts, *Sermons preached upon ſeveral Holy Days obſerved in the Church of England, by* Thomas Gale, *Dean of York.* London 1704 in 8vo; and *Antonini Iter Britannicum Commentariis illuſtratum Thomæ Gale, S. T. P. nuper Decani Eboracenſis. Opus poſthumum reviſit, auxit, edidit R. G. Acceſſit Anonymi Ravennatis Britanniæ Chorographia cum Autographo Regis Galliæ MS. & Codice Vaticano collata. Adjiciuntur Conjecturæ plurimæ cum Nominibus locorum Anglicis, quotquot iis aſſignari potuerint* [*F*]. London 1709 in 4to. He left likewiſe behind him in manuſcript *Jamblichus de Vitâ Pythagoræ*, & *Origenis Philocalia, variis*

(*g*) Roger Gale Eſq; has a great number of Letters of this learned man to his father.

(*h*) Lib. 5. pag. 315. edit. Amſtelod. 1717. *Quem utraque dote, & modeſtiæ & doctrinæ . . . omnibus hominibus, quos quidem noverim, anteferendum puto.*

[*F*] *Antonini* Iter Britannicum Commentariis illuſtratum *Thomæ Gale*, S. T. P. &c.] Mr. Roger Gale, the Editor, tells us, that the Manuſcripts which his father made uſe of in this Work, were two, which belong to the King of France's Library: that he has taken ſome Readings out of a Book printed at Cologne in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Richardſon, Maſter of Peter-Houſe in Cambridge, which was compared with Iſaac Voſſius's Manuſcript; and that for ſome Readings he was obliged to Dr. Bentley. And whereas ſome of the Readings are marked as taken out of Dr. Gale's own Manuſcript, Mr. Gale informs us, that he was not able, ſince his father's death to diſcover what was become of this Manuſcript, having met only with that part of the *Itinerary*, which relates to *Africa*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, which could be no way ſubſervient to the illuſtration of the *Itinerary* of *Britain*. As the diſtances of places in the *Itinerary* are given us in Roman miles, Mr. Gale has put in the map of Britain, drawn from the *Itinerary* itſelf, the exact *Ratio* betwixt a Roman and an Engliſh mile, as it is determined by Dr. Edmund Halley. Dr. Gale's firſt Notes are upon the title of the book, which he comments on, viz. *Antonini Iter Britanniarum*, (though his own Manuſcript reads it *Itinerarium* & *Antonii*, and Dr. Bentley *Antonii Auguſti*) and he obſerves, that it is juſtly made a doubt to which of the Roman Emperors under the name of *Antoninus* this work is to be aſcribed, or indeed whether to any of them all. To him it ſeems to have been compiled by ſeveral perſons; which is undeniable, if any part of it belonged to any one of the *Antonines*, the laſt of whom lived long before *Conſtantinople* and ſeveral other cities mentioned in this Work, were founded. He conjectures, that it might have been begun by ſome or other of theſe Emperors, and augmented by others, as they had occaſion to viſit and take particular notice of theſe parts of the world. Upon the word *Britanniarum* Dr. Gale obſerves, that the Romans called this iſland indifferently *Britannia* or *Britanniæ*, before it was divided into Provinces. The firſt Roman diviſion of it was in *Severus*'s time by the famous High-way, which extended from *Clauſentium* to *Gabroſentum*. This in another place our Author calls the *Foſſed-Way*, and ſays, that it runs to the North through Leiceſterſhire and Lincolnſhire, and appears afterwards at a village called *Spittle in the Street*, paſſing on thro' *Hibberſtow*, *Gainſtrop*, *Broughton*, *and Applebey*, till at laſt it terminates not far from *Wintringham* on the *Humber* ſide. From this diviſion all that part of Britain, which lay on the Eaſt ſide of the way, was called *Britannia Prima*, being that which lay neareſt the ſea with reſpect to Rome, and is called by Dio ἡ κάτω. And that part, which lay on the Weſt ſide of the way, was called *Britannia Secunda*; and Dio calls it ἡ ἄνω. Dr. Gale gives us a ſhort account of the ſubſequent Roman diviſions of Britain; and then tells us, that the order of the Britiſh Provinces was as follows: Firſt, *Britannia Prima*, or Lower Britain, which was in Severus's time the Eaſtern part of the iſland. Secondly, *Britannia Secunda*, or Upper Britain, which was in Severus's time the Weſtern part of the iſland. From theſe diviſions Conſtantine the Great made two others, which were called *Flavia Cæſarienſis* and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, the former extending itſelf through the middle of England, and taking its riſe from Glouceſter; and the other including as many of the Northern inhabitants of the iſland, as were ſubject to the Romans; the remoter part of which betwixt *Sterling-Fort* and the *Picts-Wall*, which was recovered by Theodoſius, was called *Valentia* in honour of the Emperor *Valentinian*. The firſt journey in *Antoninus's Itinerary* runs thus: *A Limite, i. e. A Vallo Prætorium uſque, M. P. CLVI.* viz. *A Bramenio Corſlopitum M. P. XX. Vindomora IX. Vinovia XIX. Cataractoni XXII. Iſurium XXIV. Eburacum Leg. VI. Victrix XVII. Derventione VII. Delgovitia XIII. Prætorio XXV.* We ſhall give the Reader the ſubſtance of the Doctor's Commentary upon this journey, from whence he may form an idea of this performance. After enumerating the various Readings of the title of this Journey, *A Limite*, &c. Dr. Gale takes the meaning at large to be, A LIMITE [*ut nunc conſtituimus*] PER VALLUM [*Severi*] PRÆTORIUM USQUE. And his firſt inquiry is, what this *Limes* is; and in order to diſcover this, he quotes pag. 49 of the London Edition of Camden's Britannia of 1607 for this paſſage: *Antoninus Caracalla, the ſon of Severus, in ſome meaſure proſecuted the remains of the war in Britain, but was ſoon brought to terms of peace, and to give up the fields and caſtles to the enemy*: Upon this our Author remarks, that from this time the Romans kept chiefly within the circumference of Severus's wall, where they had their caſtles and towns, and a wall with a deep ditch, with guards or garriſons at due diſtances, who ſhould be upon the watch againſt any ſudden invaſions of the enemies. From one of theſe Garriſons Dr. Gale begins this *Limit*, from which Antoninus began his Journey: and if this Itinerant was really an Antonine, he looks upon it as probable, that it was *Antoninus Caracalla*. As the *firſt* ſtage of this Journey is *a Bramenio Corſlopitum* twenty Italian miles, Dr. Gale makes *Bramenium*, *Brampton* upon the river *Bramiſh* in Northumberland; and *Corſlopitum*, *Corbridge*. Under this head he produces and explains ſeveral old Roman inſcriptions, which ſerve for the illuſtration of his aſſertion. The *ſecond* ſtage is to *Vindomora* nine miles. This *Vindomora* Camden calls *Wallſend*; and Dr. Gale ſays, that the Roman caſtles were ſo frequent near the wall, and moſt of thoſe have ſo utterly loſt their names, that it is exceedingly difficult to compare them with Antoninus's Stations; and what increaſes the difficulty is this, that Antoninus's numbers are often corrupted, it being read even to this very place ſometimes nine, and ſometimes but five miles; beſides that none but Antoninus makes mention of this *Vindomora*. However, as this Journey tended Southward, and conſequently as ſuch muſt leave the wall, Dr. Gale cannot conceive how it ſhould bend ſo much back again as to return to *Wallſend*. But as the *Notitiæ Imperii* read *Vindolana*, and the anonymous Geographer of *Ravenna* in his *Chorography of Britain* ſtyles it *Vindolanda*, Dr. Gale takes a place about five miles from Corbridge called *Dolande* to be *Vindolanda*, both from the ſound of the word, and from its lying almoſt in a ſtrait line betwixt *Corbridge* and *Vinovia*. The *third* ſtage is to *Vinovia* nineteen miles. *Vinovia*, according to Dr. Gale, is the true Reading, which Camden makes *Binchеſter* near *Biſhop's Aukland* in the Biſhopric of Durham. The *fourth* ſtage is *Caractoni* twenty two miles. This Dr. Gale ſays is *Catarick* a village upon the river Swale, about three miles on this ſide Richmond. He has given ſome inſcriptions under this head. The *fifth* ſtage is to *Iſurium* twenty four miles. This place he tells us is *Aldburrough*; and obſerves, that the river, which paſſes by this town, is there called *Yure* or *Yore*; but a little after it leaves that place, changes its name for *Ouſe*. Under this head he gives an account of the three famous ſtones, which are ſituate to the Weſt of this town, which *Leland* looks upon as *Roman Trophies*, and others think to have been Britiſh Gods; but Dr. Gale eſteems them *Hermæ*, the nature and deſign of which he explains. He mentions alſo ſeveral Roman Antiquities, which he met with at *Aldburrough*, as Monies, Aqueducts, Tracts of Walls, and ſays, that

variis MSS. collecta, emendata, & novâ Verſione donata. He left two ſons and a daughter ſtill living. The elder of his ſons is the very learned *Roger Gale* Eſq; late one of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners of Exciſe, Treaſurer of the Royal Society, and Vice-Preſident of the Antiquarian Society London, to whom the world is obliged for ſeveral excellent works. The younger ſon is the ingenious Samuel Gale Eſq; Treaſurer of the Antiquarian Society.

that there is to be ſeen in the Veſtry of the Pariſh Church a ſtone-ſtatue, with horns on its head, hoofed feet, &c. The *ſixth* ſtage is *Eboracum. Leg. VI. Victrix*, ſeventeen miles. Dr. Gale tells us, that there is extant a coin of the Emperor Severus with this inſcription, *Col. Eboracum, Leg. VI.* and that ſome Manuſcripts of Antoninus read thus, *Eburacum. M. P. M. VI. Victr. M. P. M. XVII.* i. e. *Eburacum Municipium Sextæ Victricis. Mill. Paſſ. XVII.* He obſerves, that theſe inſcriptions do not at all claſh with each other, ſince the ſame town is often called both *Colonia* and *Municipium*. With regard to the word *Eboracum* or *Eburacum*, he remarks, that it is derived from the Britiſh *Wruch, Uruch, Ebrauch, Effreoch*, which ſignifies *ſuper Urum*, i. e. *upon the Youre*, as the river *Ouſe* was called formerly as far as York; ſo that the Latins might call it from *Ebrauch, Eburacum*. The Doctor is not of opinion, that this city was ever called *Brigantium* by any Author, who was a competent judge; for he is apprehenſive, that the paſſage uſually produced out of Ptolomy's *Magna Syntaxis* will not prove this point, ſince that Writer proceeds after this manner: firſt he puts *Brigantium* in the 22d parallel; then the middle of Britain in the 23d; and *Cattarick* in the 24th; whence it is evident that *York* and *Cattarick* are not at ſo great a diſtance. The Doctor therefore thinks, that in this paſſage *Brigantium* is put inſtead of *Segontium* or *Brecannioc, Brecknoc*, to which place Ptolomy's parallels much better agree. He brings ſome teſtimonies to prove that York was once the metropolis of all England; and then gives us an account of ſeveral antient inſcriptions, which are to be met with there. The *ſeventh* ſtage is *Derventio* ſeven miles. This *Derventio* the Dr. takes to be *Aldby* upon the *Darwent*; and for ſeveral reaſons reckons *Petuaria* for the ſame place, though Camden takes the latter for *Beverly*. The *eighth* ſtage is *Delgovitia* thirteen miles. Dr. Gale obſerves, that the latter is a Britiſh name, in Saxon *Godmundigaham*, i. e. The Tent of the Gods. The name of the town is now *Weighton*. By finding that *Weightelberg* in the woods of Germany is recorded by *Conradus Celtes* to be a moſt famous place belonging to the Druids, our Author is brought to ſuſpect, that theſe temples at *Weighton* were in the poſſeſſion of our Druids, &c; and he makes no doubt, but that *Dryfield*, a town in the Wolds of Yorkſhire, not far diſtant from *Weighton*, ſignifies the ſame as the *Field of the Druids*. And whereas Camden tranſlates *Delgovitia, Deorum Gentilium ſtatuas*, for which he appears to have no authority, Dr. Gale chooſes to deduce it from *Pywylhgoedh*, which ſignifies a ſhady grove, which the Druids always had in the greateſt veneration. The *ninth* and laſt ſtage is *Prætorium* twenty five miles. The ſound of the words, and the diſtance of the towns induce the Dr. to wiſh that Antoninus had added whoſe *Prætorium* this was, as he does upon other occaſions when he ſays *Aritium Prætorium, Longovicorium Prætorium &c.* He believes this *Prætorium* to have been in a maritime town, where a Prefect was placed to adminiſter the Laws to thoſe, who traded in thoſe parts of Britain; and he looks upon no place within diſtance ſo fit for this purpoſe as *Patrington*. He concludes this Journey with a ſhort account of an inſcription, which he borrows from Camden, found in a little village called *Eaſtneſs* in *Rhydale*. There are beſides fourteen more Journeys in *Antoninus' Itinerary*, with the Doctor's Commentaries upon them. T

☞GALE (Dr. JOHN), a learned Engliſh Divine of the eighteenth Century, was born May the 26th 1680 at London, of which City his father was an eminent and worthy Citizen. From the firſt proofs which he gave of his capacity, his father devoted him to the great work of inſtructing mankind; and to fit him for it ſpared no expence in giving him a generous education (*a*). Having made himſelf in a good degree maſter of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages (*b*), he was ſent to the Univerſity of Leyden in Holland to finiſh his ſtudies; and ſoon after his arrival there, when he was little more than ſeventeen years of age, he received the melancholy news of his mother's death, upon which occaſion, in a letter ſent to his father, he adminiſters to him the moſt rational and manly conſolations (*c*). In 1698, when he was in the nineteenth year of his age (*d*), he was honoured by the Univerſity of Leyden with the degrees of Maſter of Arts, and Doctor of Philoſophy; upon which occaſion, when he publiſhed his Theſis *De Ente ejuſque Conceptu*, dedicated to his father, and his two uncles, Sir John and Sir Joſeph Wolf, the famous Adrian Reland ſubjoined a noble teſtimony of his merit in a Latin Panegyric [*A*]. And the learned Burcher de Volder gave him a very great character in an Oration, which he pronounced, when the Doctor took his degrees in the moſt ſolemn and public manner [*B*]. This affair being finiſhed he went to Amſterdam, where he ſeveral times

(*a*) *An Account of the Life of Dr. John Gale*, pag. 3. prefixed to his *Sermons preached upon ſeveral ſubjects, in four volumes*, 2d edit. London 1726, in 8vo.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 6.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 4.

(*d*) *Funeral Sermon occaſioned by the death of the reverend and learned Dr. John Gale, preached Dec.* 31, 1721. *By John Kinch, LL. D.* pag. 25. edit. London 1722, in 8vo; and *A Sermon preached at Barbican in London, Dec.* 24, 1721, *upon the death of the Reverend Dr.* John Gale. *By* Joſeph Burroughs pag. 25.

[*A*] Adrian Reland *ſubjoined a noble teſtimony of his merit in a Latin Panegyric.*] It concludes thus, alluding to the Carteſians, whom Dr. Gale had always oppoſed:

Vince tuos hoſtes, & murus aheneus eſto,
Ut referat laudes Anglica terra tuas.
Summe Ens perfectum cœptis magis annuat iſtis,
Ut ſæcli noſtra lucida ſtella fores.

[*B*] Burcher de Volder *gave him a very great character in an Oration, which he pronounced, when the Doctor took his Degrees in the moſt ſolemn and public manner.*] This Oration was publiſhed after de Volder's death by Dr. Boerhaave, under the following title, *Burcheri de Volder Philoſophi Oratio de Novis & Antiquis, habita cum virum doctiſſimum* Johannem Gale, *Londin. Britan. voce Senatus Academici Lugduno Batavi more majorum pronunciaret* A. L. M. *& Doctorem Philoſophiæ, tertio Julii A.* 1698. *Poſt exceſſum Auctoris omnium ex voto edita.* "If that be new, *ſays he*, "which has not been done for many years, which no "one of the Profeſſors in this Univerſity has ſeen in "his time; then it is new to declare *a Doctor of Philo-*"*ſophy* from this place; tho' if you conſider the cere-"monies, with which this ſolemnity is performed, it "appears antient. But I wiſh the noble and very lauda-"ble deſign of this Candidate in proſecuting his ſtudies, "was a thing cuſtomary; who, after he had applied his "mind to them, thought it his buſineſs, not accord-"ing to the new, but very bad method, to reſt ſatis-"fied with a ſlight and ſuperficial knowledge of the "liberal arts; but to look into their inmoſt receſſes "and acquaint himſelf with what lay moſt concealed "in thoſe of them, which he converſed with. Where-"fore in the firſt place, with great labour he gained "the knowledge of the Tongues, that he might af-"terward, with more eaſe and advantage apply him-"ſelf to the ſciences themſelves. For this purpoſe

times viſited Monſieur Le Clerc, with whom he fixed a correſpondence (*e*), and ſtudied under Mr. Limborch (*f*). Upon his return to England he purſued his ſtudies with equal ardour, and read over the great models of antiquity, and improved his knowledge in the Oriental Languages, by which means he gained a critical ſkill in the ſacred books of the Old and New Teſtament, and digeſted them thoroughly in his mind. He alſo read over and conſidered the primitive Writers of the Chriſtian Church. After he had been in England about four years, he received a letter from the Univerſity of Leyden, offering him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, upon the condition of giving his aſſent to the Articles of Dort; which he refuſed (*g*). He was ſcarce entered upon his twenty ſeventh year, when he had finiſhed his *Reflections on Mr.* Wall's Hiſtory of Infant Baptiſm [*C*], an hiſtory ſo well received by men of character for learning, that it gained the Author the thanks of

(*e*) *Account of the Life, &c.* pag. 8.

(*f*) Burrough's *Sermon*, pag. 25.

(*g*) *Account*, pag. 8, 9.

" he not only carefully ſtudied the Latin Tongue, but " what in this age is very rare and unuſual, the Greek " and Hebrew. I ſay nothing of the Latin, in which " he has often ſpoken publicly at London, that fa- " mous city; for you have heard with what elegance, " propriety, and force of perſuaſion he commended " the ſtudy of wiſdom. But I can by no means omit " to obſerve, that he ſo applied himſelf to the Greek " Language, as not only to underſtand it, but be able " to declaim in it publicly. To theſe he added like- " wiſe the Hebrew, thinking the knowledge of the " Greek inſufficient without this, and that he muſt de- " pend upon the credit of others for the interpretati- " on of the ſacred Writings. Furniſhed with theſe " helps, he entered upon the ſtudy of Philoſophy, " being induced to it partly by the pleaſure, which a- " riſes from inquiries into things obſcure; and partly " by the advantage, which thoſe ſtudies afford both " in life and other ſciences; and partly likewiſe as " thinking it the beſt method to cultivate his mind, " and diſpoſe it more readily and clearly to diſtinguiſh " truth from falſhood in every ſubject. And before " he had purſued theſe ſtudies full two years, (ſee, I " beſeech you, what penetration of mind, joined with " incredible diligence, is capable of performing!) he " was willing to give ſome public proof of his pro- " ficiency therein. Nor has he failed in the attempt; " for both in his private and public examinations he " diſcovered ſo acute a genius, and ſuch knowledge " of things natural, divine, and moral, that, agree- " ably to his great merit, the higheſt honours in Phi- " loſophy have been decreed to be conferred on him " in a ſolemn manner, and according to antient " cuſtom."

[*C*] *He was ſcarce entered upon his twenty ſeventh year, when he had finiſhed his* Reflections on Mr. *Wall's Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm.*] This we are informed of by the Author of the *Account of his Life* (1), Mr. Burroughs (2), and Dr. John Kinch (3). And Dr. Gale tells us in the *Advertiſement* prefixed to his *Reflections*, that they were written in the years 1705 and 1706, tho' they were not printed till 1711 under this title: *Reflections on Mr.* Wall's Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm. *In ſeveral Letters to a Friend.* London in 8vo. In the *Advertiſement* our Author obſerves, " that as " theſe Letters were originally deſigned for the private " peruſal of a friend, ſo it is not to be thought ſtrange, " that they were not publiſh'd ſooner, but rather that " they are publiſh'd at all; for the Author, though he " was urged to it pretty early, had no thought nor " inclination in the leaſt, to have given the public " this trouble." In the firſt Letter he obſerves, that Mr. Wall's Hiſtory is not ſo formidable as is pretended, though the beſt defence of Infant-Baptiſm, which he had ſeen, and that for thoſe reaſons, on which Mr. Wall recommends it himſelf in his Preface. He then tells us, that Mr. Wall is not much to be depended on; and that his real aim and deſign was only to eſtabliſh the Baptiſm of Infants; and that he takes all occaſions to blacken the Anti-Pædobaptiſts, diſguiſing his deſigns with pretences to moderation. That Mr. Wall endeavours to poſſeſs his Readers with an opinion of his learning by ſeveral needleſs digreſſions, and to gain reputation by quarrelling with ſeveral of the greateſt men for learning, &c. as particularly Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Biſhop Burnet, Rigaltius, Gregory Nazianzen, both father and ſon, St. Chryſoſtom, Monſr. le Clerc, and Grotius. That he has not acted the part of a faithful Hiſtorian towards the Anti-Pædobaptiſts, but ſeveral times, on no ground at all, takes for granted ſome things, merely becauſe they favour his deſign; and charges the Anti-Pædobaptiſts with whatever he had heard any one among them to have believed or ſaid. In the *ſecond* Letter Dr. Gale endeavours to juſtify his brethren from the charge of ſchiſm; and obſerves, that in order to an union, *it would be requiſite, and I think,* ſays he (4), *none can except againſt it, that ſome fit perſons were choſe on both ſides, to examine the Scriptures impartially, and the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries, who followed their great Maſter thro' ſufferings, and whoſe writings are undoubtedly by far the beſt Commentary on the ſacred Books; and with theſe helps to collect from the Word of God the true doctrine and diſcipline of the primitive Catholic Church. And to what ſhould be thus ſincerely deduced, every one ſhould reſolve to conform without reſerve. And I doubt not, if a union were endeavoured on this expedient, it would be accompliſhed much more eaſily than is imagined.* In the *third* Letter our Author remarks, that the diſpute between the Engliſh Pædobaptiſts and Anti-Pædobaptiſts may be caſt under two heads; one relating to the Mode of Baptiſm, whether it is to be adminiſtred only by *dipping*; and the other, who are the true ſubjects of it, whether adult perſons alone, or infants alſo. He tells us, that ſo far as the Scriptures are clear, the practice of the Anti-Pædobaptiſts is allowed to be agreeable therewith; and that therefore if they err, they are however on the ſafer ſide. He obſerves that the Greek word for *baptize* always ſignifies to dip only into any manner of thing, but is more commonly uſed for dipping into liquids; which obſervation he confirms from ſeveral paſſages of antient Writers. In the *fourth* Letter he remarks, that the Criticks conſtantly affirm the proper and genuine ſenſe of Βαπτίζω to be *immergo*; that Mr. Wall is conſcious, (notwithſtanding his pretence,) that the opinions of learned men are againſt him; and that whereas that Writer appeals to the Scriptures for the ſenſe of the word, it is evidently never there uſed in his ſenſe, but the contrary. In the *fifth* Letter he obſerves, that tho' it is very unreaſonable to appeal to the Scriptures only for the ſenſe of a word, yet it is clear from them, the Greek word muſt always ſignify to *dip*; that if the word Βαπτίζω were otherwiſe ever ſo ambiguous, yet as it relates to Baptiſm, it is ſufficiently determined only and neceſſarily to mean to *dip*, by the doctrine and practice of St. John, of the Apoſtles, and of the ſucceeding Church for many Centuries, which urged a trine immerſion. He affirms likewiſe, that the antient Church of the firſt Centuries did not practiſe affuſion; that all who were baptized in the times of the Apoſtles, were baptized by immerſion; that Clinical Affuſions do not appear to have been introduced till about 250 years after Chriſt, at which time their validity was much doubted of; and that all allow immerſion to have been inſiſted on antiently as the only regular way in all common caſes. In the *ſixth* Letter he proceeds to the other chief article in diſpute between the Anti-Pædobaptiſts and their Antagoniſts, relating to the perſons who are the true ſubjects of Baptiſm, whether adult perſons alone, or infants alſo. He obſerves, that Mr. Wall's attempt, tho' the beſt in its kind, falls very ſhort of anſwering the deſign of it, and that this Writer allows, it cannot be made appear from Scripture, that infants are to be baptized, and therefore recurs to theſe as the only expedients: 1. To the practice of the Jewiſh Church: 2. To the practice of the antient Chriſtians. Dr. Gale remarks upon this, that from Mr. Wall's conceſſion, that it cannot be proved from Scripture, it unavoidably follows, that it is no inſtitution of Chriſt; and that to ſuppoſe it may be included in ſome of the more general expreſſions, is only to beg the point in diſpute; and

(4) Pag. 86, 87.

(1) Pag. 9.

(2) *A Sermon preached at Barbican in London, Dec.* 24, 1721. *upon the death of the Reverend Dr.* John Gale. *By* Joſeph Burroughs pag. 25. edit. London 1722, in 8vo.

(3) *Funeral Sermon, occaſioned by the death of the reverend and learned Dr.* John Gale, *preached Dec.* 31, 1721. *By* John Kinch, *LL. D.* pag. 25.

of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. How conſiderable Dr. Gale's anſwer to that performance was eſteemed, even by thoſe who were not of his ſentiments, appears from hence, that Mr. Wall's *Defence of his Hiſtory* [*D*], after ſeveral years, procured him the honour of a degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Univerſity of Oxford (*b*). Dr. Whitby

(*b*) Kinch's *Funeral Sermon*, pag. 25.

and that unleſs Mr. Wall can ſhew, that Infant-Baptiſm is ſo much as mentioned in Scripture, the Anti-Pædobaptiſts will not believe it inſtituted there. He obſerves likewiſe, that the Baptiſm of Infants is unlawful, if Chriſt has not inſtituted it; that true Proteſtants ſhould adhere to the Scripture, as the only infallible guide in all religious controverſies; and that the ſilence of the Scripture is a good argument againſt Infant-Baptiſm. In the *ſeventh* Letter he ſhews from *Matt.* xxviii. 19. that the Scripture does not leave Infant-Baptiſm ſo undetermined as ſome would pretend; and that the commiſſion neceſſarily obliges to teach all, whom it intends ſhould be baptized; and that therefore infants cannot be included in that commiſſion; and he aſſerts, that μαθητεύειν is conſtantly uſed to ſignify nothing leſs than to *teach*. In the *eighth* Letter he remarks that μαθητὴς is only ſaid of ſuch as are at leaſt capable of being taught; and that the moſt judicious have always agreed, that the word in the commiſſion particularly ſignifies to teach and inſtruct; and that this appears evidently to be the true ſenſe of the place from the authority of the Scriptures themſelves, from the practice of the Apoſtles, and from parallel places. The ſum of the Doctor's reaſoning on this head is this: that the commiſſion obliges to teach all that are to be baptized; and therefore that the Scriptures are not ſo ſilent concerning the baptizing of Infants as the Pædobaptiſts would perſuade us; ſo that if Mr. Wall ſhould prove the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* did baptize their children, the Anti-Pædobaptiſts have ſtill reaſon enough not to admit the practice. In the *ninth* Letter he obſerves, that Mr. Wall's aſſertions, "that "the Jews did initiate their proſelytes and their in-"fants by Baptiſm, and that the Apoſtles and primi-"tive Church baptized the infants of believing pa-"rents," are miſtakes; and that the arguments brought to prove theſe two points, are no better. Dr. Gale examines firſt Mr. Wall's pretences from the Jews in this and the following Letter, in which he endeavours to ſhew from many conſiderations, that the arguments of the Pædobaptiſts do not make it appear to have been the cuſtom of the Jews at our Saviour's time to baptize proſelytes and their children; and urges ſeveral arguments to evince the contrary. He remarks likewiſe, that even ſuppoſing the fact could be demonſtrated, it is no rule in the adminiſtration of a Chriſtian Sacrament, as being only the tradition of their Elders, and not grounded on Scripture, nor derived from Moſes. In the *eleventh* Letter Dr. Gale proceeds to the other kind of evidence produced by Mr. Wall, viz. the authority of the primitive Fathers, which the Doctor obſerves ought to be valued more than Monſr. Daillé and ſome others ſuppoſe. "It is an ill return, (5) Pag. 395, 396. "*ſays he* (5), for the great leſſons and examples of "piety they have given us, and for their having been "ſo inſtrumental in tranſmitting to us the knowledge "of our moſt holy Religion. And there is yet a "greater evil attends this method; for all the abuſes "and affronts put upon the Fathers of the firſt Cen-"turies, do in the end reflect on Chriſtianity itſelf, "which thoſe great men have handed down, and "which therefore muſt needs be in ſome degree of but "doubtful authority, if it depends upon ſufficient te-"ſtimony. It would not be difficult to defend the "writings of the Fathers from the reproaches caſt on "them by theſe men, and by *Daillé* their Oracle, not-"withſtanding he has taken ſuch pains in the matter, "and puſh'd it with all the vigour he could. But it "is a nice ſubject, and much too copious to be treated "here at large. I ſhall therefore only ſay, that in "many caſes the rejecting the authority of the Fathers "is a very wild extreme, which men are driven to, "only becauſe they have nothing better to ſay for "themſelves, and cannot brook to ſee their opinions "contradicted in their writings. That the Fathers "of the firſt Churches were honeſt faithful men, and "every way capable to acquaint us with the true po-"ſture of affairs in their own churches and times, "and therefore are to be depended on as far as they "relate facts within their proper cogniſance, muſt be "allowed on all hands; and I don't ſee how their "greateſt enemies can have the face to deny this." The Doctor then obſerves, that Mr. Wall's argument from the Fathers turns upon a ſuppoſition, which cannot eaſily be granted him; viz. That the primitive Church believed and practiſed nothing but what they had received from the Apoſtles themſelves. But Dr. Gale tells us, that, without any reflection on the honour and fidelity of the Fathers, their teſtimonies cannot ſupport Infant-Baptiſm, tho' they ſhould afford Mr. Wall ever ſo many and full citations; *for if the Fathers only prove* Fact *in the Church, and not* Right, *and the Church was not wholly pure from innovations, how does this prove the Baptiſm of Infants was no innovation, but an inſtitution of Chriſt? And yet this is the thing our Author ſhould have done, tho' he takes no notice of it. It is irkſome to remember the inſtances of human frailty, which even the moſt antient Church was liable to. They were men ſubject to like paſſions with us, and therefore no wonder they were ſometimes in the wrong, and their zeal for God's honour was not always according to knowledge; which, tho' it might keep them from loſing the chief thing our Lord had commanded, might however expoſe them to the inconveniency of ſuperadding ſeveral things he never authorized. The Apoſtles undoubtedly kept cloſe to his directions in all things without deviation either in defect or exceſs; for they had the immediate aſſiſtance, in a moſt extraordinary manner, of the Spirit of God*†. *But that* the Chriſtians of the very next Age made ſeveral Additions, Tertullian *confeſſes in his Book* de Corona. *And* Euſebius *from* Hegeſippus *notes, that the* Church continued *all the Apoſtles times a* pure Virgin and undefiled.... But when thoſe holy men were dead ....then errors began to ariſe thro' the miſtakes of other Teachers. Ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένῳ καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ Ἐκκλησία .... Ὡς δὲ ἱερὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τὸ βίου τέλος .... τηνικαῦτα δὴ ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν Ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ Σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἑτεροδιδασκάλων Ἀπάτης *. Dr. Gale proceeds then to diſcuſs this grand queſtion, "Whether it can be proved from the authentic pieces "of the primitive Fathers, that the Church uſed In-"fant-Baptiſm in thoſe earlieſt times?" He conſiders in this and the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* chapters the paſſages produced by Mr. Wall. He remarks in the *thirteenth* chapter, that in St. Cyprian's time Infant-Baptiſm was practiſed in Africa, and probably took its firſt riſe there together with Infant-Communion; that the Africans were generally men of weak underſtandings; that the Greek Church probably had not yet admitted the error; that the practice of Infant-Baptiſm began at firſt, as all innovations do, with only ſome little variations in opinion, and then paſſed to as little in practice; and ſo by very ſhort ſteps at length attained unobſerved the great reputation it has now indeed for a long time enjoyed; that this was occaſioned in ſome meaſure by a zeal, which was not always according to knowledge; and that the earlieſt Pædobaptiſts admitted children to the Lord's Supper.

† *Rigaltius in Cyprian.* Epiſt. 64. pag. 279. b. *At Chriſtianos ævi proximè ſequentis addidiſſe pluſcula, fatetur Tertullianus* Libro de Corona.

* Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 32.

[*D*] Mr. *Wall's* Defence of his Hiſtory.] It was printed at London 1720 in 8vo under the following title, *A Defence of the* Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm *againſt the* Reflections *of Mr.* Gale *and others. With an Appendix containing the Additions and Alterations in the third Edition of the* Hiſtory of Infant Baptiſm, *that are moſt material. By* William Wall, *Author of the ſaid* Hiſtory. Mr. Wall obſerves (6), that Dr. Gale might have intitled his Book *Reproaches* rather than *Reflections*; that it is *made up of declamation, inſulting, reproaches and untruths* (7); and "that the greateſt "part of it is either of perſonal matters. Some about "my life, temper, actions, &c. *ſays Mr. Wall* (8), "not relating to the cauſe; and ſome about my way "of writing, when it is too long, or too ſhort, or "too cenſorious; or catching at here and there a paſ-"ſage of my Book, which he thought might be re-"repreſented

(6) Pag. 2.

(7) Pag. 40.

(8) Pag. 53, 54.

Whitby ſpeaking of Infant-Baptiſm among the primitive Chriſtians, ſays, " that Dr. " Gale's very learned Letters prove it to be doubtful and uncertain, whether that prac- " tice did conſtantly obtain (*i*)." Dr. Wotton likewiſe, though he writes expreſly againſt our Author in relation to the Jewiſh Talmud, ſays * thus much of him: " He ſeems to be well acquainted with thoſe books, and is a Writer ſo well verſed in " the arts of perſuaſion, and his way of writing is generally ſo very winning, that when " I had undertaken to treat of the true authority of this moſt antient text of Jewiſh Tra- " ditions to us Chriſtians, I ſhould have been wanting to my ſubject, if I had not taken " notice of what he had ſaid upon theſe matters." Mr. Whiſton in his *Primitive Infant-Baptiſm revived*, confeſſes that the firſt light which he received in that affair was from Dr. Gale's obſervation upon the paſſage of Irenæus, which laid the foundation of what he wrote upon that ſubject. The Doctor was preparing an Anſwer to Dr. Wall's Reply, when he was cut off by death [*E*]. He began ſtatedly to preach about the thirty fifth year of his age [*F*], and was choſen one of the Miniſters of the Baptiſt Congregation in Paul's Alley near Barbican, where his Sermons were prodigiouſly reſorted to by perſons of all perſuaſions (*l*) [*G*]. From July the 3d 1715 to Feb. the 10th $171\frac{5}{6}$ he was Chairman of *a Society for promoting Primitive Chriſtianity*, which met weekly at the *Primitive Library* at Mr. Whiſton's Houſe in Croſs-Street Hatton-Garden (*m*). Some time before his death he had

(*i*) *Conſtanter obtinuiſſe, rem certè dubiam & incertam eſſe, ex* Johannis Gale *Literis ad invidiam doctis conſtabit.* Whitbeii Diſſertat. de S. Script. Interpretatione, *Præfat.* § 5.

* *Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes*, vol. 1. cap. 8. edit. London 1718, 8vo.

(*l*) See *The Plain Dealer*, vol. 1. num. 52. for Sept. 18, 1724, 2d edit. London 1734, in 8vo.

(*m*) *Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr.* Samuel Clarke. *By* William Whiſton, *M. A.* pag. 96. edit. London 1730, in 8vo.

" repreſented ſo as to put me out of favour with the " *Anti-Pædobaptiſts* (as are his firſt two chapters, which " he calls *my Character*;) or elſe on another ſubject, " viz. not the *age or time* of receiving Baptiſm, but " the *way* of adminiſtring it, with which I had med- " dled very little, (as are his three next,) yet he gave to " the whole the title of *Reflections* on my Book. And " tho' he goes no farther in any methodical way of an- " ſwering, than to the *Introduction*, and five firſt chap- " ters of my Book (not nigh one tenth part of it) " which anſwer begins at his ninth chapter (and he " has but thirteen in all) yet it has gone among the " men of his party as an *Anſwer* to it. He deals " not much with argument (which the others (9) aim " at) but writes in a way of declaiming and flouriſh, " and much addicted to reproaching, taking a pride " in ſhewing how eaſily and naturally he can expreſs " a contempt of his adverſary, or of any reaſon or " argument. He writes in a ſtyle indeed ſufficiently " fluent, and with a good ſtock of philological learn- " ing; but does not keep very cloſe to the rules of " candour, modeſty, or truth, but delights in vaunt- " ing, inſulting, ſlighting, and laying odious and " falſe imputations, not on me only, but on the Clergy " of England in general, and indeed our whole Church; " as that was a time, in which ſome people found " their advantage by raiſing ſuch ſlanders. His talent " in Rhetoric (which is not inconſiderable) he uſes to " falſe colouring, and *gaining his point* (as he calls it) " by wreſted repreſentations of things and paſſages. Of " his *impertinencies* (to name but one ſort of them) an " unparallelled inſtance is, his picking up ſtories of " things ſaid or done by me before he was born, and " naming the people, whoſe names one would never " have thought to have ſeen in print. Nothing, thanks " be to God, of which one need be aſhamed. But it " is a great ſhame to ſee ſuch impertinent ſtuff brought " into a controverſy of Religion. Of his *untruths*, " I would beforehand inſtance in one flagrant and ma- " niſeſt one, (which, as I ſhall ſhew, he has affirmed " above twenty times over) his ſaying, that I have in " my book yielded and owned, that there is no *Scrip-* " *ture-proof* for Infant-Baptiſm; though near half his " Book be ſpent in refuting (as well as he can) thoſe " proofs, which I brought from Scripture. The Pro- " vince, which I had undertaken, was the Hiſtory of " the Times near following; but I did not altogether " omit thoſe of Scripture (10)." Mr. Wall afterwards obſerves (11), that Dr. Gale's *third Letter* was pub- liſhed a good while before the reſt, as a ſpecimen of what the Book would be; and that the Anti-Pædobap- tiſts *ſeemed very well pleaſed and much taken with it, and encouraged him to go forward: which was an in- ſtance of very good nature; ſince it is ſo little to the pur- poſe, that if one were to expoſe him among judicious men, one would deſire them to read this chapter. But he is to be commended for doing them more juſtice, and making the goods to be delivered better than the ſample. For the following chapters are really ſomething more to the purpoſe and of a better ſtrain. Always except the VIth and IXth, in one of which he brings againſt ſome paſ- ſages in my Book an accuſation ſo palpably falſe, that every Reader muſt cry ſhame on him. In the other he brings (not trifling arguments out of Poets and Plays, but) the moſt loathſome and execrable blaſphemies out of ſome Jewiſh Libels, without any relation to the queſtion, with- out any occaſion given, without any advantage to his ar- gument, without any cauſe that can compenſate for the miſchief of publiſhing ſuch ſcandals, except a pride, which he may have in giving his admirers to underſtand that he is maſter of that ſort of reading* With regard to Dr. Gale's *fifth Letter*, Mr. Wall tells us (12), " that " it ſeems to have been written, not by Mr. *Gale*, but " by ſome body elſe; and I think I have heard, " that ſome *Dutch Miniſters* have had a hand in this " work, ſome compoſing one part ſome another; ſo " that he does well to call them *Letters*."

(9) Mr. Tho. Emlyn in his Piece, intitled, *Mr. Wall's Hiſtory of Baptiſm improved*, London 1709 in 8vo. *and* Mr. Whiſton in his *Primitive Infant-Baptiſm reviv'd.*

(10) Ibid. pag. 54, 55.

(11) Pag. 100, 101.

(12) Pag. 126.

[*E*] *The Doctor was preparing an Anſwer to Dr.* Wall's Reply, *when he was cut off by death.*] This we are informed of by Mr. *Burroughs*, who tells us (13), that he *had entered upon it a little before his death*: and by Dr. Kinch (14); and the Author of the *Account of his Life* (15), who quotes the following paſſage from a Letter of Dr. Gale to his father: " Dr. *Wall* has written *A Defence* of his *Hiſtory of In-* " *fant-Baptiſm*, in which he has treated me very " roughly, and has endeavoured to enrage the Clergy, " as well as our own people, againſt me; beſides " which there appears not to be much in his Book. " However I am preparing an Anſwer."

(13) *Sermon*, pag. 26.

(14) *Funeral Sermon*, pag. 26.

(15) Pag. 20, 21.

[*F*] *He begun ſtatedly to preach about the thirty fifth year of his age.*] This appears from the *Account of his Life* (16); and Mr. *Burroughs* obſerves (17), that " he came later into the practice of preaching, than " was agreeable to the wiſhes of thoſe, who knew his " abilities for that work. But I have ſeen ſufficient " reaſon to aſcribe ſeveral years of his ſilence to the " goodneſs of his judgment, in reſolving not to come " into conſtant exerciſe too early; and the remainder " to a heavy burden of domeſtic affairs, which preſ- " ſed him for ſome years before he began ſtated " preaching, and prevented his coming into public " ſervice at a time when himſelf was inclined to it, " and when he might have been very uſeful to him- " ſelf and others."

(16) Pag. 11.

(17) *Sermon*, pag. 27.

[*G*] *His Sermons were prodigiouſly reſorted to by per- ſons of all perſuaſions.*] Dr. Kinch tells us (18), that " in his preaching, though he highly deſerved " the praiſe and commendation of his hearers, yet " what he ſought was their profit and advantage. It " was pleaſing and agreeable to a polite and ingenious " audience, which uſually attended him, and at the " ſame time plain and eaſy to perſons of a meaner " capacity; ſo that in his diſcourſes there was in- " ſtruction for the ignorant, and entertainment for " the moſt learned and judicious. His deportment " in the pulpit was eaſy, yet attended with a ſeriouſ- " neſs and gravity becoming the ſolemnity of the " Work, in which he was engaged. His method was " exact, his ſtyle elegant, but unaffected, his reaſon- " ing clear and ſtrong, and his arguments juſt and " nervous, which by his happy managing them, con- " ſtantly diſcovered freſh beauties to his hearers. " His voice was clear and melodious, which at once

(18) *Funeral Sermon*, pag. 26.

had formed several great designs, as particularly to go through an Exposition of the New Testament in the Pulpit [*H*]; to facilitate the knowledge of the Oriental Languages; and to give the world a Translation of the *Septuagint*, according to the edition published by Dr. Grabe at Oxford; as also an History of the Notion of Original Sin, wherein he intended to trace that opinion from its first rise, "and to have shewn upon "how little ground a God of infinite goodness and justice has been represented as do-
(*n*) *Account*, pag. 20. "ing that, which a good and wise man would have abhorred (*n*)." He embraced firmly the doctrine of the Trinity; "and did not run into this belief from any prejudices "of education, or bias put upon his mind in his youth; having been early introduced "into the conversation of those, who examined the several doctrines of the Christian "Revelation with the utmost freedom, amongst whom were some (foreigners as well as
(*o*) Ibid. pag. 13. "others) of the first rank for learning and abilities (*o*)." He was seized by a slow fever in December 1721, which in about three weeks proved fatal to him. He died the latter end of that month. He bore his sickness with that calmness and patience, which became a man, who firmly believed the superintendence of a good and wise God, to whose Pro-
(*p*) Ibid. pag. 21. vidence he always resigned himself and his affairs (*p*). We shall give his character in the Note [*I*]. He was honoured with the friendship of several eminent persons, particularly the Lord Chief Justice King, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and Dr. Hoadly, now Bishop

"charmed the ear, raised and fired the imagination, "and could not easily fail to gain the affections, and "engage a reasonable mind, not wholly sunk in sin, "and bound down with vitious habits, to receive the "Truth in Love... He strictly adhered to the Scrip-"tures as the perfect and only rule of his faith and "practice, and was a zealous asserter and patron "of universal liberty, where it tended not to licen-"tiousness; a warm opposer of all human impositions "in matters of Religion; and used earnestly to press "all Christians to stand fast in that liberty, where-"with Christ had made them free.

[*H*] *To go through an Exposition of the New Testament in the pulpit.*] He had so far prepared for this Work, that he had drawn up the Introduction to it, which
(19) Pag. 13, & *seqq.* is inserted in the *Account of his Life* (19), and in which he observes, that "his whole aim should be to "lay before his auditors the most sacred and awful "rule of our faith and practice, without any partial "disguises, and to the utmost of his power assist "them in opening their minds to receive and own "those great truths, which are able, *says he*, to make "you wise unto salvation; that you may upon a "mature and due consideration of things, judge for "yourselves with all that just liberty and true free-"dom of thought, which so well becomes all men, "and is the indispensable duty of every Christian, "and upon which it is the peculiar glory of the "Christian Religion to have spread itself through the "whole world... To give you what help I can in "this very important business, I intend to take this "as the most proper method for your assistance and "instruction. I will take in order intire portions of "Scripture, which comprehend a full and complete "sense. This I would, if it were proper, read to "you in the original language; but that not being "convenient, I shall read the common version, and "consider it carefully, comparing it with the paral-"lel places, where the same thing is handled, the "same words or phrases used, or any thing which "may give light; and shall consult also the several "opinions of learned men, with the reasons on "which they build; and compare the antient versions "in the learned languages, together with the inter-"pretations of the first Christians, and such remarks "from the antient Historians, and such accounts of "the Jewish and Greek Antiquities, as may give us "any light, at this distance from the time and place, "wherein the Scriptures were at first written. After "having thus examined every thing, which may "seem to need examination, from the whole I will "endeavour to give a very impartial and unbiassed "Translation and Paraphrase, and herein draw out "and make some rules and maxims for the conduct "of life, in order to fasten all upon your minds, "and leave it to your serious and diligent considera-"tion. Before I do this, I shall in general prove the "truth of the Christian rule. This comprehends, 1, "That the Books were written by those, whose "names they bear, and such as could not but know "whether what they writ was true or not. 2. That "they could not design to impose upon us. And I "will settle the authority of each Book just before I "enter upon the exposition of it."

[*I*] *We shall give his character in the Note.*] Dr. John Kinch tells us (20), that he entertained a sincere and hearty respect for all good men; and that the different apprehensions between him and other Christians did not in the least alienate his affections from them. "He had an even and composed temper, which dis-"covered itself in the constant serenity of his coun-"tenance. The different turns of his affairs seemed "to make little or no impression upon his mind. "He was truly pious, but without any thing of osten-"tation. He was a person of great integrity, and "preferred the peace of his own mind in the answer "of a good conscience, to all other considerations. "His thoughts were so fully employed about affairs "of the highest consequence, that he neglected se-"veral opportunities of advancing his temporal inte-"rests. He was a kind friend; and made it his "business to instruct and inform, to advise, and on "proper occasions to reprove those, with whom he "conversed; which most difficult office of friendship "he so well managed, that none could be offended "with him. He abounded greatly in those fruits of "the spirit, mentioned by the Apostle, *Gal. v.* "22, 23. *Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, good-"ness, faith, meekness, and temperance.* But that virtue, "wherein he peculiarly excelled, was his great humility. "Notwithstanding his valuable and uncommon abili-"ties, both natural and acquired, he always appeared "humble and modest, mild and courteous; and was "so far from having a vain and proud conceit of "his own endowments, that he knew how (without "the affected vanity of lessening his own qualifications) "to *esteem others better than* himself." The Author of the *Account of the Life* of our Author observes (21), that he was *not less amiable, nor did he appear to less ad-vantage, in his private, than in his public character. As to his person, his countenance expressed the innocence, as well as greatness of his soul. It had nothing of that perplexity, which a confused or vitious mind often throws upon the face; but always appeared with that sweet calm, which springs from inward peace and sa-tisfaction of mind. He was rather tall than otherwise, and had a manly gracefulness, exceeded by nothing but his negligence in adorning it. His conversation was with the utmost sweetness and candour; and he was such a companion as a wise man would wish for, re-trenching all useless discourse, and saying much in few words. He was affable and courteous to all. He con-sidered that poverty made the heart tender, and apt to feel neglect; and therefore through fear of offending, he shewed great courtesy to the mean and despised. To the ignorant he would appear to know no more than would instruct them. With the afflicted he would sympathize, the indigent he would assist, as far as he was able, and pro-voke the wealthy to be rich in good works.* "A tho-"rough knowledge of nature, joined to that of Re-"ligion, filled his mind with generous and noble "principles, and gave him that frankness and open-"ness of heart so necessary to complete a good and "amiable character. No man was ever more ready

(20) *Funeral Sermon occasioned by the Death of the late reverend and learned Dr.* John Gale, *preached December* 31, 1721, pag. 27, & *seqq.*

(21) Pag. 18, & *seqq.*

"to

Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Dr. Samuel Bradford, late Biſhop of Rocheſter, the latter of whom declared in writing his eſteem for our Author "on account of his good underſtanding, "great learning, candour, and largeneſs of mind (*q*)." He publiſhed *A Thankſgiving Sermon preached November the 5th* 1713, on *Pſalm cv.* 1 *and* 15. which paſſed through ſeveral editions, and was reprinted in a Collection of his *Sermons* printed at London in four volumes in 8vo; to which is prefixed an *Account of his Life*, which was altered in ſeveral places in the ſecond edition.

(*q*) Ibid. pag. 10, 11.

"to do good from more exalted views than himſelf. "His whole ſoul was taken up with a ſtrong deſire "of infuſing into men a love of God and of virtue. "Hence have I known him, *ſays the Writer above quoted*, "expreſs more concern upon reflecting on the ways of "men, and the fearful conſequences of their vices, "than upon any other ſubject whatſoever. *When I "look upon men's behaviour*, (he once ſaid) *I imagine "eternity a thing to be trifled with; but when I look "upon eternity, the behaviour of men aſtoniſhes me.* He "was maſter of a ſolid morality, founded on conclu- "ſions drawn from the reaſon, nature, and order of "things; and which, ſtrengthened by Revealed Reli- "gion, made him proof againſt corruption and vice, "and led him to the practice of every virtue. From "this root ſprung his piety to God, his juſtice and "charity towards men, his affability and forgiveneſs "of injuries, his temperance and remarkable humi- "lity, his meekneſs in proſperity, and his patience in "adverſity. To ſum up all, in fourteen years con- "verſe with him, I never knew him maſtered by "anger, or diſturbed by any irregular paſſions. He "had been long uſed to ſubject himſelf to reaſon, "and vice appeared the hardeſt maſter a man could "ſerve. His virtues were built upon a rock, and "nothing could ſhake or remove them." The Au- thor of a Letter dated at London and printed in the *Plain-Dealer* (22), has given a very advan- tageous character of him under the name of *Fa- vellus*, and obſerves, that *his character was a com- pound of all the good characters belonging to a Chriſtian, to a Divine, to a Gentleman. He had a moſt extenſive genius, which with his own education and induſtry made vaſt acquirements in all ſorts of Theological Literature. This will appear to a man of any ſagacity, that makes uſe of that and his Sermons, when publiſhed, which are now printing by ſubſcription. The firſt of thoſe Sermons that was preached in my hearing, gave me a moſt ſurprizing.... pleaſure.... in hearing at once a* Demoſthenes, *and an* Euclid, a Chryſoſtom *and a* Bentley *all met together, all ſpeaking in this accompliſhed Di- vine, who was himſelf a moſt powerful and moſt pa- thetic Orator, a moſt exact Reaſoner, a moſt perſua- ſive Theologer; in one word, an univerſal conſummate ſcholar... It is rare, remarkably rare to meet with the man, that writes, or indeed is capable of writing in that cloſe, that mathematical, that concatenating way he ex- celled in; or that has the ſame ſagacity in pointing out the intricacies of an argument, together with the ſame acuteneſs, the ſame clearneſs in removing them, putting prejudice to the bluſh, reconciling ſcripture to ſcripture, making error appear to be error, and truth to be truth.* The Author then ſtyles him "an eminent Miniſter, an "eminent Writer, great in learning, great in good- "neſs, great in renown, of a meek, humble, win- "ning diſpoſition, a ſweet, ſober, edifying converſa- "tion, of a blameleſs unſpotted character, of ſtrict "Orthodoxy... living admirably in every thing, ad- "mirably every where, at home ſtudious, at home "frugal in all his oeconomy; abroad ſeldom, except "at his Church." T.

(22) Vol. 1. N° 52. for Sept. 18, 1724, 2d edit. London 1734, in 8vo.

GALES (PETER) in Latin *Galeſius*, a learned Spaniard [*A*], "who being put to "the rack at Rome, upon ſuſpicion of being a Proteſtant, loſt one of his eyes by it. "Afterwards coming to Geneva, he there taught Philoſophy, and was ſome time after "Rector of the College of Guienne at Bourdeaux. Having left that place on account "of the envy they bore him, he quitted France and went into Flanders, where being "diſcovered to be a Proteſtant, and put into the hands of the Spaniards his countrymen, "the mildeſt treatment he met at their hands was to be burnt, by a Decree of the Inqui- "ſition. This Galés had good books, and even ſome manuſcripts (*a*) [*B*]." It was the Leaguers who took him, and delivered him up to the Spaniards. See Meurſius (*b*).

(*a*) Tranſcribed from Colomiés, *Melanges Hiſtoriques*, pag. 73, 74, *who without doubt had copied* Meurſius, *Athen. Bat.* pag. 333.

(*b*) Meurſius, *Athen. Bat.* pag. 353.

[*A*] *A learned Spaniard.*] Florimond de Remond (1) makes him an Italian; but he is miſtaken.

[*B*] *He had... ſome manuſcripts.*] "Caſaubon, "who knew him at Geneva, ſpeaks in his works (2) "of ſome which he had communicated to him, and "even commends his conjectures. Cujacius, in his "Obſervations (3) calls him *Doctiſſimum & acutiſſi- "mum virum*; i. e. *A moſt learned and acute Man*, "upon account of a privilege of the Emperor Juſtinian "which he had furniſhed him with; and Father Labbe, "in his *Bibliotheque* of manuſcripts, cites (4) *Orientii "Monita in Bibliothecâ Galeſianâ reperta* (5)."

(1) *Traité de l'Antechriſt*, chap. 18. *apud* Colomiés, *Melanges Hiſtoriques*, pag. 73. (2) On *Theocritus* of the Geneva Edition: On *Diogenes Laertius*, pag. 59, 93, 105, 118, 119, of the Edition of 1594: On *Sueton.* pag. 9. and in his Preface to *Athenæus*, apud *Colomiés*, ibid. In the Preface to Athenæus we muſt read, *Ejus etiam Codicem vidimus nos, inter alios neutiquam vulgares Petri Galeſii Hiſpani Libros*, and not *Gelaſii*. (3) Lib. 10. cap. 11. *apud* Colomiés, *Mélang. Hiſtoriq.* pag. 73. (4) Pag. 63. *apud eundem*, ibid. (5) Colomiés, *ibid.*

☞GALILEI (GALILEO), an eminent Mathematician and Aſtronomer in Italy in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Piſa, according to Vittorio Siri (*a*), or at Florence, according to Janus Nicius Erythræus (*b*), on the 19th of February 1564 (*c*). His fa- ther's name was Vincenzo Galilei [*A*]. According to the inclination of his own genius he

(*a*) *Il Mercurio, ovvero Hiſtoria de correnti tempi*, tom. 2. lib. 3. pag. 1720.

(*b*) *Pinacotheca*, pag. 279. edit. Lipſiæ 1712, in 8vo.

(*c*) Siri, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *His father's name was* Vincenzo Galilei.] Tho- mas Saluſbury Eſq; in his *Life* of our Author (1), publiſh- ed in the *ſecond Tome* (2) of his *Mathematical Collecti- ons and Tranſlations*, printed at London 1665 in fol. tells us, that Vincenzo was a Nobleman of Florence, of conſiderable fortune, and eminent for his elaborate works; particularly five Dialogues concerning Har- mony and the Meaſures and Tones thereof, with Rules for compoſing, and other practical parts of antient and modern Muſic. The firſt Book is intitled, *Foromimo, o Dialogo, nel quale ſi contengono le vere & neceſſarie Regole di intavolare la Muſica nel Lutto*, Venice 1569 in fol. He wrote likewiſe a Defence of it, intitled, *Dialogo della Muſica Antica & Moderna in ſuo Difeſo contra Joſeffo Zarlino*, Florence 1602 in fol. Janus Nicius Erythræus informs us (3), that our Galileo Ga- lilei was born illegitimate: *Florentiæ nobili ac vetere, non tamen legitimo toro natus.* But Mr. Saluſbury in his Life of Galileo (4) obſerves, that in ſeveral Letters expreſly written to him concerning our Author from Padua, Florence, and Piſa, &c. he found not the leaſt word, upon which to ground any belief of this aſper- ſion; which Erythræus might caſt on him, in order to gratify the *Barberini* his patrons, who were implaca-

(1) Lib. 1. cap. 2. Sect. 2.

(2) Almoſt the whole impreſſion of this *ſecond Tome* was deſtroy- ed in the Fire of London in 1666. The only copy perhaps now extant, is in the curious Libra- ry of William Jones Eſq; F.R.S.

(3) *Pinacotheca*, pag. 279. edit. Lipſiæ 1712.

(4) Lib. 1. cap. 2. Sect. 3.

he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Euclid, and afterwards of other Mathematicians of beſt eſteem (*d*); and in this he made a vaſt progreſs almoſt intirely by the effort of his own genius (*e*). In 1592 he was made Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Padua, where he made his inaugural Oration Dec. 7, 1592 new ſtyle (*f*) [*B*], and continued in this poſt to the year 1611 (*g*), when Coſmo II, Grand Duke of Tuſcany ſent for him to be Profeſſor at Piſa, and ſettled on him a very conſiderable ſtipend (*h*). That Prince afterwards invited him to Florence, and gave him the title of Principal Philoſopher and Mathematician to his Highneſs (*i*). His aſſertion of the earth's motion expoſed him to the ſevereſt cenſure of the Inquiſitors, who obliged him to retract that opinion [*C*]. Being at Venice he was informed that a glaſs was found out in Holland, by means of which objects at a great diſtance were rendered as viſible as if they were near at hand. Without ever ſeeing this inſtrument he begun to conſider what the manner of its form might be, and how it might be made; and at laſt invented the Teleſcope (*k*), by the application of which to the heavens he made many important diſcoveries [*D*]. During the laſt eight years of his life he lived out of Florence, partly in ſome towns near that City, and partly at Sienna. By his continual obſervations of the heavens, and many injuries which he received by the nocturnal air, his ſight was much weakened; and three years before his death he became quite blind. He bore this misfortune with a true philoſophical reſignation, diverting himſelf with conſtant meditation and enquiry; and had prepared a great heap of materials, and begun to dictate his conceptions, when by a diſtemper of three months continuance inſenſibly decaying, he expired at Arcetri near Florence January the 8th 1642 new ſtyle, being ſeventy ſeven years ten months, and twenty days old (*l*). He wrote ſeveral works [*E*]. He was little of ſtature, but of a venerable

(*d*) Siri, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) *Life of Galileo Galilei. By Thomas Salusbury Eſq*; lib. 1. cap. 5. Sect. 1. publiſhed in Mr. Saluſbury's *Mathematical Collections and Tranſlations: the ſecond Tome*. London 1665 in fol.

(*f*) Gaſſend. *de Vita Tychonis Brahei*, lib. 4. pag. 147. edit. Paris 1654 in 4to.

(*g*) Saluſbury, lib. 2. Sect. 1.

(*h*) Jan. Nicius Erythræus, *Pinacotheca*, pag. 281.

(*i*) Siri, *ubi ſupra*.

(*k*) Idem, ibid.

(*l*) Idem, ibid.

ble enemies of Galileo. Sir John Finch in a Letter to Mr. Saluſbury dated at Leghorn April 17th 1664, writes thus: "The ordinary concernments of Galileo's "Life are ſo variouſly diſcourſed of in this place, "where all are either his profeſſed friends or enemies, "that it is no eaſy matter to be reſolved, whether he "were *legitimate* or not; men's paſſions, not the love "of truth, guiding their language."

[*B*] *In* 1592 *he was made Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Padua, where he made his inaugural Oration Decemb. 7th* 1592, *new ſtyle.*] Vittorio Siri (5) tells us, that "the firſt employment, which he undertook, was that of Profeſſor of Mathematics in "the Univerſity of Piſa, and then in that of Padua." But this is a miſtake, ſince he was not made Profeſſor at Piſa till the year 1611 (6).

(5) *Il Mercurio, ovvero Hiſtoria de correnti Tempo*, tom. 2. lib. 3. pag. 1720.

(6) Saluſbury's *Life of Galileo Galilei*, lib. 2. cap. 3. *and* lib. 3. cap. 2. Sect. 1.

[*C*] *His aſſertion of the Earth's Motion expoſed him to the ſevereſt cenſure of the Inquiſitors, who obliged him to retract his opinion.*] In 1615 he was cited to Rome to appear before the holy Office, and charged with hereſy for maintaining theſe two propoſitions, which they cenſured: I. *Solem eſſe in centro mundi, & immobilem motu locali, eſt propoſitio abſurda & falſa in Philoſophia, & formaliter hæretica, quia eſt expreſſe contraria ſacræ Scripturæ.* II. *Terram non eſſe centrum mundi, nec immobilem, ſed moveri motu etiam diurno, eſt item Propoſitio abſurda, & falſa in Philoſophia, & theologicè conſiderata, ad minus erronea in fide.* He was detained in the Inquiſition till February 1616; on the 25th of which month he had ſentence pronounced againſt him; and he was commanded by a Decree of the Inquiſitors to renounce his heretical opinions, and not to defend them either by word or writing, or inſinuate them into the minds of any perſon. Nor was he diſcharged till he had promiſed to conform himſelf to this order. But upon his publiſhing at Florence in 1632 his *Dialogi delle due maſſime Siſteme del Mondo, Tolemaico & Copernicano*, he was again cited before the holy Office, by whoſe order he was committed to the priſon of that Office at Rome; and upon the 22d of June, new ſtyle, that year the congregation convened, and in his preſence pronounced ſentence againſt him and his Book; and obliged him to abjure his errors in the moſt ſolemn manner, committing him to the priſon of the holy Office during pleaſure, and commanding him as a ſaving penance for three years to come to repeat once a week the ſeven Penitential Pſalms; but reſerving to themſelves the power of moderating, changing, and taking away, altogether or in part, the abovementioned puniſhment and penance. He was diſcharged from his confinement in 1634; but the impreſſion of his *Dialogues of the Syſtem of the World* was burnt at Rome (7).

(7) Idem, lib. 3. cap. 4.

[*D*] *By the application of which to the Heavens he made many important diſcoveries.*] He diſcovered the Surface of the Moon not to be ſmooth, but rough, and full of prominencies and cavities. He obſerved a new Motion of Trepidation, the Moon appearing to him ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other. He found that Venus imitated the aſpects of the Moon, appearing now round, then one half, and afterwards forked. He demonſtrated a very ſenſible change in magnitude in the apparent diameters of Venus and Mars; a matter of no ſmall conſequence in the Theories of Copernicus and Tycho. He diſcovered ſpots in the Sun, which he ſaw were not fixed and conſtant, like thoſe of the Moon, but changeable, appearing as it were to move about the Sun. He found that about Jupiter four other Planets were moving, never before diſcovered by any perſon, which in honour of the Houſe of Medici, the Mecenas of all learned men, and his great patron, he called by the name of the *Medicean Stars*. By the very frequent eclipſes of theſe Stars, he had thoughts of finding out the Longitude much better than by the Lunar Eclipſes; upon which he compoſed his Tables of their Motions, leaving them with Vincenzo Renieri, a Mathematician of Piſa, who correcting and perfecting them, intended to commit them to the preſs. He imagined, that the Planet Saturn was tricorporate, or compoſed of three bodies; one ſpherical, eſpecially that in the midſt, and two other leſſer ones on the ſides. He demonſtrated, that the *Via Lactea* or milky Way, and the nubilous Stars, are no other than a multitude of little Stars ſo near each other, and ſo ſmall, that the naked eye cannot diſtinguiſh them ſeparately. All theſe obſervations were made by Galileo in a few years (8).

(8) Siri, *ubi ſupra*.

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral Works.*] In giving an account of them we ſhall follow the method of the Catalogue, which Menoleſſi has prefixed to the two volumes publiſhed by him at Bologna in 4to under the title of *L'Opere di* Galileo Galilei Linceo, *Nobile Fiorentino, gia Lettore delle Mathematiche nella Univerſita di Piſa & di Padoua, di poi Sopraordinaria nello ſtudio di Piſa, Primario Filoſopho, e Mathematico del' ſereniſſimo Gran Duca di Toſcana: dedicate al ſereniſſimo Ferdinando II. Gran Duca.* Theſe two volumes are divided by Menoleſſi, the firſt into ten, and the ſecond into ſeventeen Treatiſes; and ſeven of the pieces in the latter volume were never before printed. Though theſe 27 Tracts be not all written by Galileo, yet they relate to him, being written in defence of him againſt ſeveral pieces publiſhed againſt his doctrine and obſervations. The *firſt* piece in the firſt volume is *Le Operazioni del Compaſſi Geometrico & militare*, written by Galileo, and printed at Padua in 1606, and afterwards at Straſburg, and by Matthias Bernegger in 1635 with Notes, and laſtly twice at Padua by Frambotto. The *ſecond* piece is Matthias Bernegger's *Annotations* on Galileo's *Operazioni del Compaſſi*. The *third* is Baldeſſar Capra's *Uſus & Fabrica Circini cujuſdam Proportionis; per quem omnia fere tum Euclidis, tum Mathematicorum*

venerable aſpect, and vigorous conſtitution. His converſation was affable, and free, and full of pleaſantry. He took great delight in Architecture and Painting, and deſigned extremely well. He played admirably on the Lute. He took great pleaſure in Huſbandry, when he ſpent any part of his time in the country (*m*). His learning was very extenſive. Two qualifications, amongſt others, were obſerved to be wonderfully met in him, which ſeldom unite in other perſons, clearneſs and acuteneſs of wit. Monſieur Leibnitz in his *Demonſtrationes novæ de Reſiſtentia ſolidorum* (*n*) tells us, "that "from the time of *Archimedes* there was nothing done in mechanical Geometry till *Galileo*, "who being a man of excellent judgment and great ſkill in the moſt abſtruſe parts of "Geometry, firſt extended the boundaries of that Science, and began to reduce the re-"ſiſtance of ſolid bodies to the laws of it." Sir John * Finch in a letter to Thomas Saluſbury Eſq; dated at Leghorn April the 17th 1664 (*o*), obſerves, that *many of his works*

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

(*n*) Printed in the *Acta Eruditorum Menſis Julii* 1684, pag. 319.

(*o*) Communicated by William Jones Eſq; F. R. S.

Mathematicorum omnium Problemata facili negotio reſolvuntur; printed at Padua 1607. The *fourth* is intitled, *The Defence of* Galileo Galilei, *againſt the calumnies and impoſtures of* Baldeſſar Capra, printed at Venice in 1607. The *fifth* is, *A Diſcourſe addreſſed to the moſt ſerene* Coſmo II, *Grand Duke of Tuſcany, concerning the ſwimming of bodies upon, and their ſubmerſion in water*; twice printed at Florence in 1612. The *ſixth* is *An Apologetical Diſcourſe of* Ludovico delle Colombe *concerning the laſt mentioned Diſcourſe of* Galilei; wherein he endeavours to defend Ariſtotle againſt our Author. This Book was printed in Italian at Florence 1613. The *ſeventh* is *Conſiderations of* Vincenzio di Gratia *upon the Diſcourſe of* Galileo abovementioned. The *eighth* is *An Anſwer to the Objections of Sign.* Ludovico delle Colombe, *and Sign.* Vincenzo di Gratia, *againſt the Treatiſe of Sign.* Galileo Galilei: written by Benedetto Caſtelli, and printed in Italian in 1615. The *ninth* is Galileo's *Mechanics; of the benefits derived from the ſcience of Mechanics, and from its inſtruments; together with a fragment concerning Percuſſion:* printed in French by Merſennus at Paris 1634 in the firſt tome of Merſennus's Works. The *tenth* and laſt tract of the firſt volume of Menoleſſi's Edition is *The Ballance of* Galileo, *in which imitating* Archimedes's *Problem of the Crown, he ſhews how to find the proportion of Alloy or mixt Metals; and how to make the ſaid inſtrument.* To this are added, Domenico Mantovani's *Annotations upon the ſaid Ballance.* Galileo wrote the two laſt Treatiſes in 1586, and uſed to read them to his ſcholars, among other pieces concerning Mechanics and Statics, till 1593. Tho. Saluſbury Eſq; has tranſlated them into Engliſh, and publiſhed them among his *Mathematical Collections and Tranſlations.* The *firſt* Treatiſe of the ſecond Volume of Menoleſſi's Edition is Galileo's *Sydereus Nuncius*, printed in Latin at Venice 1610, and reprinted the ſame year at Paris, Francfort, and Prague with a Diſſertation of John Kepler. The *ſecond* Treatiſe is, *The Continuation of the* Nuncius Sydereus *of* Galileo: *or an Eſſay of the Hiſtory of his laſt Obſervations of Saturn, Mars, Venus, and the Sun; together with his Opinion concerning the Light of the fixed Stars and Planets.* This was collected from Letters between him and his correſpondents. The *third* is, *A Letter of* Galilei *concerning the Trepidation of the Moon, lately diſcovered by him*; written to *Alphonſo Antonini*, and dated Feb. 20, 1638, new ſtyle; with *Antonini*'s Anſwer. The *fourth* is Galileo's *Diſcourſe of the Solar Spots in three Letters to* Marcus Velſerus, *dated May 4th, Aug. 14th, and December 1ſt*, 1612: *with a Poſtſcript of the ſame Author, and the Predictions and Ephemerides for two months following of the Poſitions and Periods of the* Medicean *Planets.* Printed in Italian at Rome in 1613. The *fifth* is intitled, *De Maculis Solaribus tres Epiſtolæ. De iiſdem & ſtellis circa Jovem errantibus Diſquiſitio ad* Marcum Velſerum, *Aug. Vindel. Duum Virum: Præf. Apellis poſt Tabulam latentis.* Written by Chriſtopher Scheiner the Jeſuit, and printed with the laſt mentioned *Letters* of Galileo at Rome in 1613. The *ſixth* is *A Collection of certain Paſſages extracted from ſome original Letters of ſeveral perſons of honour, written upon ſundry occaſions to Galileo.* The *ſeventh* is in Latin, and intitled, *De tribus Cometis Anni* 1618 *Diſputatio Aſtronomica publicè habita in Collegio Romano Societatis Jeſu ab uno ex Patribus ejuſdem Societatis*; written by *Horatius Graſſus*, and publiſhed in 1619. The *eighth* is an Oration on the ſame ſubject by a Diſciple of our Author, which is intitled, *A Diſcourſe of Comets by* Mario Guiducci, *delivered by him in the Academy at Florence*, and printed in 1619. The ninth is the famous Italian piece called *Il Saggiatore*, written by *Galileo* in form of a Letter to *Virginio Ceſarini* in vindication of *Guiducci's Diſcourſe of Comets* againſt Lothario Sarſi's * *Libra Aſtronomica & Philoſophica.* This was printed at Rome in 1623, and contains a compleat account of the Phyſiology and Aſtronomy of our Author. The *tenth* was publiſhed in Italian, ſoon after the *Libra* of *Sarſi*, under the title of *A Letter of* Mario Guiducci *to* Tarquinio Galluzzi S. J. *in which he juſtifies himſelf againſt the aſperſions caſt upon him by the ſaid* Sarſi *in his* Libra; dated at Florence June 20th 1620. The *eleventh* is, *Ex Libro inſcripto*, Letheoſphoros ſeu de Lapide Bononienſi Fortunii Liceti Philoſophi V. C. *Caput quinquageſimum de Lunâ ſubobſcurâ Luce prope Conjunctiones & in Deliquiis obſervata, digreſſio Phyſico-Mathematica.* The *twelfth* is, *A Letter of* Galileo *to Prince* Leopold of Tuſcany, *examining the fiftieth Chapter of* Licetus's Letheoſphoros. The *thirteenth* is, *De Lunarium Montium Altitudine, Problema Mathematicum per habitum Mantuæ ab uno ex Patribus Societatis Jeſu in Templo ſanctiſſimæ Trinitatis in noſtrâ Aulâ coram ſereniſſimo Duce, & in cubiculo eorum illuſtriſſimo Cardinali Gonzaga, Anno* 1611. To this are ſubjoined two Letters in Italian, one of *Blancanus*, the other of *Greinbergerus*, Jeſuits, concerning that point. The *fourteenth* is, *A Letter of* Galileo *to* Chriſtopher Greinbergerus, *concerning the Montuoſity of the Moon*, dated at Florence Sept. 1. 1611. This Letter, and the three concerning the Solar Spots, and that intitled *Il Saggiatore*, in oppoſition to three Jeſuits, raiſed the reſentments of that Society againſt Galileo. The *fifteenth* is, *A Letter of* Galileo *to* Beneditto Caſtelli, *containing a Demonſtration of a Principle formerly ſuppoſed by the Author in his third Dialogue of Local Motions:* Dated at Arcetri Decemb. 3. 1639. The *ſixteenth* is, Galileo's *Solution of a Problem propoſed to him by* Pietro Bardi de' Conti di Vernio, *Whence it is that the water ſeems to one, who enters into it, firſt colder, and afterwards warmer than the temperate air.* The *ſeventeenth* and laſt Treatiſe of *Menoleſſi's* Edition is, Galilei's *mathematical Diſcourſes and Demonſtrations about two new Sciences, relating to Mechanics and Local Motions; together with an Appendix concerning the Center of Gravity of ſome Solids:* firſt printed at Leyden by the Elzevirs in 1638, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Thomas Saluſbury Eſq; and printed in the *ſecond Tome* of his *Mathematical Collections and Tranſlations.* Our Author's *Dialogi delle due ſiſteme del Mondo* were printed at Florence 1632 in 4to; and tranſlated into Latin by Matthias Bernegger, Profeſſor of Hiſtory at Straſburg, and publiſhed under the title of *Galilæus de Syſtemate Mundi Latinè verſus*, at Straſburg 1635 in 4to. There was likewiſe a Latin Verſion printed at Leyden 1699 in two Volumes in 4to under the title of, *Galilæi Galilæi Lyncei, Academiarum Piſanæ & Patavinæ Philoſophi ac Mathematici ſummi, Syſtema Coſmicum &c.* In this Edition, there is added, beſides the Reconciliation of the places of holy Scripture with the Motion of the Earth, his *Treatiſe of Motion*, now firſt tranſlated into Latin from the Italian. The *Dialogues* were tranſlated into Engliſh by Thomas Saluſbury Eſq; and publiſhed in the *firſt Tome* of his *Mathematical Collections and Tranſlations out of* Galileus *and others.* London 1661 in fol. In theſe *Dialogues* Galileo examines, whether the Earth, according to the opinion of Ptolomy and the Ariſtotelians, occupying the Center of the World, remains immoveable; or whether, according to Pythagoras, and (a long time after him) Copernicus, it turns, together with the reſt of the Pla-

* Horatio Graſſi diſguiſed himſelf under this name.

works were unfortunately loſt through his wife's devotion ; who, ſollicited by her confeſſor, gave him leave to peruſe her huſband's manuſcripts, of which he tore and took away as many as he ſaid were not fit to be allowed. Dr. William Stokeham in a letter to Mr. Saluſbury dated at Padua Auguſt the 2d 1663 (*p*), obſerves, " that the Inſtrument or *Machina*, " with which the *Venetians* render their *Laguna* fluid and navigable, was *Galileo*'s inven- " tion;" and that *a Florentine Academico, in a little Tractate of his, aſſerts the Problem of the Cycloides to have been* Galileo's, *though the ſolution thereof was afterwards made by* Torricelli, *notwithſtanding the French Author of* L'Hiſtoire de la Roulette *aſcribes it to* Merſenne, *the Minim Friar.* The ſame Gentleman remarks, that our Author " never " had any maſters of worth ſufficient to be remembered, he being brought up very " privately whilſt a boy, and after never had any peculiar inſtructor. His funeral was " as obſcure as his education ; for the Florentines thought to have buried him in the " Church of *Santa Croce*, by the tomb of *Michael Angelo* ; but knowing there was more " due to his memory, than the preſent times would admit to be given him, have left " his body in a private place till with ſolemnity they can own his interment." Vincenzio Viviani tells us (*q*) that he had a ſon named Vincenzio, a man of great learning and genius, who invented ſeveral things in Mechanics and Muſic. Dr. John Wilkins (*r*) joins our Author with Rothmannus and others, who aſſert the Comets to be exhalations from the earth carried up into the higher parts of the heavens. But this does not appear from any of *Galileo's* works now extant ; and in his *Dialogi delle duo maſſime Syſteme del Mundo* he expreſly maintains the contrary, viz. that Comets are not terreſtrial vapours ſet on fire, but generated, moſt of them, above the atmoſphere and orbit of the Moon. And Gaſſendus (*s*) cites his opinion in this point to the ſame purpoſe.

(*p*) Communicated by the ſame Gentleman.

(*q*) *Quinto Libro degli Elementi d'Euclide, ovvero Scienza Univerſale delle Proporzioni ſpiegata colla Dottrina del Galileo &c.* pag. 101, 102. edit. Firenze 1674 in 4to.

(*r*) *The Diſcovery of a new World : or a Diſcourſe tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable World in the Moon*, lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. 177. 3d edit. 1640.

(*s*) Tom. 1. *Phyſicæ*, §. 2. lib. 5. pag. 702.

nets, round the Sun, who reſts in the Center. He proceeds in this method ; he propounds the moſt ſpecious and ſtrongeſt arguments for both opinions ; yet leaves the queſtion undecided ; but in ſuch a manner, that we may eaſily perceive, that he inclines to the Copernican Syſtem. He ſometimes introduces very agreeable ſtrokes of raillery, eſpecially againſt thoſe Philoſophers, who adhere ſo obſtinately to Ariſtotle's opinions, that they think it a crime to depart an hair's breadth from them. He tells us, that he knew a Nobleman ſo much devoted to the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy, that when he came to the houſe of an able Phyſician at Venice, whither a great many perſons reſorted to ſee a diſſection performed by a ſkilful Anatomiſt, who ſhewed a great many nerves proceeding from the brain, which afterwards paſſing by the neck were diſtended thro' the back-bone, and at laſt ſpread through the whole body, ſo that they touched the heart only with a ſmall thread ; the Nobleman being aſked by the Phyſician, whether he would now believe, that the nerves had their riſe from the brain, and not from the heart ? he anſwered, *Indeed you have ſo plainly ſhewed the thing before my eyes, that unleſs Ariſtotle's Text were in the way, which deduces the nerves from the heart, I ſhould be of your opinion.* He mentions another Profeſſor in a famous Univerſity, who, when he heard the deſcription of a Teleſcope, which he had never ſeen before, he made no doubt to ſay, that the invention was taken from Ariſtotle, and immediately produced Ariſtotle's Book, and ſhewed a place, wherein that Philoſopher gives the reaſon why the Stars are ſeen in the daytime from the bottom of a deep well ; and ſaid to the ſtanders-by, *See here the well, which the tube of the Teleſcope reſembles. Here are the thick vapours, from which the invention of the Chryſtals was taken. Here the ſight is fortified, while the beams are tranſmitted more thick and obſcure thro' the chryſtalline.* Galileo compares ſuch men to Alchymiſts, who dream that the art of making gold was known to the antients ; and that it was concealed under the fables and fictions of the Poets. The *firſt* Dialogue contains an examination of the arguments of the Ariſtotelians, whereby they attempt to ſhew, that celeſtial bodies are eternal and incorruptible, and conſiſt of a fifth eſſence very different from our elementary bodies. In oppoſition to this it is proved, that the earth hath the ſame perfections with the other bodies of the univerſe ; and that it does not differ from the Moon, Venus, Jupiter and other Planets. In the *ſecond* Dialogue he proceeds to prove the diurnal Motion of the Earth ; and in the *third* the annual Motion of it round the Sun. In this Dialogue almoſt all the principles of Aſtronomy are laid down, and many new obſervations made by the Aſtronomers of Galileo's age are either confirmed or refuted. In the *fourth* Dialogue he deduces the cauſes of the ebbing and flowing of the Sea from the double motion of the Earth ; and endeavours to ſhew, that if the Earth ſtood ſtill in the center of the World, the Sea could not ebb and flow ; and whatever difference there is in theſe ebbings of the Sea occaſioned by place and time, he attempts to account for by the nature of his Syſtem. Dr. William Stokeham in an original Letter of his to Mr. Saluſbury, dated at Padua Auguſt 2d 1663, obſerves, " that he left divers works in being, beſides " two that are ſtoln, one of which was a Treatiſe " *Della Forza della percoſſa*, the other, *The Theory of* " *the four Stellæ Mediceæ* and *the Calculation of their* " *Motion.* But there is one entire volume as big as " one of thoſe two printed at Bologna, of his Letters " to ſeveral learned Men, and Solutions to ſeveral Pro- " blems." There was alſo a Diſputation of our Author *de Phænomenis Lunæ & de Luce ac Lumine* ; printed at Venice in 1612 in 4to. *Vincenzio Viviano* in a Treatiſe intitled, *Quinto Libro de gli Elementi d'Euclide, ovvero Scienza univerſale delle Proporzioni ſpiegata colla Dottrina del* Galileo, *con nuov' ordine diſteſa, e per la prima volta publicata da* Vincenzio Viviani *ultimo ſuo Diſcepolo, &c.* printed at Florence 1674 in 4to, and dedicated to the Cardinal of Medici (9), has publiſhed *Principio della quinta Giornata del* Galileo *da aggiugnerſi alle quattro ſtampate delle due nuove Scienze della Meccanica, e de' Movimenti Locali* ; and Extracts from Galileo's Letters to a learned Frenchman, in which he gives an account of the Works, which he deſigned to have publiſhed ; and a paſſage from a Letter of Galilei dated at Arcetri Octob. 30. 1635 to John Camillo Glorioſi, a Mathematician of Naples, concerning the Angle of Contact. T.

(9) The dedication is dated at Florence Auguſt 10, 1674.

GALLARS (NICHOLAS DES), in Latin *Gallaſius*, Miniſter of Geneva, was one of thoſe who aſſiſted at the conference of Poiſſi. Thoſe of Geneva, when they were deſired by the Church of Paris, in the year 1557, to ſend them a Miniſter, lent them this des Gallars. The deputy (*a*) who conducted him was ſtopped with him at Auſonne, and ſome ſuſpicious books being found in his portmanteau he was carried to Dijon, where he ſuffered martyrdom. Des Gallars was permitted to purſue his journey, becauſe they found neither books nor letters about him, which might cauſe him to be ſuſpected (*b*).

(*a*) His name was *Nicholas du Rouſſeau*. Beza, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* liv. 2. pag. 137.

(*b*) Beza, *ibid.* See alſo *l'Hiſtoire des Martyrs*, liv. 7. fol. 412 *verſo*.

He

He is the Author of ſome books [*A*], and of an Edition of St. Irenæus [*B*]. He was Miniſter of the Church of Orleans in the year 1564 (*c*). The dates of ſome of his Writings will be ſeen below [*C*]. Calvin eſteemed him highly, and he reciprocally eſteemed Calvin ſo far as to be his Tranſcriber (*d*). La Croix du Maine ſpeaks of another N. DES GALLARS [*D*], who was Miniſter of the French Church in London, in the year 1561.

(*c*) Beza's Preface to *Calvin's Commentary on Joſhua*, pag. m. 10.

(*d*) See the Remark [*D*], Citation (11).

[*A*] *He is the Author of ſome Books.*] He publiſhed at Geneva, in the year 1545, an Apology for Farel, and his Collegues, againſt Peter Charles. He tranſlated ſeveral of Calvin's Treatiſes into Latin. His Book of the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt againſt the new Arians was printed at Orleans, in 1565. Calvin's Commentary upon Iſaiah is only an Extract which des Gallars made out of the Lectures and Sermons of Calvin on that Prophet. He compoſed a Commentary on the Book of Exodus, and an Apology for Calvin againſt Cochleus. The Abridgment of Geſner's *Bibliotheca*, which informs us of this, does not take notice in what years theſe Works were printed; a defect too frequent in the Abridgment of Geſner, and in moſt compilations of that nature. Obſerve that the Commentary on Iſaiah was afterwards reviſed by Calvin, and therefore des Gallars's Edition is not the beſt. I prove this from Theodore Beza, who having ſaid that Calvin, though ſick in the year 1558, continued notwithſtanding to write, proceeds thus: *Ejus rei teſtes ſunt ultima Chriſtianæ Inſtitutionis Editio tum Latina tum Gallica, & Commentarii in Iſaiam ab eo non tam emendati (quales illos Gallaſius ex ore prælegentis exceptos ediderat) quam novi prorſus emiſſi* (1). i. e. "Witneſs the laſt Edition of his "Chriſtian Inſtitution, both in Latin and in French, "and his Commentaries on Iſaiah, not ſo much "corrected (in the manner des Gallars had publiſhed "them, as he took them down from his mouth at "his lectures, as new written and digeſted." Some believe (2) that des Gallars compoſed, together with Beza, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches; but I believe they are miſtaken (*a*).

(1) Beza, in his *Life of Calvin*, under the year 1558.

(2) *See* Placcius, *de Anonymis*, num. 429. pag. 102.

[§ [*a*] They aſcribe to him the ſhort Prayers which are at the end of Marot and Beza's Pſalms, in ſeveral old Editions. REM. CRIT.]

[*B*] .... *and of an Edition of St. Irenæus.*] The Abridgment of Geſner is very good with regard to this particular: for we there find, not only where and in what year (3) the Miniſter des Gallars publiſhed this Edition, but we are alſo told wherein it differs from the other.

(3) At Geneva 1570.

[*C*] *The dates of ſome of his Writings will be ſeen below.*] In the year 1545, he tranſlated into Latin a ſmall Treatiſe which Calvin had publiſhed in 1540, on the Lord's Supper. Des Gallars was then Miniſter of the Church at Geneva (4). Some time after he made a Latin Tranſlation of what Calvin had publiſhed in 1544 againſt the Anabaptiſts and Libertines (5). In 1548 he gave a Latin Verſion of the Inventory of Relics, publiſhed by Calvin in 1546 (6). He publiſhed in 1551 the Commentary which he had extracted from the Lectures and Sermons of Calvin on the Prophet Iſaiah (7).

(4) Beza, *Preface* to *Calvin's Commentary on Joſhua*, pag. m. 10.

(5) Ibid pag. 15.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. pag. 18.

[*D*] *La Croix du Maine ſpeaks of another N. des Gallars.*] The Nicholas des Gallars whom he mentions in the 344th page, and the N. des Gallars of whom he ſpeaks in the 363d page, are the ſame Miniſter; and ſo he makes two Authors out of one. *He has written in Latin* (thus he ſpeaks concerning the latter) *and ſince tranſlated into French the form of Eccleſiaſtical polity eſtabliſhed in the French Church at London, printed in the year* 1561, *at which time he dwelt and reſided in the ſaid city of London* (8). It may be objected that, if la Croix du Maine be not miſtaken as to the time, it is probable here are two Miniſters; for Nicholas des Gallars was at Geneva in the year 1560 (9) and in France in 1561, at the time of the Conference of Poiſſi. I anſwer that this proves nothing. That Miniſter was ſent to London in the year 1560, to ſettle a French Church there: this is certain; but for all that des Gallars might be in France a year after, to aſſiſt at the Conference at Poiſſi (10). *Eodem tempore, quum non pauci pii Galli poſt Mariæ reginæ mortem ſingulari Sereniſſimæ reginæ Elizabethæ pietate & humanitate freti in Angliam refugerent, peterentque, reverendi viri Edmundi Grindalli Epiſcopi Londinenſis aſſenſu, ut Geneva mitteretur qui Eccleſiam Gallicam illic conſtitueret, miſſus eſt eo Nicolaus Galaſius, familiariſſimus à multis jam annis Calvini collega, & cujus plurimum opera in excipiendis dictatis utebatur. Sed Calvino nihil antiquius Eccleſiarum ædificatione fuit* (11). i. e. "At the ſame time, when "a great many devout Frenchmen, after the death "of Queen Mary, relying on the ſingular piety and "humanity of the moſt ſerene Queen Elizabeth fled "into England, and petitioned, by the conſent of Ed-"mund Grindal, Biſhop of London, that a perſon "might be ſent for from Geneva to ſettle a French "Church there, Nicholas des Gallars was ſent thi-"ther, who was very intimate with Calvin, and had "been his Collegue for many years, and whom he "chiefly employed in taking down what he dictated. "As for Calvin, he had nothing more at heart than "the edification of the Churches."

(8) He had ſaid before that N. des Gallars was Miniſter of the French Church in the City of London, in England.

(9) The Epiſtle dedicatory of his *Commentary on Exodus* is dated that year from Geneva.

(10) Beza, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Book 4, pag. 490, names him among the Miniſters who were at that Conference.

(11) Beza, *in Vita Calvini, ad annum* 1560.

GALLIGAI (LEONORA) was the daughter of a Joyner and of Mary de Medicis's nurſe (*a*). That Princeſs loved her tenderly, and carried her with her into France, when ſhe went thither to be married to Henry IV. Galligai, under the title of Bed-chamber-woman to that Queen, governed her juſt as ſhe pleaſed. She was exceſſively ugly, but had a vaſt deal of wit. She married Concino Concini, a domeſtic to the ſame Queen; and they made a prodigious fortune together. They were more ſtrongly united by intereſt than affection [*A*]. They had fomented the diſcord between Henry IV and the Queen (*b*); for their artifices and tale-bearing were the cauſe of the domeſtic jars which made life ſo bitter to Henry the Great. After that Prince's death, they found it ſtill more eaſy to govern their miſtreſs; they glutted themſelves with riches and places, [*B*], and

(*a*) Le Grain, *Decade de Louis le Juſte*, liv. 4. pag. 154. Hilarion de Coſte, tom. 2. *des Dames Illuſtres*, pag. 477, *denies ſhe was the nurſe's daughter.*

(*b*) *See* Mr. de Perefixe, *Hiſt. de Henri le Grand*, pag. m. 399, *ad ann.* 1603. *and* Mezerai, *Abrégé, Chron.* tom. 6. pag. m. 301, 367.

[*A*] *They were more ſtrongly united by intereſt than affection.*] The Marſhal d'Ancre's wife received the news of her huſband's being juſt murdered without ſhedding a tear, and her firſt care was to ſave her jewels. She put them *in the matting of her bed, and cauſing her ſelf to be undreſt, went to bed* (1). The Provoſt's men who went into her chamber not finding her jewels, made her (2) *get up that they might ſearch her bed, where they were found* (3). She *ſaid afterwards to thoſe who guarded her*, Well, they have killed my huſband: is not that enough to ſatisfy them? Let me be allowed to leave the Kingdom (4). When ſhe was told they had hanged the Marſhal's dead body, ſhe appeared to be very much moved; *without weeping however: yet ſhe ſaid he was* un preſumptuos, un orguillos, *a preſumptuous, inſolent man; that he had met with nothing but what he deſerved; that he had not been in bed with her for the whole three laſt years; that he was a bad man, and that to get rid of him ſhe had determined to retire into Italy that ſpring, and had prepared every thing for her journey, which ſhe offered to prove* (5). When Meſſieurs Aubri and le Bailleul went to examine her *what was become of her rings and other effects*, ſhe anſwered them *with as much aſſurance as if ſhe had had no manner of apprehenſion* (6), and even told them ſhe hoped to be taken into favour again.

(1) *Relation of the death of the Marſhal d'Ancre*, in the Appendix to the *Hiſtory of Favourites by Mr. du Puy*, pag. m. 28.

(2) Ibid. pag. 30, 31.

(3) *Theſe no doubt were the jewels ſhe meant when ſhe told Meſſieurs Aubri and le Bailleul*, That ſhe had ſent the King, the day before, a box in which there were jewels to the value of above 200,000 Livres. Ibid. pag. 61.

(4) Ibid. pag. 31.

(5) Ibid. pag. 55.

(6) Ibid. pag. 61.

[*B*] *They glutted themſelves with riches and places.*]

and were puffed up with monſtrous and unheard of pride [C]. But the end of all this proved extremely tragical. I have elſewhere told what befel the huſband, and ſhall now relate how they treated the wife. She was carried to the Baſtile, and afterwards committed to the Conciergerie, or priſon of the Parliament; by which Court ſhe was tried, and condemned to be beheaded and burnt to aſhes. This ſentence was executed the 8th of July 1617. She took courage at laſt, and died with great conſtancy, and like a Chriſtian (c). She was convicted, among other crimes, of having not only judaiſed [D], but alſo practiſed magical arts [E] to attain her ends. She ſuffered for high treaſon againſt

(c) Le Grain, *Decade de Louis le Juſte*, liv. 10. pag. 419.

See, above, the Article CONCINI, and conſider only that in the Marſhal's pockets (7) they found in aſſignments on the Treaſury, in receivers notes, or in bonds, the ſum of 1, 985, 000 livres. They found in his private apartments good aſſignments for 2 millions 500, 000 livres more (8). His wife told the Commiſſaries that *ſhe had her pearls ſtill, to wit, a necklace of* 40 *pearls of* 2000 *livres a piece, and a chain of five rows of pearls of* 50 *livres each, and that in all they were worth above* 120, 000 *crowns* (9). She had already ſent the King jewels to the value of 200, 000 livres. The Provoſt's men had not ſearched ſo narrowly, but that ſhe had a box of jewels left; for when they were carrying her to the Baſtile they aſked her, *before they went ... whether ſhe had no more rings? She ſhewed them a box ſhe had ſaved, in which there were only ſome chains of amber: and being aſked if ſhe had none about her, ſhe lifted up her coats and ſhewed near as high as her breaſts; ſhe had on a pair of drawers of red Florence friſe: they told her, laughing, that they muſt then ſearch the drawers; ſhe anſwered, that at another time ſhe would not have ſuffered it, but in her preſent circumſtances they were allowed to do every thing; ſo du Hallier* (10) *felt a little about the drawers* (11). *There needed no other proofs of their crimes than this exorbitant wealth.*

(7) Ibid. pag. 48.

(8) Ibid. pag. 62.

(9) Ibid. pag. 61.

(10) He was Captain of the Guards.

(11) *Relation, &c.* pag. 83, 84.

[C] ... *and were puffed up with monſtrous and unheard of pride.*] " She would not ſo much as allow " the Princes, Princeſſes, and greateſt Lords of the " Kingdom, to come into her chamber, or even " ſuffer any one to look her in the face, ſaying, *that " people frighted her when they ſtared upon her, and " that they might bewitch her by looking her in the face:* " for which reaſon ſhe abſolutely refuſed to ſee ſome " of her ſervants any more, only becauſe they had " looked on her; and towards the end of her favour " ſhe had even baniſhed from her chamber on this " account M. de Luſſon, and Faydeau, who had been " the laſt in her good graces (12)." This was yet more owing to her ſuperſtition with regard to witch- " craft, and her uglineſs, than her vanity.

(12) Ibid. pag. 65.

[D] *She was convicted ... not only of having judaized.*] Her huſband was likewiſe charged with this crime as well as ſhe. It was proved,

I. By the care they took to bring into France a certain Jew, *a famous fortune-teller*, named Montalto, by profeſſion a Phyſician. They employed in this affair Vincentio Ludovici, their Secretary. This was verified " by letters written from Venice to the ſaid " Vincentio, the 26th of April 1611, wherein they " give him hopes of procuring the ſaid Montalto to " come into France (13); and by the letters of the " ſaid Montalto himſelf, dated the 6th of May fol- " lowing, to the ſaid Leonora Galligai, wherein he " aſſures her that he is ready to come, *by the aſſiſtance " of ſo benign and ſingular a Protectreſs: not meaning, " however, to diſguiſe himſelf, or to diſſemble his pro- " feſſion, but freely to exerciſe his Jewiſh Religion; ſince " he had refuſed very advantageous offers made him from " other quarters, as Bologna, Meſſina, Piſa, and even " to ſucceed the famous Mercurialis under the moſt gra- " cious protection of the Great Duke Ferdinand, that he " had alſo been offered the firſt Profeſſor's chair at Pa- " dua*, adding, that they might know his intention by " one ſingle act, which was, *that he will take no " money on the day he obſerves*, that is, on the Sabbath. " Theſe letters have been produced and exhibited in " the proceedings againſt the ſaid Galligai, being " marked with the Letter K; and what deſerves " particular conſideration on this head, is the depo- " ſition of la Place, Gentleman Uſher to the ſaid " Galligai, who being confronted with her, main- " tained that ſince the coming of the ſaid Montalto " ſhe went no more to Church or to Confeſſion, but " ſpent her time in making little balls of wax, which " ſhe put in her mouth (14)."

(13) He died in the year 1616, and foretold that Galligai would die the year after. Le Grain, *Décade de Louis le Juſte*, liv. 10. pag. 419.

(14) Ibid. pag. 404.

II. It was alledged (15) *that the accuſed perſons, by converſing with the ſaid Montalto, had left the obſervation of the Chriſtian Religion, and accuſtomed themſelves to Judaiſm*; and thence it was that there were found in their houſe two Books, one of which, *being a kind of Catechiſm*, is intitled CHEINUC, that is to ſay in Hebrew * *Cuſtom, and the other Machazar*, that is, *The courſe of the Annual Service*, according to the uſage of the Spaniſh Jews, printed at Venice.

(15) Ibid. pag. 405.

* Or rather, *Inſtruction.*

III. It was alledged (16) that *the conſequence of this converſation and catechiſing was their apoſtacy and deſertion of the Chriſtian Religion, to embrace Judaiſm, as they have actually done, practiſing the ſacrifices, oblations, and exorciſms, in uſe among the Jews. This is verified in the proceſs, as well by the teſtimonial and vocal proofs, as alſo by the confeſſion of the ſaid Galligai: and among other depoſitions, that of her coachman is remarkable, by which it appears how they made uſe of ſeveral Churches in Paris, to commit therein, in the night time, ſuch impieties, diſcovered by the cries and howlings heard in the ſame, when the ſaid Galligai ſacrificed a cock, which is an oblation uſed among the Jews on the feaſt of reconciliation, when they offer a cock for their ſins. And that this oblation of a cock is a Jewiſh ceremony, and practiſed by the Jews in thoſe places where they are allowed to reſide, appears from two Books produced by the King's Attorney General when the tryal was depending, the one inſcribed* Baal Hatturim, *that is*, the chief and patron of orders; *in the firſt part whereof, intitled* Grachchaüm, *that is*, the way and path of life, *or* the manner of living which a man ought to obſerve, *or* the way of ſpending this life, *mention is made of this oblation; and of which Book Rabbi Jacob, who calls himſelf a Gaul, is the Author: and the other intitled*, The Jewiſh Synagogue *, *in the 20th Chapter whereof is written what is done at the feaſt of* Reconciliation *during ten penitential days, and that on the ninth the Jews riſe very early, frequent the ſchool, ſing and repeat ſeveral prayers; and immediately on their return home, each male, as well old as young, takes a cock in his hand, and each female a hen, and the women with child both a cock and a hen together, and rehearſe out of the Pſalm of David theſe words:* (a) Fools, becauſe of their tranſgreſſion, and becauſe of their iniquities, are afflicted: their ſoul abhorreth all manner of meat; and they draw near unto the gates of death. *This oblation of the cock not only argues Judaiſm but Heatheniſm alſo, and declares the accuſed to be apoſtates, and conſequently guilty of ſacrilege: for an apoſtate is deemed to be a ſacrilegious perſon by the Imperial Conſtitutions* (e), *which puniſh ſuch capital crimes with abſolute confiſcation. And as to what the ſaid Galligai has ſaid in her excuſe*, that ſhe had made ſuch a ſacrifice of a cock for her health, and the cure of a diſeaſe ſhe was afflicted with; *it has been anſwered, that ſuch an impiety is puniſhed with death*, though it be practiſed by way of remedy (i).

(16) Ibid. pag. 405.

* *Synagoga Judaica edita Hanoviæ, anno* 1514.

(a) Pſalm cvii. 17, 18.

(e) *Tot. tit. C. de Apoſtatis.*

(i) *Novel. Conſt. Leonis Imp.* 65.

IV. It was alledged, as a proof of their affection to Judaiſm, *that they had uſed diligent endeavour to bring Jews into France, having ſent to Amſterdam in Holland, where many of them are, to invite ſome of them to Paris.* (17).

(17) Le Grain, liv. 10. pag. 406.

[E] ... *but alſo practiſed magical arts.*] This likewiſe was an accuſation both againſt the huſband and the wife. It was proved (18):

(18) Ibid. pag. 406.

I. *By a letter of a certain woman named Gondy, and others of the ſaid Galligai the accuſed, to the Lady Iſabella, a reputed witch; wherein ſhe deſires her to ſend*

againſt God and the King, and divers other particular crimes. There was even one accuſation in the proceedings againſt her, which implied treaſon both againſt God and the King [*F*]. Her mouth was ſoon ſtopped, when, to prolong her life, ſhe pleaded her belly [*G*].

ſend her word whether ſhe knows any thing BY HER ART *which any way regards her perſon, or the intereſt of her family.*

II. *By three Books of Characters, with another ſmall Character, found in the ſaid Galligai's chamber, and a box containing five round pieces of velvet, which Characters the accuſed made uſe of to gain an aſcendant over* THE WILLS OF THE GREAT. *This is verified by the depoſitions of Melon, Charton, and Nicholas Viart, confronted with the ſaid Galligai. And as to the Books of Characters found in her houſe, they are mentioned in the verbal proceſs of Meſſieurs de Maupeou and Arnaud, Intendants of the Finances, containing the deſcription of the moveables, papers, and inſtructions found in the ſaid houſe.*

III. *By the depoſition of Philip Dacquin, formerly a Jew, and at preſent a Chriſtian, who ſays that when he was at the Lieutenant Criminal's at Molins, the Accuſed ſent him word,* that they had made uſe of the Cabala, and the Books of the Jews, *which helps to prove their Judaiſm and witchcraft; for it is to be obſerved that Dacquin depoſes,* that Concini in the preſence of his wife would have taken an urinal out of her chamber on account of its impurity, and would have carried a crucifix out of the ſame chamber, leſt they ſhould hinder the effect which Concini and his wife expected to obtain by the reading of ſome verſes of the fifty firſt Pſalm in Hebrew, which reading they intended ſhould be performed for them by the ſaid Dacquin, in the manner it had been formerly done by Montalto.

IV. Becauſe *they ſent for ſome ſorcerers, pretending to be monks, called* Ambroſians, *from Nancy in Lorrain,* who aſſiſted the Marſhal's wife in the ſacrifice of the cock.

V. Becauſe there were found *in their houſe ſeveral pieces of ſtuff which they uſed to hang about their necks* (19), *after the manner of the preſervatives by the Jews called* Kamea, *by the Greeks* Philacteria, *and* Periapta, *and by the Latins* Amuleta *and* Ligaturæ; *which are things condemned by the Holy Councils, particularly by the ſixty firſt Canon of the ſixth Synod* in Trullo, *and by a Roman Council under Pope Gregory III, and by another of Agatho cited by Gratian* **, *and by Yvo Biſhop of Chartres* (†) *quoting a Council of Arles c.* 5. *which condemns* Philacteria diabolica, *and* Characteres diabolicos.

(19) Ibid. pag. 407.

(**) *Si quis ariolos*, 26. *q.*

(†) Part. 11. c. 1, 54, & 58.

VI. It was proved againſt them that they made uſe of images of wax, and kept them in coffins.

VII. And that they conſulted Magicians, and employed Aſtrologers who profeſſed judiciary Mathematics; and that, among others, they made uſe of the diabolical ſcience of Coſmo Ruggieri, an Italian.

(20) Le Grain, *Décade de Louis le Juſte*, liv. 10. pag. 407.

VIII. " (20) But the moſt remarkable fact of all " is that concerning one Matthew de Montenay, " whom the ſaid Galligai ſent for to Paris, as a greater " and more expert magician than the Ambroſians, by " whom ſhe cauſed herſelf to be exorciſed in the " Church of the Auguſtins, in the Chappel of the " Spifames, and that by night, as ſeveral Monks of " the ſaid Monaſtery have depoſed, moſt of whom " were confronted with her and not excepted againſt " by her. It being obſervable that the exorciſm was " performed in a different manner than is uſed a- " mong Chriſtians; which was alſo done in the " Churches of St. Sulpicius in the ſuburbs of St. " Germain, and St. Antony the leſs in the city. To " this ſhe anſwered, that ſhe cauſed herſelf to be exor- " ciſed in that manner by night, that the diſtemper " for which ſhe was exorciſed might not be known, " ſaying that ſhe was ſometimes poſſeſſed. But this " ought to be done by men having the true character, " as by the Biſhop or his Vicar, that is to ſay, the " Curate of her pariſh, and not by unknown fright- " ful people, who have diſappeared, and never been " ſeen ſince; ſuch as were thoſe pretended Am- " broſians."

IX. " It is alſo to be obſerved that when thoſe Am- " broſians had a mind to perform any action of their " art or ceremonies in the houſe of the ſaid Galligai, " they made all the ſervants go out, burned incenſe in " the garden, and made ſeveral things in form of be- " nedictions on the earth, and the ſaid Galligai at " thoſe times eat nothing but cocks combs, and rams " kidneys, which ſhe cauſed to be bleſſed; and of this " there is a teſtimonial proof among the proceedings.

X. " It is likewiſe remarkable that every year on " the eve of Epiphany, or Twelfth-day, ſhe cauſed " the water which ſhe made uſe of as luſtral or holy " water to be bleſſed by Father Roger; which was " not done without ſome myſtery and deſign; and " being aſked for what reaſon ſhe did it, ſhe would " give no anſwer."

[*F*] *One accuſation implied treaſon both againſt God and the King.*] For the huſband and wife *enquired after the King's life and health of perſons who profeſſed judicial Aſtrology.* This was proved by *the depoſition of John du Chatel, called* Cæſar, *who* was *a diviner and calculator of Nativities, confronted with the Accuſed,* &c (21).

(21) Le Grain, liv. 10. pag. 408.

[*G*] *She pleaded her belly.*] Having heard her ſentence read, ſhe ſaid, *I am with child*; but it was repreſented *that ſhe had declared, while a priſoner, and at her trial, that ſhe had not had her huſband's company for above two years laſt paſt; ſo that this could not be without prejudice to her honour; to which ſhe anſwered nothing, and inſiſted no more upon it* (22).

(22) Ibid. pag. 418.

GALLONIUS (ANTONY), Prieſt of the Oratory at Rome, compoſed, among other Works, a Treatiſe *de Martyrum Cruciatibus*, which is very curious. We may there ſee the forms of the Inſtruments which the Pagans made uſe of to torture the Martyrs of the primitive Church. He died in the year 1505 (*a*). I ſhall give the Titles of ſome other Works which he wrote [*A*].

(*a*) Ludovicus Jacob, *in Bibliotheca Pontificia*, pag. 263.

A little Book printed in Holland in the year 1699 informs me of a particular which I think deſerves a place in this Dictionary. It relates to the diſpute which Gallonius became concerned in to defend Baronius againſt the Monks of Mount Caſſino [*B*].

[*A*] *I ſhall give the titles of ſome other of his Works.*] He wrote the Life of Philip Neri, the Founder of the Prieſts of the Oratory, and an Apology *pro aſſertis in Annalibus Eccleſiaſticis Baronianis de Monachatu Sancti Gregorii Papæ, adverſus D. Conſtantinum Bellottum, Monachum Caſinatem*, at Rome, 1604, *in* 4*to, ex Typographia Vaticana.* See the *Bibliotheca* of Proſper Mandoſio. He has taken care not to forget Gallonius, who was a native of Rome.

[*B*] *He made himſelf a party in a diſpute to defend Baronius againſt the Monks of Mount Caſſino.*] The little Book, which will furniſh me here with a Commentary, is intitled *Critique du Livre publié par les Moines Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur, ſous le titre de* Bibliotheque divine de S. Jerôme. It contains 66 pages in 12mo. The Bookſeller's Advertiſement informs us that *we are beholden for this Critique to Father Simon's nephew, who wrote it from the Latin Memoirs of his uncle.* What I am going to tranſcribe from this little Book is not the leaſt curious paſſage in it (1). The Monks of Mount Caſſino " are ſo liberal " of their habit that, having given it to S. Gregory " the Great, they could not bear this Cardinal (2) " ſhould aſſert in his Annals, that it was not true " that St. Gregory had been a Benedictin Monk, but " immediately publiſhed a Book under this title: *Gre- " gorius Magnus inſtituto ſanctiſſimi Patris Benedicti re- " ſtitutus.* i. e. *Gregory the Great reſtored to the Order " of St. Benedict.* But Antony Galloni, a learned " Prieſt of the Oratory at Rome, undertaking the " defence

(1) *Critique de la Biblioth. divine de S. Jerôme*, pag. 64, *& ſeq. See alſo* Father Simon's *Critical Letters*, publiſhed by a German Gentleman, pag. 118, *& ſeq.*

(2) That is, Baronius.

GALLUTIUS (JOHN PAUL), a learned Italian Aſtronomer, lived in the ſixteenth Century. He invented an Inſtrument to obſerve the celeſtial appearances (*a*); and he publiſhed ſeveral Aſtronomical Works, and ſome of Phyſic [*A*]. He was Member of an Academy at Venice.

(*a*) *Quo inſtrumento nove excogitato cuncta cœli phænomena una cum horis omnis generis obſervantur ex ſole, luna, ac ſtellis, non longè ab ecliptica diſtantibus.* i. e. "By which new-invented Inſtrument all the celeſtial phænomena, with all ſorts of hours, are obſerved "from the Sun, Moon, and Stars, not far diſtant from the Ecliptic." Voſſius, *de Scient. Mathemat.* pag. 386.

" defence of his brother Baronius, wrote them a very " ſmart anſwer; and as it is become ſcarce, I ſhall " give you ſome idea of it to entertain you till it be " reprinted with ſome other pieces on the ſame ſubject. " It is printed at Rome in 4to under the title of *Apo-*
(3) See the remainder of this Title in the Remark [*A*]. " *logeticus Liber* . . . (3). I own to you that if Fa-
" ther Galloni's piety, as well as that of Baronius, " was not well known on other accounts, one would " be apt to think there is too much paſſion in this " anſwer, wherein the Monks are charged with pro- " ducing, in ſupport of their cauſe, ſome pieces the Au- " thors of which deſerve the ſame puniſhment as Ci- " carella. A ſtrange compariſon! for Cicarella was
† *Fit i longum.* " hanged † for his forgeries, by the order of Pope " Pius V. It is true, the ſame Galloni acknowledges " that he reveals things which ought never to have " come to the knowledge of the public; but he adds " at the ſame time, that the exceſſive impudence of " thoſe Monks had obliged him to publiſh them. He " reproaches them with a great number of falſe Deeds, " which had been forged at Monte Caſſino in the names " of Popes and Princes. All theſe Deeds were print- " ed at Venice in 4to, in 1513, at the end of the " Chronicle of that Monaſtery. The purport of thoſe " falſe Inſtruments was nothing leſs than the donation " of poſſeſſions, and even whole towns, to the Monks " of Monte Caſſino. It is true, the Monk Conſtan- " tine produced in defence of his Monaſtery ſome Acts " which were found in their Library, written in Longo- " bardic characters, and which conſequently could not " have been lately forged. But Galloni, who was " perfectly well acquainted with the practices of the " Benedictine Monks, anſwers, that whatever writings " they have in thoſe ancient characters ought not to " be credited as if they were ſealed with the ſeal of " the Revelations; that it is very well known they " want not Writers who have a pretty good hand at " counterfeiting the characters of the Lombards: *Ac* " *ſi quidquid eo charactere* (Longobardico) *exaratum* " *invenitur tanquam ſigillo Apocalypſis ſit conſignatum in* " *dubitationem non liceat revocare, & deſint hodie quoque* " *ſcriptores qui eorumdem formam elementorum valeant* " *imitari, ut plus apud te probat genus characteris,* " *quam veritas manifeſtis rationibus confirmata.*"

I have not ſeen the anſwer which has been made to this little Book of Father Simon's nephew by the Benedictins of Paris. If I had, I ſhould have extracted from thence whatever might be of uſe to clear up this diſpute, and I ſhould have been the faithful reporter of what has been alledged on both ſides.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] Here are thoſe which have come to my knowledge: *Della fabrica & uſo di diverſi ſtromenti di Aſtronomia & Coſmografia*, at Venice, 1597. *Specimen Uranicum*, at Venice, 1593. *Cœleſtium corporum & rerum ab ipſis pendentium Explicatio*, at Venice, 1605. This Work has been falſly aſcribed to Paulus Galvicius in the Catalogue of Thuanus's Library (1). *Theatrum mundi & temporis*, at Venice, 1589. *De Themate erigendo, parte fortunæ, diviſione Zodiaci, dignitatibus Planetarum & temporibus ad medicandum accommodatis. Extat cum Joh. Haſfurto de cognoſcendis & medendis morbis ex corporum cœleſtium poſitione, cui argumenta & explicationem inſcripſit*, at Venice 1584.

(1) Part. II, pag. 113.

GALLUTIUS (TARQUIN), born in Italy in the year 1574, entered himſelf among the Jeſuits in the year 1590, and became very famous in the Order. He taught Rhetoric in the Roman College ten years, and Ethics four years. He died at Rome the 28th of July 1649, in the Grecian College, of which he had been Director eighteen years (*a*). He is the Author of divers Works [*A*].

(*a*) Nathan. Sotuel, *in Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 753.

[*A*] *He is the Author of divers Works.*] He pronounced ſome Orations before the Pope, which have been printed. It was he who made the funeral Oration of Cardinal Bellarmin, which was alſo printed. Several other of his Orations, collected into two volumes, and ſeveral of his Poems, in three Books, have been likewiſe publiſhed. We have of him two Volumes of Commentaries on Ariſtotle's Ethics, printed (1) at Paris by Sebaſtian Cramoiſy, *in folio*. His Book intitled *Vindicationes Virgilianæ, & Commentarii tres de Tragœdia, de Comœdia, de Elegia*, printed at Rome in the year 1621 (2), is very curious. His deſign "was to juſtify " Virgil at any rate. To this end he produces all the " objections which he thinks may be made to divers " paſſages of that Poet. But there are ſeveral which " he has not propoſed in their full ſtrength, for fear " he ſhould find it too difficult for him to anſwer them. " However, among ſome arguments, there are ſome " very tolerable; which are alſo ſupported by a great " deal of erudition, and a great many fine maxims " concerning the Art of Poetry (3)." Mr. Baillet here takes notice of a piece of cunning which is but too frequent in all kinds of diſputes, and eſpecially with the Writers of religious Controverſy. When they find themſelves unable to anſwer an objection, they ſtrip it of the principal difficulty: this is diſarming their adverſary before they attack him. Father Gallutius publiſhed at Rome, in the year 1633, the Revival of the ancient Tragedy, and the Defence of Criſpus. This Work is in Italian (4).

This Jeſuit is, without doubt, the ſame Orator whom Balzac praiſes in the words you are going to read: *I had learnt in Italy*, ſays he (5), *that to write well, a man ought to propoſe to himſelf good patterns; and that good patterns were confined within a certain circle of years, out of which every thing was either in the imperfection of infancy, or the corruption of old age. With this principle I happened to be preſent at Cardinal Bellarmin's funeral Oration, and I conſidered that great and admirable Jeſuit, who with the dignity of his geſtures, the graces of his pronunciation, and the eloquence of his whole body, which accompanied that of his mouth, tranſported my ſoul into the ancient Commonwealth.*

(1) The firſt in the year 1632, and the other in the year 1645.

(2) Nath. Sotuel, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu.*

(3) Baillet, *Jugemens ſur les Poetes*, tom. 1. num. 1067, pag. 51.

(4) Sotuel, *ubi ſupra.*

(5) Balzac, *Oeuvr. diverſes*, pag. m. 404.

GALLUTIUS (ANGELUS), a native of Macerata in Italy, became a Jeſuit in the year 1606, at the age of thirteen, and gained reputation by his Eloquence and Poetry. He taught Rhetoric in the Roman College four and twenty years, and died at Rome the 28th of February 1674, being above fourſcore years old (*a*). He is the Author of ſome Works [*A*].

(*a*) Sotuel, *Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jeſu*, pag. 61.

GAMACHE

[*A*] *He is the Author of ſome Works.*] Of ſome Latin Orations, and a Hiſtory of the Wars of the Low-Countries, from the year 1593 to the truce concluded in the year 1609. This Hiſtory is in Latin: it was printed at Rome, in the year 1671, in two Volumes *in folio*, and reprinted in Germany *in* 4*to* in the year 1677.

GAMACHE (PHILIP), in Latin *Gamachæus*, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Paris, was reckoned one of the moſt able Divines of the ſeventeenth Century. He was born in the year 1586, and died the 21ſt of July 1623 (*a*). His Commentaries on Thomas Aquinas, intitled *Summa Theologica* (*b*), are much eſteemed. See above (*c*) what he ſaid of St. Auguſtin.

(*a*) Paul. Freherus, *in Theatro*, pag. 423.

(*b*) Printed at Paris, in 1627, in 3 Volumes in folio.

(*c*) Remark [*C*] of the Article ADAM (John).

GAMBARA (LAURENCE), born at Breſcia in Italy, was a good Latin Poet of the ſixteenth Century. He lived a long time at Rome with Cardinal Alexander Farneſe (*a*). He publiſhed in the ſame City a Collection of Poems, which Gyraldus, who was a good judge, and had not over much indulgence, greatly commends [*A*]. Manutius has ſpoken yet more amply in praiſe of Gambara's Poems [*B*]; but it muſt be conſidered that he beſtows thoſe great encomiums on him in the Letters he writes to him. Muretus fell into the other extreme [*C*]; for he treated this Poet's Works with the utmoſt contempt. It is ſaid (*b*) Gambara had made ſome verſes which were too free, and a little obſcene, but that ſeeing himſelf raiſed to the Prieſthood, he threw them into the fire in the preſence of ſeveral perſons, though the public was extremely impatient to ſee them. He compoſed a Work wherein he lays the Poets under a heavy reſtriction [*D*]; for he will not allow them to meddle with the heathen fables. He turned ſome of Bion's Idyllia into Latin Verſe, and ſucceeded ill enough, if we take Barthius's judgment (*c*). He died at Rome, towards the end of the year 1586, at the age of fourſcore (*d*).

(*a*) Thuan. lib. 84. pag. m. 76.

(*b*) *See* Mr. Teiſſier, *Elog.* tom. 2. pag. 71. *He quotes* Poſſevin's *Apparatus*.

(*c*) Barth. *in Statium*, tom. 3. pag. 1635.

(*d*) Thuan. lib. 84. pag. 76.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Collection of Poems, which Gyraldus, ... greatly commends.*] Let us quote his words: *Vivit adhuc Laurentius Gambara Riulanus ex Brixia, cujus poëmata nuper legi Romæ excuſa non indigna illa quidem lectione bonorum, nam & numeris poëticis, ac figuris, & varia eruditione habetur inſignis. Romæ verſatur Baſilio noſtro Zancho cariſſimus amicus, ut ex ejus carmine facile cognoſcimus, & Zanchi ipſius Epiſtolis* (1). i. e. "There is yet living Laurence Gambara of Breſcia, whoſe Poems, printed at Rome, I lately read; they well deſerve the peruſal of good readers, the Author being celebrated for poetical numbers, figures, and a variety of erudition. He is the boſom friend of our Baſil Zanchius at Rome, as we eaſily perceive by his Poetry, and Zanchius's Letters." We ſhall ſee in the following Remark the confirmation of what has been juſt now read concerning the friendſhip of Gambara and Baſil Zanchius.

(1) Gyrald. *de Poet. ſuor. tempor.* Dial. 3. pag. m. 573, *E*.

[*B*] *Manutius has ſpoken yet more amply in praiſe of Gambara's Poems.*] He wrote him a Letter (2) ſoon after the death of Baſil Zanchius, at which he ſuppoſed him greatly afflicted, conſidering the intimacy there was between them. He obſerves that they were looked upon as the two firſt Poets of that time; but that it was not yet decided which of the two excelled the other. *Fuit uterque veſtrûm ad poeticam facultatem natura propenſus, ac mirè factus, ingenio verò ita pares, ut, cùm nemo tam bonus poeta ſit, quin vobis primas in componendis verſibus partes tribuat, quam confeſſionem etiam ab invitis exprimit poematum comparatio, uter tamen utri præſtet, nondum ſatis judicare quiſquam poſſit* (3). i. e. "Both of you were naturally inclined, and admirably formed for Poetry, but ſo equal in genius, that whereas all other Poets, be they ever ſo good, allow you the firſt rank, a confeſſion extorted from them, whether they will or no, on comparing your Poems with theirs, no one can yet determine which of you two deſerves the preeminence." In another Letter he exhorts him to continue the Poem of which he had ſeen the beginning with extreme admiration. *Patavii dum eras, habebas in manibus egregium illud poëma de novis inſulis à Columbo inventis: cujus ego cùm exordium, multis præſentibus, legiſſem, admiratus gravitatem, & elegantiam carminis, exclamavi, Cedite Romani: in quo, adhuc, qui à me diſſentiret, inveni neminem, quo magis te hortor, quamquam, ut ſpero, currentem, ut approperes, habeaſque rationem non exſpectationis modò noſtræ, verùm etiam gloriæ tuæ, cujus habes à natura præclarum ſeminarium, quod etiam ſtudio excolis, ingenium tuum. Urge igitur, nec inſtitutum dimitte* (4). i. e. "While you were at Padua, you had in hand that noble Poem of the diſcovery of the new Iſlands by Columbus; the beginning of which when I had read in the preſence of ſeveral perſons, being ſtruck with admiration at the dignity and elegance of the Poetry, I cried out, Give place, ye Roman Writers: wherein I have not yet met with one who diſſents from me. Wherefore I the more earneſtly exhort you to make haſte, tho' I ſuppoſe you do not ſtand ſtill, and to conſider not only our expectation, but your own glory, for which nature has furniſhed you with an excellent ſeed-plot, which you cultivate by ſtudy, I mean your genius. Proceed vigorouſly, therefore, and do not lay your deſign aſide." Mr. Teiſſier aſſures us that Gambara *has publiſhed* this *Deſcription of the Diſcovery of the new World* (5). If ſo, Manutius's exhortation was not in vain.

(2) It is the 28th Letter of the 4th Book.

(3) Paulus Manutius, *Epiſt.* 28. lib. 4. pag. m. 226.

(4) Idem, *Epiſt.* 48. lib. 4. pag. 261.

(5) Teiſſier, *Elog.* tom. 2. pag. 71. *He only quotes* Manutius's *Letter*.

[*C*] *. . . Muretus fell into the other extreme.*] There is certainly an exaggeration which deſerves cenſure in the flatteries of Paul Manutius; but the oppoſite exaggeration to which Muretus has abandoned himſelf is yet worſe. He wrote theſe two verſes *at the beginning of his copy of Gambara's Poems:*

Brixia, veſtratis merdoſa volumina vatis
Non ſunt noſtrates tergere digna nates (6).

" *Breſcia, your Poets ſh—t—n verſes*
" *Are not ev'n fit to wipe our a——s.*"

(6) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 2. pag. 9.

Father Sirmond had ſeen that copy in the Jeſuit's Library at Rome (7). Mr. Menage ſets againſt this judgment of Muretus the commendation which Thuanus has beſtowed on Gambara (8). If he had thought of Gyraldus and Manutius, he would have oppoſed their authority againſt the filthy diſtich he has quoted.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

[*D*] *He compoſed a Work wherein he lays the Poets under a heavy reſtriction.*] Read theſe words of Mr. Baillet: He "has written a Latin Treatiſe touching the method of bringing Poetry to perfection, printed at Rome *in* 4*to* the year he died. He undertakes to ſhew in this Work, that every Poet, or every Verſifier and Rhimer who ſets up for a Poet, is under an indiſpenſible obligation, not only to retrench whatever may be indecent, wanton, and licentious in Poetry, but alſo whatever ſavours of fable, and the worſhip of falſe deities (9)." I refer you to the Reflection which Mr. Menage makes thereon (10).

(9) Baillet, *Jugemens ſur les Poetes*, tom. 1. num. 1091, pag. 112.

(10) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 2. pag. 4, *& ſeq.*

GAMON (CHRISTOPHER DE) is no otherwiſe known to me than by a Work which he publiſhed in the year 1609. It is intitled, *La Semaine ou Creation du Monde, contre celle du Sieur de Bartas*; i. e. *The Week, or Creation of the World, againſt that of du Bartas*. See the Remark [*A*].

GANYMEDES,

[*A*] *See the Remark.*] The Sieur Bullart, after he has ſaid a good deal in commendation of du Bartas's *Week*, adds this: "But as men's opinions are various, Chriſtopher de Gamon, a perſon conſiderable for his learning, undertook to ſhew faults in this Book, and to leſſen the merit of it by another which he compoſed on the ſame ſubject, and which he publiſhed ſometime after the death of DU BARTAS: however, he diſputed the prize with him with ſome reſpect, and could not, after all, refuſe to pay the memory of that great man the praiſes which he acknowledged were ſo juſtly due to him (11)."

(11) Bullart, *Academie des Arts & des Sciences*, tom. 2. pag. 354.

GANYMEDES, ſon of a King of Troy [*A*], was the moſt beautiful boy in the world. Jupiter was charmed with him, and made him his cup-bearer in the room of Hebe (*a*), and made uſe of him for other very criminal purpoſes [*B*]. Some ſay he cauſed

(*a*) You will ſee in the Remark [*D*] the accident which was the pretext for depriving Hebe of her place. *Charles Stephens* relates it, and quotes *Servius: Cum Jove*, ſays he, *apud Æthiopas cœnante, Hebe pocula illi adminiſtrans, perque lubricum minus cautè incedens, cecidiſſet, revolutiſque veſtibus obſcœna ſuperis nudaſſet, ab officio eſt amota, ejuſque loco Ganymedes ſubrogatus. Hæc Servius.*

[*A*] *Son of a King of Troy.*] Tros, the ſon of Erichthonius, and grandſon of Dardanus, was the father of Ilus, Aſſaracus, and Ganymedes. Here are ſome Greek Verſes which acquaint us with this, and which deſerve to be quoted, becauſe they bear teſtimony to the beauty of this boy, his rape, and the office which was aſſigned him of Cup-bearer to Jupiter.

(1) Homer, *Iliad.* lib. 20. ver. 219.

Δάρδανον αὖ τέκεθ' υἱὸν Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλῆα (1),
- - - - - - - - -
Τρῶα δ' Ἐριχθόνιος τέκετο Τρώεσσιν ἄνακτα·
Τρωὸς δ' αὖ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο,
Ἶλός τ', Ἀσσάρακές τε, καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης,
Ὃς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
Τὸν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν,
Κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη (2).

(2) Idem, ibid. ver. 230.

Dardanus rurſus genuit filium Erichthonium regem,
- - - - - - - - -
Troem autem Erichthonius genuit Trojanis regem,
Ex Troe vero rurſum tres filii inculpati nati ſunt,
Iluſque Aſſaracuſque & divinus Ganymedes,
Qui ſane pulcherrimus fuit mortalium hominum:
Quem etiam rapuerunt dii, Jovi ut pocillator eſſet,
Pulchritudinem ob ſuam, ut immortalibus intereſſet.

" From Dardanus great Erichthonius ſprings:
" - - - - - - - - -
" - - - - From him there came
" The ſacred Tros, of whom the Trojan name.
" Three ſons renown'd adorn'd his nuptial bed,
" Ilus, Aſſaracus, and Ganymed:
" The matchleſs Ganymed, divinely fair,
" Whom Gods enamour'd ſnatch'd to upper air,
" To bear the cup of Jove (ætherial gueſt)
" The grace and glory of th' ambroſial feaſt."
Pope.

Obſerve that Homer, in theſe verſes, does not ſay, as he does elſewhere (3), that Jupiter carried away Ganymede; but that the Gods took him up to heaven to ſerve as Cup-bearer to Jupiter. He adds that Ilus, Ganymede's eldeſt brother, begot Laomedon, who was the father of Priam. I take notice of this, becauſe it is neceſſary to examine whether Cicero be juſtly cenſured, when he is charged with a ſlip of memory, in having ſaid that the youth who was carried away was the ſon of Laomedon. *Trois igitur fuit filius Ganymedes, non Laomedontis, ut videtur ſenſiſſe Cicero* 1. *Tuſcul. lapſus videlicet memoria (quo nomine ſolent magni viri laborare, qui gravioribus impediti curis, cùm citant vel autores, vel autorum teſtimonia, toto, quod aiunt, cœlo aberrant: id quod diligens lector ſæpe in Ariſtotelis deprehendet libris, præſertim de moribus.) Verba Ciceronis hæc ſunt: Nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymedem à Diis raptum ait propter formam, ut Jovi pocula miniſtraret: non juſta cauſa, cur Laomedonti tanta fieret injuria. Fingebat hæc Homerus & humana ad Deos transferebat, divina mallem ad nos* (4). i. e. " Ganymede, therefore, " was the ſon of Tros, and not of Laomedon, as Ci- " cero, in his firſt Book of Tuſculan queſtions, ſeems " to have ſuppoſed, by a ſlip of memory, to which " great men are frequently ſubject, who being taken " up by more important concerns, when they quote " Authors, or the teſtimonies of Authors, commit e- " gregious miſtakes; as an attentive Reader will of- " ten diſcover in the Books of Ariſtotle, and eſpeci- " ally his Ethics. Cicero's words are theſe: Neither " do I regard Homer, who ſays Ganymede was car- " ried away by the Gods on account of his beauty, " that he might be Jupiter's Cup-bearer: for this " was no juſt reaſon why ſuch an injury ſhould be of- " ferred to Laomedon. Theſe are the fictions of Ho- " mer, who transfers human things to the Gods; I " had much rather he had transferred divine things to " us." Mr. le Fevre maintains this cenſure to be unjuſt, and to prove it he produces (5) a paſſage of the Scholiaſt on Euripides, where an ancient Writer teſtifies that Ganymede was the ſon of Laomedon. His meaning is, that ſince there are ſuch different opinions about the matter, Cicero might take the liberty either of following Homer, or of not following him; and conſequently that it is not thro' inadvertence, or forgetfulneſs, but choice, that he has made Ganymede the ſon of Laomedon. With ſubmiſſion to the Apologiſt, the cenſure ſeems to me to be well grounded; for Cicero in that place mentions a tradition delivered by Homer, and cites him, which is more. There is no likelihood therefore that he deſigned to contradict him with regard to the father of the beautiful youth who was ſtolen away. Let us conclude therefore that he ſuppoſed Homer made him ſon to Laomedon, and that his memory deceived him.

(3) *In the Hymn to Venus.* See the following Remark.

(4) *Commentar. in Emblemata Alciati*, p. m. 29. col. 1. Claudius du Verdier, *Cenſur. in Author.* pag. 105, has criticiſed this miſtake of *Cicero.*

(5) *Hinc animadvertere poteſ ſatis improſpere Ciceronem a multis reprehenſum fuiſſe qui ... Ganymedem Laomedontis filium faciat.* Tan. Faber, *Epiſt.* 58. lib. 2. pag. 153.

Note that when I uſed the indefinite expreſſion *Son of a King of Troy*, I had an eye to the various opinions of Authors in this particular. Hyginus tells us, in the CCXXIVth chapter, that Ganymede was the ſon of Aſſaracus, and in the CCLXXIſt chapter, that he was the ſon of Erichthonius. Some (6) make him the brother of Laomedon, and conſequently the ſon of Ilus. Others (7) will have him to be the ſon of Dardanus. The more received opinion is that of Homer.

(6) Tzetzes *ad Lycophron.* pag. 10.

(7) Lucian. *in Charidemo, Oper.* tom. 2. pag. 1019.

[*B*] *Jupiter ... made him his Cup-bearer .... and made uſe of him for other very criminal purpoſes.*] The verſes of Homer which have been ſeen in the foregoing Remark, do not import that any laſcivious motive occaſioned the rape of Ganymede. They only ſignify that the beauty of the youth engaged the Gods to tranſport him to heaven, that he might be Cup-bearer to Jupiter, and dwell among the immortal Beings. It is as much as to ſay, that they found him too beautiful not to be an ornament properly due to the celeſtial court, and judged that ſince the earth deſerved not to poſſeſs ſo important a treaſure, they ought to procure him a habitation more worthy of him, that is, an honourable place in the land of immortal happineſs. This does not intimate any laſcivious intention. Homer has kept exactly within theſe bounds, when he ſpeaks of Ganymede in the Hymn to Venus. He there changes indeed ſome other circumſtances; for he ſuppoſes Jupiter carried him off in order to make him Cup-bearer to the Gods; but he alters nothing farther:

Ἤ τοι μὲν ξανθὸν Γανυμήδεα μητίετα Ζεὺς
Ἥρπασ' ἑὸν διὰ κάλλος, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη,
Καί τε Διὸς κατὰ δῶμα θεοῖς ἐπιοινοχοεύοι,
Θαῦμα ἰδεῖν, πάντεσσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτοισι,
Χρυσέῃ ὂν κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν.

Hic quidem flavum Ganymedem conſultor Jupiter
Rapuit ſuam propter pulcritudinem, ut cum diis converſaretur,
Et Jovis in domo Diis vinum effunderet,
Mirabile viſu, ab omnibus honoratus immortalibus,
Aureo ex cratere hauriens nectar rubrum.

" Th' almighty thund'rer Ganymede the fair
" Did, for his beauty, ſnatch to upper air,
" Preferr'd with Deities to dwell above,
" And fill the goblet to the gueſts of Jove."

Apollonius does not depart from this idea, and we ſhould be too ſuſpicious if we judged otherwiſe under colour of the laſt words he has made uſe of. Nothing hinders but they may be reduced to the ſame ſenſe Homer had expreſſed:

Μετὰ καὶ Γανυμήδια, τὸν ῥά ποτε Ζεὺς
Οὐρανῷ ἐγκατένασσεν ἰφθίμοιο ἀθανάτοισιν
Κάλλεος ἱμερθείς.

Sed

caused him to be carried away by an eagle; and others affirm he was himself the ravisher under the form of that bird [C]. He deified this youth, and made a very fine present to his father [D]. Authors are not agreed either as to the place from whence Ganymede was

Sed cum Ganymede, quem aliquando Jupiter In cœlo locarat, & deorum fecerat contubernalem Pulchritudinis cupidus (8).

(8) Apollon. Rhod. *Argonaut.* lib. 3. ver. 115, pag. m. 278.

" With Ganymede, whom Jove in heav'n had
" plac'd,
" And with the converse of immortals grac'd,
" Smit with his beauty."

The other Poets have not been so scrupulous; they have plainly said that Jupiter fell in love with Ganymede, and carried him away to satisfy his pederasty. See the two verses of Plautus which I have quoted above (9), and the tenth Book (10) of Ovid's Metamorphoses. If Servius the Grammarian is to be trusted, *rapti Ganymedis* in Virgil is the same with *stuprati, corrupti* (11). I pass over several passages of Martial, and particularly these four verses:

(9) Citation (8) of the Article ADONIS.

(10) *Versu* 155, *& seq.*

(11) Servius, in *hæc verba* Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 28, *& rapti Ganymedis honores.*

Deprensum in puero tetricis me vocibus uxor
Corripis, & . . . . . te quoque habere refers.
Dixit idem quoties lascivo Juno tonanti?
Ille tamen gracili cum Ganymede jacet (12).

(12) Mart. *Epigram.* 44. lib. 11. See also the *XXVII Epigram* of the same Book.

" Caught with a boy, you chide me, rage, and
" swell,
" And vow that you can please me full as well.
" Juno the same to wanton Jove may swear:
" Yet Jove still lies with Ganymede the fair."

I lay no small stress on the authority of Lucian; for though he was a libertine whose chief delight was to turn Religion into ridicule, yet his banters must have had some foundation: he would have made himself ridiculous if he had drolled on opinions, or ceremonies, forged out of his own brain, and injuriously imputed to Pagans. He took the ground-work of his Satires therefore from the traditions, and worship of the Gentiles: and consequently, since he has supposed that Ganymede was at the same time Jupiter's Cup-bearer, and his minion (13), we must conclude it was a very common opinion among the Heathens. But we do not stand in need of his authority: the single testimony of Plato would be sufficient. That great Philosopher condemns the fiction which the Cretans had established concerning Ganymede; and which they had been induced to propagate out of interest, that they might be provided with a great example to countenance their pederasty. Now the fable of Jupiter and Ganymede was very proper for their purpose; because their Laws were believed to be derived from Jupiter (14). They taught, therefore, that that Deity made use of Ganymede for the pleasures of love. I cannot here forbear citing Seneca, who has reckoned this action of Jupiter among the debaucheries which the Poets had sung of that God, and which served for nothing else but to remove all shame of vice from those who should form such an idea of the divine nature. *Sic vestras hallucinationes fero,* says he (15), *quemadmodum Jupiter optimus maximus ineptias poëtarum: quorum alius . . . adulterum ipsum induxit . . . alius raptorem ingenuorum corruptoremque & cognatorum quidem . . . . .; quibus nihil aliud actum est quàm ut pudor hominibus peccandi demeretur si tales deos credidissent.* i. e. " I bear with your errors " just as the great and good Jupiter does with the " impertinent fables of the Poets; of whom one . . . " has introduced him as an adulterer . . . another as a " ravisher and corrupter of ingenuous youths, and " even of those related to him . . .; the sole end of " which is to rid men of the shame of wicked actions, " if they should entertain such notions of the Gods." There is no doubt but he had in view the fiction of the rape of Ganymede; a fiction the more injurious to Jupiter, as he was the great great grandfather of that youth. This consanguinity made some affirm that Dardanus, the great grandfather of Ganymede, was not the son of Jupiter but of Coritus; for otherwise how could Jupiter have been guilty of so vile an action? *Sed authores quidam tradunt, Dardanum, & Jasium Coriti filios fuisse, non Jovis; nec enim (si ita fuisset) ad usus impudicos Ganymedem pronepotem suum habere potuisset* (16).

(13) See his *Dialogue of Juno and Jupiter,* Oper. tom. 1. pag. m. 128. I quote a passage of it in the Remark [D] of the Article LONGUS.

(14) Plato, *de Legib.* lib. 1. pag. m. 776, E.

(15) Seneca, *de Vita beata,* cap. 26. pag. m. 639.

This justifies the Fathers of the Church, who have upbraided the Pagans with this infamous action of the greatest of their Gods (17). This point will admit of no evasion, as if Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and Lactantius, had made use of any unfair dealing, or calumny, against the Heathens. They have reproached them with an established tradition, which extended even to their worship; for the same Jupiter, who was adored in the temples, was represented there with Ganymede, and the eagle which carried away that young boy. Read these words of Lactantius (18): *Nam quod aliud argumentum habet imago catamiti, & effigies Aquilæ, cum ante pedes Jovis ponuntur in Templis, & cum ipso pariter adorantur, nisi ut nefandi sceleris, ac stupri memoria maneat in æternum?* i. e. " For what else can be the meaning " of the images of the catamite, and the eagle, " which are placed at Jupiter's feet in the temples, " and are worshipped with him, but to perpetuate the " memory of an execrable crime, and scandalous " rape." Consult Tatian likewise (19). I have seen something in Juvenal which signifies that there was at Rome, either a temple of Ganymede, or a temple which contained the statue of that Cup-bearer to Jupiter. The Commentators give no great light to this passage:

(16) Lactant. lib. 1, *sub fin.*

(17) See above the Remark [B] of the Article CHRYSIPPUS, natural son of Pelops, *and St.* Augustin, *de Civit. Dei,* lib. 7. cap. 26.

(18) Lactant. *Divin. Instit.* lib. 1. cap. 11, pag. m. 34.

(19) See the Remark [G], in the Margin, Citation (59).

Nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis & Ganymedem
Pacis, & advectæ secreta palatia matris,
Et Cererem (nam quo non prostat fœmina templo?)
Notior Aufidio mœchus celebrare solebas (20).

(20) Juven. Sat. 9, ver. 22.

" Thy lust, more shameless than Aufidius', dares
" Pollute each fane; nor Isis' temple spares,
" Nor Ganymede, nor Berecynthia's shrine,
" Nor, Peace, thy temple, nor ev'n, Ceres, thine.
" For where's the place so sacred, as to be
" From wanton, prostituted women free?"

Pausanias mentions a statue of Jupiter and Ganymede which a certain Thessalian, named Gnothis, dedicated in the famous temple of Olympia (21).

(21) Pausan. lib. 5, cap. 24, pag. m. 440.

[C] *Some say he caused him to be snatched away by an eagle; and others affirm he was himself the ravisher under the form of that bird.*] Horace and Hyginus (22) are of the first opinion: Ovid and Lucian are of the last, Here are the words of Horace:

(22) Hygin. *Poetic. Astron.* lib. 2. cap. 16. *See also* Apollodorus, lib. 3. pag. m. 211.

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,
Cui Rex Deorum regnum in aveis vagas
Permisit, expertus fidelem
Juppiter in Ganymede flavo (23).

(23) Horat. Od. 4. lib. 4.

" The royal bird, to whom the King of heav'n
" The empire of the feather'd race has giv'n,
" For services already done,
" The rape of Tros's son."

As for Ovid, he has expressed himself in this manner:

Nulla tamen alite verti
Dignatur, nisi quæ portat sua fulmina terræ.
Nec mora: percusso mendacibus aëre pennis
Arripit Iliadem, qui nunc quoque pocula miscet,
Invitaque Jovi nectar Junone ministrat (24).

(24) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 10. ver. 157.

" No other feather'd shape he deigns to wear
" Than his who bears his thunder thro' the air.
" He darts, in borrow'd plumage, from the skies,
" And bears from earth to heav'n his Trojan prize;
" Who now the cup nectareous fills above,
" And ministers, tho' Juno frown, to Jove."

You will find Lucian's words in the Dialogue of Jupiter and Ganymede (25).

(25) Lucian. *Oper.* tom. 1. pag. 124, *& seq.*

[D] *He deified this youth, and made a very fine present to his father.*] Tros was inconsolable for the loss of his dear son; but having received some amends, and been acquainted that he whom he lamented would live for ever among the Gods, without growing old, he took

was taken, or the youth's employment at that time [*E*]. Some ſay he was on Mount Ida, and others place him elſewhere: ſome pretend he was hunting, and others that he looked after a flock of ſheep. I ſhall not ſpend my time in giving an account of the allegorical explications which have been given (*b*): they are conceits which may be multiplied *in infinitum*, and by the help of which a man may find in every thing whatever he pleaſes. But I ſhall take notice that there are ſome Writers who have related this as an Hiſtorical fact. They aſſert that Ganymede was really ſtolen away by a Prince who was in love with him [*F*]. The Painters who repreſent him carried away on the eagle's back

(*b*) See the Commentators on the 4*th Emblem of Alciatus.*

took comfort. Jupiter made him a preſent of ſome very ſwift horſes, which were ſome of thoſe which the Gods rode on (26). Note that Laomedon, the ſon * of Tros, promiſed Hercules the horſes which Jupiter had given by way of compenſation (27); but not having been ſo good as his word, he was beſieged in Troy, and there loſt his life. Hercules had demanded thoſe horſes in recompence for his ſervice in delivering Heſione, the daughter of Laomedon, who was expoſed to a ſea-monſter (28). Note alſo that Anchiſes had the addreſs to get ſome of the breed of thoſe horſes, without Laomedon's knowing any thing of the matter (29). And note, in the laſt place, that, according to ſome Authors (30), the preſent which Jupiter made to Ganymede's father was a golden vine, wrought by Vulcan. As to the other particular, if the authorities which have been produced above (31) concerning this youth's deification be not ſufficient, we may add to them the teſtimony of Pindar (32), and that of Lucian (33), and this Commentary of Servius. *Honores dixit, vel propter miniſterium poculorum, ad quod receptus eſt, remota Hebe filia Junonis, quæ Jovi bibere miniſtrabat; vel ob hoc quod inter ſydera collocatus, aquarii nomen accepit, & non ab hoc tantum iraſcitur Juno, ſed quod violatus ſit ut divinos honores conſequeretur* (34). You ſee in theſe words of Servius two remarkable things; the one, that Hebe, who had the office of ſerving wine to the Gods, was deprived of that employment, and Ganymede preferred to it in her ſtead; and the other, that he was placed among the ſtars, and became that ſign of the Zodiac which is called Aquarius. Hyginus obſerves this (35). What a mortification muſt it have been to poor Juno to ſee her huſband's favourite fill the place which had been taken from her daughter Hebe! The miſchance which had befallen Hebe was indeed the pretext for turning her out; but this was not the true cauſe. She fell down, while the Gods were at table, and diſcovered thoſe parts which modeſty requires to be concealed (36). Jupiter, who paſſionately wiſhed to make Ganymede his Cup-bearer, laid hold on this opportunity, and turned the poor girl away.

(26) Taken from *Homer's Hymn, in Venerem.*

* It ſhould be grandſon.

(27) Δαῶχ' ὕιος παυνΙανυμήδεος. *Dedit pro filio compenſationem Ganymede.* Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 5. ver. 266.

(28) *Ex* Apollod. lib. 2. pag. m. 123, 137.

(29) Homer. lib. 5. ver. 266.

(30) *See* Tanaq. Faber, *Epiſt.* 58, lib. 2, pag. 153. He cites the *Scholiaſt on Euripides in Oreſt.*

(31) In the Remark [*B*], and in the preſent Remark, Citation (26).

(32) Pindar. Od. 10. *Olymp.*

(33) Lucian. *in Jove Tragœdo*, Oper. tom. 2. pag. 205. & *in* Charidemo, ibid. pag. 1019.

(34) Servius, *in Virg. Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 28.

(35) Hygin. cap. 224. & *Poet. Aſtron.* cap. 16, & 29.

(36) See above Citation (*a*).

(37) Lucian. *in Dial. Jovis & Ganym.* Oper. tom. 1. pag. 124.

(38) Virg. Æn. lib. 5. ver. 252.

[*E*] *Authors are not agreed either as to the place from whence Ganymede was taken, or the youth's employment at that time.*] Lucian (37) ſuppoſes Ganymede performed the part of a ſhepherd on mount Ida, when Jupiter carried him away. Virgil ſuppoſes he was hunting there:

Intextuſque puer frondoſâ regius Idâ
Veloces jaculo cervos, curſuque fatigat,
Acer, anhelanti ſimilis, quem præpes ab Idâ
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Jovis armiger uncis (38).

" There, Ganymede is wrought with living art,
" Chaſing thro' Ida's groves the trembling hart:
" Breathleſs he ſeems, yet eager to purſue:
" When from aloft deſcends, in open view,
" The bird of Jove; and ſouſing on his prey,
" With crooked talons bears the boy away."
Dryden.

Valerius Flaccus (39), and Statius (40), have imitated this paſſage of the Æneid. But Strabo (41) affirms it was reported that Ganymede had been carried away from a place called *Harpageia*, ſituate on the confines of the territories of the cities of Priapus and Cyzicus; and that, according to others, he had been taken away from the promontory of Dardania. The Chalcidians (42) maintained that the rape happened in their country, that is, in the iſland of Eubœa; and they ſhewed the place where Jupiter had committed the fact. It was a place full of myrtles, and they called it *Harpagium*. Note, that they were a people exceſſively addicted to the ſin againſt nature. Περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ δαιμονίως ἐπλόηλαι. *Prodigioſe in amore puerorum flagrant* (43). It is very likely, therefore, that they gave out this tradition in order to ſkreen themſelves by the authority and example of the greateſt of the Gods. Plato had the ſame opinion of the inhabitants of Crete, as I have already ſaid (44). Suidas has preſerved us another hypotheſis concerning the place where this rape was committed: ſee the following Remark.

(39) Valer. Flaccus, *Argon.* lib. 2. ver. 414.

(40) Statius, *Theb.* lib. 1. ver. 548.

(41) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 404. *See alſo* Steph. Byzant. *voce* Ἁρπαγία.

(42) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 601.

(43) Idem, ibid.

(44) In the Remark [*B*], Citation (14).

[*F*] *There are ſome Writers who .... aſſert that Ganymede was really ſtolen away by a Prince who was in love with him.*] Herodian relates that the place called Peſſinus in Phrygia had been ſo named, either becauſe the image of the mother of the Gods there fell down from heaven, or becauſe the battle which was there fought between Ilus and Tantalus coſt a great many perſons their lives. Thoſe two Princes, the one a Phrygian, the other a Lydian, made war on one another, either becauſe they could not agree about the limits of their dominions (45), or rather becauſe Tantalus had carried off Ganymede. The youth loſt his life in the field of battle, by the hands of his brother and thoſe of his raviſher; the one endeavouring to hold him, and the other to pull him away with all his might. His body not being found, his adventure was repreſented as marvellous and divine; and thence was invented the fable of his being taken away by Jupiter (46). We read in Euſebius's Chronicle (47), that the rape of Ganymede occaſioned a war between Tros, that youth's father, and Tantalus. This is aſſerted on the credit of a Writer named Phanocles. He was an Erotic Author (48), or, to expreſs my ſelf more clearly, a Compiler of amorous adventures, Oroſius has ſpoken of this action of Tantalus in the following words (49): *Nec mihi nunc enumerare opus eſt Tantali & Pelopis facta turpia, & fabulas turpiores: quorum Tantalus Rex Phrygiorum Ganymedem Trois Dardaniorum regis filium cum flagitioſiſſimè rapuiſſet, majore conſerti certaminis fœditate detinuit, ſicut Phanocles Poeta confirmat, qui maximum bellum excitatum ob hoc fuiſſe commemorat: ſive quia hunc ipſum Tantalum, utpote aſſeclam Deorum, videri vult raptum puerum ad libidinem Jovis familiari lenocinio præparaſſe, qui ipſum quoque filium Pelopem epulis ejus non dubitarit impendere.* i. e. " Neither is it neceſſary for me at preſent to enumerate the ſcandalous " actions, or more ſcandalous ſtories, of Tantalus and " Pelops; of whom Tantalus, being King of the " Phrygians, having moſt wickedly ſtolen away Ganymede, the ſon of Tros King of the Dardanians, " more villanouſly detained him by open force, as is confirmed by Phanocles the Poet, who ſays a very great " war was raiſed on that account; or elſe, perhaps, " becauſe he thought that Tantalus, being an attendant on the Gods, had, by a caſt of his office, procured the boy for Jupiter's luſt, ſince he made no ſcruple to ſerve up his own ſon Pelops at that God's table." Euſtathius (50), having ſaid that, according to ſome Authors, Tantalus had carried away Ganymede, adds that others imputed that rape to Minos. If we conſult Suidas, we ſhall learn a great many circumſtances of this attempt of Minos. We ſhall there ſee that the ſaid King of Crete went to viſit Tros, and being informed that the three ſons of that Prince were hunting, declared he had a mind to go and hunt with them. He had no ſooner ſeen Ganymede than he conceived a moſt violent affection for him: he cauſed him to be carried off, and putting him on board one of the veſſels which he had before-hand ſent up the Granicus, returned with him to Crete. Ganymede was ſo afflicted at his misfortune, that he ran himſelf through with his own ſword. Minos buried him in a Temple; and

(45) In *Herodian* it is περὶ ὁδῶν *de vijs*; but according to the conjecture of Meziriac, *Commentaire ſur les Epitres d'Ovide*, pag. 884, it ſhould be corrected περὶ ὁρῶν *de finibus.*

(46) Herodian. lib. 1. cap. 11. See alſo the *Scholiaſt on Lycophron*, pag. 50.

(47) Euſeb. num. 654.

(48) *See* Scaliger *in Euſebium*, pag. 41. *He cites* Plutarch, lib. 4. cap. 5. Συμπόσ.

(49) Oroſius, lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. m. 4, 45.

(50) Euſtath. *in Lib. XX Iliad.*

back are guilty of a miſtake, and do not conſult the ancient Authors [G]. It is pretended that Cicero did not well know who was the father of Ganymede (c). The Phliaſians from time immemorial had a particular devotion for a deity whom they firſt named GANYMEDA, and afterwards Hebe. This is what Pauſanias informs us of in his IId Book, page 140.

(c) See the Remark [A].

and thence it was given out that this youth converſed with the Gods (51). Euſtathius (52) relates the circumſtances ſomewhat differently. He ſays that Ganymede, having been forced, hanged himſelf; and that they made his father believe a whirlwind and a cloud had taken him up, to be Cup-bearer to Jupiter. You will find in Athenæus that Echemenes, who had written a Work touching what concerned the Iſle of Crete, aſſerted that Ganymede was not carried away by Jupiter, but by King Minos. Ludovicus Vives affirms that Tantalus, when he had ſtolen the boy, tranſported him to the Iſle of Crete, and gave him to Jupiter (53); which is a mere paraphraſe of Oroſius: but St. Auguſtin (54) has acknowledged that only the fable ſuited Jupiter, and that the reality belonged to Tantalus. Here is another tradition, which does not attribute the conduct of Tantalus to a motive of laſciviouſneſs. *Suidas, on the word* Ἴλιον, *and Cedrenus alſo, relate that King Tros, having ſubdued ſeveral Princes his neighbours, ſent his ſon Ganymede, attended by fifty men, to offer a ſacrifice of thankſgiving in a certain temple of Jupiter, which was in the territories of Tantalus. But Tantalus, ſuppoſing Ganymede came as a ſpy, to inform himſelf of the ſtrength of his Kingdom, made him priſoner; and thereupon Ganymede fell ſick, and died* (55).

(51) Extracted from *Suidas in Μίνως.*

(52) Euſtath. in Lib. XX Iliad.

(53) Lud. Vives, *in Auguſt. de Civit. Dei*, lib. 7. cap. 26. & lib. 18. cap. 13.

(54) Auguſtin. ibid. lib. 18. cap. 13.

(55) Meziriac, *Comment. ſur les Epitres d'Ovide*, pag. 885.

[G] *The Painters, who repreſent him carried away on the eagle's back, are guilty of a miſtake, and do not conſult the ancient Authors.*] Salmaſius (56) has cenſured this miſtake: he ſays that according to the ancient Poets the eagle took Ganymede by the hair with his talons. The Author whom he comments (57) ſays the ſame thing. Note, that Martial ſuppoſes the eagle was afraid of hurting Ganymede.

(56) Salmaſ. *Not. in Achillem Tatium*, pag. 583.

(57) Achilles Tatius, pag. m. 144.

Ætherias aquila puerum portante per auras,
Illæſum timidis unguibus hæſit onus (58).

(58) Mart. *Epigr.* 7. lib. 1.

" As with the boy Jove's eagle ſoar'd away,
" His cautious talons bore, unhurt, the prey."

An ancient Carver, named Leochares, repreſented this wonderfully well (59). A learned Engliſhman has followed the common error of the Painters in a Work, the French Tranſlation whereof was printed at Roan, in the year 1656, intitled *The World in the Moon.* His obſervation is this (60): " If there be ſo large a bird " in Madagaſcar as Paulus Venetus (*) relates, the quill-" feathers of whoſe wings are twelve paces long, and " which can take up a horſe and his rider into " the air, as eaſily as one of our kites would a little " mouſe, there needs no more to be done than to " teach one of thoſe birds to carry a man, and one " might ride on his back, as Ganymede does on an " eagle."

(59) *Leochares aquilam ſentientem quid rapiat in Ganymede, & cui fuerat, parcentem unguibus etiam per veſtem.* Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. pag. m. 125. This piece of work was highly eſteemed. Τίνος δὲ χάριν καὶ Λεωχάρους Γανυμήδη τὸν ἀνδρόγυνον, ὡς τι σπουδαῖον ἔχοντες χτῆμα, τετιμήκατε; *Cur propter Leocharis ſculptoris artificium Ganymedem illum effœminatum, tanquam eximium aliquid habentes, colitis?* Tatian. *Orat. ad Græcos*, pag. 170. [In what is yet remaining of the portico of the noble Temple at Baalbek, there is a Ganymede and the eagle flying away with him, ſo lively done, that it excellently repreſented the ſenſe of that Verſe in Martial, *Illæſum timidis* &c. Maundrell's *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem*, pag. 136. ADD. REM.]

(60) *Le Monde dans la Lune*, Part. 1. pag. 267.

(*) Lib. 3. cap. 40.

GARASSE (FRANCIS), a native of Angoulême, became a Jeſuit in the year 1601 (a). He made himſelf exceedingly talked of by the zeal he expreſſed againſt libertines, and the enemies of his Order. His invectives were levelled principally at the Poet Theophile, and Paſquier. He wanted neither genius nor reading; and having a great deal of fire, a vaſt imagination, and good lungs, he paſſed for a great Preacher. He was very fit to maintain a cauſe in the pulpit: his peculiar turn of wit, and his way of delivery, made very ſtrong impreſſions, conſidering the taſte of that age; but he ſhould not have meddled with writing, or if he could not renounce the title of Author, he ſhould only have made Latin Verſes, or have exerciſed himſelf on ſubjects of ſmall importance: for having ventured to write on the moſt ſublime myſteries which Libertines may call in queſtion, he has contributed leſs to the converſion of thoſe people, than the confirming them in their obſtinacy [A]; becauſe he was every moment departing from the

(a) Alegambe, *in Bibliotb. Scriptor. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 124.

[A] *He has contributed leſs to the converſion of* Libertines *than to the confirming them in their obſtinacy.*] Here is the title of a Book which he publiſhed at Paris, in the year 1623. *La Doctrine Curieuſe des beaux Eſprits de ce temps, ou prétendus tels, contenant pluſieurs Maximes pernicieuſes à l'Eſtat, à la Religion, & aux bonnes mœurs, combatue & renverſée par le P. François Garaſſus, de la Compagnie de* JESUS. i. e. " The Cu-" rious Doctrine of the Wits, or pretenders to wit, of " this age, containing ſeveral maxims pernicious to " the State, Religion, and good manners, refuted and " overthrown by Father Francis Garaſſe, of the So-" ciety of Jeſus." He imagined he had quite confounded thoſe Libertines, but was ſoon acquainted that, in the judgment of the public, his Book was much fitter to foment Atheiſm, than to overthrow it. The judgment and cenſure of this Work was addreſſed to the Jeſuits (1); and the Author tells them, that it could not be believed that they, who were *ſome of the firſt and ſtrongeſt champions of truth*, ſhould have made choice of Father Garaſſe to defend it. This man, *who is better qualified for a ſatirical Poet, or a Merry-Andrew, than for a Catholic Doctor, has lately written a Book which bears the ſpecious title of a Treatiſe againſt Atheiſts, and which, to ſpeak ſincerely, and as in the preſence of God, is a common ſhore of impiety, a ſink of prophaneneſs, a heap of buffooneries and facetious ſtories, and a malicious and ſlanderous ſatire againſt a great many people of probity and merit* (2). Having ſaid ſeveral things in the ſame ſtrain, to characterize the Work, he aſks the Jeſuits, *Whether theſe be the means of defending the venerable truth of our Religion; whether theſe be true weapons to combate Atheiſm; or whether they be not rather the inſtruments of the ruin of ſouls, and the inventions of the father of lies, to render truth more ridiculous and deſpicable among his wretched agents.* The ſame year 1623, Naudé publiſhed a Book (3) wherein we find the following words (4): *As for Father Garaſſe, it is true he has taken ſome of their Articles from Father Robert,* which *he has ſo aptly put in parallel with the ways of acting of the Libertines of this age, that as well on this account, as for his ingenuity, and variety of erudition, I am ſorry he ſhould undergo the cenſure which is paſſed on all thoſe who ſhew their learning on the ſame ſubject; to wit, that no man ever wrote better againſt the Atheiſts than the Clerks of the Courts of Juſtice, who draw up the ſentence of their condemnation: if, however, according to the ſaying of Tertullian, the Church, which is altogether merciful,* non quærat potius pudorem ſuffundere, quàm ſanguinem effundere, i. e. *ſeek not rather to work by putting to ſhame, than by ſpilling of blood.* He returns to the charge in the laſt Chapter of his Book, in this manner: I have *ſome monſters to encounter*, ſays he (5), . . " who, by an " abominable induſtry, draw . . . . impiety out of the " Book of the *Curious Doctrine*, which, thro' an unpa-" rallelled raſhneſs and impudence, they brand with " the moſt pernicious title of *Atheiſm reduced into an*

(1) The Prior *Ogier* is the Author of the Book which appeared in 1623, under the Title of *Jugement & Cenſure du Livre de la Doctrine Curieuſe de François Garaſſe.*

(2) In the Epiſtle Dedicatory.

(3) Intitled, *Inſtructions à la France ſur la Verité de l'Hiſtoire des Freres de la Roze-Croix*, i. e. " Inſtructi-" ons to France, " concerning the " truth of the " Hiſtory of the " Fraternity of " Roſicrucians."

(4) Chap. 6. pag. 60.

(5) Ibid. pag. 113, 114.

the gravity which becomes ſuch matters, and made uſe of bad proofs, and falſe quotations. He ſaw himſelf expoſed to the Criticiſm of ſeveral formidable pens. Paſquier's ſons revenged their father with a great deal of haughtineſs [B]. But the perſon who wrote the moſt vehemently againſt this Jeſuit was the Abbot of St. Cyran [C]. It is pretended that, on this account, Father Garaſſe was the Helen of the war between the Jeſuits and the Janſeniſts [D]. He concluded his life with a very fine action. He earneſtly aſked leave of his Superiors to attend thoſe who were infected with the plague, during a terrible peſtilence which made a thouſand ravages in Poictiers: he obtained leave, and having caught the contagion in that charitable office, died in the Hoſpital among the infected [E], the 14th of June 1631, at the age of forty ſix (b). He

(b) Alegambe, *Bibliotb. Script. Soc. Jeſu*, pag. 124.

" *Art.* This gives me occaſion to deplore the calamity " of our age, which is arrived to ſuch a degree of " malice, that it deprives us even of the liberty of " oppoſing the greateſt impieties, and refuting them " by the moſt ordinary and lawful means; ſince the cor- " ruption is ſo great, that when religious Orders, zeal- " ous for the honour and integrity of their Religion, " *voluerunt*, as Lactantius ſays (*) *poſteris etiam appro-* " *bare, quanta pietate defenderint Religiones, auctorita-* " *tem Religionum ipſarum, teſtando minuerunt*; i. e. " would alſo teſtify to poſterity with what piety they " have defended their Religion, they by that very " means leſſen its authority."

(*) Lib. 1. *de falſa Religione.*

[B] *Paſquier's ſons* (6) *revenged their father with a great deal of haughtineſs.*] They ſuppreſſed their reſentment till Garaſſe had ſhewn his obſtinacy in railing at him (7). He had written a Book againſt his *Recherches* in the year 1622 (8). The year following he abuſed him in a hundred paſſages of his *Doctrine Curieuſe*: he went on in the ſame ſtrain the year 1624, in his Anſwer to the Prior Ogier. Then they loſt all patience, and publiſhed a very violent Book againſt our Jeſuit, which they addreſſed to him in what place ſoever he might be. The reaſon of this form of addreſs was, becauſe Francis Garaſſe had dedicated his Book *to the late Stephen Paſquier wherever he may be*; *for* (ſaid he) *having never been able to find out your Religion, I know not the rout or way you took at your departure out of this life; and therefore I am forced to write to you at a venture, and to addreſs this packet* WHEREVER YOU MAY BE. To pay him in the ſame coin, they accoſted him in this manner (9): *This has made me uſe the ſame freedom with you, and forced me to addreſs this packet to you* IN WHAT PLACE SOEVER YOU MAY BE. *For not knowing whether you are at the Service-tree* (*which you call a Tavern of honour, and where you confeſs you have had many a meal at free-coſt*) *or at the town of Clamar in the ſuburbs of S. Germain* (*where your name is written in ſuch fair characters on all the mantle-trees of the chimneys*) *or in ſome other place of the ſame kind; I am conſtrained to ſend you this Book at a venture, and to direct it to you* in what place ſoever you be.

(6) One was named *Nicholas Paſquier* Sieur de Minxe, and had been Maſter of Requeſts; the other was called *Guy Paſquier* Sieur de Buſſi, and was Auditor of Accounts. See the Licence of their Book.

(7) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Book intitled, *Défence pour Etienne Paſquier*, printed at Paris, in the year 1624.

(8) Intitled, *Les Recherches des Recherches & autres Oeuvres d'Etienne Paſquier.*

(9) Epiſtle Dedicatory of the *Défence pour Etienne Paſquier.*

[C] *The perſon who wrote the moſt vehemently againſt this Jeſuit was the Abbot of St. Cyran.*] He attacked the volume *in folio* which Garaſſe had publiſhed in the year 1625, under the title of *La Somme Theologique des Veritez capitales de la Religion Chreſtienne*: i. e. " The Theological Summary of the capital Truths of " the Chriſtian Religion:" his Critique (10) is intitled, *La Somme des Fautes & Fauſſetez capitales contenues en la Somme Theologique du Pere François Garaſſe.* i. e. " The Summary of the capital Faults and Falſehoods " contained in the Theological Summary of Father F. " Garaſſe." It was to contain four Volumes: I have ſeen only the two firſt and an Abridgment of the fourth; and if I am not miſtaken, there was no more printed. The firſt Volume contains the faults which Garaſſe had committed in quoting the Holy Scripture, St. Auguſtin, and St. Baſil of Seleucia. The IId contains his faults with regard to the quotations from the other Fathers, and ſecular Authors. The IIId was to contain the faults in Divinity, Philoſophy, Chronology, Coſmography, &c. The IVth was to contain ſeveral *hereſies, errors, impieties, irreverences, buffooneries, and inſupportable boaſtings.* The Author dedicates the Work to Cardinal Richelieu, and declares in his Epiſtle Dedicatory that he honours the Society of the Jeſuits, *as one of the ſtrongeſt companies of the army of the Son of God, and which, on days of battle, ſurpaſſes in courage the invincible phalanx of Macedon, and the inſeparable band of lovers, who died together for the public good at Lacedæmon* (11). In the King's Licence he takes the name of *Alexander de l'Excluſe* (12). I do not think it eaſy to meet with ſo ſtrong a piece of criticiſm as this. It ſhews an exact and profound erudition, a ſolid judgment, and an admirable ſagacity in diſcovering the faults of a Writer. It is one of the moſt uſeful Books a man can read, and eſpecially if he deſigns to ſet up for an Author who argues from authorities, alluſions, compariſons, &c.

(10) It is in quarto, and was printed at Paris in 1626.

(11) I think he ſhould have ſaid *Thebes*, and not *Lacedæmon. See* Plutarch, in the *Life of Pelopidas.*

[D] *It is pretended that . . Father Garaſſe was the Helen of the war between the Jeſuits and the Janſeniſts.*] It is what the Janſeniſts pretend; for here is what one of them has publiſhed (13). " It was in the year 1626 that " it (14) began by the Book of a Jeſuit named Garaſſe, " intitled, *Somme des veritez capitales de la Religion* " *Chrêtienne.* The late Abbot of St. Cyran, having " obſerved therein a prodigious number of falſifications " of the Scripture and the Fathers, and many here- " tical and impious opinions, thought the honour of " the Church required him to undertake to refute it, " tho' his modeſty determined him at the ſame time " to conceal his name, as he has always done in his " other Books. While the firſt part of this work was " in the preſs, the noiſe it made every where occa- " ſioned Garaſſe's Book to be more carefully examined. " The Rector of the Univerſity complained of it to " the Faculty, who named Commiſſaries to examine " that Book. But this ſtir having given the alarm " to the Jeſuits, they made it plainly appear that it is " no eaſy enterprize to cenſure the book of a Jeſuit. " For by their caballing they prevailed ſo far with the " Magiſtrates, as to get St. Cyran's Book ſtopped for " a long time." The Author adds, that Garaſſe himſelf choſe *out of his Book* 53 *propoſitions, the moſt eaſy to maintain that he could find, and of which there were not three that were of the number of thoſe which the Abbot of St. Cyran charged him with in his Work; and having afterwards drawn up a cenſure of them to his own mind, he refuted it with great eaſe; and by this artifice he dazzled the eyes of the public for ſome time, and perplexed the examination of his Book which the Sorbonne was proceeding upon:* ſo that " the Abbot of S. " Cyran had a thouſand difficulties to remove the ſtop " which the Jeſuits had put to the publiſhing of his " Refutation, and to undeceive the world, who had " ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized by the artifice of " Father Garaſſe. However, he compaſſed it at laſt, " and in ſpite of the whole cabal of the Society, and " the long delays which had been granted Father Ga- " raſſe to retract what he had advanced, his Book " was cenſured, *as containing ſeveral heretical, erro-* " *neous, ſcandalous, and raſh propoſitions, ſeveral falſi-* " *fications of paſſages of Scripture and of the holy Fathers,* " *falſly cited, and wreſted from their true ſenſe, and* " *an infinite number of expreſſions unfit to be written,* " *or read, by Chriſtians and Divines.* The Jeſuits " ſhewed . . . . ſome ſort of prudence in this affair. . . " They did not obſtinately perſiſt in ſupporting their Fa- " ther Garaſſe, but baniſhed him far from Paris to one " of their houſes, where he was no more heard of; " and ſo they ended the buſineſs. Happy would they " have been if, by ſuppreſſing this quarrel, they had " alſo ſuppreſſed in their minds the reſentment they " conceived on that account againſt the Abbot of S. " Cyran, which has ſince engaged them in ſo many " horrible violences!"

(12) *See* Colomiés, *Melanges Hiſtoriques*, pag. 26.

(13) The Author of the *Imaginaires*, Letter 3. pag. m. 47.

(14) That is, the War between the Jeſuits and the Janſeniſts.

[E] *He died among the infected.*] " Cum Pictavii " ſæva lues graſſaretur, multis precibus exoravit Mode- " ratores ſuos, ut ſibi liceret tabe infectis inſervire; " quod cùm obtinuiſſet, in iis demum piis officiis, in " hoſpitali

He had reconciled himſelf with a good grace to the Prior Ogier [*F*], and to Balzac [*G*]. The title of his *Rabelais reformed* has led Placcius into a miſtake [*H*].

He made uſe of a maxim againſt the Poets which is in the main a very good one; but it was turned againſt himſelf [*I*]. He maintained that it is not a good excuſe for profane thoughts, to ſay they are not delivered in proſe, but in verſe.

I ought

" hoſpitali domo inter infectos, quos verbo & exemplo " etiam moriens hortabatur, ſanctiſſimè & religioſiſſi- " mè conſumptus eſt (15).

(15) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 124. *See alſo* Leſcalopier *in Ciceron. de Nat. Deorum*, lib. 1. num. 64.

[*F*] *He had reconciled himſelf . . . to the Prior Ogier.*] So ſoon as Garaſſe's Apology was publiſhed, the Prior prepared for a Reply; but there were ſome Mediators of peace who put an end to that diſpute. The Jeſuit prevented his antagoniſt by a Letter full of civilities; and Ogier anſwered in the ſame way. The public was regaled with theſe Letters as ſoon as they were written (16). Father Alegambe has here committed a fault, for which the Prior Ogier would have demanded ſatisfaction, if he had been as nice as the relations of Janſenius (17): for it plainly follows from Alegambe's narrative (18), that Ogier had been a heretic, and was converted to the Romiſh Communion. Southwel has not corrected Father Alegambe's fault.

(16) In the year 1624.

(17) See their *Factums*, or *Caſes, againſt the Jeſuit Hazart.*

(18) He reckons among the Books of Father Garaſſe, *Litteræ ad Dominum Ogier, & hujus ad illum, de ſua cum Eccleſia reconciliatione.* Alegambe, *ubi ſupra.*

[*G*] . . . . *and to Balzac.*] The account of their reconciliation, and the Letters they wrote to one another, are to be ſeen prefixed to Father Garaſſe's *Somme Theologique.*

[*H*] *The Title of his* Rabelais reformed *has led Placcius into a miſtake.*] That Author has written a Book *de Scriptis & Scriptoribus anonymis atque pſeudonymis:* he had ſome reaſon to put Francis Garaſſe into the number of anonymous Writers; for there are divers Works of that Jeſuit to which the Author did not ſet his name. Such was the Book he intitled *Le Rabelais reformé.* Placcius imagines that Garaſſe did the ſame by Rabelais that ſeveral have done by Martial and Catullus, whoſe Books they have publiſhed after having expunged all the obſcene words out of them. The Works of Rabelais, ſays he (19), *ut ut jucunda, ſic obſcœnis aliiſque ſcandaloſis plena,* caſtigata *imo caſtrata, titulo* Rabeleſii reformati *Pictavii & Bruxellis in* 8 *nomine reformantis* Franciſci Garaſſi, *ſcriptis aliis notiſſimi* Jeſuitæ Galli, *non adjecto prodiere, docente* Alegambe *pag.* 124. The truth is, Father Garaſſe's *Rabelais reformed* is a Book of Controverſy, wherein he ſpeaks in a ſatirical manner of ſeveral Miniſters, and particularly of Peter du Moulin, whom he accuſes of being an imitator of Rabelais, and a Rabelais riſen from the dead. See what a man expoſes himſelf to, when he ſpeaks of a Book which he is only acquainted with by its title.

(19) Placcius, *de Anonymis*, cap. 14. num. 463. pag. 111.

[*I*] *He made uſe of a maxim againſt the Poets which in the main is a very good one; but it was turned againſt himſelf.*] In the Refutation of a Sonnet of Theophile's he begins thus: " To anſwer theſe impieties, " I muſt, by way of anticipation, enervate a ſilly and " weak defence which many have in their mouths, " with regard to the impieties of this Writer; that " provided they can ſay ſuch things are delivered in " Poetry, they imagine the crime is advantageouſly " covered, for as much as it is not in proſe; as if " rhime could blot out all impieties, and give people " a licence to pronounce blaſphemies. It is true, theſe " impieties and impertinencies which I am to attack, " I ſee plainly, are in verſe; but for this very reaſon " I think them more guilty than if they had been " only in proſe: for they are ſo much the more ſtudied, far fetched, and profoundly meditated, and conſequently expreſſed in more efficacious, powerful, " and elaborate terms, which make a deeper impreſſion on the minds of the Readers. Did not Cleanthes uſe to ſay that the voice which proceeds from " a flute, or a trumpet, is more powerful than that " which proceeds ſimply from the mouth, and that " the thoughts which are darted by a well-turned verſe, " are much more violent, durable, and forcible, than " thoſe which are expreſſed in a period of proſe, where " the words are uſually languiſhing and faint? I have " fully anſwered this ridiculous objection in the twentieth chapter of my Apology, where I have ſhewn " that an impiety in verſe is ſo much the more pernicious (20)." Obſerve well that I have ſaid this maxim is a very good one in the main; for I do not mean to adopt it ſo generally as the Jeſuit does, nor for all the reaſons which he alledges. I am fully perſuaded that in a thouſand inſtances there is much leſs harm in publiſhing bad morality in verſe than in proſe, and that great abatement ought to be made in the weight of a cenſure, becauſe it is a Poet who ſpeaks. A man who ſhould dogmatically maintain heretical propoſitions, would be a hundred times more criminal than if he inſerted them in a piece of Poetry: there is many a Poem wherein the Author advances a thouſand things which he does not believe, and which he would never reduce into Theſes to be maintained againſt every opponent, nor would even ſay in verſe, if he thought his Readers would conſider them, not as pieces of wit, but as dogms, and articles of faith. He takes more pains, I grant, in turning, and adorning them, than if he delivered them in proſe: he therefore applies his mind more attentively to them; he meditates more profoundly on them; but yet this is not always the true image of what paſſes in his heart; he does not pretend to give either his confeſſion of faith, or a model of belief to thoſe who read him; and it muſt be allowed, that men are not ſuch dupes as to ſuffer themſelves to be as eaſily perſuaded into a hereſy delivered by a Poet, as into a hereſy delivered from the pulpit, or in a dogmatical work. Wherefore I do not adopt Father Garaſſe's reaſons, tho' I agree with him in the main and foundation of his Hypotheſis; that is, that an ill maxim, either againſt good manners, or againſt ſpeculative doctrines of faith, is very much to be condemned in whatever kind of Poetry it is propoſed. I agree alſo that the licence a Poet takes of diſplaying ſeveral thoughts againſt Morality and Religion, may produce bad effects. I even acknowledge that the charms of Poetry ſometimes render the venom more pernicious than it would have been in proſe. We cannot ſufficiently deplore the evils which the poetical impieties of Homer, and his imitators, introduced among the Pagans. Men of ſenſe and penetration were well acquainted with the ſource of thoſe miſchiefs, and loudly complained of it. They murmured with reaſon againſt the Poets imputing to the Gods the ſame crimes as are committed on earth (21). I have elſewhere (22) quoted a paſſage of Plato, and ſhall here tranſcribe a fine one out of Cicero. *Nec enim multo abſurdiora ſunt ea, quæ poëtarum vocibus fuſa, ipſa ſuavitate nocuerunt, qui & ira inflammatos, & libidine furentes induxerunt Deos, feceruntque ut eorum bella, prælia, pugnas, vulnera videremus: odia præterea, diſſidia, diſcordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effuſas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortaleſque ex immortali procreatos* (23). i. e. " Nor are thoſe things " much more abſurd, which being delivered in the " words of Poets, have done miſchief by their very " delightfulneſs; for they have introduced the Gods " inflamed with anger, and raging with luſt, and deſcribed to us their wars, battles, combats, and " wounds; as alſo their enmities, diſſenſions, quarrels, births, deaths, complaints, lamentations, intemperate luſts of all kinds, adulteries, bonds, commerce with women, and mortals begotten by an " immortal father." The dramatic pieces wherein the Gods were ſo unworthily repreſented, excited a thouſand irregular paſſions. Cicero did not diſſemble it; and St. Auguſtin ſtrengthened his own argument by his teſtimony. *Quomodo tanta animi & morum mala, bonis præceptis & legibus, vel imminentia prohiberent, vel inſita extirpanda curarent Dii tales: qui etiam ſeminanda & augenda flagitia curaverunt, talia vel ſua, vel quaſi ſua facta per theatricas celebritates populis innoteſcere cupientes: ut tanquam autoritate divina ſua ſponte nequiſſima libido accenderetur humana: fruſtra hoc exclamante Cicerone, qui cùm de poetis ageret, ad quos cùm acceſſiſſet, inquit, clamor & approbatio populi, quaſi magni cujuſdam & ſapientis magiſtri, quas illi obducunt tenebras? quos invehunt metus? quas inflammant cupiditates* (24)? i. e. " How ſhould ſuch Gods remedy ſo " great a corruption of mind and manners by whole-

(20) Garaſſe, *Somme Theologique*, pag. 370.

(21) See in Mr. Menage's *Anti-Baillet*, page 227 of the firſt Volume, ſome Verſes of *Xenophanes* quoted by *Sextus Empiricus*, pag. 57, and 341, *adverſ. Mathematicos. See alſo* Forcatulus, *de Gallorum Imperio & Philoſ.* lib. 4. pag. m. 537.

(22) In the Remark [*I*] of the Article JUNO.

(23) Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 16.

(24) Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 2. cap. 14. pag. m. 188. What *Cicero* ſays here is not to be found in any of his Books now remaining; but ſee what he ſays againſt dramatical pieces, *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* lib. 4. cap. 22.

(c) Ogier, *Jugement du Livre de la Doctrine Curieuſe*, pag. 23.

(d) He reckons among his Writings *Septem Sapientis.*

(e) See the Remark [R] of the Article NAVARRE (Joan d'Albret Queen of).

I ought to have taken notice that he is the Author of a *defamatory Libel, intitled*, The Banquet of the Wiſe-men, *written againſt the honour of one of the firſt Magiſtrates of France* (c). He did not ſet his name to it; but he was known nevertheleſs to be the Author of it: Alegambe does not deny it (d). He was ſharply cenſured for having publiſhed the ſtory of the Tapeſtries of Joan d'Albret, which I have related in the Article of that Queen (e). It was pretended that his ſlanders in that reſpect were an injury done to Henry the Great, and to Lewis XIII (f). They maintained that he had called that Princeſs *Libertine, profane, ridiculous, headſtrong*, and *had loaded her with a thouſand other calumnies* (g). The accuſation was ill grounded, and he cleared himſelf ſufficiently (h). He was alſo boldly cenſured for having quoted ſome immodeſt paſſages [K]. We

(f) Ogier, *Jugement de la Doctrine Curieuſe*, chap. 11. pag. 143, &c.

(g) *Défence pour Eſtienne Paſquier*, liv. 4. Sect. 1. pag. 644.

(h) See *l'Apologie de Garaſſe*, chap. 15. pag. m. 177, &c.

" ſome laws and precepts, or either prevent incroach-
" ing evils, or extirpate thoſe which are implanted;
" who have taken care to propagate and increaſe vice,
" deſiring to have ſuch actions of theirs, or ſuppoſed
" to be theirs, publickly repreſented to the people on
" the ſtage; that human luſts, which are naturally
" violent enough, might be inflamed, as it were, by di-
" vine authority. This Cicero exclaims againſt in vain,
" who ſpeaking of Poets, ſays; When backed by the
" applauſe and approbation of the people, as of ſome
" great and wiſe maſter, what darkneſs do they in-
" troduce? what ſuperſtitions do they excite? what luſts
" do they inflame?" Cicero complains, in one of his Books, that the reading of the Poets effeminates the mind, and weakens all the nerves of virtue. *Videſne poetæ quid mali afferant? Lamentantes inducunt fortiſſimos viros. Molliunt animos noſtros, ita ſunt deinde dulces, non ut legantur modo ſed etiam ediſcantur. Sic ad malam domeſticam diſciplinam, vitamque umbratilem, & delicatam, quum acceſſerunt etiam poetæ, nervos omnis virtutis elidunt. Recte igitur à Platone educuntur ex ea civitate, quam finxit ille quum moris optimos, & optimum reip. ſtatum exquireret* (25). i. e. " Do you ſee what miſchiefs the Poets occaſion? They " introduce heroes whining; they ſoften our minds, " and are ſo delightful that they are not only read, " but learned by heart. Thus when to a bad dome- " ſtic education, and a lazy luxurious life, the read- " ing of Poets is added, all virtue is enervated. Where- " fore Plato juſtly baniſhed them out of his ideal " Commonwealth, when he was in ſearch after the " beſt manners, and the beſt conſtitution of govern- " ment." Preſently after he obſerves, as a great abuſe, the cuſtom of making the Roman Youth learn ſuch Authors. *At vero nos docti ſcilicet à Græcia, hæc & à pueritia legimus & diſcimus. Hanc eruditionem liberalem & doctrinam putamus* (26). i. e. " But theſe " things Greece has taught us to read and learn from " our childhood; and this we take to be liberal edu- " cation and learning." Plutarch was of a different opinion: he thought the reading of the Poets might be of great uſe (27); but nevertheleſs he is forced to own that it is only becauſe they contradict themſelves (28). Their doctrines, ſays he, are ſometimes good, and ſometimes bad; ſometimes impious, and ſometimes pious. This renders their authority doubtful, and not of weight enough to do harm; and it is our duty to chuſe what they advance in behalf of the preferable opinion. Αἱ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν ὑπεναντιώσεις πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀνέλωμεν ἀφέρεσθαι τὴν πίστιν, ἐκ ἐῶσιν ἰσχυρὰν ῥοπὴν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸ βλάπτον· ὅπου μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ τιθέναι συνήγορος ἐκφανεῖς ποιεῖ τὰς ἀντιλογίας, δεῖ τῷ βελτίονι συνηγορεῖν. *Poëtarum quoque contradictiones quibus fidem dictorum dubiam faciant, non ſinunt ea ad nocendum ſatis momenti habere. Ubi ergo juxta ſe poſita contraria dicta apud illos evidenter ſunt, meliori parti adſtipulandum eſt* (29). This expedient of Plutarch is no extraordinary remedy; for the corruption of our hearts inclines us rather to chuſe what the Poets advance in favour of vice, than what they advance in favour of virtue. Beſides, their contradictions induce us to conclude, that their graveſt and moſt devout maxims are but conceits of fancy, which they are not perſuaded of themſelves. We imagine they utter them for no other reaſon than becauſe they find in them matter ſuſceptible of a beautiful form, and all the majeſty of Poetry. And in reality, there are Poets who, without having any piety, or any faith, have made magnificent and admirable verſes on the moſt ſublime truths of Religion. They made choice of that ſubject, becauſe it gave them an opportunity of diſplaying the fineſt phraſes, and the moſt ſhining figures of their art. Another day they would chuſe a quite contrary ſubject, provided it favoured the enthuſiaſms of their imagination; I mean, provided it furniſhed them with ideas which they thought themſelves able to expreſs nobly. What weight can the ſound doctrine have which we meet with in Authors whom we believe to be of this turn?

(25) Cicero, *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* lib. 2. cap. 11.

(26) Idem, ibid.

(27) *See* Plutarch's Treatiſe *de audiendis Poetis.*

(28) This calls to my mind what Mr. *Saurin* has ſaid in the 372d page of his *Examen de la Theologie de Mr. Jurieu*: There is nothing for which Mr. Jurieu has more reaſon to congratulate himſelf, than for his perpetual contradictions; becauſe it is by the help of them that he is Orthodox.

(29) Plutarch. *de audiendis Poëtis*, pag. 20, C.

Let us take notice, by the way, that modern Poetry has raiſed much murmuring. I have elſewhere (30) mentioned the complaints which Thuanus and Mezerai have made againſt the Poets of Henry the Second's Court. I might alſo have quoted the Sieur de la Planche; for here is a very good paſſage of his Work. *What aggravated God's wrath in this particular was, that the knowledge of human learning (a ſingular means ordained by God to teach us to know him rightly, and conſequently for the preſervation of mankind) having been brought again into France by King Francis, more renowned on that account than for any other thing which happened in his time, was turned by miſchievous and curious wits into an occaſion of all ſorts of wickedneſs; which was principally found in certain great genius's, addicted to French Poetry, who at that time aroſe by ſholes: whoſe impure and obſcene writings, full of blaſphemies, are ſo much the more deteſtable, as they are ſweetened with every allurement which may intice, not only to all manner of filthy and abominable lubricity, but even to all manner of horrid impiety, thoſe who take them into their hands* (31). Add hereto the bitter complaints of Gabriel de Puy-Herbeau (32), and the reaſons which induced Pope Hadrian IV not to favour Poets (33). If you want examples of their profanations, you need only read Sorel's Commentary on the Extravagant Shepherd (34).

(30) In the *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, num. 126. pag. 366.

(31) *Hiſtoire de l'Eſtat de France, tant de la Republique que de la Religion, ſous le regne de François II*, pag. 7. Edit. 1576, in 8vo.

(32) Gabriel Putherbeus, *in Theotimo, ſive de tollendis & expurgandis malis Libris*, lib. 1. pag. 77. Edit. Pariſ. 1549, in 8vo. *See* Voetius, *Diſputat. Theolog.* tom. 2. pag. 1274.

(33) See the Remark [D] of the Article HADRIAN VI.

Let us now ſee how Father Garaſſe's principle was employed againſt him. He was cenſured (35) for having made verſes which contained an impiety; and he was reminded of his own words, *that rhime does not blot out impieties .... and that an impiety in verſe is ſo much the more pernicious.* The Latin verſes are blamed (36) which he made in praiſe of the Sun, and wherein he made uſe of the moſt idolatrous expreſſions: nor were thoſe ſpared wherein he addreſſes himſelf to Neptune, and Thetis, whom he calls *numina*, and ſpeaks to nature as a goddeſs. He is referred to his own maxim, and the Retractations of St. Auguſtin. That great Saint repented (37) of having given the Muſes the title of Goddeſſes, tho' he had not done it in a ſerious manner. The ſame Garaſſe is cenſured for having awakened *heatheniſh and laſcivious* ideas in the Poem he wrote, in form of an Epithalamium, on the divine and human nature of Chriſt. I ſay nothing of the reproaches made him with relation to his Prayers in proſe; wherein he ſpeaks of the wanderings of Ulyſſes, the laurels of Thrace, and his talent for Poetry.

(34) Page 644, 732, & *alibi.*

(35) By the Abbot of *S. Cyran*, in his *Somme des Fauſſetez capitales contenues en la Somme de Garaſſe*, tom. 4. pag. 34.

(36) Ibid. pag. 102.

(37) Auguſt. *Retract.* lib. 1. cap. 3.

[K] *He was ... cenſured for having quoted ſome immodeſt paſſages.*] He gives no quarter to obſcenities and debaucheries, ſays one Writer (38), *which he cannot be acquainted with ſo perfectly without having practiſed them.* He anſwered (39), that this was a very bad way of reaſoning; and proved it, among other inſtances, by that of the Lawyers, *who ſet down at length the robberies committed which have been tried and condemned by the Court* (40), and neither approve nor practiſe them; and by that of the Caſuiſts, *who write down minutely all the ſpecies of lewdneſs, from ſimple thoughts even to inceſts and beſtiality; which they know only by theory, and the report of the guilty* (41). " It was urged againſt him (42) that St. Auguſtin ſays " very elegantly, *de pudendis rebus cogit neceſſitas loqui; honeſtas, circumloqui:* that the weakneſs and " neceſſity

(38) *Jugement de la Doctrine Curieuſe*, in an Extract of the *Letter of L. R. L.*

(39) Garaſſe, *Apologie*, chap. 8. pag. m. 90.

(40) Ibid. pag. 92.

(41) Ibid.

(42) *Jugement de la Doctrine Curieuſe*, chap. 4. pag. 39, 40.

(i) In the Remark [K].

We ſhall ſee (i) how he defended himſelf.

" neceſſity of man oblige him frequently to ſpeak of " filthy and immodeſt things; but that decency re- " quires him to ſpeak with circumlocution and peri- " phraſes." Here is his Apology (43): " To omit " a hundred paſſages of this incomparable Doctor, " wherein he ſpeaks of the God Stercutius, and his " couſin Cloacina, he expreſſes himſelf in much " coarſer terms than thoſe they reprehend in me, who " never dreamed of any impurity in them. Let " them anſwer me with relation to this Obſervation " of St. Auguſtin, in the 14th Book *de Civitate Dei*, " *chap.* 24. *Nonnulli ab imo ſine pudore ullo tam nume-* " *roſos edunt ſonitus, ut etiam ex illa parte cantare* " *videantur*; and let thoſe who relate the pretty ob- " ſervations of Vives about the Aſs which had drank " up the moon, to ſhew me my aſinine impertinencies, take the pains to read Vives's words on " this ſubject, concerning the young German who " did wonders that way." He had ſaid in his Book (44), *that in publiſhing theſe impious maxims, he did nothing but what had been practiſed by the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church* againſt the Gnoſtics and Carpocratians (45). His Cenſurer (46) found three diſparities in this compariſon: the firſt is, that the Gnoſtics and Carpocratians taught as Articles of faith what the Fathers impute to them. It was neceſſary therefore to refute, and conſequently to relate, thoſe obſcenities. But the profanations rehearſed by Garaſſe are only *actions and words of debauched and abandoned wretches, who would never acknowledge they ſaid or committed them* (47). The ſecond is, that the Fathers never relate the impure Hereſies which they are obliged to refute, but with reluctance. Garaſſe, on the contrary, *has raked together a heap of ordure unneceſſarily* (48). In the third place, the Fathers wrote for learned perſons (49). St. Irenæus, *Biſhop of Lyons*, wrote in Greek, *which was neither the language of the Weſtern Empire, nor that of Gaul in particular* (50). In thoſe days Books *could not be ſo eaſily communicated as they are at preſent, by the help of printing* (51), and *the Chriſtians and Catholics led an angelical life.. They would have beheld thoſe obſcenities and heard all thoſe prophanations with incredible deteſtation and averſion* (52). None of theſe circumſtances could excuſe Garaſſe. He did not reply with exactneſs: he ſuppoſed the firſt diſparity conſiſted in that the Fathers *were forced to publiſh thoſe abominations; foraſmuch as they were public, and as it were authoriſed by the world* (53): and he anſwered that " the impurities of Carpocrates " were not ſo well known in the towns of Greece, " as the obſcenities of Theophile, the blaſphemies of " Vanini, and the impieties of Charron, are known " through France (54)." You ſee he forgets the principal point of the difference; for the impieties and impurities of Theophile were not maintained by any one as Articles of Religion. This did not hinder but that one had a right to refute them; and I wonder Garaſſe ſhould not alledge, that a Faction of Debauchees, who impudently publiſh profane and lewd maxims, to corrupt youth, do not deſerve more countenance than dogmatizing Heretics; that it is neceſſary, therefore, to exclaim againſt the Books of thoſe Libertines, and to quote paſſages out of them, that it may not be ſuppoſed they are calumniated. He has ſaid nothing as to the ſecond diſparity, and even aſſerts (55) that his Cenſurer has alledged but two. He might nevertheleſs have defended himſelf two ways; by denying that he had made a collection of obſcenities unneceſſarily, and by maintaining that the repugnance with which the ancient Fathers produced them could be no excuſe, if it were, at the bottom, pernicious and criminal. He vigorouſly attacks the third diſparity, and there he triumphs. It is falſe and ridiculous, ſays he (56); for the Cenſurer " ſays " that the ancient Fathers who have publiſhed in " writing the abominations and uncleanneſſes of the " Carpocratians, did not do it in their mother tongue, " but in a language unknown, and uſed by few " people, and that it was only for the learned; and " he gives us an admirable inſtance of his reaſon: " foraſmuch, ſays he, as St. Irenæus, Biſhop of Lyons, " did not write in Latin, which was the language " then known in France, but wrote in Greek, that " he might not be underſtood by the vulgar, or ex- " poſe the ordures of the Heretics to the knowledge " of all the world. Now that St. Irenæus wrote in " Greek I will not diſpute: I thank God, I know " it very well; but I ſay it was not for the reaſon " which our Prior alledges, but becauſe he was a " Greek by birth, as his name teſtifies, and becauſe " that language was more familiar to him than Latin: " for at this rate, if the reaſon urged by our Prior " were to be allowed, St. Epiphanius and Theodoret, " who were Greeks by nation, and wrote among the " Greeks the impieties and turpitudes of the Atheiſts " and Heretics of their times, ought to have written " in Latin, or in German, that they might not be " underſtood by the vulgar; and yet they wrote in " Greek, which was familiar to all the people of " that nation, more abominations than are contained " in fifteen Volumes as big as mine. But what " would our Gentleman have ſaid to Doctor Coch- " leus, who has written a Book in German, in- " titled, *Luther with ſeven heads*, which was after- " wards tranſlated into Latin, wherein he relates, " in plain German, ſpeaking to Germans, all the im- " purities which Luther had propagated in Germany, " ſo far as to produce the infamous proverbs, and " horrible ſayings, which the lewd women had in " their mouths; even ſo far as to ſay, that in all " the towns of Germany they talked nothing but a " certain jargon of bawdry; and he quotes the par- " ticulars, which I forbear to produce, though I am " not ignorant of them, having read them in that " Doctor's Book with horror, they are ſo prophane " and filthy."

Note, he denies he has made uſe of the word *lavement* in the modern ſenſe (57). *At this word,* ſays he (58), *my enemies write that I have indecent words in my mouth, and that I have no ſhame: to which I anſwer... in juſtification of my ſelf, that they make me more knowing and leſs innocent than I am; for they imagine I am converſant in the terms of Phyſicians and Apothecaries; but, I thank God, I underſtand no more of them than ordinary perſons may. By the word* lavement *I underſtand nothing but what I have groſly learned from vulgar uſage, and the old Books of Phyſic, which are not ſo refined as the modern; for in the old verſion of Leonard Fuſchius, I find the word* lavement *is taken only for gargariſms; as when he ſays, in the fifth, that for the tooth-ach we ſhould take* un Lavement d'eau de Plantin, i. e. " A gargariſm of " Plantain water, and gargle the mouth with it. *And if the modern Apothecaries have prophaned this word out of affected niceneſs, I am not obliged to make uſe of it in their indecent ſenſe: for otherwiſe, when I ſpeak of the* Hypoſtaſis, *in Divinity, I muſt take care not to uſe that term, becauſe the Apothecaries have profaned it, by diſhonourably applying it to the urine of their patients; and conſequently if I borrow a compariſon from the Hypoſtaſis, I am to be accuſed of ſpeaking impurely.* This is pretending to great delicacy and innocence, for a man to deny he underſtands the modern ſenſe of the word *lavement*; which has been invented only to ſucceed other terms too groſs. It has been long in faſhion among the moſt polite perſons; but they begin to be out of conceit with it (59).

(43) Garaſſe, *Apologie*, chap. 9. pag. 109, 110.

(44) See the *Doctrine Curieuſe*, liv. 2. Sect. 15.

(45) Apol. de Garaſſe, chap. 12. pag. 151.

(46) *Jugement de la Doctrine Curieuſe*, chap. 9. pag. 106, *&* *ſeq.*

(47) Ibid. pag. 108.

(48) Ibid. pag. 112.

(49) Ibid. pag. 114.

(50) Ibid. pag. 115.

(51) Ibid. pag. 117.

(52) Ibid. pag. 118.

(53) Garaſſe, *Apologie*, chap. 12. pag. 151.

(54) Ibid. pag. 152.

(55) Ibid. pag. 151.

(56) Ibid. pag. 153, *&* *ſeq.*

(57) The word *lavement*, in the ſignification of *clyſter*, is not to be found either in *Nicod*, or in *Monet*, of which I have the Edition of 1635.

(58) Garaſſe, *Apologie*, chap. 9. pag. 106, 107.

(59) See the *Explication concerning Obſcenities*, Parag. 9.

GARDIE (PONTUS DE LA) great Marſhal of the armies of Sweden under King John III, was a French Gentleman of a more illuſtrious birth than ſome Authors have delivered [A]. He (a) was deſtined by his father to the Eccleſiaſtical profeſſion in the

(a) Mezerai, *apud* Claudium Arrhenium Oernhielm, *in Vita Ponti de la Gardie*, pag. 11.

[A] *He was of a more illuſtrious birth than ſome Authors have delivered.*] It has been certainly proved that he was deſcended from ROBERT DE LA GARDIE, Lord of Ruſſol and la Gardie, who, in 1382, married Ann de l'Eſtandart. The ſucceſſors of this Robert, down to JAMES DE LA GARDIE, father of our Pontus,

the Monaſtery of Montoliou, in the Dioceſe of Carcaſſonne: but the ardour of his courage would not ſuffer him to be long confined in that cloiſter; he quickly left it to go to the wars. He ſerved firſt in Piedmont, under the Marſhal de Briſſac; then he went over to Scotland with the troops which Henry II ſent thither under the command of Henry Clutin d'Oiſel, to ſuccour the Queen-mother againſt her ſubjects. This Scotch war being at an end, he went over to Denmark, and ſignalized himſelf in the armies of King Frederic II againſt Eric King of Sweden. He changed his maſter ſome time after; for having obtained a very honourable diſcharge from the King of Denmark, he entered into the ſervice of the King of Sweden (*b*). This was in the year 1565. The year following he was ſent into France, with another Embaſſador, to aſk leave of Charles IX to raiſe ſome troops in his Kingdom: this buſineſs was ſo well managed that they carried to Sweden three thouſand foot, and as many horſe (*c*). At their return they found the affairs of that country in a bad ſituation, as well on account of the war which the Danes, the Poles, and the City of Lubeck, had declared againſt Sweden, as by reaſon of the miſunderſtanding between the King and John Duke of Finland, his brother. This fire, which was ſmothered at the firſt, had at laſt broke out. The Duke and his wife, who was ſiſter to Sigiſmund Auguſtus, King of Poland, had been confined in priſon; ſeveral perſons, ſuſpected of favouring them, were treated ill: the King ran into great exceſſes of cruelty; but being informed that people began to ſay that, of right, he had forfeited the government (*d*), he affected to ſhew a great inſtance of clemency, by reſtoring his brother to his former ſtate, and placing near him a Lord who was a man of prudence and courage [*B*], and might be ſerviceable to him on all occaſions. This was our Pontus

(*b*) Claud. Arrhenius Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 11.

(*c*) Idem, ibid. pag. 14, 15.

(*d*) *Certe, poſt patratas innocentium multorum cædes, jam non obſcuræ ferebantur voces populi, regnandi jure excidiſſe immitem principem.* Idem, ibid. pag. 16.

Pontus, and huſband to Catherine de Sainte Colombe (1), married into very noble and ancient families, and particularly into that of Bellegarde, from which was deſcended, by the females, the Marſhal de Bellegarde, Governour of the Marquiſate of Saluces, under Henry III (2). You will find a particular detail of all this in the Life of Pontus de la Gardie, written by Monſieur Oernhielm, Hiſtoriographer of Sweden, and publiſhed in the year 1690. He quotes Thuanus, who ſays *Pontus Gardius nobili loco apud nos in Petrocoriis natus* (3); and Mezerai, whoſe words he tranſlates in this manner; *Pater ejus* (Ponti de la Gardii) *illuſtri domo ortus prope Rueſium in Septimania.* He falſely imagines the *Petrocorii* of Thuanus are now a part of Languedoc (4): he would have done better to cenſure that famous Hiſtorian, who meant, without doubt, that Pontus de la Gardie was born in Perigord, which is not true. His miſtake was occaſioned, perhaps, by his having heard that Pontus was born in Peiregoux; which is a Lordſhip in the Dioceſe of Caſtres: it belonged to the family of la Gardie, and was always the ſhare of the eldeſt ſon. Mr. Oernhielm takes notice of it (5), and adds that la Gardie is ſituated between *Caſtres and the Albigeois*. This is a pardonable miſtake in a perſon living at ſuch a diſtance from that country. Caſtres is in the Albigeois; ſo that the ſituation of la Gardie has not been well expreſſed: it ought to have been placed in the Dioceſe of Carcaſſonne. However it be, it cannot be denied that this Author quotes two very illuſtrious French Hiſtorians, who teſtify that Pontus de la Gardie was of a good family. It is alſo very true that he juſtly cenſures Father Maimbourg, who ſays that fortune *took pleaſure to raiſe* Pontus de la Gardie *from a mean birth to the firſt poſts* of the Kingdom of Sweden: *for having quitted the village where he was born, near Rieux in Languedoc, he followed arms, to which his inclination led him, and went as a private ſoldier to Scotland under the Lord d'Orſel, the Lieutenant of Francis II* (6). There is nobody but would imagine, on reading thoſe words, that our Pontus was at leaſt the ſon of a tradeſman, or of a country ſcrivener: for there is nothing in them which may induce one to ſuppoſe that his father was a Gentleman. Let us ſay, therefore, that Maimbourg has committed a groſs blunder; and it is not the only one which he has been guilty of. Mezerai affirms that Pontus commanded ſome troops of Horſe in Scotland: therefore he ſerved not there in quality of a private ſoldier. His General's name was *Oiſel*, and not *Orſel*; and as Oiſel was ſent to Scotland by Henry II, it would have been better to have ſaid nothing of Francis II: for this makes us loſe the true thread of Chronology. Note, that all theſe faults have been blindly copied from Florimond de Remond (7). If Mr. Varillas had copied them with the ſame exactneſs, he would not have increaſed their number; but venturing to walk ſome ſteps without his guide, he has loſt his way. *La Gardie*, ſays he (8), *was a Frenchman born in the province of Languedoc, and in a village of the Biſhopric of Rieux, near that ſmall city. He had applied himſelf very young to the profeſſion of arms, and had ſerved long as a private ſoldier. He was ſtill in that capacity, when d'Oyſel, whom King Francis II ſent with ſome troops into Scotland, took him thither. He continued there till the peace of Caſteau-Cambreſis, on which being disbanded, he was reduced to liſt himſelf, with twenty of his comrades, under a Captain who led them into Denmark.* It is a falſhood to ſay that he was born in a village near the Epiſcopal city of Rieux. The Hiſtorians who ſay that he was born at Rieux, or thereabouts, do not mean that city, but a place in the Dioceſe of Narbonne, or ſome other. Varillas ſhould not have ſaid that Francis II ſent troops into Scotland before the *peace of Caſteau-Cambreſis*; for Henry II, his father, ſurvived that peace, and it was properly he who ſent Clutin d'Oyſel to the Queen-regent of Scotland, mother-in-law to the Dauphin, who had married the heireſs of Scotland. However, the peace of Cateau-Cambreſis did not put an end to the diviſions in Scotland; for freſh troops were ſent to the Queen-regent ſoon after the concluſion of that peace.

All the proofs which Monſieur Oernhielm alledges againſt Father Maimbourg are not good ones. If Pontus de la Gardie, ſays he (9), had not been of noble deſcent, or had *come from a village*, Charles IX, and Henry IV, would not have uſed the ſtyle they did when they wrote to him. The Embaſſadors of France, to ſay nothing of the Emperor Rodolph, or Mary his mother, or of Frederic King of Denmark, or the Radzivils, or Zamoyſkis, would never have paid him all the honours which appear in their Letters, with an extreme deſire to cultivate his friendſhip. This reaſon is of no force: for ſo ſoon as a man is in poſſeſſion of the greateſt offices in the State, and of his maſter's favour, all the world ſhews him reſpect; foreign Princes leave no ſtone unturned to gain him; no regard is had to his extraction; but his preſent condition only is conſidered, and his ability to do ſervice or miſchief. Who knows not the flatteries of Charles V towards Cardinal Wolſey, the ſon of a butcher?

Let us conclude with ſaying, that moſt of the Gentlemen in France come from a village. They are born in a caſtle ſituate near ſome little Lordſhip which belongs to their father. And there are many families which have no title, and have never appeared at Court, or in the conſiderable offices of the province, and are notwithſtanding of very ancient nobility: they might produce pedigrees for three or four hundred years back, and are ſome how or other related to houſes which are diſtinguiſhed by the moſt magnificent titles. This is what may be ſuppoſed of our Pontus's family. I obſerve that neither the place nor the time of his birth could be ſpecified by Mr. Oernhielm; which is very ſurprizing.

[*B*] *By placing near him a Lord, who was a man of prudence and courage.*] Here are the words of Mr.

(9) Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 13.

(1) He married her in the year 1511.

(2) Monſieur Oernhielm, *in Vita Ponti de la Gardie*, pag. 8. *ſays he had been ſo before under Francis I, and Henry II; and that he obtained of Henry III the Office of Maſter of the Horſe. I believe he is miſtaken, and that, as to the laſt particular, he takes the Son for the Father.*

(3) Thuanus, lib. 33. pag. m. 57.

(4) *Nunc partem facientibus Septimaniæ, vulgo Languedociæ.* Claudius Arrhen. Oernhielm, *in Vita Ponti de la Gardie*, pag. 11.

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 10.

(6) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Lutheran.* liv. 6. pag. 251, of the Dutch Edition.

(7) *Pontus de la Gardie, born in a village near Rieux in Languedoc, a poor ſoldier of fortune, having a mind to ſee the world, went over into Scotland under the command of the Sieur d'Orſel, Lieutenant for King Francis II.* Florim. de Remond, *Naiſſance & Progr. de l'Héréſie*, liv. 4. chap. 16. pag. m. 495.

(8) Varillas, *Hiſtoire de l'Héréſie*, liv. 30. pag. 265. of the Dutch Edition.

tus de la Gardie. Some time after it was thought the King deſigned to make away with all his brothers during the ſolemnity of his nuptials: for which reaſon they were exhorted not to be preſent at them, and to deliver the Kingdom from oppreſſion [C]. They hearkened to this counſel, they took a tour through all the provinces, they raiſed forces

Mr. Oernhielm (10). *Hujus* (populi) *iram ut mulceret inſigni aliquo ſpecimine clementiæ, fratrem Johannem Ducem, deterſo carceris ſqualore, libertati dignitatique priſtinæ reſtituit. Eidemque, præter cætera argumenta duraturæ in poſterum benevolentiæ, PONTUM DE LA GARDIUM concedit, virum in negotiis pacis ac belli ſpectatæ induſtriæ, ut ejus uteretur opera, ubicunque rerum magnitudo poſceret.* A little after he quotes the following paſſage out of a Manuſcript Hiſtory of Sweden (11). " Duke John, a prudent and wiſe " Prince, who was well acquainted with the humour, " inclination, and infirmities of the King his brother, " ſubmitted at laſt to his commands, and accepted " the burthen of this great and painful office. It was " that of Vice-roy, Lieutenant General, and Gover- " nour of Sweden and the two Gothlands. But he " ſincerely remonſtrated to him, that his long impri- " ſonment had made him loſe, not only all his faith- " ful ſervants, but alſo the good and old acquaintance " he had at Court; and therefore he earneſtly beſought " his Majeſty to give him ſome faithful counſellour " and worthy ſecond, on whom his Majeſty could " aſſuredly rely, and who might be an illuſtrious wit- " neſs and companion of his actions and behaviour. " His requeſt being juſt, Eric willingly gave him " Pontus de la Gardie, or de la Garde, a French " Gentleman, whom he greatly loved for his under- " ſtanding and courage, and had raiſed ſo high in his " dominions, that he made uſe of his excellent ad- " vice in all affairs of great and important conſe- " quence." Florimond de Remond relates the ſame thing, but with a circumſtance which Jolivet has omitted. *The King*, ſays he (12), *who during this diſcourſe ſaw the Duke kept his eye fixed on a Frenchman whom he loved, named Pontus de la Gardie, ſaid to him, by the ſuggeſtion of his evil genius, (for he was the author of his ruin,) Brother, I give you Pontus: make uſe of him, and rely on his valour and loyalty, of which I have made frequent trials.*

(10) Idem, ibid. pag. 16.

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 17. *He quotes* Jolivet, *Author of a* Hiſtory of Sweden.

(12) Florimond de Remond, *Naiſſance & Progr. de l'Héréſie*, pag. 495.

[C] *They were exhorted ... to deliver the Kingdom from oppreſſion.*] A more preſſing motive could not be urged to induce them to it, than that which was made uſe of. Intelligence was ſent them from all parts, that the King deſigned to deſtroy them. *Adferuntur ad Principes amicorum ab omni parte literæ, monentes, caverent ſibi à futuris inaugurandæ Reginæ, elocandæque ſororis ſolemnibus epulis, quibus haud aliter uſurus ſit Rex quam retibus, capturis everſuriſque haud dubiè ſuſpectos fratres Regnique Proceres, operoſâ aliàs conquirendos indagine. Ad hæc adjungunt ſe Ducibus aliquot, de ſuâ ipſorumque jam ſalute ſolliciti, decretam adſerentes omnium necem, certumque debere opprimi, ni opprimant. Fruſtra adhiberi fidem promiſſis totiens juratis violatiſque Erici, ludentis jam perjuriis, ut ſolent pueri aſtragalis* (13). i. e. " Letters were brought " to the Princes from their friends in all parts, ad- " moniſhing them to beware of the approaching ce- " remony of the Queen's inauguration, and the mar- " riage of his ſiſter, which the King certainly intended " to make uſe of no otherwiſe than as a ſnare to en- " trap and deſtroy his brothers, and the Nobles of the " Kingdom, whom he ſuſpected, and whom it would " be otherwiſe very difficult for to him get into his " power. Theſe intimations were confirmed by ſome " leaders, already ſollicitous both for their own and " their ſafety, who aſſured them that their death was " reſolved on, and they would certainly be deſtroyed, " unleſs they prevented the blow; adding, that it " was in vain to truſt to the promiſes, ſo often ſworn " to and violated, of Eric, who played with perjuries, " as children do with bones at cockal." On theſe occaſions nothing muſt be done by halves: the diſcontented muſt not barely ſay there is ſome danger; they muſt poſitively aſſure a preſumptive heir that he is irrecoverably ruined, if he does not ruin his adverſary; that all depends on being beforehand with the tyrant, without regarding his fair promiſes, or ſubmiſſions, which the danger may extort from him. You ſee thoſe who conducted the plot in Sweden made uſe of this machine. Our Pontus, who was the principal director of it, bethought himſelf of an excellent ſtratagem; which was to animate the Dutcheſs to this enterprize, who was to be Queen in caſe the thing ſucceeded. He knew, without doubt, that ambition works more violently on the mind of a woman than of a man. He ſpoke to her in the following manner: *The whole Court is aſtoniſhed, Madam, that my Lord your huſband does not take compaſſion on this miſerable Kingdom, wherein every body is infinitely offended, and weary of the inſolent cruelties and tyranny of the King his brother; he alone can eaſily remedy theſe diſorders. I aſſure you both great and ſmall caſt their eyes on him, to place the royal diadem on his head, if he pleaſes, He has deſerved it as juſtly as that barbarous Prince is unworthy of it, in the judgment of all the world. If my Lord your huſband will conſent, it is eaſy to render him maſter of theſe dominions, and to make him a great Prince inſtead of a Duke, as he now is, who undoubtedly cannot avoid either death or perpetual impriſonment, from which he and you have been already delivered, as it were by a miracle, when you thought of it the leaſt. I aſſuredly know from all the Captains, that the ſix thouſand Scots, whom Eric keeps in pay, are diſcontented, and deſire no better than to change their maſter, for want of their pay. Beſides, it is certain that the Dukes Magnus and Charles, his brothers, with the greateſt men in the Kingdom, are extremely offended and grieved that ſo great a King as their brother ſhould have married the daughter of a wretched bailiff, whoſe profeſſion is odious. Therefore, Madam, lay hold on the occaſion, which ſo favourably preſents itſelf, by the forelock, for the good of the ſtate, the quiet of the people and provinces, and the advancement of your dear huſband and family* (14). Monſieur Oernhielm, who relates this diſcourſe, owns there are no traces to be found of it in the Hiſtory of that nation: he might have read them in Florimond de Remond, with the Dutcheſs's Anſwer: *This is fine talk, Pontus,* ſaid ſhe, *but difficult to be put in execution: however be wiſe and diſcreet; I will ſpeak of it to the Duke my huſband* (15). Florimond declares (16) that he found theſe words in the Manuſcript Memoirs of the Embaſſador of France ſent to Sweden in the year 1566, *who was an eye-witneſs of the ſtrange changes which happened in that country* (17). Let us not forget this circumſtance. While preparations were making for the nuptials, a report was ſpread among the people, that the ruin of the King's brothers, and of the Grandees of the Kingdom, was reſolved on. It was not known whether this rumour was chimerical or well grounded; but it became probable ſome time after, through the caprices of the King; and at laſt the Letters, which were written from all parts to his brothers, put it out of all doubt. (18). *Dum hæc parantur, manat in vulgus ſtruendarum in Principes fratres proceresque Regni inſidiarum rumor, verus an vanus, ab initio non ſatis ſciebatur: Quem tamen ſimillimum vero mox fecerunt ingenium Erici ſuſpicax, infidum, in modum Euripi æſtuans, & mobile ſemper ad obſequia pravè conſulentium ....* (19). *Tot rebus adſtructâ primo rumori fide.*

(13) Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 16, 17.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 17. He quotes a manuſcript *Hiſtory of Sweden*, written by *Jolivet*, an Advocate in the Parliament, and bought of a ſon of the Author by Count Magnus de la Gardie. It is in the Library of Upſal.

(15) Florim. de Remond, *Naiſſance & Progr. de l'Héréſie*, pag. 497.

(16) Ibid. pag. 496.

(17) Ibid. pag. 494.

(18) Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 16.

(19) Ibid. pag. 17, 18.

Theſe are uſually the preparations towards revolutions: reports are firſt ſpread abroad; they are carried from ſtreet to ſtreet, from town to town: there are ſpeculative people to ſupport them, and at laſt grave men confirm them by their Letters. I do not pretend to ſay there is always a deſign in this behaviour: ſuch reports are ſometimes true, and ſupported with no private view, but out of a commendable zeal for the public good; and I even obſerve that we have an inſtance of it in the caſe before us. It was Florimond de Remond's intereſt to excuſe King Eric, in order to render more odious the conduct of Pontus de la Gardie, whom he very much abuſes, looking on him as the cauſe which hindered Sweden from returning to the obedience of the Pope: nevertheleſs he relates a thouſand abominable crimes of that King, and aſſures us that he advances nothing but what he has from good hands (20). He cites, in particular (21), the Letter which the new King wrote to Charles IX. Does he not make himſelf ridiculous, after this, by concluding with theſe words? *But frequently falſe reports are raiſed*

(20) Florim. de Remond, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 494.

(21) Ibid. pag. 499.

forces there, and put themſelves in a condition to depoſe the King. They marched ſtrait to Stockholm, entered the City, and after ſome parlies, and ſkirmiſhes, wherein de la Gardie, one of the Commanders of the troops of John Duke of Finland, was wounded in the arm, they carried their point. King Eric was dethroned, and impriſoned, in the year 1568. His brother John was elected to ſucceed him, and immediately gave la Gardie the poſt of High Steward of his Houſhold, and committed to him the whole care of his coronation, which was not performed till the 10th of July 1569. No perſon had contributed more than la Gardie to the ſucceſs of this revolution; wherein his vigilance, his addreſs, and his firmneſs of mind admirably ſhone. The new King, not being able to conclude a good peace with the King of Denmark, marched againſt him; and a battle was fought wherein la Gardie, being much wounded, was taken priſoner. He did not recover his liberty till the treaty of peace, which was ratified the 16th of March 1571. He had been made a Knight (*e*) the day of the coronation, and he acquired a new Title the 27th of July 1571; it was that of Baron of Eckholm, with large poſſeſſions annexed. At the ſame time he was ſent (*f*) on an Embaſſy, with two others, to ſome Imperial Cities, to the Biſhop of Munſter, the Count of Eaſt Friſeland, the Duke of Alva, the King of France, the King of Navarre, and the King of Spain; and ſoon after his return he was employed in military affairs: for he was ſent into Livonia in the month of Auguſt 1573, to ſtop the progreſs of the Great Duke of Muſcovy (*g*). He was recalled three years after, to be entruſted with an important Embaſſy, of which he acquitted himſelf extremely well. He firſt negotiated with ſome Imperial Cities, &c. and afterwards at the Court of Rodolph, lately elected Emperor. He then paſſed the Alps to go to Rome, where he had ſeveral audiences of Pope Gregory XIII; after which he went to Naples, to get in what was due to his maſter (*h*) for his ſhare of the effects of Bona Sforza, mother to the Queen of Sweden. He came back to Rome, and there had ſome conferences with Cardinal Hoſius; but it is not known what affairs he treated about with the Pope (*i*) [*D*]. He did not return to Sweden till nineteen months were expired. In January 1580, he married a natural daughter of the King of Sweden, and received orders ſome months after to make an irruption into the dominions of the great Duke of Muſcovy with all the troops he ſhould find in Finland, and the neighbouring provinces. In this expedition he commanded as General (*k*): his Inſtructions directed him, among other

(*e*) *Eques auratus.* Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 19.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. pag. 23.

(*g*) Idem, ibid. pag. 111.

(*h*) Idem, ibid. pag. 164.

(*i*) Idem, ibid. pag. 165.

(*k*) *Summi militiæ præfecti titulo.* Idem, ibid. pag. 174.

raiſed againſt the Great, to draw on them the hatred of their ſubjects, and incite them to rebellion; as was practiſed againſt Eric, who miſerably periſhed in priſon (22).

(22) Ibid.

The Reflection made by Mr. Oernhielm is a very good one: *viz.* that a Prince who hearkens only to his paſſions, without regarding what is due to God and his ſubjects, deprives himſelf of the moſt neceſſary ſupports of his greatneſs: for he does not find in his people a fidelity ſufficient to oppoſe thoſe who attack him. *Prævenit adventum Ducum fama collecti in Regem exercitus, ad quam ille excitus, implorat opem civium, quorum plerique pertæſi acerbi regiminis, ſurdas obvertunt aures precanti, hilares, adveniſſe tempus, quo jugi in dies ingraveſcentis leventur onere, antequam ſuccumbant penitus interituri. Itaque ſubnixus ope paucorum, in quorum animis nondum obſoleverat Majeſtas ſui Principis, congreſſuſque cum pluribus ac fortioribus, non poterat non redigi ad anguſtias. Atque tum præferoci Regi adparuit, & favore civium, & ſucceſſu fulciendæ potentiæ deſtitui potentes rerum, cum exutâ reverentiâ Numinis, ex amplâ poteſtate uſurpant nil præter trucem quidvis in ſubjectos agendi licentiam. Id Erico Regi accidit. Quem ſolio ſublimem vidit ſol oriens, eundem occidens vidit provolutum ad aliena genua* (23). i. e. "The news of the army "raiſed againſt the King reached him before the arrival of the Dukes; at which being alarmed, he "implored the help of the Citizens, moſt of whom, "weary of his tyrannical government, turned a deaf "ear to his intreaties, being glad that the time was "come, wherein they ſhould be eaſed of the burthenſome yoke which grew every day more heavy, before they quite periſhed and ſunk under it. Relying therefore on the aſſiſtance of a few, whoſe minds "yet retained ſome loyalty towards their Prince, and "engaging with men ſuperior in number and courage, "he could not avoid being reduced to ſtraits. Then "the fierce King became ſenſible that Monarchs loſe "the affections of their people, and deprive themſelves of the only means of ſupporting their dignity, "when, throwing off all regard to the Deity, they "make uſe of no other part of their extenſive power "than the cruel licence of treating their ſubjects as "they think fit. This was the caſe of King Eric: "the ſame perſon whom the riſing ſun ſaw exalted "on a throne, the ſetting beheld proſtrate at the feet "of another." The number of Princes who have been aſſaſſinated (24), or impriſoned, on account of their tyranny is ſo great; and the number of thoſe who have been able to maintain themſelves in a wicked adminiſtration, and have not haſtened the coronation of a ſon, or a brother, &c. by their violent conduct, is ſo ſmall; that we cannot ſufficiently admire there ſhould be any who do not take warning by theſe examples. Moreover, the Revolutions of States, whereby crowns are transferred from one head to another, have always been ſo frequent that there is reaſon to wonder they have not been much more ſo: for, in ſhort, the worſt that can be feared is to miſs one's blow; a hundred ways will always be found out to defend one's ſelf againſt the reproaches of injuſtice, and provided a man ſucceeds, he will never want either approvers or alliances.

(23) Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 18.

(24) *Ad generum Cereris ſine cæde & ſanguine pauci*
Deſcendunt reges & ſicca morte tyranni. i. e.
"Few Tyrants
"to th'infernal
"ſhades deſcend
"By a dry death,
"or with a quiet end."
Juvenal, Sat. 10. ver. 112.

[*D*] *It is not known what affairs he treated about with the Pope.*] Mr. Oernhielm confeſſes that he could diſcover nothing of them. *Quid Regis nomine cum Pontifice egerit non perinde liquet, cum regiorum mandatorum nihil ea de re videre contigerit* (25). He treats as a fable what Father Maimbourg relates (26), that Pontus de la Gardie was ordered *to treat with Pope Gregory XIII about the reduction of Sweden to the obedience of the Church on certain conditions*; which were, 1, (27) *that the Nobility ſhould not be diſturbed in the enjoyment of the Church-lands they were poſſeſſed of*: 2, *that the Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould be allowed to keep the wives they had married*: 3, *that the Laity ſhould be permitted to receive the Communion in both kinds*: 4, *that divine ſervice ſhould be celebrated in the vulgar tongue.* This is taken from Florimond de Remond, who adds (28) that la Gardie, *on his return*, found *the King alarmed, and apprehenſive leſt, on account of his meddling with religion, thoſe ſhould pluck the crown from his head, who had ſet it there. That poor King, not being able, or not daring, wholly to reſtore the Catholic Church, was deſirous of making a compromiſe with the Lutheran Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who were principal Lords, by leaving them their wives for life, the Communion under both kinds, and the Maſs in the vulgar tongue. The Eccleſiaſtics might have been prevailed with, ſince their bedfellows were not meddled with; but thoſe who wore ſwords by their ſides would not let go their hold. So this deſign miſcarried, not without ſuſpicion that la Gardie himſelf had put ſome ſtop to it, being intereſted on account of the large poſſeſſions which he enjoyed by the favour of his maſter, whom he abſolutely governed.*

(25) Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 165.

(26) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Lutheraniſme*, liv. 6. pag. 251.

(27) Idem, ibid. pag. 253.

(28) Florim. de Remond, *Naiſſance & Progr. de l'Hereſie*, chap. 17. pag. 502.

other things (*l*), to do no hurt to the Muſcovites who ſhould ſubmit, and to allow the Monks and Nuns full liberty of conſcience, without taking away their images, or other religious furniture [*E*]. He made himſelf maſter of the Province of Carelia in a very ſhort time (*m*). He was made (*n*) Governor of Livonia and Ingria the year following; and he purſued his conqueſts on the Muſcovites with great prudence and ſucceſs. He took from them the important place of Nerva, and ſeveral others, and (*o*) obliged them, in 1583, to conſent to a truce for three years, without recovering any of the towns they had loſt. During this truce he employed himſelf in the moſt effectual means to make his government flouriſh. He was alſo (*p*) ſecond Plenipotentiary of Sweden at the Conferences which were held at Pernow, in the year 1585, with the Embaſſadors of Poland, to ſettle the peace between the two Kingdoms: they were ſoon broken off; after which a negotiation was entered upon with the Embaſſadors of Muſcovy, either for prolonging the truce, or for a treaty of peace. He unfortunately periſhed in a river [*F*], during the courſe of theſe negotiations, the 5th of November 1585 (*q*). They interred him at Revel, where, four years after, a marble tomb was erected to his memory (*r*). His poſterity ſtill continues to be very flouriſhing in Sweden [*G*]. I ſhall ſay ſomething, in another place (*s*), which has a relation to this Article.

(*l*) Idem, ibid. pag. 175.

(*m*) Idem, ibid. pag. 176.

(*n*) Ibid. pag. 178.

(*o*) Idem, ibid. pag. 190.

(*p*) Idem, ibid. pag. 196.

(*q*) Idem, ibid. pag. 213.

(*r*) Idem, ibid. pag. 214.

(*s*) In the Article TYPOT, Remark [*A*].

[*E*] *Without taking away their images, or other religious furniture.*] Such a prohibition was neceſſary; for this had been ill obſerved before. *Omninò autem vis omnis ac injuria abeſſe deberet à corporibus ac bonis ipſorum, qui ſe ritè huic Regno ſubmitterent, præcipuè verò ab his, qui peculiari ſolitoque ei genti ritu, etiamſi à ſacris penes nos receptis nonnuſquam recederent, ſexu utroque incolerent monaſteria, quorum ornamenta, imagines, cæteramque ſacram ſupellectilem intacta inviolataque eis linqui præcipit,* SECUS QUAM FACTUM HACTENUS (29). This order of the King's was not complied with; for they took out of the Church of Carelgrod the images, ſtatues, and ſacerdotal veſtments, and carried them away into Finland, for the uſe of the Pariſhes there. The King was diſpleaſed at it, and threatened with death thoſe who ſhould violate his prohibition for the future. Let us once more hear the Swediſh Hiſtorian. *Utcunque non probârit, quod, privato auſu, ſculptas pictaſque tabulas aris impoſitas, ſtolaſque, quibus ſacra peracturi ſacerdotes amiciuntur, templo arcis Kexholmenſis detractas, nonnulli in vicinam Finlandiam, ad earum, in quibus habitarunt, paræciarum templa iis exornanda, avehi curaverint, quas reductas in ſacrario templi arcis Viburgenſis locari præcepit, donec ipſe de eis aliter conſtitueret: interminatione mortis prohibens, ne quis Regno ſe ſubmittens ex hoſtibus, ulla adficeretur injuria, aut horum devictorum templis ac monaſteriis ulla vel minima vis fieret* (30).

(29) Oernhielm, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 175.

(30) Idem, ibid. pag. 176.

[*F*] *He unfortunately periſhed in a river.*] He and his collegues had parted with the Embaſſadors of Muſcovy, without having agreed on any thing more than a truce for fifteen days. He embarked on the river to go to Nerva; but when the veſſel was arrived within half a league of that city, they fired ſome cannon: this made a plank ſtart; and the water entring thro' the hole, the more timorous threw themſelves on the other ſide, and overſet the boat. La Gardie was one of thoſe who were drowned (31). Thus Mr. Oernhielm relates the accident. There is in this part of his Book a marginal note, wherein Father Maimbourg's account is cenſured. *As Pontus de la Cardie,* theſe are that Father's words (32), *in his return from his Embaſſy of Muſcovy, was entring the Port of Revel, the Capital of Swediſh Livonia, of which he was Vice-roy, the veſſel, in the ſtern whereof he ſat in an elbow chair, ſtriking with great violence againſt a rock, the prow was raiſed ſo high by the blow that two of his Gentlemen, who were ſtanding before him, were thrown down and tumbled over his chair, which cauſed the ſtern to ſink yet lower, ſo that in an inſtant they all three fell into the Sea, and were ſeen no more.* Florimond, who furniſhed him with this narrative, has added two falſhoods to it which Maimbourg has not copied: the firſt is, that la Gardie had an audience of the great Duke: the 2d, that having finiſhed his negotiation, he put to ſea with his ſhips. In the marginal note Father Maimbourg is charged with ignorance in Geography. He ſuppoſes there is a river on the frontiers of Muſcovy, which goes down to Revel. This is falſe. He is alſo blamed for having called Revel the Capital of Livonia; he ſhould have ſaid of Eſthonia. He is blamed for having ſaid that Pontus was Governor of Livonia; for, ſays Mr. Oernhielm, that Province did not then belong to Sweden; but was conquered ſince by Guſtavus Adolphus. This cenſure appears to me to be unreaſonable, ſince Mr. Oernhielm expreſly ſays that Pontus de la Gardie was made Governor of Livonia and Ingria in the year 1581 (33). I ſhould have contented my ſelf with criticizing the word Vice-roy, which Maimbourg took from Florimond de Remond.

(31) Oernhielm, pag. 213. *Confer* Thuan. lib. 83. pag. 57. & *Joliwet, apud* Oernhielm, pag. 214.

(32) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Lutheraniſme*, tom. 2. pag. 260, 261.

(33) *Etiam auctus novo ſupremi per Ingriam ac Livoniam Gubernatoris titulo ac munere loca priora repetiit.* Oernhielm, *in Vita P. de la Gardie*, pag. 178.

As the article GARDIE in the Supplement to Moreri was extracted from Father Maimbourg, you will eaſily find in theſe Remarks wherein it is defective.

[*G*] *His poſterity ſtill continues to be very flouriſhing in Sweden.*] He left two ſons and a daughter. JOHN DE LA GARDIE, the eldeſt ſon, had none but daughters, who were very advantageouſly married. JAMES DE LA GARDIE, the younger, was made a Count (34), Senator, and Great Conſtable of the Kingdom, Preſident of the Council of War, &c. His eldeſt ſon, MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE, married the ſiſter of Charles Guſtavus, King of Sweden, and was the father of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS DE LA GARDIE, Senator of the Kingdom, and Preſident of the ſupreme Council of Sweden. The brothers of Gabriel Magnus had likewiſe very great employments, and left children. See the Pedigree of this Family prefixed to the Life of our Pontus. The latter left two brothers in France, who married; but their male iſſue is now quite extinct (35).

(34) *Maimbourg*, and after him the *Supplement to Moreri*, erroneouſly give that quality to Pontus de la Gardie.

(35) Oernhielm, pag. 5.

GARISSOLES (ANTONY), Paſtor and Profeſſor of Divinity at Montauban, the place of his birth, was a very able man. He was born about the year 1587, and admitted to the miniſterial office at the age of three or four and twenty; and was appointed Miniſter of the Church of Puylaurens. He was made Profeſſor of Divinity at Montauban in the year 1627, after he had been nominated to that employment by ſeveral Synods of his Province, and particularly directed by a National Synod, held at Caſtres, to go and perform the functions of it, which he worthily diſcharged till 1650, the year of his death. He compoſed a great many Books, ſome of which have been publiſhed [*A*], and

[*A*] *He compoſed a great many Books, ſome of which have been publiſhed.*] He publiſhed a Volume of Sermons, intitled *La Voie du Salut*, i. e. "The Way of "Salvation." His other printed Books are in Latin: ſeveral Theſes in Divinity; a Treatiſe *De imputatione primi peccati Adæ*; another *De Chriſto Mediatore*; the Explanation of the Catechiſm. This laſt Work had been begun by Mr. Charles, the collegue of Mr. Gariſſoles. There is this to be obſerved as to the Book *De imputatione peccati Adæ*, that the Author compoſed

and the reſt were moſt of them loſt in the laſt perſecution. He took extreme delight in Latin Poetry, and had the pleaſure to ſee printed the Epic Poem in which he had undertaken to celebrate the great exploits of Guſtavus Adolphus [*B*]. I ſhall ſpeak of it below (*a*). He was Moderator of the national Synod of Charenton, in the year 1645 (*b*) (α).

(*a*) In the Remark [*B*].

(*b*) Taken from a manuſcript *Memoir*.

it by order of his Synod, after having had an amicable conference on that ſubject with Mr. Amyrault, before the National Synod of Charenton. Mr. Amyrault was only proxy for Mr. de la Place, his collegue (1); he did not defend his own opinions, but thoſe of Mr. de la Place, who had deſired him to explain them to the Aſſembly, and to ſupport them. Mr. Gariſſoles, having dedicated his Book to the four Evangelical Cantons, cauſed it to be preſented to them by his eldeſt ſon, who was every where received with great honour. A year after they made the Author a fine preſent; they ſent him four large cups of ſilver gilt, of exquiſite workmanſhip, accompanied with a Letter full of encomiums, and ſigned by the four Syndics of the four Cantons (2).

(1) See, above, the Article AMYRAULT, between the Citations (*g*) and (*b*).

(2) Taken from the manuſcript *Memoir*.

[*B*] *He ſaw the Epic Poem in print which he had undertaken for . . . . Guſtavus.*] It was intitled the *Adolphis*. The Author had dedicated it to Queen Chriſtina, and the five Grandees of the Kingdom; but he was obliged to alter the Dedication, becauſe his eldeſt ſon wrote him word from Stockholm, that it would be impoſſible to preſent that work, unleſs it were dedicated to the Queen alone. Therefore he wrote a new Epiſtle Dedicatory, addreſſed only to that Princeſs, and the Work was preſented. *The Queen received it in the moſt obliging and gracious manner*, and expreſſed a great deal of civility to the Author's ſon. She told him that certain people had laboured, more than once, to give her an ill opinion both of the Poem and of the Poet; *but that having read it, ſhe was charmed with it, and was filled with veneration and admiration for its Author. Theſe were her words. Grotius was ſuſpected of having endeavoured to do this ill office; tho' when he was deſired to give his opinion of the Work, even before it was printed, he had ſpoken very advantageouſly of it, and declared it to be almoſt an accompliſhed piece. However it be, the Book was highly commended by the Queen, the Author was honoured with a fine gold medal, and his eldeſt ſon was amply paid the expences of his journey* (3). Note, Mr. Gariſſoles wrote a Poem on the Coronation of this Queen.

(3) Taken from the ſame *Memoir*.

§ (α) At that Synod, they ſay, on occaſion of ſome underhand dealing of the famous la Milletiere, Gariſſoles, the Moderator, gave a check to that falſe Brother in theſe terrible words of our Saviour: *That thou doeſt, do quickly.* Do you take me then for a Judas? ſaid Milletiere to him. Not abſolutely ſo as yet, replied Gariſſoles; for Judas had the purſe, but you ſeek it. REM. CRIT.]

GARNACHE (FRANCES DE ROHAN, LADY DE LA) was daughter of Renatus de Rohan, the firſt of the name, by Iſabella d'Albret, daughter of John d'Albret King of Navarre. She was conſequently couſin-german to Joan d'Albret (*a*), mother of Henry the Great. Her relation to ſo powerful and illuſtrious a family, joined to the very ancient nobility of the Houſe of Rohan, could not ſecure her from the moſt grievous injuſtice which can be done to a perſon of her ſex. The Duke of Nemours had promiſed her marriage, and by that means had obtained of her all the favours he could expect: in one word, and to be plain, he had gotten her with child. When he was ſummoned to perform his promiſe, he made a jeſt of it with the greater confidence, becauſe he ſaw that Antony King of Navarre, though firſt Prince of the blood, had neither reſolution nor authority enough to force him to repair the Lady's honour. It was a great deal worſe after the King of Navarre, who had ſome ſort of intereſt during the Triumvirate, was killed. The Duke of Nemours, who had left France at the beginning of the troubles, becauſe it had been diſcovered that he deſigned to ſteal away the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX (*b*), was ſoon recalled, and did conſiderable ſervice againſt thoſe of the reformed Religion. This and the death of the King of Navarre encouraged him to preſs the Court of Rome to declare his engagement void. He obtained whatever he deſired (*c*): the juſt right of Mademoiſelle de Rohan was utterly oppreſſed, becauſe ſhe had declared her ſelf for the Huguenot party [*A*]; ſo that ſhe was forced to ſit down with the diſgrace of being a mother without having been married, and the diſpleaſure of ſeeing her faithleſs gallant married to the Duke of Guiſe's widow, and as highly reſpected by every body, and careſſed by the Ladies, as if he had been a man of the greateſt honour in the world. All the comfort ſhe had left was the title of Prince of Genevois, which ſhe gave her ſon [*B*]: and as to her ſelf ſhe was called the Lady de

(*a*) Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, the ſon of John, and brother of Iſabella d'Albret, was father of this Joan d'Albret.

(*b*) Le Laboureur, *Addit. à Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 808, tom. 2. pag. 34.

(*c*) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, tom. 2. pag. 34, *ex* Thuan. lib. 39.

[*A*] *She had declared herſelf for the Huguenot party.*] If this is not believed on the credit of d'Aubigné, his teſtimony muſt be corroborated by that of Thuanus. *The affair of the clandeſtine marriage between the Duke of Nemours and Frances de Rohan was again brought on the carpet; but only in order to decree againſt the Complainant, and to enable the other to marry the Dowager of Guiſe* (1). Let us now ſee Thuanus's Latin. *Eodem tempore*, that is in 1566, *lis olim agitata inter Franciſcam Roanam & Jacobum Sabaudum Nemoroſium, & ſuperſtite Navarro qui Roanæ cognatæ patrocinabatur intermiſſa demum renovata, & prævalente hinc Nemoroſii gratia, inde* ODIO RELIGIONIS PROTESTANTIUM *cui Roana addicta erat, prægravante, interventu Pontificis deciſa eſt, ſchedula Nemoroſii de matrimonio præſentibus verbis contracto irrita pronunciata* (2). i. e. "At "the ſame time the cauſe formerly commenced by "Frances de Rohan againſt James Duke of Nemours, "the proceedings wherein had been ſuſpended while "the King of Navarre, who favoured his kinſwoman "de Rohan, was living, was at length revived, and "through the prevailing intereſt of the Duke on the "one hand, and HATRED TO THE PROTESTANT "RELIGION, to which the Lady was addicted, on "the other, the ſame was decided by the Pope's in-"tervention, and the paper which the Duke had ſign-"ed, purporting a contract of marriage by words *de* "*præſenti*, was declared void."

(1) D'Aubigné, tom. 1. liv. 4. chap. 6. *ad ann.* 1566.

(2) Thuanus, lib. 39. pag. m. 795.

[*B*] *All the comfort ſhe had left was the title of Prince of Genevois, which ſhe gave her ſon.*] If I had followed Virgil's notions, I ſhould have ſaid that this Lady's ſorrow for the infidelity of her gallant was mitigated by the ſon he left her; but our Ladies have long been of a different humour from the Dido of that great Roman Poet. One of her moſt ſenſible afflictions was that her perfidious lover had forſaken her without leaving her any of his iſſue; and if ſhe had had a little bantling, or at leaſt had found herſelf with child by him,

(d) It is the name of a Town in Poitou.

de la Garnache (d), or the Dutcheſs of Loudunois (e). She dextrouſly maintained her ſelf in poſſeſſion of her eſtate during the civil wars [C]. In all likelihood it is of her adventure that Brantome ſpeaks [D]. Monſieur Varillas has related it at large, and has committed a great many miſtakes in his narration [E], ſome

(e) This Dutchy was erected in the year 1579.

him, her grief would have been vaſtly leſſened.

Saltem ſi qua mihi de te ſuſcepta fuiſſet
Ante fugam ſoboles, ſi quis mihi parvulus aula
Luderet Æneas, qui te tantum ore referret,
Non equidem omnino capta ac deſerta viderer (3).

(3) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 4. ver. 327.

" —— —— Ah could I, e're
" This flight, at leaſt by thee but boaſt an heir,
" Within my Court a young Æneas ſee,
" One that in feature but reſembled thee,
" I ſhould not all betray'd, not all forſaken be.
Mr. Sherburn.

A ſentiment of ſuch extreme tenderneſs would not be approved now even in a Romance, it is ſo contrary to cuſtom. The moſt ſenſible affliction of thoſe Ladies to whom a gallant proves faithleſs, is not for having granted him more than they ought, but for not having been able to prevent the conſequences. A great belly, or a child, are ſuch convictions of diſhonour as no chicanery can elude: they are ſpeaking proofs, *& luce meridiana clariores*; they are witneſſes not to be excepted againſt, *& omni exceptione majores*. This, therefore, is the principal ſource of the misfortune and anguiſh. *Queſto e quel che piu inaſpri i miei martiri. And I am really of opinion*, it is Brantome who is ſpeaking (4) of the Ladies he had ſeen at Court, *that the beſt time they have ever had, (aſk them if it be not true,) was when they were maids: for they had their free will to be Votaries as well of Venus as of Diana; but they ſhould have had the prudence and cunning to know how to keep their bellies from ſwelling*. It muſt be confeſſed that in ſome reſpects the fate of Madam de la Garnache pretty much reſembled that of Dido; for her gallant pretended, as well as Æneas, that he never thought of marriage (5).

(4) *Diſcours de Cather. de Medicis*, pag. 100.

(5) *Nec conjugis unquam Prætendi tædas, aut hæc in fœdera veni.* i. e. " I ne're pre- " tended to the " nuptial band; " No ſuch alli- " ance drew me " to your land." Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 4. ver. 338.

[C] *She dextrouſly maintained herſelf . . . . during the civil wars.*] D'Aubigné ſhall be the only Author I will quote on this occaſion. We muſt here add, ſays he (6), " that the Lady de la Ganache, ſiſter to the Duke " of Rohan, held the town of Ganache, and the " caſtle of Beauvois on the ſea, in neutrality; ſecur- " ing herſelf by thoſe ſubmiſſions and artifices which " cannot be blamed in one of her ſex and condition. " Her ſon (called the Prince of Genevois, on pretence " of his mother's marriage with the Duke of Nemours) " having ſeized on Ganache by intelligence with the " domeſtics who had a dependance on him, hoped to " make it a place of arms for his party, and his own " occaſions. He alſo attempted to take Beauvois " by intelligence; but being betrayed on his ſide, he " found himſelf his mother's priſoner. The iſſue of " all this was that the King of Navarre, interceding " for his liberty, obtained it, and by the ſame means " got poſſeſſion of the place, when the Lady of it, " who was alſo called the Dutcheſs of Loudunois, ſaw " the affairs of the country tolerably favourable for the " Religion ſhe profeſſed; for from that time they could " reckon eight places there which held for the Prote- " ſtants." He ſpeaks at large of the ſiege of la Garnache (7): the Proteſtant Garriſon was conſtrained at laſt to ſurrender to the Duke of Nevers. We may boldly reckon among the *ſubmiſſions and artifices* of this Lady, the Letters ſhe wrote to her brother, who was beſieged in Luſignan (8). She did all ſhe could to perſuade him to ſurrender on the advantageous conditions offered him by the Duke of Montpenſier: but ſhe could not prevail.

(6) D'Aubigné, tom. 3. liv. 1. chap. 13. *ad ann.* 1587, pag. 65.

(7) Ibid. liv. 2. chap. 12, & 16.

(8) Thuan. lib. 59. *ad ann.* 1574, pag. 99.

[D] *In all likelihood it is of her Adventure that Brantome ſpeaks.*] He ſays that he *knew a young Lady of very great quality, who happened to be with child by a very brave and gallant Prince . . . King Henry was the firſt who knew it, and was extremely concerned at it; for ſhe was ſomething related to him . . . . . One evening, at a Ball, he would needs lead her the dance of the torch, and afterwards, he made her dance with another the Galliard and other dances, wherein ſhe ſhewed her nimbleneſs and addreſs better than ever, with her ſhape, which was very fine, and which ſhe adjuſted ſo well that day that there was no appearance of a big belly; inſomuch that the King . . . . came and ſaid to a very great perſon, one of his moſt intimate familiars, They are very malicious and wicked people to go and invent a ſtory that this poor girl is with child . . . . . They lie, and are greatly to blame. Thus the good Prince excuſed that fair and courteous Lady, and ſaid as much to the Queen at night, when in bed with her: but the Queen, not truſting to that, cauſed her to be ſearched the next morning in her preſence, and found her ſix months gone with child; the young Lady owning and confeſſing the whole, and that what had paſſed was on a promiſe of marriage. However, the King, who was all good nature, cauſed the myſtery to be kept as ſecret as poſſible, without expoſing the Lady; tho' the Queen was very angry. They ſent her very privately to her neareſt relations, where ſhe was brought to bed of a fine boy; who was nevertheleſs ſo unhappy as never to be owned by his ſuppoſed father: there was a law-ſuit long depending about this affair, but the mother could never make any thing of it* (9). It is no hard matter to diſcover that the Author here means the Lady de la Garnache, who was maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis at the time when this accident happened (10). She was not the only one who got a great belly in that Queen's ſervice.

(9) Brantôme, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. m. 370.

(10) Brantôme, in the *Diſcourſe of Catherine de Medicis*, puts Madamoiſelle de Rohan at the head of the maids of honour whom he had ſeen attending on the Queens of France.

[E] *Mr. Varillas . . . . has committed a great many miſtakes.*] Theſe are his words (11): *James the firſt Duke of Nemours, ſurnamed, by way of excellence, the fair and gallant Knight, had been in love with Frances de Rohan, who appeared at Court under the name of Madamoiſelle de Leon . . . . He had given* her *a promiſe of marriage in due form; and the Lady added that he had married her by words* de præſenti, *and that the marriage had been conſummated. No children came of it; and matters ſtill continued in uncertainty when Poltrot killed the Duke of Guiſe . . . . . The paſſion* of the Duke of Nemours for the Dutcheſs of Guiſe *rekindled ſo ſoon* as ſhe *became a widow*, and he married her before Madamoiſelle de Leon *had taken all her meaſures which were neceſſary to form an oppoſition to it. Her relations, who had aſſiſted her but faintly before the infidelity of the Duke of Nemours, grew warm when they ſaw him married; and the King of Navarre, her ſecond couſin, thoſe of the Houſe of Rohan, and all the other Lords of the Kingdom who were related to them, gave the Duke of Nemours to underſtand that if he did not do Mademoiſelle de Leon juſtice, he muſt fight a duel with them all, one after another. This was a terrible extremity: and tho' the Duke of Nemours was one of the moſt valiant men in the world, it was not poſſible for him to give ſatisfaction to ſo many people, without falling at laſt in the quarrel. For which reaſon he took thoſe precautions which exempted him from fighting for ſome years. . . The Dutcheſs of Nemours was delivered of two ſons, ... and Mademoiſelle de Leon undertook to prove them illegitimate. The cauſe was prepared for trial with great ſolemnity. The moſt famous Profeſſors of Civil Law in Europe were conſulted, as well as the moſt celebrated Advocates of the Parliaments of France; and the greater part of both of them anſwered, that the queſtion appeared difficult, and that the beſt way would be to compromiſe the matter. The quarrel on account of Religion which followed that about the Marriage ſerved only to increaſe it; for on one ſide the Houſe of Rohan turned Calviniſts. . . . Mademoiſelle de Leon was a younger ſiſter of Britany, and conſequently had but a ſmall fortune. She loved expence; and it was by ſupplying her with the means of ſupporting it, that the Duke of Nemours had inſinuated himſelf into her favour. She was attacked on this weak ſide; and the Queen Mother offered her, that provided ſhe would deſiſt from her pretenſions, the town of Loudun and its Juriſdiction ſhould be diſmembred from the Royal Demeſne; and if the whole was not worth fifty thouſand livres a year, ſome adjacent eſtates ſhould be bought and added to it, till that ſum was compleated; that the whole ſhould be erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom, and that the Patent ſhould declare, in expreſs terms, that this Dutchy and Peerdom ſhould deſcend from Mademoiſelle de Leon to her children, male and female, for ever, ſuppoſing ſhe had any; and in caſe ſhe had none, to all the males and females of the Houſe of Rohan likewiſe for ever. Mademoiſelle*

(11) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henri III*, liv. 5. pag. 18, &c. of the Dutch Edition.

ſome of which are ſo groſs that one cannot help being ſurprized at them.

moiſelle de Leon at firſt rejected the propoſal of the Queen Mother. . . . . She was ſo perſecuted by her relations that ſhe durſt no longer openly oppoſe an accommodation; but new obſtacles were daily raiſed, when they thought they had got over the former. The Parliament of Paris, who were to regiſter the Patent for erecting Loudun into a Dutchy and Peerdom, made a difficulty of it, alledging that in order regularly to ſettle a Dutchy and Peerdom, it was neceſſary to find out an eſtate of which the intended Duke and Peer might be incommutable Lord, that is, might be ſo abſolutely poſſeſſed thereof, that none ſhould have a right to deprive him of it; which could not be with regard to the Lordſhip of Loudun, ſince it was part of the Royal Demeſne; and whatever precautions might be taken to ſeparate it from the Demeſne, the King would ſtill be at liberty to reunite it; and tho' his Majeſty ſhould neglect it, yet as he was only uſufructuary of his Kingdom, his ſucceſſors would always have a right to do it. This argument was not eaſy to be refuted by an oppoſite one of equal force: but the Queen Mother, rather than fail, would have made uſe of all her intereſt, and all the authority of the King her ſon, if the change which happened in the perſon of the Duke of Nemours had not prevented it. That Prince was . . . ſeized with the palſy . . . . He languiſhed two whole years in bed, and then died (12). *As his indiſpoſition raiſed every body's compaſſion, Mademoiſelle de Leon ſuſpended the proſecution ſhe was carrying on againſt him at Law; and the Judges would hear no more of it after the death of him who had been the cauſe of it. The King was overjoyed he was no longer under any obligation to alienate his Demeſne, and to create a new Dutchy and Peerdom on ſo unworthy an occaſion . . . . . And as he had conſented to the alienation of Loudun merely out of neceſſity, and in complaiſance to the Queen Mother, he was glad the death of the Duke of Nemours had diſpenſed with the performance of his promiſe.*

(12) He died at Anneſſi, in the County of Foucigny, the 19th of June 1583. Hilarion de Coſte, *Elog. des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 79.

In the firſt place, I obſerve that the Lady in queſtion is called by Brantome *Mademoiſelle de Rohan* (13), and not *Mademoiſelle de Leon*. II, I have ſhewn (14) by the teſtimony of Thuanus, that the Lady's Cauſe was definitively decided againſt her, in the year 1566. The promiſe of marriage which ſhe produced was declared void. Monſieur Varillas knew it very well when he wrote his Hiſtory of Charles IX. See the words which I quote in the margin (15): they formally declare that the marriage of the Duke of Nemours with the Dutcheſs of Guiſe was preceded by the ſentence which declared the pretenſions of Mademoiſelle de Rohan null (16). How comes he, therefore, to ſay here that before that Lady had taken *all her meaſures which were neceſſary to form an oppoſition to it*, the Duke of Nemours had married the Duke of Guiſe's widow? III. What likelihood is there that the Lady ſhould renew her proſecution, after the birth of the two ſons which the Duke of Nemours had by that widow? Their marriage was poſterior to the definitive ſentence which deſtroyed Mademoiſelle de Rohan's pretenſions, and conſequently there was no more to be ſaid againſt the iſſue of that marriage. IV. And therefore thoſe conſultations of the Profeſſors and Advocates, and thoſe *ſolemn preparations* for a trial with regard to the quality of the Duke of Nemours's two ſons, are chimæra's. V. The quarrel on account of Religion was not poſterior to the birth of thoſe two children: for the Duke did not marry the Dowager of Guiſe till after his ſuit with Mademoiſelle de Rohan was determined in the year 1566, and there had already been a very bloody war about Religion. VI. The Houſe of Rohan did not turn Calviniſts after the birth of the Duke of Nemours's two children; for Mr. Varillas obſerves (17) that in the year 1562 the Viſcount de Rohan embraced Calviniſm, in hopes of marrying the heireſs of Soubize. VII. The compaſſion which, we are told, obliged Mademoiſelle de Rohan to ſuſpend her proceedings againſt the Duke of Nemours, when ill of the palſy, is likewiſe a chimæra. VIII. According to Mr. Varillas, King Henry III did not erect Loudun into a Dutchy; but the death of the Duke of Nemours excuſed him from performing his promiſe. Yet it is certain that erection was made in favour of Mademoiſelle de Rohan. IX. The moſt enormous of this Author's faults is his ſaying that the Duke of Nemours had no children by that Lady. See above (18) the paſſage of the Sieur d'Aubigné (19).

(15) As ſoon as *the definitive ſentence was ſignified* to Mademoiſelle de Rohan, *the Duke* of Nemours *married the Dowager of Guiſe.* Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, tom. 2. pag. 34, *ad ann.* 1566.

(16) *See* Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 76.

(17) *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, liv. 3. at the beginning.

(18) In the Remark [C].

(19) *See alſo* Le Laboureur, *Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 808.

CENSURE of this paſſage of Varillas.

(13) *Diſcours de Catherine de Medicis*, pag. m. 100.

(14) In the Remark [A].

GARONNE, in Latin *Garumna*, one of the four great Rivers of France. Papyrius Maſſo (a) will furniſh you with ſeveral paſſages of Poets concerning this River. Add thereto the pretty and diverting fiction of Meſſieurs de la Chapelle and Bachaumont (b) with regard to its flux and reflux. I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving ſome faults of Moreri [A].

(a) In *Deſcriptione Franciæ per Flumina.*

(b) In the *Relation of their Journey.*

[A] *I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving ſome faults of Moreri.*] I. He ſays the Garonne traverſes the plain of Aran in the country of Comminges. This ſhews he did not underſtand the Latin which he copied; for theſe are the words of Mr. Baudrand, the Author whom Moreri quotes: *Oritur* (Garumna) *in montibus Auræ in Arania valle Hiſpanicæ ditionis in confinio Aragoniæ.* Mr. Baudrand does not ſpeak of the plain of Aran, but of the valley of Aran, and he ſays it belongs to Spain on the frontiers of Aragon, and not that it makes a part of the country of Comminges. II. He ſhould not have ſaid that the Garonne runs to Rieux, but near Rieux. The Sieur Coulon has avoided this fault, by ſaying it runs *by the Biſhopric of Rieux in the County of Foix* (1). Theſe laſt words are worth nothing; for the City of Rieux does not belong to the County of Foix, and that part of the Dioceſe of Rieux by which the Garonne *runs*, is not in the County of Foix. III. It is not true that the Garonne receives the little Lers at Toulouſe; thoſe rivers meet a great way below that city. IV. He ſhould not have forgotten that a league above Toulouſe the Garonne receives a river much more conſiderable than the little Lers; I mean the river Ariege. *Inde patentes & fertiles campos rigans duobus milliaribus à Tholoſa in vinculo* (2) *S. Crucis* Aurigeram (3) *fluvium excipiens, arenulis aureis intermicantem, jam ſuis aquis & externis valentior* Tholoſam *Teſtoſagum Metropolim alluit.* i. e. "Thence watering "open and fertile plains, two miles from Toulouſe, at "the little village of S. Croix, it receives the river "*Ariege*, which here and there glitters with golden "ſands, and being now grown more conſiderable by "its own waters and the acceſſion of others, waſhes "Toulouſe, the capital of the Tectoſages." Theſe are the words of Papyrius Maſſo (4). V. To ſay, as Moreri does, that the Garonne runs near Bourdeaux, ſeems as if he deſigned his Readers ſhould fancy that it does not touch the walls of that city which would be a very falſe imagination. VI. The Garonne and the Dordogne, ſays he, *forment un ſeul Canal de la Garonne qui paſſe à Blaye*, i. e. "form one ſingle channel "of the Garonne which goes to Blaye." This is ſo barbarous a way of ſpeaking that the moſt ignorant Walloon would have expreſſed himſelf better. VII. He ſhould not have ſaid that there is on the right ſide of the Garonne, and on the ſhore of Xaintonge, a town called *Marmande*; it ſhould have been *Mortagne*. VIII. Inſtead of *Pavillac* and *Soulac*, he ſhould have ſaid *Paulliac* and *Souillac*. The ſecond and fifth faults are in the Geographical Dictionary of Mr. Baudrand.

(1) *Traité des Rivieres de France*, Part 1. pag. 475.

(2) It ſhould be *viculo.*

(3) The Author does not well tranſlate this Word by that of *la Riege.*

(4) In *Deſcriptione Franciæ per Flumina*, pag. 433. Edit. Paris, 1685.

☞GARTH (Sir SAMUEL), an excellent Engliſh Poet and Phyſician, was deſcended of a good family in Yorkſhire. After he had paſſed through his ſchool education, he was removed to Peter-Houſe in Cambridge, where he was created Doctor of Phyſic July the 7th 1691. His firſt examination before the College of Phyſicians was on the 12th of March 169$\frac{1}{2}$; and he was admitted Fellow June the 26th 1693 (a). On the 17th

(a) From the Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians.

17th of September 1697 he made a Latin Oration before the College [*A*], *to the great ſatisfaction of the Auditors, and his own honour*, as it is expreſſed in the Regiſter of that College. In 1696 he zealouſly promoted and encouraged the erecting the Diſpenſary, being an apartment in the College, for the relief of the ſick poor, by giving them advice *gratis*, and diſpenſing medicines to them at low rates (*b*). This work of charity having expoſed him and many other Phyſicians to the envy and reſentment of ſeveral perſons of the ſame faculty as well as Apothecaries, he ridiculed them with a peculiar ſpirit and vivacity in a Poem called the *Diſpenſary* [*B*] in ſix Canto's; which, though it firſt ſtole into the world incorrect in the year 1699, yet bore in a few months three impreſſions, and was afterwards printed ſeveral times with a Dedication to Anthony Henley Eſq; and commendatory verſes by Mr. Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Colonel Chriſtopher Codrington, Thomas Cheek Eſq; and Colonel Henry Blount. This Poem raiſed our Author a prodigious reputation; which together with his great learning and ſkill in his profeſſion, his politeneſs, agreeable converſation, and good humour, procured him a vaſt practice, and gained him the friendſhip and eſteem of moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of both ſexes. He was one of the moſt eminent Members of a famous Society, called the *Kit-Cat-Club*, which conſiſted of above thirty Noblemen and Gentlemen, diſtinguiſhed by their excellent parts, and affection to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. October the 3d 1702 he was elected one of the Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians. He was in particular favour and eſteem with the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe diſgrace and voluntary exile abroad he lamented in a fine copy of verſes. In 1711 he wrote a dedication for an intended edition of *Lucretius* to his

(*b*) See *A Short Account of the Proceedings of the College of Phyſicians, London, in relation to the ſick poor.* London 1697.

[*A*] *On the 17th of September 1697 he made a Latin Oration before the College.*] It is intitled, *Oratio Laudatoria, in Ædibus Collegii Regalis Med. Lond. 17mo die Septembris, habita à* Sam. Garth. *Col. Reg. Med. Lond. Soc.* London 1697 in 4to pagg. 16. In it we have a long and beautiful Compliment to King William III. of which we ſhall give the Reader an Extract, ſince the Oration itſelf is very difficult to be met with. *Ad te nunc Coronidis loco convertimur,* Gulielme *Auguſte, Regum invictiſſime, non tam Collegii hujuſce Jupiter Stator & Cuſtos, quam Orbis Chriſtiani liberator, & publicæ quietis Reſtitutor. Quod regna Europæa meliora expectant, tuum eſt; quod Agricolæ tempeſtates anni lætas ſperant, tuum eſt; quod Caſtitatem matres, quod pudorem filiæ jam tuentur, tuum eſt. Te venerantur Angli, te obſervant Hiſpani, te mirantur Germani, te colunt Batavi, & te verentur Galli. Si geſta Majorum tuorum illuſtria, ſi genus antiquum ſpectemus, ecquid non veteres loquuntur Faſti & Annales? Tot principes & Heroas è ſtirpe Naſſoviâ oriundus numeremus, quot vix homines è ſuâ poſſunt alii. Ignorat nemo, niſi qui neſcire mallet, vim Gallicam viginti, & eo amplius retro annis, toti Europæ tremendam incubuiſſe. Belli enim deſuetudo ſocordiam, ſocordia ſervitutem ſæpius parit, adeò ut de libertate publicâ deſperandum eſſet, ni juvenis Auriacus, majorum more, venienti morbo occurrere feſtinâſſet. Quæ & quanta planè ſtupenda in Flandriâ geſſiſti, teſtatur inter alia prælium Montibus dimicatum, ubi hoſtilem Exercitum penitus fudiſti, ubi militarem Divi Julii ſcientiam, Alexandri annos nondum prætergreſſus, impleviſti, tu penè impubis & jam triumphator. Te de novo conſervatorem petiit concuſſa ſalus publica, & in ſinum tuum confugit ſuſpirans Anglia. Non te propria Ambitio Imperatorem fecit, ſed noſtræ Anguſtiæ. Britanniam languentem & extrema jam perpeſſam, vel ipſâ præſentiâ tuâ reſtituiſti; Hiberniam ferè exanimem adventu tuo refocillaſti . . . .* " Ecquid eſte Auguſte, quod pro utilitate publica non " molireris? Cum Coclite natares, cum Fabio cunctareris, & cum Mario contra Hoſtium agmina, ſolus " licet, decertares. Non proſperis ſupra quam Majeſtati convenit, elatus es, neque rebus ſiniſtris infractus: ſed ſi a tuis in prælio derelictus fores, uno animo, ſed forti, ſed magnifico, univerſos ſuſtinere " quum non poſſes, ſingulos vinceres. Cœli inclementiam, ventorum impetum, Oceani furorem, hyemem & æſtatem juxta perpeti dignaris. Prælium, " ut primus inis, ſic ab eodem ultimus deſiſtis. Dii " interim immortales te melius, quam ipſe ſoles, curent, ne nimium audendo crudelis ſis in eos quos " ſervâſti; præſertim cum ex tua unius fortitudine & " prudentia tot populorum ſalus, tot Principum ſecuritas pendere videatur. Si jubes eſſe fælices, ſumus: " non tuos, ut alii reges, deprimis, ſed demulces, ſed " attollis, neque vis tibi plura licere, quam nobis omnibus, tu ſolus tuimet Victor! . . . . . Ne miretur " aliquis me finem collaudandi ignorare, quum tu finem mira præſtandi neſcias; ſed in hoc minus ſtupenda ſunt, quia tua, Monetam noſtram diminutam " & adulterinam inveniſti; probam (ſed ferò ſit utinam) relinques. Britanni etiam ſub adventum tuum " molles & enerves, nil hodie, Cæſare duce, niſi Victoriam ſpirant, nil niſi turpem famam metuunt. " Dies me ante deficeret, quam geſta tua percurrerem, " & qui tota recenſere velit, quos tu emereris annos, " habeat neceſſe eſt." *Talia de Hercule, de Scipione, de Marcello finguntur; ſed de te vel majora certa ſunt. Fama profecto tua uſque adeo ſe diffudit, ubique gentium ſic inclaruit, ut bellicoſus ille Ruſſiæ Imperator, geſtorum æmulus, & nominis tui cultor, te viſendi gratiâ, ab ultimo Septentrione venerit, tuo malens frui Hoſpitio, tuas virtutes Heroicas mirari, quam dignitatem Imperatoriam exercere, &, qui eum domi manent triumphos, de Turcis Tartariſque debellatis agere: & mox cum eum tu, Prometheus alter, igne cæleſti animaveris, tuo afflatus genio, tuo numine plenus, ad implenda Græcorum vota & vaticinia redibit, Imperium Orientale auſpicaturus. Regna interim hæc uſque ad invidiam ſub auſpiciis tuis effloreſcunt, qui tam optimi Regis, quam maximi Ducis omnes Numeros impleviſti. Reliqua inſuper Europa, quin & ipſa Gallia, tam longis belli infortuniis vexata, ad Regiam tuam Legatos mittunt, & finem miſeriarum expetunt. Precibus eorum annuens, ut Jupiter olim, nutu tuo Orbem pacâſti. Nunc ſilent Litui, nunc rubiginem trahunt arma, nunc redeunt ſæcula, ut olim, aurea, conquieſcunt cives, nec hoſtium incurſionibus divexantur Coloni. Deſinamus tandem omnes querelarum, & trophæa tua unanimes concinnamus, dum te demum reducem, ſellæ curuli inſidentem, ſpoliis decoratum, tunicâ palmatâ purpuràque indutum, lauro coronatum, captivorum agmine pone veniente, expectant regna tua; Galliâ denique in terminos proprios redactâ, Hiſpaniâ liberatâ, Belgiâ in tuto poſitâ, & Aquilæ Germanicæ alis ad Hungariæ fines expanſis, tibi ludos publicos inſtituemus, teque Orbis Europæi vindicem, te propugnatorem, te ſtatorem grati nuncupabimus. Nec jactent Galli Regem ſuum dediſſe Pacem, quam tot urbium, tot provinciarum redditione impetravit. Emit ergo ſibi Pacem* Ludovicus *decimus quartus, dedit* Gulielmus *verè Magnus, idemque Chriſtianiſſimus, Orbi Chriſtiano.*

[*B*] *A Poem called* The Diſpenſary.] The *ſixth* Edition of it, *with ſeveral Deſcriptions and Epiſodes never before printed,* was publiſhed at London 1706 in 8vo. In the Preface he obſerves, that it had been objected to him, that he had imitated the *Lutrin* of Monſ. Boileau. " I muſt own, *ſays he,* I am proud of the " imputation; unleſs their quarrel be, that I have " not done it enough. But he that will give himſelf " the trouble of examining, will find I have copied him in nothing but in two or three lines " in the complaint of *Moleſſe*, *Canto II.* and " in one of his firſt *Canto*; the ſenſe of which " line is entirely his, and I could wiſh it were not " the only good one in mine." Major Richardſon Pack obſerves (1), that this Poem *hath loſt and gained in every Edition. Almoſt every thing that Sir* Samuel *left out was a robbery from the public; every thing he added hath been an embelliſhment to his Poem.*

(1) *Miſcellanies* pag. 102, 2d edit. in 8vo.

his late Majeſty, then Elector of Brunſwick [C], upon whoſe acceſſion to the Throne he had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him by his Majeſty with the Duke of Marlborough's ſword. He was likewiſe made Phyſician in ordinary to his Majeſty, and Phyſician General to the Army. As his own merit procured him a great intereſt with thoſe in power, ſo his humanity and good nature inclined him to make uſe of that intereſt, rather for the ſupport and encouragement of other men of letters, than for the advancement of his own fortune. He wrote ſome other pieces beſides thoſe abovementioned [D]. He died January the 18th $171\frac{8}{9}$, and was interred on the 22d of the ſame month in the Church of Harrow on the Hill in a vault there built by him for the interment of his family. Mr. Pope in one of his Letters (c) ſtiles him, *the beſt natured of men*; and tells us, that "his death was very heroical, and yet unaffected enough to "have made a Saint, or a Philoſopher famous. But ill tongues and worſe hearts have "branded even his laſt moments, as wrongfully as they did his life, with irreligion. "You

(c) See *Letters of Mr.* Pope *and ſeveral eminent Perſons from the year* 1705 *to* 1735. pag. 261-263. edit. London 1735.

[C] *In* 1711 *he wrote a Latin Dedication for an intended Edition of* Lucretius *to his late Majeſty, then Elector of Brunſwick.*] This piece being rarely to be met with, ſince the Edition of *Lucretius*, to which it was deſigned to be prefixed, was never publiſhed; we ſhall preſent it to the Reader. It is as follows:

"Sereniſſimo Principi GEORGIO LUDOVICO, Brunſ. "& Lun. Duci, &c.

"Princeps Sereniſſime,

"Scriptorem perlectu non indignum, ſummâ, ut "par eſt, obſervantiâ tuos ob oculos pono. Erudi- "atnè utilius, an delectet elegantius, jure dubitemus. "Quam plurimi forſan putent, Dignitatis tuæ me pa- "rum Rationem habere, qui, quicquid forte delira- "verim, auguſto tuo Nomini conſecrare voluerim: "ſed & clementiam tuam & tenuitatem meam juxta "novi. Eâ es humanitate, ut dum *Heroem* te probas "maximum, *Patronum* te præbes optimum. Incer- "tum ſi in oppugnantem ſis vehementior, an ſuppli- "canti facilior. Si *Lucretius* his temporibus vixiſſet, "& de rebus quas fortiter ſuſceperis & feliciter perfe- "ceris, certior factus eſſet, Providentiam divinam ge- "ſtis tuis annuentem, ipſe ultro agnoſceret, & geren- "dis non defuturam facile prædicaret. Neque adver- "ſus mortis timorem validius quicquam ſtatueret, "quam Animi tui magnitudinem; neque dulcius ſo- "latium, quam Vitæ Integritatem. Si magna, quæ "molitus fuiſti admodum adhuc Adoleſcens, & ad ar- "dua quæque ſubeunda natus, enumeranda foret; ex- "pugnatam *Treverim*, *Viennam* liberatam tranſire ne- "fas eſſet; quorum altera Coronam obſidionalem tibi "donavit, Muralem altera. Neque te in Hungaria "præliantem tacerem, ubi in id Bellum incidiſti, cu- "jus altera pars ſudoris nimium habuit, altera Felici- "tatis parum. Atqui res Imperatorias tu, Romani "Imperii Vindex, privato commodo habuiſti potio- "res. De Rebus in *Holſatiâ* geſtis & compluribus "aliis non ſilerem; neque quæ in *Flandriâ*, nupero "exardente Bello, ſunt notiora, prætermitterem. Nun- "quis etiam ignorat, quanta ad *Rhenum*, Legionibus "belli inexpertis, recens geſſeris? Famâ propriâ Eu- "ropæ ſaluti poſthabitâ, Victoris perſonam poſuiſti, "ut Patriæ Conſervatoris indueres; & pulchrè ſtatuiſti "te, cedendo gloriæ aliorum, auctarum tuam. Ex- "ercitum inſtructiſſimum dimiſiſti alio ducendum, & "tumultuario per ſingulas Provincias cenſu conſcripto "præeſſe inſtituiſti; eo certe conſilio, ut nihil velles "quod poſſes; eo exitu, ut ubique potueris quantum "volueris: & prudenter conſulta tibi tam feliciter "ceſſere, ut de Gallis tandem triumphâris. Sed vereor "ne celſitudini tuæ ſim moleſtior, qui magna moliri, "quam maxima de te recenſeri malis; in appetenda "Gloria ardentior; in ferenda moderatior; & licet "Victorias novas prioribus cumules, verecundia tua "uſque adhuc reſtat invicta. Non tibi, ſed tuis te "natum arbitraris, & otium, quod aliis paras, tibi "ſoli denegas. Non de Imperio proferendo certas, "ſed de Libertate vindicanda. Quis in Hoſtem gra- "vior? Quis in civem benignior? In caſtris diſcipli- "nam inſtituis; in Tribunali Juſtitiam; & Jus cui- "que ſuum Dux & Princeps reddis, quod Miles & Ci- "vis exoptares. Voluntas Principum eſt aliquando "pro Legibus. Tu illis ſolutum te nolles; ſed ſalu- "briter latæ ſive utiliter emendatæ tibi præcipuè arri- "dent; & tales conſtitui, quibus tui pareant, & quas "ipſe etiam ſerves, curas. Si quid imperant, impe- "ras; ſi quid vetant, vetas; inde tibi cautum eſt, hoc "ne agas, illud ut exequaris. Te genus avitum & "Jus a Majoribus acceptum, tot ſeculorum inſuper "conſuetudine approbatum, ſuper cæteros extulerunt. "Sed ea eſt moderatio tua, vix quicquam ut tibi, qui "omnia potes, niſi quod jure fiat, permiſſum velis. "Non jus vi obrui ſinis; potentiores, ne humiliores op- "primant, prohibes. Si ſtudia leniora minus valeant, "aſperioribus invitus coerces; & ſeveritatem Clemen- "tiâ uſque eo temperas, ut metus frequentior, & pœna "rarior eveniat. Non deſunt Principes, qui vix quic- "quam, ſi dominationi conducat, turpe exiſtimant. "Quicquid æquum eſt averſantur; quicquid ni æquum, "gratum habent; & probant improbantque, non pro- "ut Ratio poſtulat, ſed quemadmodum hortatur Am- "bitio. Ipſe id ante omnia conſulis, rectumne ſit an pra- "vum; & ne vectigalibus tuos, ne Armis Vicinos op- "primas, caves. Plerique inani Dignitatis imagine "adducti, memores ſe eſſe Principes, ſe eſſe Homines "ſunt obliti. Tu, cum ab Aulicis Curis vaces, non "alio, quoquo te vertis, ſatellitio, niſi piis intuenti- "um votis ſtipatus incedis; & eo aliis es major, quo "aliis te reddis magis parem. Nonnulli in conſiliis "capiendis mobiles, non niſi blanditiis inſidiantibus "aurem admovent, & aliorum merita non proprio "judicio, ſed adulatorum arbitrio metiuntur. Tu in "ſententia conſtans, & Adulationem procul amovens, "ad aliorum nutum te minimè convertis. Inſontes te "habent propugnatorem; abſentes vindicem; facino- "rum præclarè geſtorum ii te prædicatorem inveni- "unt, quibus antea fueras exemplo; & quicquid fieri, "ut Dux juſſeris, facto, ut commilito, gratularis. "Te maximè laudat qui veriſſima refert, ſive Virtu- "tes tuas, ſive Majorum recordetur. Erat tibi Pater "Heroum genere natus, Bellicorum pariter Munerum "atque Civilium ſummè peritus. Supereſt Mater lon- "go Regum ordine genus deducens, & animi magni- "tudine ſupra fœminam conſpicua, nihil muliebre præ "ſe ferens, præter hilaritatem priſcam & gratam oris "venuſtatem. Juvat denique Filium memorare, Eu- "ropæ ſpem alteram, optimâ Indole Principem, ar- "tibus omnigenis inſtructiſſimum; & ob mores ama- "biles æquè infimis atque ſummis charum. Qui "gloriam, Virtutis tuæ æmulus, more tuo adipiſci- "tur; adeptam more tuo parvi ducit. Neſcio an fa- "mæ curſum impleveris jam ipſe magis fortiter, an "inchoaverit ille feliciter, pro mortalitate a Parente "acceptâ immortalitatem redditurus. Quantus in ar- "mis ſit, certò ſcimus; quantus evaſurus, augura- "mur; proinde quo optimè laudemus Patrem, Fili- "um oportet nominemus. Quid Votorum ſupereſt, "niſi ut benè meritus eſt ab omnibus, ſummo in ho- "nore habeatur ab omnibus? Quæ de te vulgavit fa- "ma, læti accipimus, grati recognoſcimus. In mo- "ribus ineſt humanitas, in officiis probitas, in verbis "fides; & qualis haberi velis, talem te eſſe lætaris. "Cum Regina proinde optima (quum Dii immortales "diutiſſimè ſervent) extremum reddiderit ſpiritum, te "tuoſque Senatus Populuſque Britannus certatim ad ſe "accerſent, genti univerſæ quam feliciſſimè impera- "turos."

[D] *He wrote ſome other Pieces beſides thoſe abovementioned.*] I. *Claremont*, addreſſed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Clare, now Duke of *Newcaſtle*. This was printed in 1715, and reprinted in the *Sixth Part of Miſcellany Poems by the moſt eminent Hands. Publiſhed by Mr. Dryden.* In the Preface our Author obſerves,

" You muſt have heard many tales on this ſubject; but if ever there was a good Chri-
" ſtian without knowing himſelf to be ſo, it was Dr. *Garth*." Mr. Granville, afterwards Lord Lanſdowne, wrote a fine copy of verſes to our Author in his illneſs [*E*]. He had an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Boyle, brother to Henry Boyle Eſq; the preſent Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, and one of his Majeſty's Lords Juſtices, and Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Revenues in Ireland.

obſerves, that " this Poem was written upon giving " the name of *Claremont* to a village, now belong-
" ing to the Earl of *Clare*. The ſituation is ſo a-
" greeable and ſurprizing, that it inclines one to think
" ſome place of this nature put Ovid at firſt upon the
" ſtory of *Narciſſus* and *Eccho*. It is probable he had
" obſerved ſome ſpring ariſing amongſt woods and
" rocks where eccho's were heard, and ſome flower
" bending over the ſtream, and by conſequence re-
" flected from it." There was an Edition of this Poem printed at London in 8vo under the following title; Claremont: *addreſſed to the Right Honourable the Earl of* Clare. *With Remarks and Annotations* Variorum. II. *To the Lady* Louiſa Lenos *with Ovid's Epiſtles*. Printed in the *Sixth Part of* Dryden's *Miſcellanies*. III. *To the Earl of* Burlington, *with Ovid's Art of Love*. IV. *A Tranſlation of the Fourteenth Book of* Ovid's Metamorphoſes, and of *the Story of Cinnus* in the *Fifteenth Book*. Theſe Tranſlations are printed in the Engliſh Verſion of *Ovid's Metamorphoſes* by ſeveral hands, and publiſhed by our Author with a Preface by him, and a Dedication to the then Princeſs of Wales, her preſent Majeſty. Dr. George Sewell in the Dedication to a Tranſlation of the ſame Work of Ovid by ſeveral Hands, dated Auguſt the 1ſt 1716, tells us, that he had " ſeen one Book of Sir *Samuel*
" *Garth* in Manuſcript, which at leaſt comes up to
" the purity and happineſs of the beſt Tranſlators." V. *A Prologue deſigned for Mr.* Rowe's Tamerlane, *but never ſpoke*. It is publiſhed in the *ſecond* Volume of *Dryden's Miſcellanies*. VI. *Prologue to the Muſick-Meeting in York-Buildings*. Printed in the *third* volume of *Dryden's Miſcellanies*. VII. *Prologue at the opening of the Theatre in the Hay-Market*. VIII. *Epilogue to Mr.* Addiſon's Cato. IX. *Verſes to the Earl of* Godolphin. X. *Verſes on Lady* Carliſle, *Lady* Eſſex, *Lady* Hyde, *and Lady* Wharton, printed among the Verſes written for the Toaſting-Glaſſes of the *Kit-Kat-Club* in the year 1703, and publiſhed in the *fifth* Volume of *Dryden's Miſcellanies*.

[*E*] *Mr.* Granville, *afterwards Lord* Lanſdowne, *wrote a fine Copy of Verſes to our Author in his illneſs.*] They are intitled; *Verſes ſent to Dr.* Garth *in his illneſs*; and are as follow:

" *Machaon* ſick! in every face we find
" His danger is the danger of mankind,
" Whoſe art protecting, nature could expire
" But by a deluge, or the general fire.
" More lives he ſaves than periſh in our wars;
" And faſter than a plague deſtroys, repairs.
" The bold carowſer and adventurous Dame,
" Nor fear the fever, nor refuſe the flame;
" Safe in his ſkill, from all reſtraint ſet free,
" But conſcious ſhame, remorſe, or piety.
" Sire of all arts, defend thy darling ſon;
" Reſtore the man, whoſe life's ſo much our own;
" On whom, like Adam, the whole world's reclin'd;
" And by preſerving *Garth*, preſerve mankind."

H.

☞GATAKER, or GATACRE [*A*] (THOMAS), a very learned Engliſh Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was deſcended of an antient and good family in Shropſhire [*B*], and ſon of Mr. Thomas Gataker [*C*], Domeſtic Chaplain to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, and Miniſter of St. Edmund's the King in Lombard Street London, by Margaret of the family of the Pigots in Hertfordſhire. He was born in the Parſonage-Houſe of St. Edmund's September the 4th 1574 (*a*). In his childhood he was remarkable for his excellent genius, vaſt memory, and uncommon application to learning; and having paſt through the Grammar School, before he had compleated ſixteen years, in 1590, was ſent to St. John's College in the Univerſity of Cambridge. His father dying ſoon after left him, though not wholly deſtitute, yet not ſufficiently provided for any long continuance of his ſtudies there. However he found friends to ſupport him; and for his diſtinguiſhed learning was choſen Scholar of that Society (*b*), wherein he proſecuted his ſtudies with unwearied diligence [*D*], till he, with abilities anſwerable to his degree, commenced Maſter of Arts. He became now ſo highly eſteemed for his learning and piety,

(*a*) *Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr. Gataker*, pag. 41, 42. ſubjoined to his *Funeral Sermon by* Simeon Aſhe, *Miniſter of the Goſpel in London*. London 1655 in 4to.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 42, 43.

[*A*] GATACRE.] Thus he wrote his name, till in later years, to prevent miſcalling occaſioned frequently by the view of the letters, he changed it into *Gataker* (1).

(1) *Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr.* Gataker, pag. 41. ſubjoined to his *Funeral Sermon by* Simeon Aſhe, *Miniſter of the Goſpel in London*. London 1655 in 4to.

[*B*] *Deſcended of an antient and good family in Shropſhire.*] The ſtock of this family had continued in the ſame houſe, carrying the name of its owner, and known by the name of *Gatacre-Hall*, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the time of King Edward the Confeſſor (2).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *Son of Mr.* Thomas Gataker.] He was a younger ſon of Mr. William Gataker, and deſigned by his parents to the ſtudy of the Law, in order to which he was a ſtudent at the Temple. During the courſe of that inſtitution, he occaſionally coming to viſit ſome of his relations, who were then high in power and place, " was often preſent at the
" Examination of ſome Chriſtian Confeſſors of the
" Goſpel in thoſe ſevere times, wherein Satan armed
" all his forces to ſuppreſs that dawning Light, which
" threatned ruin to his Kingdom of Darkneſs. The
" harſhneſs of thoſe Proceedings, together with the
" conſtancy of the good, though ſimple Chriſtians,
" that with evidence of truth and reſolution of mind
" maintained faith and a good conſcience, were of
" great moment with him to facilitate the entertain-
" ment of that purer Doctrine of the Goſpel, which
" began to ſhine into his ſoul (3)." This being apprehended by his parents, they jealous of his change ſent him over to Louvain in Flanders, and to win him to a compliance in Religion, ſettled upon him an eſtate in leaſe of 100 l. *per ann.* old rent. But his father perceiving his unchangeable ſtedfaſtneſs in that choice, which had nothing to prejudice it but the ſeeming novelty, recalled him, and with great diſpleaſure revoked his own grant, which yet could not take effect without the ſon's conſent, who to preſerve his conſcience gave up that which had been the bait of Apoſtacy. But by the aſſiſtance of friends he purſued his ſtudies at Oxford, and in proceſs of time, when the Reformation was eſtabliſhed, took upon him the public Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and became Domeſtic Chaplain to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, and Miniſter of St. Edmund's the King in Lombard-ſtreet London (4).

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. pag. 41, 42.

[*D*] *Proſecuted his ſtudies with unwearied diligence.*] He was a conſtant auditor of Mr. John Bois, who read a Greek Lecture in his bed to certain young Students, who preferred *antelucana ſtudia* before their reſt and eaſe. The Notes of theſe Lectures Mr. Gataker kept as a treaſure; and being viſited by Mr. Bois many years after, he produced them to the no ſmall joy of the good old man, who profeſſed himſelf made ſome years younger by that entertainment (5). He tells us himſelf, that he was much obliged to Mr. *Bois* for his knowledge in the Greek (6), and to Mr. *Edward Lively* for that of the Hebrew (7).

(5) Ibid. pag. 43.

(6) Cinnus, lib. 1. cap. 9.

(7) Ib. l. 2. c. 9.

piety, that a College being then to be erected by the munificence of the Counteſs of Suſſex [*E*], the Truſtees of that Foundreſs choſe him to be one of that Society even before the College was finiſhed. During this interval he retired to Mr. William Ayloff's Houſe in Eſſex, whom he inſtructed in the Hebrew tongue (*c*), as he did that Gentleman's eldeſt ſon in Literature proper to his age (*d*). While he reſided in this family, he was ſollicited by Dr. Stern, then Suffragan of Colcheſter, to enter into Holy Orders [*F*], which at laſt he complied with, and was ordained by the ſaid Suffragan (*e*). The fabrick of Sidney-Suſſex College being finiſhed, about the year 1599 (*f*), he betook himſelf to the ſtation aſſigned him, and inſtructed the young Students there with great ſucceſs (*g*). About this time he was engaged in a deſign ſet on foot by Mr. *Abdias Aſhton* of St. John's College, and Mr. *William Bedel* of Emanuel College, afterwards Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, of preaching in places adjacent to the Univerſity, in order to ſupply the want of able Miniſters in thoſe parts. Accordingly Mr. Gataker preached every Sunday at Everton, a village in the confines of the Counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntington, the Vicar of which pariſh was reported to be an hundred and thirty years old (*h*). After half a year thus employed, finding ſome reaſons to retire from the Univerſity, at the motion of Mr. Aſhton abovementioned, who had been his Tutor, he removed to Sir William Cook's family then reſiding in London. This place and employment placing him in a more conſpicuous light with regard to the exerciſe of his miniſterial functions, introduced him to the acquaintance of many perſons of eminence; and the Preacher's place at Lincoln's-Inn becoming vacant, ſome principal perſons of that Society, who had occaſionally been his Auditors, inviting him to it, he was choſen Preacher there [*G*], in which ſtation he continued ten years. But notwithſtanding this engagement he did not wholly abandon the family of Sir William Cook, to whoſe Lady he was nearly related by blood; and therefore in the vacations being diſengaged from attendance at Lincoln's-Inn, reſided in that family [*H*], preaching in their Chapel or in the Pariſh Church, as occaſion required (*i*). While he continued at Lincoln's-Inn, he was offered a conſiderable Benefice by Sir William Sidley, which he refuſed, becauſe he thought one Cure of ſouls ſufficient for one man. In 1611 he quitted Lincoln's-Inn for the Rectory of Rotherhith

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 44. and Mr. *Tho. Gataker's Vindication of the Annotations on Jerem.* ch. x. ver. 2. pag. 56, 57.

(*d*) *Narrative*, pag. 44.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 44, 45.

(*f*) *See* Fuller's *Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge*, pag. 153.

(*g*) *Narrative*, pag. 45.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 46.

[*E*] *A College being then to be erected by the munificence of the Counteſs of* Suſſex.] This Lady was Frances, daughter to Sir William, and ſiſter to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland. She died March the 9th 158$\frac{8}{9}$, as appears by the epitaph on her monument in Weſtminſter-Abby, to which Church ſhe gave a ſtipend of twenty pounds a year for a Divinity-Lecture. By her will dated December the 6th 1588 ſhe left to her Executors, Henry Gray, Earl of Kent, and to her nephew Sir John (afterwards Lord) Harrington, five] thouſand pounds, beſides her goods unbequeathed, for the erection of a College, and purchaſing of competent lands, for one Maſter, ten Fellows, and twenty Scholars. But in caſe the legacy was not ſufficient, it was appointed to go to the enlarging of Clare-Hall; for the maintenance of ſo many Fellows and Scholars therein, to enjoy all liberties, cuſtoms, and privileges, with other Fellows and Scholars of that foundation. She appointed Dr. John Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Gabriel Goodman Dean of Weſtminſter, Overſeers of her Will. The firſt ſtone of Sidney College was laid on the 20th of May 1596, and the whole fabric was finiſhed three years after (8).

(8) *Fuller's Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge ſince the Conqueſt*, pag. 153. edit. London 1655.

[*F*] *While he reſided in this family, he was ſollicited by Dr. Stern, then Suffragan of Colcheſter, to enter into holy orders.*] In this family he uſed to expound a portion of Scripture every morning; and in this exerciſe diſpatched the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, the Prophecies of Iſaiah, and a good part of the Book of Job, rendering the Text out of the Original Languages, and thence delivering clear explications and uſeful Obſervations. Dr. Stern viſiting the miſtreſs of the family, to whom he was nearly related, happened to be preſent at this exerciſe, when Mr. Gataker was explaining the firſt chapter of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Epheſians. And the Doctor being ſatisfied with the performance, and admiring the endowments of Mr. Gataker, exhorted him inſtantly to take holy orders, whereby thoſe gifts might be authoriſed for public uſe; and offered him his aſſiſtance in that buſineſs. But he well weighing the burthen of that calling, and modeſtly judging of his own abilities, thanked the Doctor for this kind offer, but deferred the matter to further conſideration. But afterwards by the advice of the Reverend Mr. Henry Alvey, formerly his tutor, and the reiterated ſollicitations of Dr. Stern, he conſented to be ordained by that Suffragan (9).

(9) *Narrative*, pag. 44, 45.

[*G*] *The Preacher's place at Lincoln's Inn becoming vacant, ſome principal perſons of that ſociety, who had occaſionally been his auditors, inviting him to it, he was choſen Preacher there.*] Thoſe Gentlemen offered him their aſſiſtance upon the vacancy, and alledged the facility of his introduction to that place by the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham's intereſt, whom they knew to have had a great reſpect for Mr. Gataker as well as for his father, who had been his intimate friend, and contemporary in the ſtudy of the Law. But our Author according to his uſual modeſty declined the undertaking, and reſiſted the importunities even of his friend Mr. Stock, till Dr. Montague, Maſter of Sydney-College, repairing to London, and being acquainted with the deſign in hand, (though he had it in his thoughts to invite Mr. Gataker back to the College, that he might read an Hebrew Lecture, which had a ſalary annexed by the Lord Harrington), preſſed him with arguments and authority, encouraged him againſt his own diffidence, and gained him at laſt to conſent, that without any ſuit made by him, the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham ſhould recommend him to that ſociety. Thus he was choſen Preacher of Lincoln's Inn.

[*H*] *In the vacations being diſengaged from attendance at Lincoln's Inn, reſided in that family.*] He preached in the Chapel or in the Pariſh Church, as occaſion required; "and this with an Apoſtolical mind, not for "filthy Lucre, but freely, making the Goſpel a bur-"then only to the Diſpenſer. Yet ſuch was the devotion "of that Religious pair (12), that they alſo would not "ſerve God without coſt, for they afterwards in conſide-"ration of thoſe pains freely taken, ſettled upon Mr. "Gataker an annuity of 20 l. *per ann.* which he indeed "received for ſome few years, but after (for certain "reaſons) remitted unto the heir of that family, for-"bearing to uſe the right he had, and forbidding his "executor to claim any arrears of that annuity. "This is mentioned the rather, that the generous tem-"per of his Chriſtian ſoul, aiming at the higheſt good "of others more than his own temporal advantage, "and infinitely removed from ſordid acquiſition of "gain, or the proſtitution of his ſacred function unto "ſecular deſigns, may be oppoſed to ſtop the impu-"dent clamour of ſome, whoſe conſciences being both "galled and cauterized, prompted them to calum-"niate him as guilty of covetouſneſs. But his own "pen writ the beſt apology, as indeed (according to "that of *Nazianzen*) they that give him a juſt cha-"racter and due commendation, had need to have al-"ſo his eloquence (11)."

(10) Sir William Cook and his Lady.

Greg. Epitaph. Baſil.

(11) *Narrative*, pag. 46, 47.

hith in Surry [*I*]; and in the diſcharge of his function his induſtry was conſtant and great; notwithſtanding an almoſt perpetual head-ach, with which he had been troubled from his youth (*k*). In 1616, and ſome of the following years he held a correſpondence by letters with Dr. James Uſher, afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh [*K*]. In 1619 he publiſhed his *Diſcourſe of the Nature and Uſe of Lots* [*L*]; and the year following made a tour

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 47, 48, 49.

[*I*] *In* 1611 *he quitted Lincoln's-Inn for the Rectory of Rotherhith in Surry.*] The grounds, motive and manner of his removal he has given us an account of in his *Diſcourſe Apologetical againſt Mr. Will. Lilly* (12), of which this is the ſubſtance. That Rectory being void, a perſon of an infamous life uſed his utmoſt efforts to ſucceed in it, in order to which he before the incumbent's death had made terms with the mother of ſome orphans, in whoſe hands the patronage was ſuppoſed to be. Upon this ſome of the religious inhabitants caſt their eyes upon Mr. *Gataker*, to gain whom they added to their ſollicitations the mediation of his friend Mr. *Richard Stock*. And when he had by many reaſons remonſtrated to him, that it was of importance to Religion, that an unworthy perſon ſhould not intrude into the living, he was at laſt prevailed on to accept it. This being repreſented to Sir *Henry Hobart*, then Attorney General, by Mr. *Randolph Crew*, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice, Sir Henry, who before favoured other pretenſions, to gratify ſome tenants of his in the Pariſh, readily embraced the motion concerning the ſettling of Mr. Gataker there, and wrote a Letter to the Biſhop for the removal of all obſtructions, which lay in the way, or might hinder the acceptance of the Preſentation of Mr. *Gataker*, which ſigned with the hands of all the three brethren, who had a right in that Advocation, was tendered on his behalf. *The report of his remove was no welcome news to many of that Society* [of Lincoln's-Inn], *who fain would retain him; ſome whereof offered an enlargement of his maintenance for an argument to keep him, and others repreſented the conſiſtence of both employments by the help of an aſſiſtant. But he that made not his Miniſtry* ἀφορμὴν τοῦ βίου, *a mere trade of his living here, (as Gregory Nazianzen complained as ſome did in his time, and too many in our times do,) nor would multiply burthens, when he deemed himſelf unfit for the leaſt, would not be wrought to a new reſolution* (13).

(12) Pag. 44-48. edit. London 1654, in 4to.

(13) *Narrative*, pag. 48.

[*K*] *In* 1616, *and ſome of the following years, he held a correſpondence by Letters with Dr. James Uſher, afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh.*] We have ſeveral Letters of his to that great Man publiſhed by Dr. Richard Parr in the *Collection of three hundred Letters* ſubjoined to his *Life* of that Prelate (14). The firſt Letter of Mr. Gataker is dated at Rotherhith March 18th 1616, in which (15) he informs Dr. Uſher, that he had in his hands a manuſcript, containing, among others, certain Treatiſes, which he could not then learn to have been printed, viz. *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore de periculis noviſſimorum temporum*; as alſo divers things of *Robert Groſthead*, ſometime Biſhop of Lincoln, viz. *An Oration delivered in writing to the Pope at Lyons*, (whereof he found a piece recorded in *Catalogus Teſtium*;) *Excerpta quædam ex ejuſdem Epiſtolis*; *Tractatus de oculo morali*; *de Modo confitendi*; *& Sermones quidam.* "Some "of theſe," *ſays he*, peradventure, if they be not abroad already, might not be unworthy to ſee the "light; nor ſhould I be unwilling, if they ſhould be "ſo eſteemed, to bend my poor and weak endeavours "that way. But of that Oration to the Pope, certain "lines, not many, are pared away in my copy, tho' "ſo as the ſenſe of them may be gueſſed and gathered "from the context; and in the other Treatiſes there "are many faults, that cannot eaſily or poſſibly, ſome "of them, without help of other copies, be amended. "My deſire is to underſtand from you, whether at "your being here in England (for I wot well how "careful you were to make inquiry after ſuch monu-"ments,) you lighted upon any of theſe, and where, "or in whoſe hands they were. There are beſides in "this manuſcript a Commentary on Auguſtin *de Ci-"vitate Dei*, and a Poſtil on *Eccleſiaſtes*, with a Trea-"tiſe *de Modo prædicandi*; but theſe two imperfect of "nameleſs Authors; beſides *Guilielm. Pariſ. de Præ-"bendis, & Malachiæ Minorith de Veneno ſpirituali*; "which two laſt I underſtand to have been publiſhed." In another Letter to Dr. Uſher dated at Rotherhith June 24th 1617 he writes thus (16). "I eſteem my "ſelf much beholden unto you, as for your former "love, ſo for this your late kindneſs in vouchſafing "me ſo large a Letter, with ſo full inſtructions con-"cerning this buſineſs, that I was bold to break unto "you, tho' the ſame, as by your information it ap-"peareth, were wholly unneceſſary. True it is, that "tho' not fully purpoſed to do ought therein my ſelf, "willing rather to have offered mine endeavours and "furtherance to ſome others, I ſuppoſed that thoſe "two Treatiſes, viz. that Oration of the Biſhop's, and "that of *Wilhelm of S. Amore* might not be unworthy "the publiſhing, had the one been perfect, and the "other not yet publiſhed, (for as for that of *Pariſien-"ſis de Præbendis*, I had heard to be already abroad, "and *Geſner* in his *Bibliotheca* hath *Tractatus* 2. *Ar-"gentin. impreſſ.* 1507. *de collatione & pluralitate Ec-"cleſ. beneficiorum*, which may ſeem the ſame, one "of them, with this; as it is ſaid to be *gemmâ pre-"cioſior* in that manuſcript you ſpeak of, ſo to be *auro "pret.* in mine. But I perceive now by your inſtruc-"tions, that the one is out already, and the other per-"fect and fit for the preſs, in the hands of one better "furniſhed and fitter for the performance of ſuch a "work than my ſelf, whom I would therefore incite "to ſend what he hath perfect abroad, than by his "perfect copy having pieced out mine imperfect one, "to take his labours out of his hand. I have heard "ſince I wrote to you by Mr. Bill, that Sir Henry Sa-"vill is about to publiſh Biſhop *Groſthead's* Epiſtles out "of a manuſcript remaining in Merton-College Li-"brary. That Treatiſe *de Oculo morali* I lighted "lately on in another manuſcript bound together with "*Groſthead in Decalog.* having this title before it, *Inci-"pit Liber de Oculo morali, quem compoſuit Magiſter "Petrus de Sapiere Lemovicenſis.* And I find it cited "by *Petrus Reginaldeti*, a Friar, in his *Speculum fina-"lis retributionis* under the name of *Johannes de Pecha-"mo*, as the Author of it. Neither ſeemeth it, tho' "written honeſtly, yea wittily and learnedly, as the "wit and learning of thoſe times was, to be of the "ſame frame and ſtrain for gravity, that the other "works of that Biſhop are; which alſo maketh me "ſuſpect thoſe Sermons, that in my manuſcript go "under his name, ſhould not be his, having lately at "idle times run over ſome of them. If I meet with "your countryman *Malachy* at any time, I will not "be unmindful of your requeſt. And if any good "office may be performed by me for you here, either "about the impreſſion of your learned and religious "labours (ſo eſteemed and much deſired, not of my "ſelf alone, but of many others of greater judgment than "my ſelf) or in any other employment, that my "weak ability may extend itſelf unto, I ſhall be ready "and glad upon any occaſion to do my beſt therein. I "lighted lately upon an obſcure fellow, one *Hierony-"mus Dungerſheim de Ochſenfart*, who in *anno* 1514 "publiſhed a Confutation dedicated to George, then "Duke of Saxony, of a Confeſſion of the Picards, "which whether it be the ſame with that which *Gretſer* "ſaith *Luther* ſet out with his Preface, I wot not. "The title of it is, *Totius quaſi Scripturæ Apologia*, "and the beginning of it, *In ſummi Dei maximo no-"mine & terribili, Amen, Nos Homines in terræ orbe "quanquam ad ima ſubacti, &c.* And tho' it be not "entirely inſerted by him in his anſwer, yet ſo much "is picked out of it, and ſet down in their words, "as may ſhew in divers main points their diſſent from "them, and conſent with us. But it is not likely, "that this Author, though obſcure and not worthy "the light, had eſcaped your curious eye. *Geſner* "ſeemeth miſtaken in him, when he ſaith, *Hierony-"mus Dungerſheim ſcripſit Apologiam ſacræ Scripturæ "Boemorum*; for he wrote not it, but againſt it." Another Letter of Mr. Gataker's is dated at Rotherhith Sept. 29th 1621 (17).

(14) Printed at London 1686 in fol.

(15) *Collection of Letters*, pag. 37.

(16) Ibid. pag. 56.

(17) Ibid. pag. 76.

[*L*] *In* 1619 *he publiſhed his Diſcourſe of* the Nature and Uſe of Lots.] It is intitled, *Of the Nature and Uſe of Lots; a Treatiſe Hiſtoricall and Theologicall; written by* Thomas Gataker *B. of D. ſometime Preacher*

tour through the Low-Countries [*M*]. In 1624 he publiſhed at London in 4to a book intitled, *Tranſubſtantiation declared by the Confeſſion of Popiſh Writers to have no neceſſary Foundation in God's word, and demonſtrated to be againſt Scripture, Nature, Senſe, Reaſon, &c. By* Tho. Gataker, *B. D.* He wrote likewiſe a *Defence* of this Diſcourſe. In 1642 he was appointed one of the *Aſſembly of Divines*; "where his endeavours, ſays Mr. "*Simeon Aſhe* (*l*), for promoting truth and ſuppreſſing errors were ſincere and ſerious; and "his ſtudy of peace with modeſty was ſo remarkable, that when his reaſons delivered "concerning Chriſt's obedience in order to our juſtification (wherein he differed from his "brethren) could not obtain aſſent from the major part, which determined the queſtion "contrary to his ſenſe, his own love of unity impoſed upon him ſilence, and wrought "him likewiſe unto reſolutions not to publiſh his Diſcourſes of the ſubject from Rom. "iii. 28. that he might not publikely diſcover his diſſent from the votes of that reverend "Aſſembly." He was engaged with them likewiſe in writing *Annotations upon the Bible*, and particularly wrote thoſe upon *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Lamentations*. During his attendance upon that *Aſſembly*, the Earl of Mancheſter offered him the Maſterſhip of Trinity College in Cambridge, which is the greateſt preferment of that Univerſity; but he

(*l*) *Narrative*, pag. 52.

at Lincolnes Inne, and now Paſtor of Rotherhith. London 1619 in 4to. It is dedicated to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn. In the Preface to the *judicious and ingenuous Reader*, he obſerves, that *how backward he had ever heretofore been to publiſh ought by the Preſs, they beſt know*, ſays he, *who having oft preſſed me thereunto, have never hitherto therein prevailed. Now a twofold neceſſity is impoſed upon me of doing ſomewhat in this kind, partly by the importunity of divers Chriſtian friends, religious and judicious, who having either heard, being partakers of my public Miniſtry, or heard of by the report of others, or upon requeſt ſeen ſome part of this weak work, have not ceaſed to ſollicit the further publiſhing of it: as alſo partly (and more ſpecially) by the iniquity of ſome others, who being of a contrary judgment on ſome particulars therein diſputed, have been more forward than was fit by unchriſtian ſlanders and uncharitable cenſures to tax and traduce both me and it. From whoſe unjuſt and undeſerved aſperſions no way ſeemed better and readier to clear either, than by offering to open view to all, what I had before delivered in an obſcure auditory (to ſpeak of) among but few. And this thou haſt here, good Reader, for effect and ſubſtance the ſame, that was then and there delivered, inlarged only with ſuch matter of hiſtory and humanity as was not fit to peſter the pulpit, or incumber that auditory withal.* He remarks then, that if any ſhall ſurmiſe, that writings in this kind may occaſion too much liberty, a thing that little needeth in this over-licentious age, he anſwers briefly: "firſt that [b] it is unequal, that for the "looſeneſs of ſome diſſolute, the conſciences of thoſe "that be godly diſpoſed ſhould be intangled and en-"ſnared: and ſecondly, that whoſoever ſhall take no "more liberty than by me is here given, ſhall be ſure "[c] to keep within the bounds of piety and ſobriety, "of equity and of charity; than which I know not "what can be more required. For no ſiniſter end, I "proteſt before God's face and in his fear, undertook "I this taſk; neither have I averred or defended ought "therein but what I am verily perſuaded to be agree-"able to God's Word. The *firſt* chapter treats of what a Lot is, and of Lottery in general: the *ſecond* of Chance or Caſualty, and of caſual Events: the *third* of the ſeveral ſorts or kinds of Lots: the *fourth* of ordinary Lots ſerious: the *fifth* of the Lawfulneſs of ſuch Lots; with cautions to be obſerved in the uſe of them: the *ſixth* of ordinary Lots luſorious, and of the lawfulneſs of them: the *ſeventh* contains an Anſwer to the principal objections againſt luſorious Lots: the *eighth* an Anſwer to the Arguments uſed againſt them leſs principal: the *ninth* treats of cautions to be obſerved in the uſe of them: the *tenth* of extraordinary or divinatory Lots: the *eleventh* of the Unlawfulneſs of ſuch Lots: the *twelfth* contains an Admonition to avoid them, with an Anſwer to ſome Arguments produced in defence of them; and the concluſion of the whole. In the *ninth* chapter (18) he tells us, that he was at firſt induced to deliver his judgment in theſe points the more largely, (having entered into this diſcourſe on Lots in general by purſuit of that Scripture (19), which he was then treating upon, tho' far at that time from any purpoſe to publiſh any thing of this argument) upon theſe conſiderations. Firſt, that there is a fault as well in ſtraitning as in widening of God's way, and a ſubtilty of Satan as well in the one as in the other; and "that it is not "good therefore by poſſeſſing men's minds with unne-"ceſſary ſcruples either to diſcourage thoſe, that be "coming on to ſome love and liking of the good "ways of God; or to caſt thoſe, that are alrea-"dy come on, into ſnares of men's knitting, tying "them in ſtricter and ſtraiter bonds than God him-"ſelf hath done, and making more things unlawful "than the Word of God hath made. Yea that it is "in truth a ſpice and a branch of ſuperſtition, as well "for a man to ſuſpect that thoſe things diſpleaſe God, "which indeed do not, as for a man to ſuppoſe, that "the creature can do that, which indeed it cannot "do." Secondly, that many perſons truly fearing God, and ſincerely religious, have uſed, and do commonly uſe luſorious lots or games; and that many well affected are and have been conſtrained in regard of ſcruple in this kind to ſtrain themſelves to ſome inconveniences by the refuſal of them, when by thoſe whom they have had dependance upon or familiarity withall, they have been urged occaſionally thereto. Thirdly, that the arguments and grounds, whereupon theſe games are condemned, have made many ſtagger in the neceſſary uſe of ſerious civil lots, which by occaſion of bargains bought in common between them and others they are oft inforced to uſe, but have doubted whether they might lawfully give conſent unto or not. Fourthly, "that great offence and ſcandal is taken by "divers of contrary judgment againſt thoſe, that uſe "theſe games, though never ſo ſoberly and ſeaſona-"bly, as they ſuppoſe, on good ground; a means oft "of much heart-burning and of breach of Chriſtian "affection, yea of peremptory, uncharitable, and un-"chriſtian cenſuring either other." *Conſidering thereſore*, ſays Mr. Gataker, *that theſe games can hardly be wholly removed, being ſo common, ſo general, ſo uſual with the moſt every where, I ſuppoſed it would not be unfit to aſſay, if by diſcovery of the ground of them, ſuch ſcandal and offence might be ſtayed, and Chriſtian concord and amity in part procured and maintained between ſuch, as were before diverſly minded in this matter; ſo many of them at leaſt as might hear and apprehend the force and weight of the former arguments, and be brought to ſee the invalidity and inſufficiency of their own grounds againſt them.* The ſecond Edition of this Treatiſe, reviſed, corrected, and enlarged, was printed in 1627. He publiſhed likewiſe in vindication of it, *A juſt Defence of certain paſſages in a former Treatiſe concerning* the Nature and Uſe of Lots, *againſt ſuch exceptions and oppoſitions as have been made thereunto by Mr.* J. B (†). *Wherein the inſufficiencie of his Anſwers given to the Arguments brought in defence of a* Luſorious Lot *is manifeſted; the imbecillitie of his arguments produced againſt the ſame further diſcovered; and the point itſelf in controverſie more fully cleared. By* Thomas Gataker, *B. of Divinity, and Author of the former Treatiſe.* London 1623 in 4to. To this piece is prefixed a Letter from Dr. Daniel Featly, dated at Croyden Sept. 2d 1623, and addreſſed to *his loving and much reſpected Friend Mr.* Tho. Gataker. Our Author publiſhed likewiſe, *Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Antitheſis, partim Gulielmi Ameſii, partim Giſberti Voetii de ſorte Theſibus repoſita.* London 1637 in 4to.

(†) J. Balmford.

[b] See *Gerſon. in regul. mor. & Nider in conſolat. timor. conſcient.* Part. 3. c. 20. *ad cap.* 9. §. 10.

(*c*) Read the whole 9th chapter.

(18) §. 10. pag. 264, & *ſeqq.*

(19) Jonah, c. i.

(m) Ibid. pag. 52.

he refuſed it, his health now greatly declining (*m*); though in the midſt of his indiſpoſitions he ſtill proſecuted his ſtudies, for while he was confined to his chamber he drew up his Diſſertation *De Nomine Tetragrammato* [*N*], printed at London 1645 in 8vo, and his Diſcourſe *De Diphthongis ſive Bivocalibus* [*O*], London 1646 in 8vo. After a conſiderable time he recovered ſo much ſtrength as to go to Church, and ventured again into the pulpit, where he ſpent himſelf ſo far, that he ſtrained a vein in his lungs, for which, being then about ſeventy three years old, he ſuffered an emiſſion of blood, by which and other means he eſcaped that danger. But when he had recruited his health he reſumed his preaching, till a relapſe into that ſpitting of blood (for which he again permitted a vein to be opened for revulſion) laid him under a neceſſity of forbearing the pulpit; though he never gave over the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, nor his uſual ſhort Diſ-

(n) Ibid. pag. 53.

courſes at funerals ſuitable to the occaſion (*n*). The chief part of his time was now ſpent in ſtudy, and in compoſing ſeveral learned works [*P*]. He was firſt ſeized by a fainting fit

[*M*] *The year following he took a tour through the Low-Countries.*] He was accompanied with his friends Capt. Joſua Downing and Mr. Roger Hughs, and a nephew of his, who was a young Student. His mother, who was then alive, had ſome fears, leſt he being a known adverſary to the Popiſh cauſe, ſhould be expoſed to danger; but within a month (20) they returned ſafe, having viewed the moſt conſiderable places in the Low-Countries. "In this travel he gave better "ſatisfaction to the Engliſh Church at Middleburgh, "where he gave way to the importunity of friends, de- "ſiring to hear him as well as glad to ſee him, than "he did to the Engliſh Papiſts in Flanders, with whom "he had divers debates, wherein he drove ſome to a "confuſion, whom he could not gain to a conver- "ſion (21)."

(20) They ſet out July 13, and returned Auguſt 14.

(21) *Narrative*, pag. 51.

[*N*] *His Diſſertation* de Nomine Tetragrammato.] It was printed at London 1645 in 8vo under the following title: *De Nomine Tetragrammato Diſſertatio, quâ vocis Jehovah apud noſtros receptæ uſus defenditur, & a quorundam cavillationibus iniquis pariter atque inanibus vindicatur.* There was another Edition of it in 1652, and it was reprinted among his *Opera Critica* at Utrecht 1698 in fol. and with ſeveral other Diſſertations by different Authors upon the ſame ſubject publiſh'd at Utrecht 1707 in 8vo by Hadrian Reland under the following title, *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum de verâ pronunciatione nominis Jehovah, quarum quinque priores Joan. Druſii, Sixtini Amamæ, Lud. Capelli, Joh. Buxtorfii, & Jac. Altingii lectionem nominis Jehovah impugnant, poſteriores quinque Nic. Fulleri, Tho. Gatakeri ſingulæ, & ternæ Joh. Leuſden tuentur.*

[*O*] *His Diſcourſe* De Diphthongis, ſive Bivocalibus.] It was printed at London 1646 in 8vo under the following title: *De Diphthongis ſive Bivocalibus Diſſertatio Philologica, in qua Literarum quarundam ſonus germanus, natura genuina, figura nova, & ſcriptura vetus veraque inveſtigatur.* It is reprinted among his *Opera critica* at Utrecht 1698 in fol. In this Diſſertation our Author endeavours to ſhew, that there are no diphthongs, and that two vowels can never unite in ſuch a manner as to form one ſyllable.

[*P*] *In compoſing ſeveral learned Works.*] We ſhall here give an account of his Writings, which are not already mentioned. I. Several *Sermons* printed at firſt in 4to, and afterwards collected into one volume in fol. the titles of which are, *David's Inſtructor*; *The Chriſtian man's Care*; *The ſpiritual Watch*; *The Gain of Godlineſs, with Self-Sufficiency*; *The juſt man's Joy, with ſigns of ſincerity*; *Jacob's Thankfulneſs*; *David's Remembrances*; *Noah's Obedience*; *An Anniverſary Memorial of England's Delivery in* 1588; *Sorrow for Sion*; *God's Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to him*; *Eleazer's Prayer, a Marriage Sermon*; *A good Wife God's Gift*; *A Wife indeed*; *Marriage Duties*; *Death's Advantage*; *The Benefit of a good name, and a good end*; *Abraham's Deceaſe, delivered at the Funeral of Mr. Richard Stock, late Paſtor of All-Hallows Bread-Street*, dedicated to Sir Henry Yelverton Knt.; *Jeroboam's Son's Deceaſe*; *Chriſtian Conſtancy crowned by Chriſt.* Beſides theſe we have three other Diſcourſes in 4to intitled, *The Deceaſe of Lazarus*; *St. Stephen's laſt Will and Teſtament*; *God's Eye on Iſrael.* II. *A ſhort Catechiſm*, London 1624 in 4to. III. *A Defence of Mr.* Bradſhaw *againſt* J. Canne, 4to. IV. *Franciſci Gomari Diſputationis Elenctice de Juſtificationis materiâ & formâ Elenchus*, 1640, in 8to. V. *Animadverſiones in J. Piſcatoris & L. Lucii ſcripta adverſaria de cauſa meritoria Juſtificationis, cum reſponſione ad L. Lucii vindicias*, 1641 in 12mo. VI. *Mr. Anthony* Wotton's *Defence*, 1641 in 8vo. VII. *A true Relation of paſſages between Mr. Wotton and Mr. Walker*, 1642 in 4to. VIII. *An Anſwer to Mr.* G. Walker's *Vindication*, 1642 in 4to. IX. *A miſtake, or miſconſtruction removed. (Whereby little difference is pretended to have been acknowledged between the* Antinomians *and us.) And Free Grace, as it is held forth in God's Word, as well by the Prophets in the Old Teſtament, as by the Apoſtles and Chriſt himſelf in the New, ſhewed to be other than is by the* Antinomian *party in theſe times maintained. In way of anſwer to ſome paſſages in a Treatiſe of Mr.* John Saltmarſh *concerning that ſubject. By* Thomas Gataker, *B. of Divinity, and Paſtor of Rotherhith.* London 1646 in 4to. This is written in anſwer to Mr. Saltmarſh's *Free Grace; or the Flowings of Chriſt's Blood freely to ſinners, being an experiment of Jeſus Chriſt upon one, who hath been in the bondage of a troubled ſpirit at times for twelve years till now &c.* London 1645 in 12mo. Mr. Gataker in his Tract obſerves (22), that "it ſeems a thing much to be fear- (22) Pag. 42.
"ed, that this courſe (which, *ſays he*, I ſee ſome affect,
"and many people are much taken with) of extract-
"ing Divinity in a kind of chymical way into quaint
"and curious, but groundleſs and uſeleſs ſpeculations,
"and (as I may well ſay of them) even chimerical
"conceits, will, if it hold on, as much corrupt the
"ſimplicity of the Goſpel, and the doctrine of Faith,
"as ever the quirks and quillets of the old Schoolmen
"did." X. *Shadows without Subſtance, in the pretended new Lights*, London 1646 in 4to, in anſwer to Mr. Saltmarſh's *Shadows flying away*, London 1646 in 4to. XI. *Myſterious Clouds and Miſts &c.* London 1648 in 8vo, in anſwer to Mr. J. Simpſon. XII. *Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis de Novi Teſtamenti Stylo Diſſertatio: qua Viri doctiſſimi Sebaſtiani Pfochenii de Linguæ Græcæ Novi Teſtamenti Puritate, in qua Hebraiſmis, quæ vulgo finguntur, quam plurimis larva detrahi dicitur, Diatribe ad examen revocatur; Scriptorumque qua ſacrorum qua profanorum, loca aliquammulta obiter explicantur atque illuſtrantur. Cum Indicibus neceſſariis*, London 1648 in 4to. It is reprinted among his *Opera Critica* at Utrecht 1698 in fol. In the Preface he obſerves, that this Diſſertation was with two other Tracts the fruits of his vacant hours occaſioned by his indiſpoſition; and that he deſigned to have ſubjoined it to the *Six Books* of his *Cinnus*, which he had then in his hands; but which, when he had written a conſiderable part of that Work, he had been obliged to lay aſide on account of his attendance for two years on the Aſſembly of Divines, in order to conſult concerning the Settlement of the Church. And afterwards being detained by ſickneſs from any public employment, when he reſumed that Work, he thought proper to publiſh this Diſſertation firſt, to try the judgment of the learned World. Pfochenius in his *Diatribe* printed at Amſterdam 1629 in 8vo had undertaken to ſhew that the ſtyle of the Greek Teſtament is entirely agreeable to that of the beſt Writers in that Language; which aſſertion Mr. Gataker endeavours to refute in his *Diſſertation.* Pfochenius (23) (23) Sect. 12.
had affirmed, that the Greek, Latin, German, Illyrian, &c. tongues were cardinal or original Languages; but our Author declares (24), that it is uncertain what (24) Cap. 1.
Languages were original, but that the Latin is un- pag. 2.
doubtedly not ſo, ſince it contains many words of the Sabine and Oſcan tongues, and for the greateſt part

owes

fit on Friday night July the 7th 1654, and died on the 27th of that month in the eighteenth year of his age. He was interred Auguſt the 1ſt at his own Church; and his Funeral Sermon was preached by Mr. Simeon Aſhe, and printed at London 1655 in 4to;

owes its origin to the Greek, eſpecially to the Æolic Dialect; for which purpoſe he cites Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, *Antiq. Roman. L.* 1. Euſtathius upon Homer's *Odiſſey L.* 1. Quintilian *Inſtitut. L.* 1. *c.* 5. & 6. Varro *de Ling. Latin. L.* 4 & 9. Verrius; Suidas in voce Νάϝω; Julius Scaliger *de Plant. L.* 1. Joſeph Scaliger *in Feſtum*; Dan. Heinſius *de Satyr. Horat.* Hugo Grotius *de Satisfact. Chriſti c.* 8. Jo. Meurſius *in Mantiſſa ad Luxum Romanum c.* 12. Voſſius *in Præfat. ad Lib. de Vitiis Sermonis:* Laur. Ramirez *Pentecontarch. c.* 6. Conrad. Geſner *in Mithridate*; and Jerom Megiſerus *in Præfat. Polyglott.* To prove this, he obſerves (25), that if we take any Latin Writer, we ſhall ſcarce find a line in him, in which there are not ſeveral words, which evidently diſcover a Greek original. He inſtances in the firſt five Verſes of Virgil's firſt Eclogue. We ſhall give the two firſt Verſes with Mr. Gataker's obſervations.

(25) Pag. 3, 4, 5.

Tityre, tu patulæ recubans ſub tegmine fagi
Sylveſtrem tenui muſam meditaris Avena.

He ſays nothing of *Tityrus*, becauſe it is a proper name. "*Tu* eſt Doricum τὺ. *Patulus, a pateo,* πετάω. *Recubo,* "*cubo,* κύπτω. Ὑπὸ *ſub,* ut ὑπὲρ *ſuper.* Στέγω *tego,* "& inde *Tegmen.* Φᾶγος, Dorice φᾶγος, *fagus.* Ὕλη, "*ſylva, ſylveſtris.* Τείνω *tendo, extendo, tenuis.* Μῶσα, "*muſa.* Μελετῶ *meditor,* ut *ſedeo, ſella.* Servius; "nam μελέτη *meditatio,*

"Μελέτη τὸ πᾶν, *Periandri eſt Corinthii,*
"*Meditationem eſſe qui totum putat.*
Auſon. Lud. 7. Sapient.

"Et rurſus:

"Μελέτη τὸ πᾶν, *qui dixi, & dictum probo,*
"*Meditationem ineſſe totum quod geras.*

"Αυος, *ſiccus, aridus.* Itaque Homero Odyſſ. 6. tria "ilia ξύλων lignorum epitheta κάγκανα, ἄυα, ταυτὸν ἐν "τῷ παραλλήλῳ δηλῶν, idem plane pollere monet Eu"ſtathius. Inde Heraclito ἄυη ψυχὴ *anima ſicca & "ſobria*; de qua alibi dicemus. Ab ἄυος ἄυω *verbum,* & ἀυαίνω, *exicco, arefacio.* Solon. Eleg. 9;

"Ἀυαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα.
"*At noxæ exiccat germina enaſcentia.*

"Neque poſſum aſſentiri Lexicographorum principi, "qui citra codicum fidem & matricis ipſius affectum, "ἄυω & ἀυαίνω cum ſpiritu aſpero ſcribendum cenſet, "eo quod ἀφάυω & ἀφαυαίνω in compoſitis habeantur. "Siquidem uſus in nonnullis obtinuit, ut compoſita "ſpiritum mutent, quod in ἀϊτήλιος, ἀπηλιώτης, aliiſ"que patet; potiuſque videtur, ut primigenii proles, "quod ut compoſiti ſimplex, ſpiritum ſequatur. Ab "ἀυαίνω itaque ἀυαλεὸς *ſiccus,* ἀυαλέη, & λ in ν rede"unte, ἀυανέα; unde, ab ariditate potius, quam, ut "Grammaticum vulgus, ab aviditate, ſic dicta *avena,* "avena inquam, ut *cicuta,* ambitûs latioris vox, nec "ad ſpeciem ſingularem reſtricta." In the XLIVth Chapter Mr. Gataker gives us a recapitulation of the whole diſpute between him and Pfochenius, and obſerves, that the true ſtate of the queſtion is, *Whether the ſtyle of the New Teſtament in Greek is every where the ſame with that uſed by the antient Writers of thoſe times, when the Language was in its greateſt purity?* Or, *Whether it is not ſuch as frequently admits of Hebraiſms and Syriaſms?* Pfochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter; and in order to maintain his point, produces about an hundred places, in which he aſſerts, that the phraſes and modes of expreſſion, which are accounted Hebraiſms or Syriaſms, are to be found among thoſe antient Writers. But Mr. Gataker, in anſwer to this, obſerves, I. That with regard to ſome of thoſe expreſſions, which are propoſed as Hebraiſms, it is not certain from Pfochenius, that any Author had ever repreſented them as ſuch, ſince he names none; and it is by no means probable with relation to ſome of thoſe phraſes; nor, if any Writer ſhould ſay, *This expreſſes that Hebrew manner of ſpeaking,* or, *This is taken from that of the Hebrews,* does he therefore neceſſarily affirm it to be an Hebraiſm, any more than if a perſon ſhould ſay, *This expreſſion of Virgil anſwers to that of Homer,* or, *Horace borrowed this from Callimachus,* would he therefore aſſert that Virgil or Horace adapted themſelves to the Greek Idiom in thoſe places. II. That there are not a few expreſſions, which Pfochenius does not prove to have been in uſe among the antients; ſince he either cites Writers only of the lower age, or miſtakes the ſenſe of thoſe antient ones, whom he quotes, and often gives them an oppoſite meaning to the true one. III. That Pfochenius endeavours to prove ſeveral expreſſions to have been uſed by the Antients merely from the writings of the Poets, eſpecially the Tragic Writers; whereas the Idioms of Languages cannot juſtly be fixed from the expreſſions of Poets, eſpecially Tragic Authors; for otherwiſe many paſſages in Catullus, Horace, Silius, and Statius, would not be accounted Helleniſms, when they really are ſo. If theſe paſſages be deducted from Pfochenius's hundred, they will make a conſiderable abatement of the number. IV. That with reſpect to ſome expreſſions, which are ſometimes found among the Antient Greek Writers, but are acknowledged to be very common with the Hebrews, why may not they be juſtly ſuppoſed to have been derived from the Hebrew manner of ſpeaking into other Languages? Pfochenius indeed (26) affirms that "it is not at all probable, that "Plato, Euripides, Lucian, &c. who were greatly "averſe to the Jews and their manners and cuſtoms, "would abandon the elegance and propriety of their "own language, and imitate the Hebrews in their "ſtyle." But Mr. Gataker thinks that there is no ſtrength in this reaſoning; ſince we may call upon Pfochenius to ſhew, whence it appears that Plato and Euripides (to omit Lucian, an Atheiſt, who ridicules all Religion) were averſe to the Jews and their manners and cuſtoms. With reſpect to Plato, the contrary is very evident from the teſtimony of not a few, and thoſe conſiderable Writers. Beſides, every perſon, who is converſant in the Books of the old Pagans, will ſee that they have borrowed many things from the Jewiſh Writings, Laws, Rites, and Inſtitutions. It is very abſurd therefore to ſuppoſe, that they could not, or would not imitate any of their modes of ſpeaking, when they ſtudiouſly followed their Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions in a variety of reſpects. But ſuppoſing, in order to gratify Pfochenius, that all the Greeks had a prodigious averſion to the Jews, it was never heard, that men of learning, and deſirous of knowledge, ever conceived ſo great an hatred to any nation, as not to ſearch into the Writings and Monuments of it, and extract thence whatever they found for their own purpoſe. But not to inſiſt upon theſe points, we may aſk, whether the Greeks were always averſe to the Phœnicians, and Syrians, and other nations bordering upon the Jews, as they are repreſented by Pfochenius to have been to the Jews? But by means of thoſe nations, though the Greeks had had no commerce with the Jews, ſeveral modes of ſpeaking might have been derived from the latter to the former; ſince it is well known to thoſe, who are converſant in the Oriental Tongues, that the Languages of the nations abovementioned are merely deſcended from the antient Hebrew. What Pfochenius mentions of the abſurdity of ſuppoſing the Greeks *to abandon the elegance and propriety of their own language, and imitate the Hebrew ſtyle,* is of no weight; ſince it does not follow, that thoſe people muſt violate the elegance of their mother-tongue, who admit into it modes of expreſſion not common to it before; this being uſual among all nations in all ages. But granting to Pfochenius, that of all the expreſſions, which he cites, there is not one peculiar to the Hebrews, or which he has not ſhewn to be familiar to the antient Greek Writers; yet it will not follow from hence, that the ſtyle of the New Teſtament is every where the ſame with that of the Antients, or free intirely from Hebraiſms or Syriaſms. For if a perſon ſhould aſſert, that Herodotus did not

(26) Sect. 131.

4to; to which are ſubjoined ſeveral Poems in Engliſh and Latin to his memory, by William Dillingham, B. D. James Duport, Fellow of Trinity-College, Tho. Dugard, M. A. J. Stillingfleete, W. Twyne, Will. Dugard, and others. He would never ſuffer his picture to be taken. He was of a middle ſtature, a thin body, a lively countenance, and freſh complexion; of a temperate diet, a free and chearful converſation, addicted to ſtudy, but not ſecluding himſelf from uſeful company; of a quick apprehenſion, ſharp reaſon, ſolid judgment (*o*), and ſo extraordinary a memory, that though he uſed no common-place book, yet he had in readineſs whatever he had read, as his prodigious number of quotations ſhew (*p*). His piety and charity were very exemplary, and his modeſty ſo great, that "he declined not only large means in the country, but alſo Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and Court-Preferments, and ſtudiouſly waved the counſel of ſome "that had given notice of him to Prince Henry, and had it in deſign to make way for "his being admitted Chaplain to his Highneſs (*q*)." His houſe was a private ſeminary for divers young Gentlemen of this Nation; and many foreigners reſorted to him and lodged at his houſe, in order to receive from him advice in their ſtudies (*r*). His extenſive learning was admired by the great men abroad, as Salmaſius and others, with whom he held a correſpondence. Axenius (*s*) ſtiles him a man of infinite reading and exact judgment;

(*o*) Ibid. pag. 61, 62.

(*p*) Ibid. pag. 55.

(*q*) Ibid. pag. 56, 57.

(*r*) Ibid. pag. 54.

(*s*) *Epiſt. ad Gœdium*, pag. 112. *apud* J. Hallervord, *Bibliotheca Curieſ.* pag. 338.

write in the Ionic Dialect, nor Theocritus in the Doric, and to prove this, ſhould produce an hundred or two hundred words from the Writings of both, which are of the common Dialect; would this be admitted as a ſolid argument, when ſix hundred or more words might be urged on the contrary ſide, which are remote from the common Dialect, and intirely Ionic or Doric. Mr. Gataker concludes with obſerving, that notwithſtanding all that Pfochenius has urged, he does not doubt, but that near ſix hundred phraſes might be produced from the New Teſtament, and a much greater number from the Greek Verſion of the Old Teſtament, (the purity of which Pfochenius (27) ſeems tacitly to maintain), in which there are plain characters of the Hebrew or Syriac tongues, and not the leaſt reſemblance of the antient Greek tongue, as far as has been hitherto diſcovered by men of the greateſt learning and diligence. *Et certe omnibus in univerſum rejectis ac ſepoſitis iſtis, quæ in Diatribâ hac a te ſunt diſceptata, nihil ambigo, quin ſexcenta ferè ex Novo Teſtamento, ex Veteris autem Interpretatione Græcâ, (cujus puritatem Pfochenius Sect. 157 etſi apertè nolit cum illo parem præſtare, tacitè tamen pariter aſſertum it) ſumma etiam longè amplior poſſit depromi, in quibus ſermonis Hebræi aut Syri characteres ſatis clari, Græci priſci (quantum ex monumentis reliquis poteſt erui, à viris ſaltem doctiſſimis ſimul ac diligentiſſimis, qui curioſiſſimè illa, in forulos quoſque anguloſque induendo ruſpati ſunt, eſt hactenus deprehenſum) nec vola, nec veſtigium ullum comparet.* Mr. Gataker has quoted at the end of his Book two eminent Writers, who are of his opinion. The former is *Salmaſius*, whoſe words are, *Evangelium, ut multos Hebraiſmos habet, ita etiam non pauca loquendi genera exhibet merè Latina* (28). The latter is Daniel Heinſius, who writes thus (29): *Quemadmodum longè ab eorum abeſſe nos ſententiâ fatemur, qui eandem eſſe Linguam, qua conceptum Fœdus Novum eſt, cum eâ quâ utuntur Græci Scriptores, exiſtimant; cum perpetuis altera abundet Hebraiſmis, altera recepto Græcis more loquatur; ita non negarim συνιμπλώσεις eſſe quaſdam, etiam earum, quæ diverſæ ſunt Linguarum, quæ ſubinde tamen fallunt.* XIII. *Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Cinnus, ſive Adverſaria Miſcellanea; Animadverſionum variarum Libris ſex comprehenſa: quorum primores duo nunc primitùs prodeunt, reliquis deinceps (Deo favente) ſeorſim inſecuturis*, London 1651 in 4to. This Book contains corrections and obſervations upon ſeveral paſſages of the Old Teſtament, and the Greek Fathers, and occaſionally upon ſome of the profane Writers. It is reprinted among his *Opera Critica* at Utrecht 1698 in folio. In the Preface he tells us that he was prevented from publiſhing this Work ſooner by his being engaged by public authority in writing his *Annotations on Iſaiah and Jeremiah*, publiſhed with the Annotations on the Bible by the Aſſembly of Divines. XIV. *De Baptiſmatis infantilis vi & efficaciâ Diſceptatio, privatim habita inter V. C. Dom.* Samuelem Wardum, *Theologiæ ſacræ Doctorem, & in Academiâ Cantabrigienſi Profeſſorem, &* Thomam Gatakerum. London 1651 in 8vo. It is reprinted with his *Opera Critica*. XV. *Marci Antonini Imperatoris de Rebus ſuis, ſive de iis quæ ad ſe pertinere cenſebat, Libri XII, cum Verſione Latinâ & Commentariis Gatakeri.* Cambridge 1652 in 8vo. It is reprinted among his *Opera Critica*. His Commentary is likewiſe publiſhed by Dr. George Stanhope, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, in his Edition of Marcus Antoninus at London 1697 in 4to. This Commentary is an admirable one, and is an excellent Repertory of the morality of the Stoics, which Mr. Gataker collected with prodigious labour out of the Antients, and compared with that of the other Pagan Philoſophers. XVI. *Vindicatio Diſſertationis de Nomine Tetragrammato, contra Ludovicum Cappellum.* London 1652 in 8vo. XVII. *Structuræ in* Barth. Wegelini *Sangallenſis de Obedientiâ Chriſti Diſputationem Theologicam.* London 1653 in 8vo. XVIII. *A Vindication of the* Annotations *on* Jerem. Chap. xv. verſ. 2. *againſt the ſcurrillous aſperſions of that grand Impoſtor Mr.* William Lillie; *as alſo againſt the various Expoſitions of two of his Advocates, Mr.* John Swan, *and another by him cited, but not named. Together with the* Annotations *themſelves; wherein the pretended Grounds of* Judiciary Aſtrologie *and the Scripture-Proofes produced for it are diſcuſſed and refuted. By the Author of the* Annotations. London 1653 in 4to. Mr. Gataker in his *Annotations* upon that paſſage of *Jeremiah* had reflected upon Mr. *William Lilly*, the Aſtrologer, *repeating* verbatim, ſays Mr. Lilly (30), *ten or twelve times an Epiſtle of mine in one of my former* Anglicus. *The ſubſtance of my Epiſtle was, that I did conceive the good Angels of God did firſt reveal Aſtrology unto mankind*, &c. *But he in his* Annotations *calls me* blind Buzzard, &c. Upon this Mr. Lilly wrote againſt our Author, who publiſhed in defence of himſelf the piece abovementioned; in which he informs us *, that being acquainted with Mr. Henry Brigges, while he was Mathematical Lecturer in St. John's College Cambridge, and afterwards at Greſham College, he deſired him to declare his judgment concerning Judicial Aſtrology; upon which Mr. Brigges returned a very round and ready anſwer, that he conceived it to be a *mere Syſtem of groundleſs conceits.* To this piece Mr. Lilly replying, Mr. Gataker wrote, XIX. *A Diſcourſe Apologetical.* London 1654 in 4to. XX. *Structuræ ad Epiſtolam Joannis Davenantii de Baptiſmo Infantum.* London 1654 in 8vo. XXI. *Adverſaria Miſcellanea Poſthuma, in quibus ſacræ Scripturæ primò, deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis multis Lux affunditur.* London 1659 in folio. His ſon Charles Gataker publiſhed this Work, which is reprinted among his *Opera Critica*. XXII. *An Antidote againſt Errour concerning Juſtification. Or the true Notion of Juſtification and of Juſtifying Faith, cleared by the Light of Scripture and ſolid Reaſon, from ſeveral Miſtakes of the Words; which Miſapprehenſions prove the ſeeds of dangerous Errours. By the late Reverend and Learned Divine* Thomas Gataker *of pious memory. In a Diſcourſe on* Rom. iii. 28. *too precious to be buried in Obſcurity. To which is added,* The Way of Truth and Peace: *or a Reconciliation of the Holy Apoſtles St. Paul and St. James, concerning Juſtification by Faith without Works*; Rom. iii. 28: *by Works, and not by Faith only*, James ii. 21, 24. *By* Charles Gataker, *Rector of Hoggeſton in the County of Bucks.* London 1670 in 4to. Mr. Charles Gataker in his Preface obſerves, that this piece was the laſt of his father's undertaking.

(27) Sect. 157.

(28) *De Helleniſticâ*, Part. 1. ad quæſt. 1. rat. 2. pag. 140.

(29) *Exercitat. Sacr.* ad Rom. c. II. p. 328. Edit. Cantabrigiæ, 1640 in 4to.

(30) Mr. William Lilly's *Hiſtory of his Life and Times from the year* 1602 *to* 1681, *written by himſelf*, pag. 82. edit. London 1715.

* Pag. 87.

judgment ; and Colomies tells us (*t*), that of all the Critics of that age, who have written for the advancement of polite learning, there is none ſuperior to him in the talent of explaining Authors ; and that he was a man of extraordinary application and exactneſs ; but the ſame Writer in another place (*u*) obſerves, that his ſtyle is a little too affected. An original manuſcript of his containing a Latin Verſion of a Commentary upon *Galen*'s Λογὸς προτρεπτικὸς was unfortunately loſt a few years ago in the fire which happened in the Strand in London. He was four times married [*Q*], and by his ſecond wife had a ſon whoſe name was *Charles*, of whom we ſhall give an account in the following Article.

(*t*) *Cimel. Literar.* cap. 23. pag. 49. where however he criticizes upon him in ſome paſſages.

(*u*) *Melang. Hiſt.* pag. 72.

[*Q*] *He was four times married.*] Not long before he left Lincoln's Inn he married the widow of Mr. *William Cupper*, "to whoſe two daughters he was "ſo providently kind in their education and diſpoſing "in marriage to two Divines of note, and continuing "ſuch a fatherly love to them and theirs, that the "world miſtook them for his own children (31)." That wife died in childbed of a ſon, who bore his father's name, and after he had ſeen the moſt remote parts of the world, returned home to his father, at whoſe houſe he died. His next wife was the daughter of the Reverend of Mr. *Charles Pinner*, who died in childbed of a ſon *Charles*, afterwards an eminent Divine. He remained for many years a widower, and then married a Gentlewoman of a conſiderable family, being ſiſter to Sir *George* and Sir *John Farwel*; by whom he had three children, whereof a ſon and daughter died before their mother, but the third, a daughter, ſurvived her father. His laſt wife was the widow of a Citizen. He lived with her twenty four years, but without iſſue by her, and ſurvived her two years within a few days (32). T

(31) *Narrative*, pag. 49, 50.

(32) Ibid. pag. 50, 51.

☞GATAKER (CHARLES), ſon of the preceding, was born at Rotherhith in Surrey about the year 1614 [*A*], and educated at St. Paul's ſchool, from whence he was ſent to Sidney College in the Univerſity of Cambridge at about ſixteen years of age, and put under the tuition of Mr. Richard Dugard, B. D. Fellow of that College, and afterwards Rector of Fulleſby or Fulletby in Lincolnſhire. After he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts he retired to Oxford, and was entered a Commoner of Pembroke College (*a*), and took the degree of Maſter of Arts June 30, 1636. About that time he became acquainted with Lucius Lord Viſcount Falkland, who having a reſpect for his ingenuity and learning made him his Chaplain, with intention to procure him preferment ; but the civil wars breaking out, in which that Nobleman loſt his life, the expectation of our Author was fruſtrated. At laſt by the favour of Charles Earl of Caernarvon he became Rector of Hoggerſton or Hoggeſton near Winſlow in Buckinghamſhire about the year 1647, and continued there till his death, which happened on the 20th of November 1680, in the ſixty ſeventh year of his age. He was interred in the Chancel of the Church of Hoggerſton. He wrote ſeveral Treatiſes [*B*]. He

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 669.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col.

[*A*] *Born ... about the year* 1614.] It appears from his epitaph in the Chancel of Hoggerſton Church in Bucks, that he was in the 67th year of his age, when he died November the 20th 1680.

[*B*] *He wrote ſeveral Treatiſes.*] I. At the end of his father's *Antidote againſt Errour concerning Juſtification*, which he publiſhed at London 1670 in 4to he ſubjoined a piece written by himſelf, intitled, *The Way of Truth and Peace: or, A Reconciliation of the holy Apoſtles, St. Paul and St. James, concerning Juſtification* &c. The Imprimatur is dated December the 6th 1669. It is dedicated to Charles Earl of Carenarvon. Mr. Wood tells us (1), that our Author "in "his *Way of Truth* ſignifies his diſlike of *Harmonia* "*Apoſtolica*, written by Mr. *Bull* (2), and propounds "a third way to reconcile St. Paul and St. James." But that Hiſtorian is not very accurate in this paſſage ; for Mr. Gataker in that piece itſelf makes no mention of Mr. *Bull*'s Book ; but in the *Advertiſement* at the end of it has the following paſſage : "If any "induſtrious ſearcher of truth do ſo deeply concern "himſelf in obſerving the various iſſues of Religi-"ous conceptions, wherewith this age abounds, as "to take notice of the wide difference (at leaſt) be-"tween the courſe, that is here taken to ſhew the "agreement of the Holy Apoſtles, and the way, "which another and that a learned Divine hath lately "choſen and ſet out to make up the harmony ; let "that ingenuous Reader know, that this brief diſ-"courſe was prepared for the public, and indeed ſub-"mitted unto cenſure ſome months before that Book, "called *Harmonia Evangelica*, was expoſed to the "world. I did not therefore by a prophetic ſpirit "oppoſe a Book then unborn ; but it falls out, that I "having heard too much of the opinion, have directly "croſſed the way, in which that Writer walks. I think "not fit at preſent to enlarge my Diſcourſe with any "reflection upon thoſe Diſſertations in particular, be-"cauſe I am unwilling to ſtir, or to increaſe the "waters of ſtrife. I do alſo humbly conceive, that "I have already held forth ſo much light, as may "direct an attentive traveller to diſcover and diſcern "the right way of truth from the by-paths of errour." II. An *Anſwer to five captious Queſtions propounded by a Factor for the Papacy, by parallel queſtions and poſitive Reſolutions.* London 1673 in 4to. To which is added *A Letter to Mr.* Fr. M. *ann.* 1636, written by *Lucius* Viſcount *Falkland*. This *Fr. M.* is the ſaid *Factor for the Papacy*. III. *The Papiſts Bait ; or their uſual Method in gaining Proſelytes anſwered.* London 1674 in 4to. To which is added *A Letter of the Lord Viſcount* Falkland to the ſame Gentleman. IV. *Examination of the Caſe of the Quakers concerning Oaths propounded by them*, ann. 1673, *to the Conſideration of the King and both Houſes of Parliament*, &c. London 1675 in 4to. IV. *Ichnographia Doctrinæ de Juſtificatione ſecundum Typum in Monte.* London 1681 in 4to. Our Author wrote likewiſe ſome *Animadverſions* on Mr. Bull's *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, which Mr. Gataker, concealing his name, communicated to ſeveral Biſhops, ſtirring them up by Letter to make uſe of their authority in thundering out their Anathema's againſt the Doctrines maintained by Mr. Bull, as pernicious and heretical, and contrary to the Decrees of the Church of England, and of all other Reformed Churches (3). Theſe *Animadverſions*, which are commonly cited by Mr. Bull under the name of *Cenſura*, were communicated to him in the year 1670 by Dr. William Nicholſon, Biſhop of Glouceſter ; and in 1671 they were diſcovered to Mr. Bull to have been written by Mr. Charles Gataker, who in theſe *Animadverſions*, of which Mr. Nelſon has given us the ſubſtance (4), endeavours to reconcile St. Paul with St. James by the diſtinction of a twofold Juſtification, as reſpecting a twofold accuſation, according to the different conditions of the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. For he maintains, that we are accuſed before God, either as ſinners or as unbelievers ; and that we are juſtified againſt the firſt accuſation by *Faith alone*, laying hold on the grace and righteouſneſs of Chriſt ; and againſt the ſecond by *Works*, and not by Faith only, as theſe are the ſigns and evidences of our being true believers. Mr.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 669, 670.

(2) Afterwards Biſhop of St. David's. His *Harmonia* was publiſhed in 1669.

(3) *Life of Dr. George Bull Biſhop of St. David's. By* Robert Nelſon *Eſq*; pag. 401. edit. London 1714 in 8vo.

(4) Ibid. pag. 140, & *ſeqq.*

He was always firm to the Calviniſtical principles in point of Doctrine (c).

(c) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 669, 670.

(5) Ibid. pag. 145.

Mr. Nelſon obſerves (5), that Mr. Gataker "appears "to have been a perſon of great violence in his tem- "per, but one well intentioned, and a very zealous "Proteſtant; and had he had but more coolneſs of "thought, and had he withal read more of the An- "tients, and fewer of the Moderns, he would, I be- "lieve, have made no inconſiderable Writer. But "he not allowing himſelf time to think ſedately, or "even to examine ſufficiently the ſenſe of an Author, "who pleaſed him not; being fired with a zeal for "what he took for truth, from the ſyſtems, which "he had greedily ſucked in, as authentic explications, "entirely loſt himſelf hereby, and expoſed the very "cauſe he undertook to defend. However in this "he is to be commended, that he was content to "have his thoughts communicated to his Superiors in "the Church, and to the Author of the Book, which "he attacked, without making them more public "by the preſs. And Biſhop *Nicholſon* was alſo cer- "tainly in the right not to preſs Mr. *Bull* to publiſh "the Anſwer which he had prepared, notwithſtanding "all the foul language and provocation, that was "given him." Mr. Bull wrote an Anſwer to theſe *Animadverſions*, which he intitled *Examen Cenſuræ*, in which (6) he reflects ſeverely on Mr. Charles Gataker for publiſhing his father's poſthumous Tract abovemen- tioned, ſince he had not thereby conſulted the reputa- tion of a parent, who by his great critical knowledge and other learning had made himſelf more conſiderable, than to deſerve that ſuch crudities ſhould be publiſhed under his name, at leaſt by a ſon. T.

(6) *Reſp. ad Animadver.* 7. n. 8.

☞GAY (JOHN), an excellent Engliſh Poet in the eighteenth Century, was born of an antient family in Devonſhire, and educated at the Free-School of Barnſtaple in the ſame County under the care of Mr. William Rayner, an excellent maſter, who from his education at Weſtminſter, had formed himſelf upon an imitation of the method of that ſchool. Our Author had a ſmall fortune at his diſpoſal, but far from ſufficient to ſupport him in that independent condition of life, to which the freedom of his ſpirit adapted his deſires. About the year 1712 he was made Secretary to the Ducheſs of Monmouth, and continued ſo till he went over to Hanover in the beginning of the year 1714 with the Earl of Clarendon, who was ſent thither by Queen Anne; upon whoſe death he returned to England [*A*], and lived in the higheſt eſteem and friendſhip with perſons of the firſt quality and genius. In 1724 his Tragedy intitled, *The Captives*, which he had the ho- nour of reading in manuſcript to her preſent Majeſty, then Princeſs of Wales, was acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. In 1726 he publiſhed his *Fables*, dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland. In 1727 he was offered the place of Gentleman Uſher to one of the youngeſt Princeſſes, which he thought not proper to accept of. He wrote ſeveral works of humour with great ſucceſs, particularly the *Shepherd's Week*, *Trivia*, the *What d'ye call it*, *Fables*, and the *Beggars Opera* [*B*], which was acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's-

[*A*] *Upon whoſe death he returned to England.*] Among Mr. Pope's *Letters* there is one dated September the 23d 1714 (1) which begins thus: "Dear Mr. "*Gay*, welcome to your native ſoil! welcome to "your friends! thrice welcome to me! whether re- "turned in glory, bleſt with Court-Intereſt, the love "and familiarity of the Great, and filled with agreea- "ble hopes; or melancholy with dejection, contem- "plative of the changes of fortune, and doubtful for "the future. Whether returned a triumphant Whig, "or a deſponding Tory, equally all hail! equally "beloved and welcome to me! If happy, I am to "ſhare in your elevation; if unhappy, you have "ſtill a warm corner in my heart, and a retreat at "Binfield in the worſt of times at your ſervice. If "you are a Tory, or thought ſo by any man, I know "it can proceed from nothing but your gratitude to "a few people who endeavoured to ſerve you, and "whoſe Politics were never your concern. If you "are a Whig, as I rather hope, and as I think your "principles and mine, (as Brother Poets) had ever a "biaſs to the ſide of liberty, I know you will be an "honeſt man and an inoffenſive one. Upon the whole, "I know you are incapable of being ſo much of either "party, as to be good for nothing. Therefore once "more, whatever you are, or in whatever ſtate you "are, all hail!"

(1) See *Letters of Mr. Pope and ſeveral eminent Perſons from the year 1705 to 1735*, pag. 313. edit. London 1735 in 12mo.

[*B*] *The* Beggars Opera.] The Author of the Notes on this line of the *Dunciad*, *Book III. V.* 326.

Gay *dies unpenſion'd with a hundred Friends*;

obſerves, that this Opera was *a piece of Satire, which hit all taſtes and degrees of men, from thoſe of the higheſt quality to the very rabble. That Verſe of* Horace,

Primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,

could never be ſo juſtly applied as to this. The vaſt ſucceſs of it was unprecedented, and almoſt incredible. What is related of the wonderful effects of the ancient Muſic or Tragedy hardly came up to it. Sophocles *and* Euripides *were leſs followed and famous. It was acted in London ſixty three days, uninterrupted; and renewed the next ſeaſon with equal applauſes. It ſpread into all the great towns of England, was played in many places to the* 30*th and* 40*th time, at Bath and Briſtol* 50, *&c. It made its progreſs into Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, where it was performed* 24 *days together. It was laſtly acted in Minorca. The fame of it was not confined to the Author only; the Ladies carried about with them the favourite ſongs of it in fans; and houſes were furniſhed with it in ſcreens. The perſon, who acted Polly, till then obſcure, became all at once the favourite of the town; her pictures were ingraved and ſold in great numbers; her Life written; Books of Letters and Verſes to her publiſhed; and Pamphlets made even of her ſayings and jeſts. Furthermore it drove out of England for that ſeaſon the* Italian Opera, *which had carried all before it for ten years. That Idol of the Nobility and the People, which the great Critic Mr.* Dennis *by the labours and outcries of a whole life could not overthrow, was demoliſhed by a ſingle ſtroke of this Gentleman's pen. This remarkable period happened in the year* 1728. *Yet ſo great was his modeſty, that he conſtantly prefixed to all the Editions of it this Motto,* Nos hæc novimus eſſe nihil. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, in his *Intelligencer* N° III. has given us a Vindication of Mr. *Gay* and the *Beggars Opera*. He obſerves (2), "that tho' an "evil taſte be very apt to prevail, both (3) here and in "London; yet there is a point, which whoever can "rightly touch, will never fail of pleaſing a very great "majority; ſo great, that the diſſikers out of dul- "neſs or affectation will be ſilent and forced to fall "in with the herd: The point I mean is what we call "*Humour*, which in its perfection is allowed to be "much preferable to *Wit*, if it be not rather the moſt "uſeful and agreeable ſpecies of it..... Now I take "the *Comedy* or *Farce*, (or whatever name the Critics "will allow it) called the *Beggars Opera*, to excel in "this article of *Humour*, and upon that merit to have "met with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs both here and in "England." The Dean afterwards remarks (4), that an opinion obtained, that in this Opera *there appears to be ſome reflection upon Courtiers and Stateſmen. It is true indeed*, ſays he, *that Mr.* Gay *hath been ſomewhat*

(2) Pag. 18, 19.

(3) At Dublin.

(4) Pag. 23.

Lincoln's-Inn-Fields in 1728. His *Opera* intitled, *Polly*, which was deſigned as a ſequel of the former, was prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain from being repreſented on the ſtage, when every thing was ready for the rehearſal of it [C], but was ſoon after printed at London in 4to. Beſides the works abovementioned he wrote ſeveral Poems, printed at London in two volumes in 12mo, a Comedy called *The Wife of Bath*, firſt acted in 1715, and afterwards *reviſed* and *altered*, and repreſented at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; *Three Hours after Marriage*, a Comedy acted at the Theatre Royal, in which he had the aſſiſtance of two of his friends; and *Achilles*, an Opera, acted at the Theatre in Covent Garden. He died at the Duke of Queenſberry's houſe in Burlington Gardens of a violent inflammatory fever in December 1732, and was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, where a monument is erected to his memory by the Duke and Ducheſs of Queenſberry, with an epitaph written by Mr. Pope [D], who had the warmeſt

ſingular in the courſe of his fortunes, attending the Court with a large ſtock of real merit, a modeſt and agreeable converſation, a hundred promiſes and five hundred friends, hath failed of preferment, and upon a very weighty reaſon. He lay under the ſuſpicion of having written a Libel or Lampoon againſt a great M——. It is true that great M—— was demonſtratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr. Gay *was not the Author; but having laid under the ſuſpicion, it ſeemed very juſt, that he ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment, becauſe in this moſt reformed age the virtues of a great M—— are no more to be ſuſpected, than the chaſtity of Cæſar's wife. It muſt be allowed that the* Beggars Opera *is not the firſt of Mr.* Gay's *Works, wherein he hath been faulty with regard to Courtiers and Stateſmen. For to omit his other pieces, even in his* Fables, *publiſh'd within two years paſt, and dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, for which he was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought ſomewhat too bold upon Courtiers. And although it is highly probable he meant only Courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not conſidering that the malignity of ſome people might miſinterpret what he ſaid to the diſadvantage of preſent perſons and affairs.* The Dean then tells us (5), that our Author in this piece "hath by a turn of humour entirely new placed vices "of all kinds in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light, "and thereby done eminent ſervice both to Religion "and Morality. This appears from the unparallel'd "ſucceſs he hath met with. All ranks, parties, and "denominations of men either crowding to ſee his *O-*"*pera*, or reading with delight in their cloſets, even "Miniſters of State, whom he is thought moſt to "have offended (next to thoſe, whom the Actors more "immediately repreſent) appearing frequently at the "Theatre, from a conſciouſneſs of their own inno-"cence, and to convince the World how unjuſt a pa-"rallel malice, envy, and diſaffection to the Govern-"ment have made. . . . . In this happy performance "of Mr. *Gay's* all the characters are juſt, and none "of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond "practice. It diſcovers the whole ſyſtem of that "Commonwealth, or that *Imperium in Imperio* of ini-"quity eſtabliſhed among us, by which neither our "lives nor our properties are ſecure, either in the high-"ways or in public aſſemblies, or even in our own hou-"ſes. It ſhews the miſerable lives and the conſtant fate of "thoſe abandoned Wretches; for how little they ſell "their lives and ſouls; betrayed by their whores, their "comrades, and the receivers and purchaſers of theſe "thefts and robberies. This Comedy contains like-"wiſe a Satyr, which though it doth by no means "affect the preſent age, yet might have been uſeful "in the former, and may poſſibly be ſo in ages to "come; I mean, where the Author takes occaſion of "comparing thoſe *common robbers of the Public*, and "their ſeveral ſtratagems of betraying, undermining, "and hanging each other, to the ſeveral arts of Po-"liticians in times of corruption. This Comedy like-"wiſe expoſeth with great juſtice that unnatural taſte "for Italian Muſic among us, which is wholly un-"ſuitable to our Northern climate and the genius of "the people, whereby we are overrun with Italian ef-"feminacy and Italian non-ſenſe. An old Gentle-"man ſaid to me many years ago, when the practice "of an unnatural vice grew ſo frequent in London, "that many were proſecuted for it; he was ſure it "would be the fore-runner of Italian Opera's and "Singers; and then we ſhould want nothing but ſtab-"bing or poiſoning to make us perfect Italians. Up-"on the whole I deliver my judgment, that nothing "but ſervile attachment to a party, affectation of ſin-"gularity, lamentable dulneſs, miſtaken zeal, or ſtu-"died hypocriſy, can have the leaſt reaſonable objec-"tion againſt this excellent moral performance of the "celebrated Mr. Gay."

(5) Pag. 24, 25, & ſeqq.

[C] *His* Opera, intitled, Polly . . . *was prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain from being repreſented on the ſtage, when every thing was ready for the rehearſal of it.*] In the Preface (6) to the Edition of this *Opera*, printed at London 1729 in 4to by a very large ſubſcription, he gives a particular account of the whole affair, and tells us, that on Thurſday December 12th 1728 he *received this anſwer from his Grace, that it was not allowed to be acted, but commanded to be ſuppreſt. This was told me in general,* ſays he, *without any reaſons aſſigned, or any charge againſt me of my having given any particular offence. Since this prohibition I have been told, that I am accuſed, in general terms, of having written many diſaffected Libels and ſeditious Pamphlets. As it hath ever been my utmoſt ambition (if that word may be uſed upon this occaſion) to lead a quiet and inoffenſive life, I thought my innocence in this particular would never have required a juſtification; and as this kind of writing is, what I have ever deteſted and never practiſed, I am perſuaded ſo groundleſs a calumny can never be believed but by thoſe, who do not know me. But when general aſperſions of this ſort have been caſt upon me, I think my ſelf called upon to declare my principles, and I do with the ſtricteſt truth affirm, that I am as loyal a ſubject and as firmly attached to the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, as any of thoſe, who have the greateſt places or penſions. I have been informed too, that in the following Play I have been charged with writing immoralities; that it is filled with ſlander and calumny againſt particular great perſons; and that Majeſty itſelf is endeavoured to be brought into ridicule and contempt.* "As I knew that every one of "theſe charges was in every point abſolutely falſe "and without the leaſt grounds, at firſt I was not at "all affected by them. But when I found they were "ſtill inſiſted upon, and that particular paſſages, "which were not in the Play, were quoted and pro-"pagated to ſupport what had been ſuggeſted, I "could no longer bear to lie under theſe falſe accu-"ſations. So by printing it, I have ſubmitted and "given up all preſent views of profit, which might "accrue from the Stage, which undoubtedly will be "ſome ſatisfaction to the worthy Gentlemen, who "have treated me with ſo much candour and "humanity, and repreſented me in ſuch favoura-"ble colours. But as I am conſcious to my ſelf, that "my only intention was to laſh in general the reign-"ing and faſhionable vices, and to recommend and "ſet virtue in as amiable a light as I could; to juſtify "and vindicate my own character, I thought my ſelf "obliged to print the *Opera* without delay in the man-"ner I have done."

(6) Dated March 25, 1729.

[D] *A Monument is erected to his memory by the Duke and Ducheſs of* Queensberry, *with an Epitaph by Mr. Pope.*] The Epitaph by Mr. Pope is as follows:

"Of manners gentle, of affections mild;
"In wit, a man, ſimplicity a child;
"Above temptation in a low eſtate,
"And uncorrupted ev'n among the Great;
"A ſafe companion and an eaſy Friend,
"Unblam'd thro' life, lamented in thy end.

"Theſe

warmeſt friendſhip for him on account of his amiable qualifications (*a*).

(*a*) For ſeveral particulars in this Article we are obliged to two very ingenious Gentlemen, *Aaron Hill* Eſq; and *Richard Savage* Eſq; the latter of whom procured this Article to be reviſed by *Alexander Pope* Eſq;

" Theſe are thy honours! not that here thy buſt
" Is mix'd with Heroes, or with Kings thy Duſt;
" But that the worthy and the good ſhall ſay,
" Striking their penſive Boſoms. — *Here lies* Gay."

Then follows this further Inſcription:

" Here lie the Aſhes of Mr. JOHN GAY;
" The warmeſt Friend;
" The moſt benevolent man:
" Who maintain'd
" Independency
" In low circumſtances of Fortune;
" Integrity
" In the midſt of a corrupt age;
" And that equal ſerenity of mind,
" Which conſcious goodneſs alone can give,
" Thro' the whole courſe of his life.
" Favourite of the Muſes,
" He was led by them to every elegant Art;
" Refin'd in taſte,
" And fraught with Graces all his own:
" In various kinds of Poetry
" Superior to many
" Inferior to none.
" His Works continue to inſpire
" What his Example taught,
" Contempt of Folly, however adorn'd;
" Deteſtation of Vice, however dignified;
" Reverence of Virtue, however diſgrac'd.

" *Charles* and *Catherine*, Duke and Ducheſs of *Queensberry*, who loved this excellent perſon living, and regret him dead, have cauſed this Monument to be erected to his Memory." T

GEDICCUS (SIMON), Doctor of Divinity, and Miniſter at Magdeburg, is known to me only by the Anſwer which he publiſhed in the year 1595 to a little Book, wherein the Author undertook to prove that women do not belong to the human ſpecies, *mulieres non eſſe homines* [*A*]. This is more happily expreſſed in Latin than in French [or in Engliſh]; for it is equally ridiculous to maintain in our tongue *that women are men*, as it is to maintain in Latin *mulieres non eſſe homines*. This little book has been reprinted ſeveral times [*B*]; and ſome have maintained the Theſis in the title page in earneſt [*C*]. I do

[*A*] *The Author undertook to prove . . .* mulieres non eſſe homines.] I have elſewhere (1) ſpoken of the noiſe and ſtorms raiſed againſt poor Acidalius, who had given his Bookſeller a copy of this Diſſertation; and I have there given my Reader notice that I intended to ſpeak of that little Book in this place. I very much queſtion whether Gediccus has penetrated the true meaning of the Author. He has ſpent his time and labour in making a formal apology for the fair ſex; and conſequently he thought he was refuting a Work the principal intent whereof was to abuſe the women. Methinks this argues no great penetration. The Author of the Diſſertation does not principally aim at the women; it is but by accident, and very indirectly, that he treats them ill: his principal deſign is to ridicule the Syſtem of the Socinians, and their way of playing with the moſt expreſs texts of the Word of God concerning the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. A Journaliſt has obſerved this long ago. Here are his words (2): " Why ſhould not all the world be permitted to " convince themſelves that the beſt arguments of the " Socinians are ſuch wretched cavils, that it has been " ſhewn that by their gloſſes one might elude all the " paſſages of Scripture which prove that women are " human creatures, I mean, of the ſame ſpecies with " men. This was the ſubject of a little Book pub- " liſhed towards the end of the laſt Century, *mulieres* " *non eſſe homines*, to which one *Simon Gediccus*, a Mi- " niſter in the country of Brandenburg, compoſed a " very ſerious anſwer, not being aware of the Au- " thor's deſign, which was to write a violent Satire " againſt the Socinians: for in reality, what can be " thought of to turn them into ridicule, or to mortify " them, more effectually, than to let them ſee that " the gloſſes with which they attack the conſubſtan- " tiality of the Son of God, are equally proper to " prevent our proving from Scripture that women are " human creatures?" Cochleus made uſe of the ſame invention, but to very little purpoſe, againſt Luther: he wrote ſome Books wherein, after the Lutheran method, he undertook to prove, by paſſages of Scripture, that Jeſus Chriſt is not God, that God ought to obey the Devil, and that the Bleſſed Virgin did not preſerve her virginity. *Cùm Lutherani Scripturis ad ſuas nugas aptatis luderent, Cocherus* (3) *in actis Lutheri anno* 1527 *ſe librum ex Scripturis malè conſertis conſarcinaſſe teſtatur, ad probandum, quòd Chriſtus non ſit Deus; additque anno* 1528 *ſe item ſimili arte ac ſcopo, ſcripſiſſe de obedientia Diabolo debita à Deo, & de B. Virginis integritate violata. Unde liquere volebat, nihil eſſe adeò ſanctum, ad quod impugnandum non poſſent obtorqueri Scripturæ* (4). The Author from whom I borrow theſe words, had juſt before given an extraordinary inſtance of the power of cavil: he had ſhewn that by adopting the principles of certain Critics, the Apoſtles Creed would not contain one article which might not be condemned. He complains that Petrus Aurelius had lately inveighed againſt this example of chicanery (5); but I cannot approve his complaint, after reading in Monſr. Baillet what I am going to copy. " Father Theophilus Raynaud . . . . ſhews that there " is no Book, how pious and perfect ſoever it may be, " wherein a man may not find ſomething or other to " cenſure, right or wrong, when once he takes it into " his head to pervert and find fault with every thing. " But it was not very neceſſary for him to give ſuch " ſenſible and efficacious proofs, by endeavouring to " perſuade us that he knew the art of tricking and " cavilling as well as another; when he publiſhed a " licentious and impious cenſure of the Apoſtles " Creed, wherein either he himſelf or the perſon to " whom he aſcribes it, and whom he calls *a moſt ca-* " *tholic and moſt learned man*, wreſts, and perverts, in " effect, all the words of that Creed, to ſhew that there " are none but what may be ſuſpicious, dangerous, " captious, impious, and heretical, in ſome ſenſe. " This, to ſay the truth, is a ſpecimen of what curſ- " ed cavilling may produce. But I do not well ſee " what game that *moſt Catholic* Author intended to " play, by making ſport in this manner of our pro- " feſſion of Faith. I do not know whether he wrote " this piece for the ſimple, and ſuch as are eaſily " ſcandalized, or for the Free-thinkers; or whether " he deſigned to do ſome ſervice to the Socinians or " Deiſts (6)." Conſult the Article POZA.

[*B*] *This little Book has been reprinted ſeveral times.*] The Edition I make uſe of is that of the Hague, 1638, in 12mo; I do not ſpecify the others. I cannot well tell whether the Work condemned by the Congregation of the *Index* at Rome, on the 18th of June 1651, is a Tranſlation of this. That work is intitled, *Che le donne non ſiano della ſpecie de gl'huomini: Diſcorſo piacevole, tradotto da Horatio Plata, Romano* (7).

[*C*] *Some have maintained the Theſis in the title page in earneſt.*] The proof of it will be ſeen in this Remark: but all the inſtances which I ſhall mention are not ſufficient to demonſtrate that the affirmative was maintained ſeriouſly. I believe, with Voſſius, that Cujacius aſſerted it only to divert himſelf (8): *Eoque cum Cujacius contenderet, mulieres non eſſe homines, credo à ſeriis animum remittens* (*prope* amittens *in tali negotio dixerim*) *pauxillum voluit nugari, quod poſt magnum virum aliis etiam nugandi præbuit occaſionem.* This

(1) Above, in the Remark [*G*] of the Article ACIDALIUS.

(2) *Nouvelles de la R.publ. des Lettres*, for July 1685, pag. 802.

(3) This is a fault of the preſs, which is taken notice of in the *Errata*. We muſt read *Cocleus*, or *Cochleus*. Mr. Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 1. pag. 103, not having perceived this typographical error, ſuppoſed *Theophilus Raynaud* had cited one *Cocher*.

(4) Theoph. Raynaudus, *de bonis ac malis Libris*, Partit. 3. Erotem. 3. num. 528. m. 299.

(5) *Non me latet nuper Petrum Aurelium in hanc ſcriptionem vomuiſſe pleraque virulenta, quaſi id ſit illudere verbo Dei. Sed hæc eſt planè fatua criminatio, hujuſmodi enim ad hominem recriminationes à viris piis in non diſſimili materia ſunt adhibitæ. Sic cum Lutherani &c.* i. e. " I am not ignorant that Petrus Aurelius has uttered many virulent cenſures againſt this paſſage, as if it were ſcoffing at the Word of God. But this is a very frivolous charge; for ſuch recriminations *ad hominem* have been made uſe of by pious men on the like occaſions, &c. *The ſequel is in the body of this Remark.*

(6) *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 1. pag. 102, 103.

(7) *See the Index of Alexander VII*, num. 55. pag. 255.

(8) Voſſius, *de Origin. Idololatr.* lib. 3. pag. m. 984.

I do not find Queen Elizabeth is there brought on the ſtage [*D*].

There are ſome who believe that the Author of Eccleſiaſticus has oppoſed the paradox *that women have no ſouls*. If they were in the right, we muſt conclude that the Italian Author, who has maintained that paradox, has revived a very antiquated chimæra [*E*]. To make an old decrepit young again, in that ſenſe, is no very difficult taſk; and requires not the ſkill of a Medea. However, as this new Author could not make uſe of the arguments of thoſe who are refuted in Eccleſiaſticus, he may, in ſome reſpects, claim the glory of the invention. You will ſee below (*a*) a paſſage of the *Mélanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature* collected by Mr. de Vigneul-Marville.

(*a*) In the Remark [*E*].

GELDENHAUR

point was very much diſputed in Holland, while Sorbiere lived there: Mr. Beverwick, ſays he, has written "a Book *on the Excellency of Women*, occaſioned by "a diſputation on a *Theſis* advanced by way of *Paradox*, by a Scholar who had a mind to exerciſe his "wit; *mulieres non eſſe homines*. This diſpute paſſed "from the Schools into the converſation of the beſt "companies, and there is already a great deal written "*pro* and *con*. At length Mr. Beverwick has entred "the liſts, and given us as gallant and learned a "Work as can be written on that ſubject. He has "omitted nothing which might be of advantage to the "fair ſex, and has verified, by a thouſand examples, "what he has endeavoured to prove methodically and "by good reaſons, *that women were not inferior to men "in any qualifications of body or mind* (9)." I wiſh Voſſius had made as ſound a judgment of Ariſtotle's opinion as of that which Cujacius undertook to maintain: but this was not to be expected of him; Ariſtotle's authority was too much reſpected as yet. That great Philoſoper maintained a ſtrange doctrine: he thought nature did not form women, but when, by reaſon of the imperfection of the matter, ſhe could not attain to the ſex which is perfect. Voſſius (10) commends Cajetan for having acknowledged this with regard to particular nature, but denied it with regard to univerſal Nature. So that, according to theſe two Doctors, human nature does not deſign to procreate women, her aim being always to produce men; but becauſe if ſhe always compaſſed that deſign, the World would thereby be too great a ſufferer, there is an univerſal nature which provides againſt it. What wretched jargon! What a whimſical idea of wiſdom is here, and what ſtrange Philoſophy! Human nature would work in order to preſerve itſelf, and yet would not aim at producing that being, without which it cannot poſſibly be preſerved. This is the greateſt of all abſurdities; and yet there is an infinite number of Phyſicians and Philoſophers, who have maintained that nature never forms females but when ſhe loſes her way, and ſo produces them only by chance, by accident, by force. Let us hear this impertinence in Italian. *Huomini ſapientiſſimi hanno laſciato ſcritto, che la natura, percio che ſempre intende, & diſegna far le coſe piu perfette, ſe poteſſe, produrria continuamente huomini: & quando naſce una Donna, è difetto, o error della natura, & contra quello, ch'eſſa vorrebe fare: come ſi vede ancor d'uno, che naſce cieco, zoppo, o con qualche altro mancamento, & ne gli arbori molti frutti, che non maturano mai. Coſi la Donna ſi puo dire animal produtto à ſorte, & per caſo* (11). i. e. "Very wiſe men have left in writing, that na"ture, becauſe ſhe always aims and deſigns to form "the moſt perfect things, would continually produce "men, if ſhe could: and when a woman is born, it "is a defect or error of nature, and contrary to her "intention; as is the caſe when a perſon is born blind, "or lame, or with any other natural defect, and as "we frequently ſee happen in the fruit of trees, which "never ripens. In like manner a woman may be "called a fortuitous animal, and produced by acci"dent." What I think yet more ſtrange is, to find that in a Council (12) it has been gravely propoſed as a queſtion whether women were human creatures, and that it was not determined in the affirmative till after a long debate.

(9) Sorbiere, *in a Letter to* Guy Patin *written from Leyden, about the year* 1650, *It is the* LXIII; *ſee page* 417 *of his* Letters *in* 4*to*.

(10) *De Origin. Idololatr.* pag. 984.

(11) Count Balthaſar Caſtiglione, in his *Compleat Courtier*, Book 3. pag. m. 382.

(12) Held at Mâcon. See *Polygamia triumphatrix*, pag. 123. where theſe words are to be read: *Cum inter tot ſanctos Patres Epiſcopus quidam . . . ſtatueret non poſſe nec debere mulieres vocari homines, res tanti eſt habita ut in timore Dei publice ibi ventilaretur, & tandem poſt multas vexatæ hujus quæſtionis diſceptationes concluderetur quod mulieres ſint homines.*

(13) Tom. 1. pag. 6.

[*D*] *I do not find Queen Elizabeth is there brought on the Stage.*] Here is what I find in the Life of that Queen publiſhed by Signor Leti. *I have always looked with horror*, ſays he (13), *on a ſorry Book intitled*, that women are of a different ſpecies from men, *wherein the Author has had the boldneſs to alledge the example of that Queen, in ridicule of thoſe who have praiſed her capacity in the adminiſtration of affairs, and to aſſert, that during her reign, her favourites, her Council, and the Parliament did all the buſineſs, and that ſhe had no hand therein, but only lent them her name.* As it is probable there are ſome other Diſſertations on the Theſis, *mulieres non eſſe homines*, beſides the Treatiſe which Gedicus has taken the pains to refute, I ſhould be very raſh if I denied what Signor Leti writes; for I confeſs I have read nothing on that ſubject except the Book Gedicus has refuted. I ſhall only ſay, that Signor Leti would have obliged his Readers, if he had given a more particular deſcription of the Book (14) wherein he had read this calumny againſt Queen Elizabeth.

(14) He ſhould have ſet down in what language, in what country, and at what time, that Book was printed.

[*E*] *That the Italian Author who has maintained that Paradox, has revived a very antiquated chimæra.*] "A Spaniard has aſſerted that brute animals have no "ſoul. A Frenchman has aſſerted the ſame thing; "but an Italian has gone farther, and taken it in his "head to maintain that women have no ſouls: *Che le "donne non habbino anima, & che non ſino della ſpe"cie de gli huomini, e vienne comprobato da molti luoghi "della Scrittura ſanta:* and this the Author endeavours "to prove by ſeveral paſſages of the holy Scripture, "which he accommodates to his own notions. So "long as this Book appeared only in Latin, the *In"quiſition* took no notice of it; but as ſoon as it was "tranſlated into Italian, the Inquiſitors cenſured and "prohibited it. The Ladies of Italy took this Syſtem "very differently: ſome were vexed to have no ſouls, "and to ſee themſelves ſo much debaſed below the men, "who, for the future, would treat them as apes: o"thers were pretty indifferent about the matter, and "looking on themſelves as mere machines, hoped to "ſet their ſprings ſo well a going as to make the men "ſtark mad. It was very proper to ſtop the courſe "of this hereſy, which is ancient, and ſo ancient that "it ſeems to have been attacked in Eccleſiaſticus, "where the Author ſays that *God had created for "Adam a conſort like unto himſelf; and that he had "given them both a tongue, eyes, ears, and above all "a ſoul to think and conduct themſelves* †. The Au"thor of the Commentary on the Epiſtles of St. Paul, "falſly attributed to St. Ambroſe, ſays plainly, on the "eleventh chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corin"thians, that women are not made after the image "and likeneſs of God: *Fœminas ad imaginem Dei "factas non eſſe* (15)." Concerning this laſt queſtion ſee Giſbert Voetius, in the IIId volume of his *Politica Eccleſiaſtica* (16). He proves in few words, by three reaſons, that the woman was made after the image of God; and he anſwers the objection which might be grounded on a paſſage of St. Paul (17). He alſo refutes (18), with the ſame brevity, the falſe Theſis *mulieres non eſſe homines*, and obſerves that the opinion of Ariſtotle mentioned above (19) has been adopted by Thomas Aquinas, and by ſeveral other School-men, with the ſame modification as we have ſeen (20) inſerted by Cajetan. *An mulier ſit ἀμαρτημα erratum naturæ & mas occaſionatus, & per accidens generetur, atque adeo ſit monſtrum? Reſp.* Tale quid excidit *Ariſtoteli lib. 2. de generat. animalium cap.* 3. & *lib.* 4. *cap.* 2. Hanc opinionem adoptavit *Thomas part* 1. *qu.* 92. *art.* & *lib.* 3. *c. Gentes cap.* 94. Ejuſque ſequaces, *Viguerius Inſtitut. cap.* 21. §. 2. *v.* 4. Et Commentatores ad Thomæ Summam *Cajetanus, Medices, Alagona, & Ferrarienſis ad* 3. *c. Gentes cap.* 94. Inſuper ex ſententiariis *Bonaventura, Ægidius, Richardus ad* 2. *diſt.* 20. Sed panacæâ diſtinctionis emolliri putant crudam hanc opinionem, quod fœmina ſit occaſionativè, non per ſe, reſpectu agentis particularis . . . . ſed quod . . . . ſit per ſe ex intentione agentis univerſalis, & naturæ (21).

† *See* Ecclus 17: 5, *in the Vulgate Tranſlation.*

(15) Mélanges *d'Hiſt. & de Literat. recueillis par Monſieur de Vigneul-Marville*, pag. 16, *& ſeq.* of the Roan Edition, 1699.

(16) Giſb. Voetius, *Politicæ Eccleſiaſt.* Part. 2. lib. 1. pag. 185, 186.

(17) 1 Cor. xi. 7.

(18) Voetius, *Polit. Eccleſiaſt.* Part. 2. pag. 179, 180.

(19) In the Remark [*C*].

(20) Ibid.

(21) Voetius, *Polit. Eccleſ.* Part 2. pag. 181.

GELDENHAUR (GERARD) in Latin *Geldenhaurius*, a native of Nimeguen [*A*], held a conſiderable rank among the learned men of the ſixteenth Century. He ſtudied claſſical Learning at Deventer, under very good maſters (*a*), and went through his Courſe of Philoſophy at Louvain with ſuch ſucceſs, that he rendred himſelf qualified to teach that Science there. It was in that illuſtrious Univerſity that he contracted a very ſtrict friendſhip with ſeveral learned men, and in particular with Eraſmus. He made ſome ſtay at Antwerp, from whence he was invited to the Court of Charles of Auſtria, to be Reader and Hiſtorian to that Prince (*b*); but as he did not love to change his abode often, and did not think proper to attend him to Spain, he diſengaged himſelf from his ſervice, and entered into that of Philip of Burgundy, Biſhop of Utrecht. He was his Reader and Secretary twelve years [*B*], that is, till 1524, which was the year of that Prelate's death; after which he executed the ſame functions at the Court of Maximilian of Burgundy. He was ſent to Wittemberg in the year 1526, in order to inquire into the ſtate of the ſchools there, and of the Church. He faithfully reported what he had obſerved in that City, and confeſſed he could not diſapprove a doctrine ſo conformable to the Prophets and Apoſtles as that which he had heard there. Wherefore he forſook the Popiſh Religion, and retired towards the upper Rhine. He married at Worms, and taught youth there for ſome time. Afterwards he was invited to Augſburg [*C*], to undertake the ſame employment; and at length, in the year 1534, he went thence to Marpurg, where he taught Hiſtory for two years, and afterwards Divinity till his death. He died of the plague, the 10th of January 1542, at the age of threeſcore (*c*). He had been a Monk (*d*). His changing his Religion, and ſome Writings which he publiſhed againſt the Church of Rome, occaſioned a quarrel between him and Eraſmus [*D*], who

(*a*) Alexander Hegius, *and* John Oſtendorp.

(*b*) See the Remark [*B*], at the end.

(*c*) Extracted from Paul Freherus's *Theatrum*, pag. 114. where he cites Manuſcripts of the Univerſity of Marpurg.

(*d*) See the Remark [*B*].

[*A*] *A native of Nimeguen.*] He was better known by the name of his country, than by that of his family, for he was uſually called *Gerardus Noviomagus*; and Eraſmus gives him no other appellation in the Letters he wrote him. Konig (1) ſpeaks of him only under the word *Noviomagus*. Some other Bibliographers (2), for want of due care, have ſplit one Author into two; and have diſtinguiſhed Gerardus Geldenhaurius from Gerardus Noviomagus. The miſtake of la Popeliniere is not leſs groſs: *Gerard of Noyon Noviomagun*, ſays he (3), *has compiled the Hiſtory of Holland*, 1530. Does he not ſeem to take *Noviomagun* for the name of his family? Is it not certain, at leaſt, that he ſuppoſes him to be born at Noyon in Picardy? We find a like miſtake in the firſt Volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*. *Mr. Matthæus ſhews that* Eligius *had already preached the Goſpel to the Frieſlanders . . . . and that he was the firſt Biſhop of Nimeguen* (4). Here are three faults in theſe words. The Latin word *Eligius* ſhould have been tranſlated by that of *Eloi*, and the word *Noviomagus* by that of *Noyon*: for St. Eloi was Biſhop of Noyon. Nimeguen was never an Epiſcopal See.

(1) In *Bibliotheca veteri & nova.*

(2) The Abbreviators of *Geſner*, and *Draudius*.

(3) *Hiſtoire des Hiſtoires*, liv. 9. pag. 483.

(4) *Biblioth. Univerſelle*, tom. 1. pag. 89.

[*B*] *His Reader and Secretary twelve years.*] Here are the words of the Author who has ſupplied me with this Article (5); *Se ad* Philippum Ultrajectinum *Præſulem contulit, eique à Secretis in Latina lingua, & in cubiculo à lectionibus fuit per annos XII.* I wonder Paul Freherus does not ſay that Geldenhaur was employed in religious functions while he lived with that Biſhop, and we are aſſured by Valerius Andreas (6); *Philippo Burgundo, Epiſcopo Ultrajectino, à ſacris.* This is the expreſſion of Valerius Andreas, which Moreri has tranſlated *Almoner* or *Chaplain to Philip of Burgundy*. There is no doubt but Geldenhaur, who was a Monk, aſſiſted his Prelate in his devotions. Valerius Andreas is not the only Writer who informs me of this perſon's monaſtical profeſſion (7): I find it alſo in one of Eraſmus's Letters. *Quod ſi vera prædicas, mea ſententia nec aula dignus es, nec cuculla* (8), that is, *If it be true that you are naturally ſo baſhful* (9), *you are fit neither for the court, nor for the cowl.* Note, that this Monk ſerved alſo as Chaplain to Charles of Auſtria, if we believe Voſſius (10).

(5) Paul. Freher. in *Theatro*, pag. 114.

(6) Valer. And. in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, pag. 273.

(7) *Ordinis Cruciferorum Monachus.* Idem, ibid.

(8) Eraſm. *Epiſt.* 43. lib. 3.

(9) Eraſmus had juſt before ſaid, *Sed heus tu, rem oppido novam ex tuis literis accipio. Neſciebam te tam virgineo pudore præditum ut ad me non auſis ſcribere.* i. e. "I learn a piece "of news from "your Letter. I "did not know "you were ſo ex- "tremely baſhful "that you durſt "not write to "me."

(10) *Cæſari Carolo V à ſacris fuit.* Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 654.

[*C*] *He was invited to Augſburg.*] Melchior Adam (11) relates that, in 1531, the Magiſtrates of that City having erected a School which they called St. Ann's, ſent for Geldenhaur to be Rector of it. See what I quote from Eraſmus, at the end of the following Remark.

(11) *In Vitis Theologor. Germanorum*, pag. 92.

[*D*] *His changing his Religion, and ſome Writings . . . . occaſioned a quarrel between him and Eraſmus.*] Read Eraſmus's Letter *in Pſeudevangelicos* (12): he wrote it to Geldenhaur, whoſe name he metamorphoſed into that of *Vulturius*. He blames him for having publiſhed ſcoffing Books, which only irritated Princes againſt Luther's followers. *Parum erat evulgaſſe Epiſtolam ad* Spirenſe *Concilium, non magno intervallo proſiliit nobis ridiculus ille* Cometes Carolo Cæſari *dicatus. Quum iterum te meis ſcriptis admoniiſſem, ut à talibus jocis temperares, qui & Principum animos ad ſævitiam irritarent, & adeo nihil juvarent cauſam, à cujus victoria veſtra pendet incolumitas, ut etiam graviſſimè lædant, placidè quidem reſpondiſti: ſed perinde quaſi te fuiſſem hortatus, ut ſimile quiddam iterum deſignares, ita rurſus ad Concilium* Spirenſe, *cui tum Rex* Ferdinandus *præſidebat, miſſus eſt libellus, nomen* Eraſmi *literis bene magnis præferens* (13). i. e. "It was not e- "nough to publiſh the Letter to the Council of *Spires*; "in a ſhort time after came out that ridiculous *Comet*, "dedicated to the *Emperor Charles*. When I had a- "gain admoniſhed you, by Letters, to abſtain from "ſuch jeſts, which might irritate the minds of Princes "to cruelty, and conſequently would be ſo far from "being of ſervice to the cauſe on the ſucceſs whereof "your ſafety depends, that it would greatly injure it; "you returned me, indeed, a civil anſwer, but juſt "as if I had exhorted you to attempt the like again: "ſo another Writing was ſent to the Council of *Spires*, at "which K. *Ferdinand* then preſided, having the name "of *Eraſmus* ſet to it in large characters." He blames him alſo for having prefixed the name and ſome notes of Eraſmus to ſome Letters, the intent of which was to ſhew that Heretics ought not to be puniſhed. This was expoſing Eraſmus to the hatred of the Court of Rome, and the indignation of the Powers who perſecuted Lutheraniſm; it was ſaying that Eraſmus furniſhed the Innovators with weapons to attack their enemies. That learned man did not like to have ſuch ill offices done him: age had made him a coward in that reſpect. His complaints of Geldenhaur's conduct, and that of the Lutherans, are very bitter, and were anſwered by writings which he thought extremely violent. He believed Geldenhaur had been the chief occaſion of them, and he makes no ſcruple to compare him to the traitor Judas (14). *Sed nondum commigrârat* Argentoratum *ille* (15) *mirabilis concitandæ ſeditionis, & mox turbatis rebus, alioque profugiendi artifex, ille qui loca ex omnibus Epiſtolis meis ad calumniam idonea enotaret, moxque fingeret ſibi librum à fratribus clam ereptum. Qui adeò flagrabat impotenti odio, ut bono librum è mendaciis & conviciis non aliter contextum, quàm cento contexitur ex pannis, non potuerit expectare, ſed furtim emiſit inſulſiſſima ſcholia, & interim mihi ſcribebat blandas Epiſtolas: Eram Dominus ac Præceptor, à quo libenter admoneretur, qui ſine imagine mei non poterat vivere, qui proximis ad me literis etiam conſulatus eſt me, hortans ut læto eſſem animo, contemnens rabulas loquaces & ſcribaces: denique jamdudum editâ Epiſtolâ meâ, quòd me facturum ſcripſeram, in ſuis ad amanuenſem meum literis volebat mihi commendari, & interim hæc parabantur tantâ arte mordacia, ut magis lædar*

(12) It is in the 47th of the 31ſt Book; and dated the 4th of November 1529.

(13) Eraſm. *Epiſtolâ XLVII* l. 31.

(14) *Idem*, Epiſt. *ultima Libri ultimi*, pag. 2137. dated the 1ſt of Auguſt 1530.

(15) The following words ſufficiently ſhew that he ſpeaks of *Geldenhaur*; which is confirmed by this paſſage of the 52d *Letter* of the 30th Book. *Quidam G. N. è Brabantia profugus & ex amiciſſimo ſubito factus capitalis hoſtis novam tragœdiam movit* Argentorati, *nebulo ſeditioni natus. Is eſt fictò nomine* Vulturius. He ſpeaks of him again in the 56th Letter of the ſame Book: *Jam & Evangelici quidam, quorum magiſter ſceleroſus ille* Gelrius, *miris technis hoc agunt ut Cæſaris at* Ferdinandi *animum in me irritent.*

who ſpeaks very ill of him, and inſtead of aſſiſting him in his neceſſity, put him off with raillery [*E*], and called him a ſeditious fellow: a reproach which merits no leſs attention than the care Eraſmus took to deny that he condemned the putting of Heretics to death [*F*]. Moreri

ædar laudatus, quàm convitiis affectus. Et hi ſe cum Apoſtolorum ſanctimonia conferunt, quum hoc Vulturii *factum propius accedat ad exemplum* Judæ *proditoris, quàm* Chriſti. i. e. "But this wondrous Artiſt at raiſ-"ing ſeditions, and diſturbances, and then running "away to ſome other place, was not yet gone to Straſ-"burg: he, I mean, who extracted out of my Let-"ters all the paſſages which might give a handle for "calumny, and then pretended the Book was privately "ſtolen from him by his brethren; who was ſo mali-"cious an enemy that he could not wait for this Book, "made up of lies and ſlanders, as a piece of patch-"work is of rags, but clandeſtinely publiſhed moſt "ſilly notes, and in the mean time, wrote me com-"plaiſant Letters. He called me his Maſter and "Teacher, whoſe admonitions were very acceptable "to him: he would not live without my picture; "and in his next Letter comforted me, exhorting me "to be chearful, and deſpiſe loquacious and ſcribbling "brawlers: laſtly, after my Letter had been ſome-"time publiſhed, he wrote to my Amanuenſis, deſir-"ing him to recommend to me what I had declared "in writing I deſigned to do; and yet at the ſame "time theſe things preparing, ſo artfully malicious, "that I am more injured by praiſes, than affected by "calumnies. Theſe are the men who pretend to apo-"ſtolical ſanctity; whereas this action of Vulturius "approaches nearer to the example of the traitor Ju-"das, than of CHRIST." From hence we learn that Geldenhaur was at Straſburg in the year 1530, where he ſhewed a very turbulent ſpirit. But of this neither Melchior Adam nor Paul Freherus take any notice. Eraſmus ſays in another place, that nobody in Straſburg attempted any thing againſt him till Geldenhaur went thither. He wrote this when Geldenhaur was already Profeſſor of Poetry at Augſpurg: *Argentorati nemo quicquam in mea molitus eſt, priuſquam eò commigrâſſet* Noviomagus, *qui nunc agit* Auguſtæ, *profiteturque Poeticam ſalario, ut aiunt, ſexaginta florenorum* (16).

(16) Eraſm. *Epiſt.* 56. lib. 30. pag. 1941, dated the 14th of Dec. 1531.

[*E*] .... *who* .... *put him off with raillery.*] After having repreſented to him ſeveral conſiderations which prevented him from aſſiſting his friends in their indigence, he tells him that poverty is no great hardſhip to thoſe who devote themſelves to the purity of the Goſpel; that they ought to relieve one another; and that by contenting themſelves with little, and reducing themſelves to bread and water, they may always find wherewithal to live. *Porrò, quod ſignificas tibi moleſtam egeſtatem, equidem nec tam ſum inops, ut non poſſim; nec tam parcus, ut graver aniculo aureos aliquot impartiri: ſed hæc benignitas quantulum haberet momenti ad tuam egeſtatem ſublevandam? Res mihi ſanè mediocris eſt, minimumque ſupereſt meis neceſſitatibus; multum impendii requirit hoc corpuſculum .... jam bona pars mihi deciditur in famulos, &c. .... Verùm poſtquam, mi* Vulturi, *induxiſti in animum Evangelicam vitam profiteri, miror paupertatem eſſe moleſtam, quum beatus* Hilarion, *ubi non inveniret quod pro naulo ſolveret, gloriandum duxerit, quòd inſciens ad tantam Evangelii perfectionem perveniſſet. Gloriatur &* Paulus, *quod ſciat abundare, & penuriam pati, quod nihil habens omnia poſſideat. Idem collaudat* Hebræos *quoſdam Evangelium amplexos, quod rapinam bonorum ſuorum cum gaudio ſuſcepiſſent..... Adde ſi* Judæi *non patiuntur inter ipſos eſſe pauperes, quanto magis convenit ut qui jactant Evangelium, fratrum inopiam mutua benignitate ſublevent: præſertim cum Evangelica frugalitas minimo ſit contenta. Si panis cibarius adſit & aqua, non deſiderant* Attica *bellaria qui ſpiritu vivunt. Neſciunt luxum, jejunio paſcuntur. Ipſi Apoſtoli confrictis manu ariſtis famem ſedâſſe leguntur .... Fortaſſis hic tibi videbor cavillis ludere, at aliis non idem videtur* (17). i. e. "As to "what you intimate, that poverty is uneaſy to you, "truly I am neither ſo poor that I cannot, nor ſo "ſtingy that ſhould grudge to beſtow a few pieces of "gold on an old friend; but how far would ſuch a "bounty go towards relieving your wants? My cir-"cumſtances are but moderate, and I have little more "than will ſupply my own occaſions: this body of "mine requires no ſmall expence .... and a good "part goes in ſervants wages, &c. .... But, my dear "Vulturius, ſince you have taken the reſolution to "profeſs an evangelical life, I wonder you find po-"verty uneaſy; when St. Hilarion, not having mo-"ney enough to pay his boat-hire, thought he had "reaſon to glory that he had, undeſignedly, arrived "at ſuch Goſpel perfection. St. Paul alſo glories that "he knew how to abound, and how to ſuffer need, "and that having nothing, he poſſeſſed all things. "The ſame Apoſtle commends certain *Hebrews* who "had received the Goſpel, that they took the ſpoiling "of their goods joyfully .... Add that if the "*Jews* ſuffer none to be poor among them, how much "more does it become thoſe who boaſt of the Goſpel, "to relieve the wants of their brethren by mutual "charity; eſpecially ſince evangelical frugality is con-"tented with very little. Thoſe who live by the "ſpirit want no delicacies, if they have but bread "and water: they are ſtrangers to luxury, and feed "on faſting. We read that Apoſtles themſelves ſatis-"fied their hunger with ears of corn rubbed in their "hands. .... Perhaps you may imagine I am jeſting "all this while, but others will not think ſo."

(17) Idem, *Epiſt.* 47. lib. 31. pag. 2049, 2050.

[*F*] *A Reproach which merits no leſs attention than the care Eraſmus took to deny that he condemned the putting of Hereties to death.*] Eraſmus's diſpute with Geldenhaur has made me take notice of two things with ſome kind of ſurprize.

The Iſt is, that, according to Eraſmus, it was talking very ſeditiouſly and outrageouſly, to exhort Princes to take from the Monks the great poſſeſſions they enjoyed, and not to reſiſt the Goſpel. *Niſi forte non videtur ſeditioſum hortari Principes, ut facultates Sacerdotibus ac Monachis adimant, & in bonos veſtri ſimiles conferant; aut non offenduntur illorum animi, quum audiunt,* Noli occidere innocentes, Noli tuo periculo recalcitrare Evangelio, Sine verbum Dei in tua ditione prædicari. *Hæc quid aliud ſunt quàm atrociſſima convitia nondum perſuaſis; imò in diverſum perſuaſis. Quos tu vocas innocentes, illi habent pro ſeditioſis & hæreticis; & quod tu vocas Evangelium, illis perſuaſum eſt eſſe doctrinam Satanæ. Prius igitur erat illis perſuadendum: Quod ſi non potes; aliis rationibus tractandus erat illorum animus* (18). i. e. "Unleſs, per-"haps, you do not think it ſeditious to exhort Prin-"ces to ſtrip the Prieſts and Monks of their poſſeſſi-"ons, and to beſtow them on good men like your-"ſelves; or if they are not offended when they hear, "*Do not kill the innocent; Spurn not at the Goſpel at "your peril; Suffer the Word of God to be preached in "your dominion.* What are theſe but the moſt out-"ragious abuſes againſt perſons who are not yet per-"ſuaded you are in the right, nay, who are perſuaded "of the contrary. Thoſe whom you call innocent, "they deem to be ſeditious and heretical: and what "you call the Goſpel, they are perſuaded is the doc-"trine of Satan. The firſt thing therefore, to be "done, ſhould have been to convince them: which "if you cannot do, they ought to have been treated "in a different manner." This is his remonſtrance to Geldenhaur, who had publiſhed Letters addreſſed to Princes, and written in the ſtrain which is here cenſured. This diſcourſe of Eraſmus is a true Janus, having a double face: it is reaſonable in ſome reſpects, but it ſeems unreaſonable when conſidered in a certain light. They who believe it their duty to convert the world to a new doctrine, and to deſtroy reigning falſhoods, muſt neceſſarily demand to be heard, and to have no violence offered them: they are unjuſt therefore, if they demand that violence be offered to thoſe who are of a different opinion, and require them to be ſtripped of their goods, and forbidden to ſpeak or to appear. It ſeems, therefore, that Geldenhaur went too faſt when he demanded the goods of the Monks, and that Eraſmus was not in the wrong to reproach him with that precipitation. We muſt allow that to be granted to others, which we aſk for our ſelves; for every body boaſts that he maintains the truth. Moreover, to tell Princes who perſecute us, that they oppreſs the Kingdom of God, is abuſing them in a very outragious manner. Wherefore it ſeems to be the better way to ſoften one's ſtyle, and not ſo poſitively to take for granted the very thing which is in queſtion. Above all things we ſhould endeavour to make

(18) Idem, *Epiſtola in Pſeudevangelicos*, pag. 2051. *See alſo* Epiſt. 59. lib. 31. pag. 2107.

(e) *Celebris Poeta, celebrior Orator, celeberrimus Theologus* (Lovanii) *ſalutatus.* Reinh. Lorichius, *Scholijs in Aphthon.* pag. m. 302.

Moreri has committed ſome conſiderable miſtakes [*G*]. Paul Freherus has not been ſo exact as he ought [*H*]. I ſhall give the Titles of ſome of Geldenhaur's Works [*I*]. He was a man well ſkilled in Poetry and Rhetoric (*e*).

The

our maxims and our proofs reliſhed, and if we ſucceeded in that, we might then fix characters on our opinions, and the opinions of our adverſaries, according to ſtrict juſtice. In this light the Obſervations of Eraſmus appear very judicious; but when we conſider, on the other hand, that unleſs we repreſent to the World that they are irrecoverably loſt, except they reform, and ceaſe to wage war againſt God by oppoſing the Reformers, we ſhall make no great progreſs, nor ſufficiently excite the attention of the public: when we conſider this, I ſay, it ſeems that Eraſmus carried his Philoſophy too far; and knew not how little power reaſon has, when not aſſiſted by the paſſions. However it be, it does not appear to be very poſſible to bring about great Revolutions in Religion, without firſt demanding a toleration for our ſelves, which we are ready to refuſe our neighbours ſo ſoon as we are in a condition to conſtrain them. *Non aliter hæc ſacra conſtant.*

REFLECTION on the putting of Heretics to death.

The IId thing which ſurprized me was to find that Eraſmus looked on it as a black and odious calumny, to be charged with having taught that Heretics ought not to be put to death. He owns, indeed, that he had exhorted Princes not lightly to give ear to the complaints of all ſorts of Divines, or of Monks (19), and to diſtinguiſh errors from one another; but he denies he ever maintained that Heretics ought not to be puniſhed with death, and complains (20) that they who accuſe him of that falſe doctrine expoſe him to the reſentment of Princes, as though he intended to take from them the Sword which God had put into their hands (21). *Hoc atrocius eſt, quod nuſquam id doceo, non eſſe ſumendum capitis ſupplicium de hæreticis, nec uſquam adimo gladii jus Principibus, quod illis non ademit Chriſtus nec Apoſtoli . . . .* (22) *ut peccant qui ob quemvis errorem pertrahunt homines ad ignem: ita peccant qui in nullos hæreticos arbitrantur prophano magiſtratui jus eſſe occidendi . . . . nec ulla res erat quæ poterat illos magis alienare, quàm ſi illis gladium excutiam è manibus, eaſque ſectas defendam, quas illi velut execrabiles radicitùs evulſas cupiunt, & facerent, niſi rerum motus aliò vocaret illorum animos.* i. e. "This is "the more injurious, in that I no where teach that "Heretics are not to be capitally puniſhed, nor do I "any where deprive Princes of the right of the "ſword, which neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles have "taken from them . . . . As they ſin who drag men "to the flames for every error; neither are they guilt"leſs who think a prophane Magiſtrate has no power "to put any kind of Heretics to death . . . . . Nor "could any thing incenſe them more againſt me, "than my ſtriking the ſword out of their hands, "and defending thoſe Sects which they wiſh to extir"pate as execrable, and effectually would, did not "the tumultuous ſtate of affairs call off their atten"tion." I am amazed that Eraſmus, who had read the Fathers ſo much, ſhould be ignorant that during the three firſt centuries they openly maintained the very doctrine which he takes ſo much pains to clear himſelf from. They did not pretend thereby to deprive Princes of the right of the ſword which they hold from God; they only meant that that right does not extend to errors of the conſcience, and that Sovereigns have received no power to perſecute Religions. This is the true ſtate of the queſtion. All the Princes would acknowledge that they have not the power of the ſword againſt the true ſervants of God, or againſt Orthodoxy; they only pretend to it againſt the enemies of truth. It was on this ground that the Pagan Emperors puniſhed the primitive Chriſtians, and that the Inquiſition puts Proteſtants to death at this day. So that it is utterly needleſs to prove to perſecutors that they ought not to put the faithful to death; for they did not pretend to that, nor are they mad enough to believe that by depriving them of that power, they are robbed of any thing which belongs to them. The only point, therefore, in queſtion, is to know whether they can puniſh thoſe who ſerve God according to the light of their conſcience. The Fathers of the three firſt Centuries denied it; whence comes it that Eraſmus dares not imitate them? And what is yet more aſtoniſhing (23), whence comes it that within theſe few years a Miniſter of Holland has endeavoured to make thoſe who plead for toleration odious, becauſe they ſtrip Sovereigns of one of their choiceſt prerogatives (24)? Is not this being more malicious and unjuſt than the Pagans were againſt the Fathers of the primitive Church, whom they did not reproach with this ſuppoſed attempt on the rights of Sovereigns, or this pretended crime againſt the State? But to ſhew the illuſion of that Miniſter, it is ſufficient to aſk him why he takes from the Catholic Kings the power of the ſword with regard to the Proteſtants? Why does he think that it is allowable in him, which he condemns in others as high-treaſon? I ſpeak in behalf of the truth, will he ſay; but this is the pretence of all the world.

(23) We muſt ſuppoſe that in Eraſmus's time people were not ſo well acquainted, as they have been ſince, with the force of the proofs againſt perſecution.

(24) See the *Tableau du Socinianiſme*, Lettre 8.

[*G*] *Moreri has committed ſome conſiderable miſtakes.*] I. He ought not to have given *Philip of Burgundy* the title of Archbiſhop of Utrecht, but that of Biſhop: for Utrecht was not yet an Archbiſhopric. II. Marpurg was not the firſt City of Germany where Geldenhaur taught. III. He never taught at Wittemberg. IV. Neither was he *murdered by robbers in* 1542. Valerius Andreas has furniſhed Moreri with one half of theſe falſhoods: here is what he ſays. *Turpi Apoſtaſia à Catholicis Belgis ad Germanos Marpurgenſes transfugit: ubi poſtquam annos aliquot Hiſtoriam explanaſſet, dum Wittembergam verſus iter inſtituit à latronibus fiſſo ſecuri capite miſere periit an. ſalutis* CIↃ. IↃ. XLII. *die* X. *Januarii, ut refert Reinhardus Lorichius Hadamarius, ſcholiis ad Aphthonii Progymnaſmata.* i. e. "By a vile apoſtaſy he went over "from the Catholics of Holland to the Germans at "Marpurg; where after he had explained Hiſtory "for ſome years, as he was on the road to Wittem"berg, he was miſerably murdered by robbers, hav"ing his ſkull ſplit with an ax, on the 10th of Ja"nuary 1542, as we are informed by Reinhardus "Lorichius Hadamarius, in his *Scholia* on the *Pro*"*gymnaſmata* of Aphthonius." There are ſeveral faults in theſe words. 1. Geldenhaur did not retire to Marpurg when he abjured the Romiſh Religion; he did not go to Marpurg till after he had reſided at Worms, Straſburg, and Augſburg. Nevertheleſs ſee the Remark [*M*]. 2. He did not take a journey to Wittemberg after having taught Hiſtory for ſome years at Marpurg. He went thither in the year 1526, while he was a Catholic, and in the ſervice of Maximilian of Burgundy. 3. He did not die of the wounds he received from the Aſſaſſins; it was the plague which carried him off ſixteen years after that aſſaſſination. 4. The Author quoted by Valerius Andreas expreſly takes notice that Geldenhaur recovered of his wounds. If Andreas had known what terms he makes uſe of (25), he would not have fallen into theſe miſtakes; which ſhews of what importance it is to conſult the Authors one intends to cite. Swertius (26) relates this falſhood only; that Geldenhaur going from Marpurg to Wittemberg was killed by robbers, the 10th of January 1542.

(25) *Quænam verba Gerhardus Noviomagus ex lipothymia ad ſeſe rediens, olim potuiſſet dicere, cujus Witebergam profecturi caput latrones ſecuri diffiderant, ipſum apud Brunonis vicum humi ſtratum ſpoliaverant, & fugitivi mortuum credentes in ſylva reliquerant.* R. Lorich. *Scholiis in Aphthon.* pag. m. 300.

[*H*] *Freherus has not been ſo exact as he ought.*] He ſhould not have ſaid that Geldenhaur withdrew from the Imperial Court, *relictâ imperatoriâ aulâ*, and entered into the ſervice of Philip of Burgundy in the year 1512; for the Court of Charles of Auſtria, which he quitted, was not yet an Imperial Court. It is a groſs error in calculation, to ſay a man who goes to Marpurg in the year 1534, and died there the 10th of January 1542, taught Hiſtory there two years, and afterwards Divinity nine years. *Hiſtoriæ primùm biennium, ac poſtmodum novennium ſacras literas . . . . interpretatus eſt.* This would be falſe though we ſhould ſuppoſe that he began to teach Divinity the very firſt year.

(26) Athen. *Belg.* pag. 279.

[*I*] *I ſhall give the Titles of ſome of Geldenhaur's Works.*] I take them from Valerius Andreas. *Hiſtoria Batavica, cum appendice de vetuſta Batavorum nobilitate*, at Straſburg, 1533; but Voſſius mentions an Edition of the year 1520 (27). *De Batavorum Inſula. Germaniæ Inferioris Hiſtoriæ*, at Straſburg, 1532. *Vita Philippi à Burgundia, Epiſcopi Ultrajectenſis.*

(27) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 654.

(19) *Tantum admoneo locis aliquot, ne ſit hic præceps Principum ſeveritas, nec facile præbeant aures quorumlibet Theologorum aut Monachorum delationibus.* Eraſmus, Epiſt. 47. lib. 31. pag. 2051.

(20) *Ut lector parum attentus exiſtimaret meam eſſe ſententiam, non eſſe fas in quenquam hæreticum pœna capitis animadvertere: eaque res Cæſarem* Ferdinandum, *aliosque Principes, atque etiam* Romanum *Pontificem in meum caput irritaret.* Idem, ibid.

(21) Idem, ibid.

(22) Ibid. pag. 2052.

The Emperor Maximilian judged him worthy of the Bays in the year 1517. It was after he had attentively read a ſcore of Latin Verſes written in his praiſe by Geldenhaur (f). Note, this Writer ſuppreſſed a truth in one of his Hiſtories [K]. The conditions on which the employment of Hiſtorian was conferred on him, may ſometimes occaſion the advancing of a falſhood [L].

(f) Geldenhaur, in *Vita Philippi à Burgundia*, circa fin. *You will there find that little Poem.*

There is in Freherus's *Theatre* a ſmall contradiction which I ought not to paſs over in ſilence. I have ſaid, indeed, that we there find that Geldenhaur was not invited to Marpurg till the year 1534; but I have not ſaid that we find in another paſſage of that Work, that he taught at Marpurg ſo early as the year 1526 [M].

tenſis. See the following Remark. *Catalogus Epiſcoporum Ultrajectinorum. Epiſtola ad Guilielmum Geldriæ Principem gratulatoria de Principatuum ſuorum adoptione. Epiſtola de Zelandia. Satiræ octo*, printed at Louvain, in 1515 (28).

(28) *Taken from* Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 273, 274.

[K] *He ſuppreſſed a truth in one of his Hiſtories.*] It was in the Hiſtory of Philip of Burgundy, natural ſon of Duke Philip the Good. He did not forget to ſay that this Baſtard was ſo handſome in his youth, and ſo capable of inflaming the women with love, that ſome of them were laſcivious enough impudently to run afrer him, but inſtead of adding that ſome of the ſex found him not inſenſible, and had even three baſtards by him, he repreſents him ſo maidenly modeſt, that it had like to have coſt him his life. *Moribus & converſatione ita compoſitus ut magis Parthenius quam Philippus adpellari potuiſſet. Quare non tam amabat quam amabatur, laſciviores enim quædam matronæ in tantum eum, ſepoſita omni verecundia, deperibant ut harum cauſa fere in vitæ periculum incidiſſet, niſi is qui ei mortem intentaturus putabatur, occiſus fuiſſet* (29). i. e. "He was ſo modeſt in his behavi- "our and converſation, that he might rather have "been named Parthenius than Philip. For which "reaſon he was not ſo much a lover as an object of "love; for ſome luſtful matrons, laying aſide all "ſhame, were ſo enamoured with him, that on their "account he was in danger of loſing his life, had "not the perſon who it was thought deſigned to "murder him, been killed." Here is the Note which Mr. Matthæus makes thereon. *Nec exemplo deſtitutus, præſertim patris Philippi, ſuſcepit ſpurios non paucos. Tres etiam ex una Philippum, Joannem, & Oliverium, ut obſervavi ex adverſariis Giſberti Lappi à Waveren* (30). i. e. "As he wanted not examples, par- "ticularly that of his father Philip, he had ſeveral "natural children: three he had by one woman, "Philip, John, and Oliver; as I have obſerved "from the *Adverſaria* of Gisbert Lappus à Wave- "ren." Let this teach us to diſtruſt Hiſtories written by Domeſtics loaded with favours. They ſuppreſs what does no honour to the memory of their maſters. However, it muſt be allowed that Geldenhaur does not pretend Philip's chaſtity was of any long duration: he owns that Biſhop of Utrecht loved the fair ſex, and that drunken Prieſts met with more rigorous treatment from him than lewd ones (31). Note, that he openly profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion when he publiſhed this Hiſtory (32), and that it is entirely Heretical if we believe Valerius Andreas (23). Note alſo that Suffridus Petri, who has taken thence the Life of Philip of Burgundy which he has inſerted in his Appendix to Beka, has omitted all that was not favourable to the Church of Rome. Mr. Matthæus (34) makes this obſervation in the Notes he had added to the new Edition of this little Book of Geldenhaur, inſerted in his *Veteris ævi Analecta* (35).

(29) Geldenhaur, in *Philippo Burgundo*, pag. m. 220. *I make uſe of* Matthæus's *Edition.*

(30) Antonius Matthæus, *Veteris ævi Analect.* pag. 243, 244.

(31) *Ebrioſos præſertim qui cereviſia ſe ingurgitare ſolent, deteſtabatur, ſcortationibus minus infeſtus. Ipſe enim in Venerem propenſior inque adoleſcentularum amoribus ardentior erat.* Geldenh. in *Philippo Burgundo*, pag. 230.

(32) At Straſburg, 1529.

(33) *Libellus hic totus hæreticus eſt,* Val. And. *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 273.

(34) Matthæus, *Vet. ævi Analect.* pag. 247.

[L] *The conditions on which the employment of Hiſtorian was conferred on him, may ſometimes occaſion the advancing of a falſhood.*] Philip of Burgundy charged Geldenhaur to make a Collection of all the memorable things which ſhould happen, either in the Dioceſe of Utrecht, or in the neighbouring Countries, and to read his Collections to him and his Council every month. Geldenhaur complied with this Order, and was directed to alter what might be by him related amiſs. This regarded not only falſe facts, but alſo indiſcretions; that is to ſay, if he chanced to ſpeak in a manner which that Prince's Council judged imprudent, he was commanded to alter it. How many truths are comprehended in this claſs of things! It muſt be granted, indeed, that an Hiſtorian may rectify a great many narratives when Stateſmen examine and correct his Work; but, however, there are ſome facts, the publication whereof they condemn for no other reaſon but becauſe they are true. *Voluit ille* (Philippus Burgundus) *per me notari ſi quid in ſua ditione aut in finitimis regionibus memoratu dignum actum eſſet, ſed ea conditione ut ſingulis menſibus quæ annotaram, ipſi & à conſiliis prælegerem: quod cum facerem, admonebant, ſi quid perperam, ſi quid parum conſiderate ſcriptum audiſſent, id mutarem* (36).

(35) Printed at Leyden, in the year 1697, tho' the Title page bears the date of 1698.

(36) Geldenhaur, *in Præfat. Opuſculor. illuſtratæ Germaniæ, apud* Voſſium, *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 658.

[M] *Freherus . . . . . ſays he taught at Marpurg ſo early as the year* 1526.] That Author tells us (37) the Univerſity of Marpurg was opened the firſt of July 1526; that Profeſſor John Ferrarius Montanus was made the firſt Rector of it; and that Francis Lambert and *Gerardus Noviomagus* were, among others, appointed his Collegues. Francis Lambert died in the year 1530, as I have ſaid in his Article. This circumſtance alone would be ſufficient to the contradiction of Freherus; for Geldenhaur could not be Profeſſor at Marpurg at the ſame time with Lambert, if he had not been ſo before the year 1534: but which of Freherus's narratives ſhall we truſt? I think we ſhould ſay that Geldenhaur was Profeſſor at Marpurg in the year 1526; that he quitted his employment to go to Worms; that he went thence to Straſburg, and afterwards to Augſburg; and that at laſt, through that inconſtancy ſo common in Profeſſors, which I have ſpoken of elſewhere (38), he returned to Marpurg in the year 1534. On this foot, my firſt Critical Animadverſion (39) on Valerius Andreas Deſſelius will not hold good; but who could have imagined it would not, when I grounded it on a Writer (40) who has quoted the Manuſcript Regiſters of the Univerſity of Marpurg? He has likewiſe quoted them when he ſays, in another paſſage, that Geldenhaur was Profeſſor at Marpurg in the year 1526. Is this knowing how to make uſe of a Book? Note that Melchior Adam was a ſtranger to this firſt Profeſſorſhip of Geldenhaur.

(37) Freher. in *Theatro*, pag. 104.

(38) See the Remark [G] of the Article ALCIATUS (Andrew).

(39) See the Remark [G].

(40) That is, *Paul Freherus.*

GELENIUS (SIGISMUND), born of a good family at Prague [A], was one of the learned men of the ſixteenth Century. He began very early to travel through Germany,

[A] *He was of a good family.*] Let us hear what Curio ſays concerning it. *Gelenia familia antiqua & honeſta, à cervis nomen traxit, quos ipſi Gelenos vocant, ita ut Latina lingua cervina dici poſſit. Patrem habuit ſummo apud regem loco & honore, hominem minimè illiteratum, nam & Moriam Eraſmi in patriam linguam convertit, & lepidum ſalſumque opus cum ſuis communicavit. Matre ejus fœmina primaria & nobili, propter mulieres prudentiam, & probatos mores, regina plurimùm & familiariter utebatur. Talibus parentibus ortus Gelenius, parem quoque, hoc eſt, ingenuam & liberalem habuit educationem* (1). i. e. "The Gelenian "family, an ancient and reputable one, took its name "from Stags, which they call *Geleni* (Jelenn); ſo that "in Latin it may be called *Cervina*. His father was "in a high and honourable poſt under the King, and "did not want learning; for he tranſlated *Eraſmus's* "*Praiſe of Folly* into his native language, and com- "municated to his countrymen that witty and diverting "piece. His mother, a Lady of noble birth, was "very intimate with the Queen, on account of her "prudence and excellent behaviour. Gelenius, ſprung "from ſuch parents, had likewiſe a ſuitable, that is, "an ingenuous liberal education."

(1) Cœlius Secundus Curio, *Præfat. in Appian. Alexandr.*

many, France, and Italy; and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the languages of thoſe three Countries. In Italy he confirmed himſelf in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and learned the Greek there under Marcus Muſurus. In his return to Germany he went through Baſil, and became acquainted with Eraſmus, who conceived an eſteem for him, and recommended him to John Frobenius for Corrector of his Printing-houſe. Gelenius accepted of that charge, as laborious as it was; for he had a great number of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Books, which Frobenius was printing, to correct. He acquitted himſelf well of this employment till his death, that is, for thirty years together: and he was not contented with correcting the Preſs, but ſet up for a Tranſlator and Critic. Few learned men have tranſlated ſo many Works from Greek into Latin as he has done [*B*]. He was a tall man, and very corpulent. He had an excellent memory, and a ready ſharp wit: he was ſcarce ever in a paſſion [*C*], and cared neither for honours nor riches [*D*]. The employments which were offered him in other places, could not tempt him

[*B*] *Few learned men have tranſlated ſo many Works from Greek into Latin as he has done.*] Having publiſhed a Dictionary in four languages (2), he began to write Notes on Pliny and Livy, and printed them. He tranſlated Joſephus's Jewiſh Antiquities, and corrected the other Works of that Author, by collating ſeveral Manuſcripts with one another. Afterwards he turned into Latin ſome Homilies of St. Chryſoſtom, and then the Roman Hiſtory of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Evagrius, Origen's Work againſt Celſus, the Works of Philo, and thoſe of Appian. After this he undertook the Tranſlation of the Works of Juſtin Martyr, and had tranſlated the greateſt part of them before he died. This is what I find in Curio's Preface to Appian. I do not find any mention there of what Gelenius had done on Ammianus Marcellinus; a work which Henry Valeſius has greatly commended. Here is what he ſays of it (3): *Erat quidem in utroque horum virorum* (4) *magna doctrina, ut ſcripta utriuſque teſtantur. Sed in Gelenio major quædam ingenii vis, & judicium acrius fuit. Quod cum multi præclari labores illius viri teſtantur, tum maximè interpretationes Latinæ Dionyſii Halicarnaſſenſis, Appiani, Philonis item, ac Joſephi, Origenis, & aliorum. Ex quibus apparet eum excellenti ingenio & ſingulari doctrina præditum fuiſſe. Sed & Ammiani Marcellini hiſtoriæ ab eo editæ id ipſum abunde teſtantur. In quibus plurima acutè & ingeniosè emendavit; & inſignem paginarum tranſpoſitionem, quæ in Mſſ. omnibus codicibus reperitur, & in Editione extat Accurſii, mira dexteritate reſtituit. Quamobrem ejus viri nomini libenter hoc laudis teſtimonium impertimus, neminem adhuc exſtitiſſe, qui de hiſtoria Marcellini melius meritus ſit.* i. e. "Both theſe (4) were "men of very great learning, as their writings teſtify. "But Gelenius had a greater ſtrength of genius, and "a more diſcerning judgment. This appears from "many valuable works of his, and particularly his "Latin Tranſlations of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Appian, Philo, Joſephus, Origen, and others. All "which ſhew him to have been a man of excellent "parts, and ſingular learning: as likewiſe does his "Edition of Ammianus Marcellinus's Hiſtory; where-"in he has made a great number of judicious and in-"genious emendations, and, with admirable dexteri-"ty, reſtored the ſtrange tranſpoſition of pages which "is to be found in all the manuſcript copies, and ap-"pears in Accurſius's Edition. Wherefore I willingly "give him this public teſtimony of applauſe, that no "one has as yet deſerved better of Ammianus Mar-"cellinus than he." Eraſmus does not ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of Gelenius's performance on Pliny; on the contrary, he gives a very bad character of it. *Sigiſmundus Gelenius tuo nomini* (5) *dicavit* Annotationes in Plinium *jam tertiò ab ipſo caſtigatum. Sed mire impoſuit illi codex manu deſcriptus, in quo ſciolus aliquis è ſuo capite mutavit quicquid libuit, & quodam modo novum* Plinium *nobis dedit. Admonui, nè fideret illi exemplari, ſed auditus non ſum.* Hermolaus *non auſus eſt mutare lectionem* Plinianam. Gelenius *ſe putavit rem mirificam præſtitiſſe; ego cenſeo crimen eſſe inexpiabile* (6). i. e. "Sigiſmund Gelenius dedicated to you his "*Annotations on Pliny*, which Author he has now the "third time corrected. But he was ſtrangely impoſed "on by a manuſcript copy, wherein ſome ſmatterer "had altered whatever he thought fit out of his own "head, and given us, as it were, a new Pliny. I "adviſed him not to truſt to that copy; but he would "not hearken to me. Hermolaus Barbarus would not "venture to alter Pliny's text. Gelenius fancied he "had done a wonderful thing; but I take it to be an "unpardonable crime." Here follows the judgment of Monſr. Huet (7): *In iis quoque numeratur Sigiſmundus Gelenius Bohemus, quo vix quiſquam pluribus hanc artem monumentis ditavit: diſertus imprimis habitus eſt & elegans; audax in conſtringendis pluribus in unum periodis, vel disjungendis, ſenſus ſibi non ſemper intellectos ad libitum recoquit.* i. e. "Among theſe likewiſe "may be reckoned Sigiſmund Gelenius, a Bohemian, "who has left more monuments of his ſkill in this "art than almoſt any one elſe: he is in particular "eſteemed copious and elegant; bold in bringing ſe-"veral periods into one, or breaking them into more, "he gives a new turn to the ſenſe of paſſages he does "not always comprehend."

(2) *Linguarum quatuor Symphonum Lexicum, Græcis videlicet, Latinis, Germanicis, & Dalmaticis vocibus ordine diſpoſitis concinnavit.* Idem, ibid.

(3) Henricus Valeſius, *in Præfat.* Amm. Marcellini.

(4) *That is,* Mariangelus Accurſius, *and* Sigiſmund Gelenius.

(5) *That is, to* Damian de Goes.

(6) Eraſmus, *Epiſt.* 69. lib. 30. pag. 1957, dated the 21ſt of May 1535.

(7) Huetius, *de Claris Interpretat.* pag. m. 225.

[*C*] *He was ſcarce ever in a paſſion.*] Curio expreſſes this in the following terms (8): *Erat in eo animi lenitas mira, naturæque bonitas quædam, ut vix iraſci poſſet etiam irritatus . . . . cum nemine unquam ſimultatem geſſit: rerum alienarum minime curioſus, minime ſuſpicax: ſed antiqua non tamen ſtulta ſimplicitate præditus.* i. e. "He was wonderfully mild and good "natured, ſo that he could ſcarce ever be put in a paſ-"ſion, tho' provoked. . . . . He never bore any man "a grudge; was neither curious to pry into other peo-"ple's affairs, nor at all miſtruſtful; but endowed "with primitive, yet not weak ſimplicity." This is the true character of a good man; as will farther appear in the following Remark.

(8) Curio, *in Præfat. in Appian. Alexand.*

[*D*] *He cared neither for honours, nor riches.*] I make uſe of Curio's words (9). *Quanta vero continentia atque abſtinentia fuerit, quarum illa in iis quæ abſunt non expetendis, altera in iis quæ adſunt, in noſtraque poteſtate ſunt abſtinendo, illa declarant, quod cùm per tot annos tantopere in re literaria elaboraverit, ex quo magnorum virorum gratiam eſt conſecutus, nullas tamen divitias congeſſit: nullas reliquit, ſuppellectile domeſtica, victuque contentus. Bonis & doctis, ſi quos egere animadvertebat, largiebatur: felicibus & fortunatis non invidebat: calamitatibus aliorum afficiebatur: neminem contemnebat. Illud vero maximum continentiæ ſignum fuit: quod in Regis Bohemiæ aulam magnis præmiis, & honoribus, quibuſque vel cupidus & ambitioſus aliquis contentus eſſe poteſt, allectus renuit, hanc quietam & moderatam vitam ambitioſis illis & turbulentis dignitatibus anteponens. Omitto provincias bonas & literas & artes profitendi oblatas, quas nunquam ut ſuſciperet adduci potuit, adeo tenax propoſiti, vitæque generis ſemel honeſte ſuſcepti, ſemper fuit.* i. e. "How "great his continency and abſtinence were, the "former of which virtues conſiſts in not coveting "what we have not, and the latter in abſtaining "from what we have in our power, appears from this; "that notwithſtanding his literary labours, painfully "continued for ſo many years, by which he gained "the favour of ſeveral great men, yet he heaped up "no riches, nor left any behind him, being contented "with the ordinary neceſſaries and conveniencies of "life. If he obſerved any good and learned men to "be in want, he relieved them: he envied not the "rich and fortunate: he was affected by the misfor-"tunes of others; and deſpiſed no man. But the "moſt ſignal proof of his continence was his declin-"ing the great rewards and honours, ſufficient to ſa-"tisfy avarice and ambition, by which he was invit-"ed to the King of Bohemia's Court; preferring this "quiet and humble life to thoſe ſplendid and trouble-"ſome dignities. I omit the lucrative Profeſſorſhips "which he could never be prevailed on to accept; ſo "tenacious

(9) Idem, ibid.

him to quit the peaceful place he had at Basil (*a*), where he died [*E*] like a good Christian, being fifty seven years old. He had married in that City, and left behind him two sons and a daughter (*b*), of whose destiny I am ignorant. Some place his death in the year 1554 (*c*), others in 1555 (*d*). His Edition of Arnobius has been much condemned [*F*].

(*a*) See the Remark [*D*].
(*b*) Extracted from the Preface which *Cælius Secundus Curio* prefixed to his Translation of *Appian*.
(*c*) Thuanus, Bucholcerus.
(*d*) Pantal. *apud* Buchol. *Ind. Chron.*

" tenacious was he of his purpose, and the way of life " he had once made choice of." Tho' Erasmus judged Gelenius worthy of a better fortune, yet he durst not wish to see him rich; he was apprehensive lest wealth and ease should abate the ardour with which he laboured for the advancement of learning. *Gelenius pro sua doctrina non vulgari, proque morum sinceritate dignus est lautiore fortunâ, divitias vix ausim illi optare. Quid periculi inquis? Ne segnior fiat ad provehendam rem literariam. Multos πενία ad industriam stimulat* (10). Gelenius, according to Thuanus, struggled with poverty all his life (11).

(10) Erasmus, *Epist.* 38. lib. 27. pag. 1555.
(11) *Cum egestate tota vita conflictatus.* Thuan. lib. 13. pag. 271. *ad ann.* 1554.

FAULTS of Moreri.

[*E*] *He died at Basil.*] Moreri has here made an egregious transposition. He makes Thuanus speak thus: *Sigismund de Ghelen, a native of Basil, died in Bohemia*; whereas that Historian says he was born in Bohemia, and died at Basil (12). Moreri is in the wrong to say Gelenius has translated *some Homilies* of Origen: he should have said, of S. Chrysostom. Mr. Teissier is likewise in the wrong for not saying it: he has suffered himself to be led into a mistake by those who have abridged Gesner (13). *He has also corrected several Homilies of S. Chrysostom*: these are Mr. Teissier's word's (14): which seem to deny that Gelenius translated any. Look only into Father Labbe (15), and you will there find several Homilies of S. Chrysostom reckoned up, which were turned into Latin by Gelenius.

(12) *In Boëmia natus, Basileæ decessit.* Idem, ibid.
(13) *Chrysostomi Homilias aliquot cum manuscriptis Græcis exemplaribus contulit, emendavit, supplevit.* Epit. Biblioth. Gesner, pag. 753.
(14) Teissier, *Elog.* tom. 1. pag. 90. Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, *Censura Autorum*, pag. 459. has fallen into the same error.
(15) *De Scriptor. Ecclesiastic.* tom. 1. p. 531, & *seq.*

[*F*] *His Edition of Arnobius has been much condemned.*] Here is what Barthius says of it (16): *Ingeniosissimus sed audacissimus, & nil prorsus sibi negans, Arnobii corrector Sigismundus Gelenius in eam editionem, quam totam ad suum captum reformavit, aut transformavit potius, testatus neminem sibi unquam auctorem tantum negotii exhibuisse.* i. e. " Sigismund Gelenius, the Cor- " rector of Arnobius, a most ingenious, but most bold, " man, and one who takes unbounded liberties, in " his Edition of that Writer, which he has reformed, " or rather transformed, according to his own fancy, " assures us that no Author had ever given him so " much trouble." To this passage add that in the Preface to the Arnobius of the Leyden Edition, 1651. *Arnobium quidem hunc primus Romæ vulgaverat Franciscus Priscianensis Florentinus, sed unà cum veteris manuscripti, quo usus fuerat, fœdis admodum erroribus. Sigismundus postea Gelenius Editionem hanc corruptam solo ingenio, uti potuit restituit. Sed ingenii ille fiducia malo exemplo usus, conjecturas suas textui inseruit, antiquas lectiones suo imperio ejecit, & Arnobium nobis effinxit, qui Arnobii speciem non referret. Hanc audaciam merito reprehendit Canterus.* i. e. " Franciscus Priscianensis, " of Florence, first published Arnobius at Rome, but " with the foul errors of the old manuscript which he " made use of. Afterwards Sigismund Gelenius re- " stored this corrupt edition as well as he could, " merely by his own genius: but trusting too much " to his abilities, he has inserted his conjectures in the " text, rejected the ancient readings on his own single " authority, and dressed us up an Arnobius which has " no resemblance of the true one. This boldness has " been justly censured by Canterus."

(16) *Adversar.* lib. 44. cap. 1. *apud* Pope-Blount, *Censura celebr. Autor.* pag. 460.

☞GELLIBRAND (HENRY), an eminent Mathematician in the seventeenth Century, was born in the parish of St. Botolph near Aldersgate November the 17th 1597, and became a Commoner of Trinity College in the University of Oxford (*a*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts November the 25th 1619 (*b*). At this time he did not distinguish himself to any advantage; but upon hearing one of Sir Henry Savile's Mathematical Lectures, *by accident*, says Mr. Wood (*c*), *or rather to save the sconce of a groat, if he had been absent*, he was so extremely pleased with it, that he immediately applied himself to the study of the Mathematics, and made a vast progress in it, before he proceeded Master of Arts, which was on the 26th of May 1623 (*d*). Upon the decease of Mr. Edmund Gunter, who died in December 1626, he was chosen Professor of Astronomy in Gresham College in London, where he became celebrated on account of his Lectures and Writings [*A*]. Mr. Wood informs us that he was a Puritan, and that private

(*a*) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 296. and *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 612. 2d edit. London 1721.
(*b*) Idem, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 212.
(*c*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 612.
(*d*) Idem, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 225.

[*A*] *Became celebrated on account of his . . . Writings.*] He published Mr. Henry Briggs's *Trigonometria Britannica* (1) at Gouda in Holland in 1633, in fol. under the following title: *Trigonometria Britannica, sive de Doctrinâ Triangulorum Libri duo; quorum prior continet Constructionem Canonis sinuum, tangentium, & secantium, una cum Logarithmis sinuum & tangentium ad gradus & graduum centesimas, & ad minuta & secunda centesimis respondentia. A clarissimo, doctissimo, integerrimoque Viro D.* Henrico Briggio, *Geometriæ in celeberrimâ Academiâ Oxonienſi Professore* Saviliano *dignissimo, paulo ante inopinatam ipsius e terris emigrationem compositus. Posterior verò usum sive applicationem Canonis in resolutione triangulorum tam planorum quam sphæricorum, è Geometricis fundamentis petita, calculo facillimo eximiisque compendiis exhibet. Ab* Henrico Gellibrando, *Astronomiæ in Collegio* Greshamensi *apud Londinenses Professore constructus.* Mr. Gellibrand's *Preface* is dated at Gresham College October the 30th 1633. Our Author likewise wrote an *Appendix concerning Longitude*, subjoined to Captain Thomas James's *Strange and dangerous Voyage in his intended Discovery of his North-West Passage into the South-Sea, in the years* 1631 *and* 1632. London 1633 in 4to. In the *Appendix* Mr. Gellibrand observes, that " Latitude and Longitude are two primary affec- " tions of the earth. By the help of these two doth " the Geographer strive to represent the parts of the " earth, that they may keep symmetry and harmony " with the whole. Latitude then is an Arch of the " Meridian, comprehended between the Æquator and " a Parallel; but Longitude is an Arch of the Æ- " quator intercepted between the prime Meridian " and the Meridian of a place, the difference of Lon- " gitudes being the difference of two Meridians. The " measure of the former is the Meridian; the Æqua- " tor of this latter. For the exact settling of Lati- " tudes we have many and absolute helps; so that " the error, if any happen, ought to be imputed to " the imperfect handling of the Artist. But the " Longitude of a Meridian is that which hath and " still wearieth the greatest masters of Geography. " Nevertheless hath not the wise Creator left man " unfurnished of many excellent helps to attain his " desire. For besides Eclipses, especially of the " Moon, (whose leisure we must often wait, and " perhaps go without, if the Heavens be not propi- " tious to us,) we have the concourse of quick-paced " inferior Planets, with superior slow ones, or their " appulses with some fixed Star of known place, or " else some other artifice derived from their motions " and positions. As for the magnetical Needle, to " argue a Longitude from its variation, is altogether " without ground. And though well furnished sea- " men are able by their dead reckonings (as they " term them) to determine the difference of Meridi- " ans somewhat near, yet by reason of the unknown " quantity of a degree in a given measure, (which is " the rule of the ship's way) varieties of adverse winds, " different sets of tides, and other involved incum- " brances, they come often wide of the mark they " aim at. The best way yet known to the world is " that

(1) See the Article of BRIGGS (Henry) Remark [C], vol. 3. pag. 591.

private assemblies of that party were held in his lodgings at Gresham College. His Almanac for the year 1631, published under the name of his servant William Beale, occasioned

" that which is deduced from the cœlestial appearances, which being performed by judicious artists may " in short time rectify our geographical and hydrographical charts hitherto in most places foully distorted." He wrote also the following Treatise, *A Discourse mathematical of the Variation of the magneticall Needle: together with its admirable Diminution lately discovered.* London 1635 in 4to. In this Tract, which is dated at Gresham-College, 5 *Cal. August.* 1634, our Author observes (2), that his principal aim in this piece, is to treat of *the Deflection of the Needle from the terrestrial Meridian, together with that abstruse and admirable Variation of the Variation lately discovered to the World. The Variation then is the Deflection of the* Magnetical Meridian *from the* Terrestrial, *the Horizon determining its quantity and quality. These Meridians sometimes are coincident, and in such places there can be no variation; sometimes again they are different, and then that Hemisphere, wherein either extremity of the needle lies, denominates its quality; for if it be the Eastern Hemisphere, it is called Easterly Variation; if the Western, Westerly. And the Horizon supposed (as all great circles are) to be divided into* 360 *parts, and each part subdivided into Centesmes or Millesms, defines the quantity as* 10, 20, 30, &c. *parts of Variation.* He then remarks (3), that for the more distinct proceeding, and to give some satisfaction to those, who are not altogether mathematical, it will not be impertinent to the present purpose to give some probable reason for this variation or swerving of the Needle from the Meridians of most places. Take a vigorous magnet, convert it into a spherical body, and having found its poles, delineate the same with Meridians, the Æquinoctial, and Parallels. Then take a fine sewing needle, and applying it to the intersection of a Meridian and the Æquinoctial; it will be found precisely to point out the poles of the stone; and if the needle be moved towards either pole, according to its own direction, it will trace out a circle over the said magnetic pole. But if this spherical magnet shall have a part of it excavated, as admit about the forty fifth parallel and forty fifth meridian or degree of longitude, the needle moved forwards from the aforesaid intersection, as soon as it shall draw near to the limb of this excavation, will forthwith leave its former position, as lying in the plane of the prime meridian, and incline to the other solid side, not respecting at all the aforesaid poles; and this deflection we call the *Variation of the Needle.* And the greater will this Variation be, the nearer it approacheth to the poles. For whereas before the excavation each side being a like potent, the needle like an upright and indifferent arbiter inclined to neither part; after the excavation it will convert itself to the more solid side, rejecting the imperfect and defective, and so much the more powerfully, by how much the other side shall be found to have lost more of its magnetic vigorous substance. The like will fall out, if the needle be so placed, as that it shall bisect the excavated part; for then will it accurately point out the true poles of the stone formerly found, but suddenly swerve from them after any little dislocation, strongly applying itself to the more solid one. As it is with this little, so likewise with the greater *Magnet* of the *Earth*, whose solid magnetic parts are great continents; the defective and excavated the deep and vast channel of the Sea. For if there were observations made in the mid-way between the Easterly Coast of China and this Western of Europe, it is very probable there would be found no variation at all, the *Terrestrial* and *Magnetical* Meridians being congrual. But if we shall incline to either side, as admit to the Westward, the needle will in like manner move itself to the Eastern continent, as the more prevalent side, the channel of the Sea being a part deficient of the spherical body of the earth, and the needle finding no encouragement to apply itself thereto. And so likewise for the Ocean, which palliates the imperfect parts of the earth, it is evident, that if the needle shall equally divide the marine distance between two continents, there will be found no variation, as having both the meridians united, the needle equally disposing itself to either continent. But if we shall swerve from this mediety, it will preponderate with the next continent. Mr. Gellibrand afterwards remarks (4), that " hitherto (according to the tenets of all our magnetical Philosophers) we have supposed the variations of " all particular places to continue one and the same; " so that when a Seaman shall haply return to a place, " where formerly he found the same variation, he may " hence conclude, he is in the same former longitude; " for it is the assertion of Master Doctor *Gilbert*, *Variatio uniuscujusque loci constans est*, that is to say, " the same place doth always retain the same variation. Neither hath this assertion, (for ought I ever " heard) been questioned by any man. But most diligent magnetical observations have plainly offered " violence to the same, and proved the contrary, " namely, that the variation is accompanied with a " variation." This he proves by observations made by Mr. *Burrows* at Lime-house near London in 1580, who found the variation there to be 11 degrees 15 minutes, or near one point of the compass; whereas in 1622 Mr. Gunter, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, found the variation in the same place to be but 6 degrees 13 minutes; and our Author in 1634 with some friends had recourse to Deptford (where Mr. Gunter had before made the same observations with those at Limehouse) and found it not much to exceed 4 degrees. At the close of this Tract Mr. Gellibrand writes thus (5). " I will not here enter 'into a dispute " concerning the cause of this sensible diminution, " whether it may be imputed to the magnet, or the " earth, or both. It is not unknown to the world, " how the greatest Masters of Astronomy, which this " age hath afforded, for the more easy salving the apparent anomalar motions of the fixed and erratique " celestial lights, and avoiding that supervacaneous " furniture of the ancients, do with all alacrity embrace that admirable *Copernican* Hypothesis of the " diurnal, annual, and secular motions of the earth; " insomuch as conferring with that great Astronomer " *D. Phil. Lansberg* in Zeeland about astronomical " matters, he did most seriously affirm unto me, he " should never be dissuaded from that truth. This, " which he was pleased to style a truth, I should readily receive as an Hypothesis, and so be easily led on " to the consideration of the imbecillity of man's apprehension, as not able righly to conceive of this " admirable opifice of God or frame of the world, " without falling foul on so great an absurdity. Yet " sure I am, it is a probable inducement to shake a " wavering understanding. And, which adds somewhat more, I understand by *Galilæus*, a Florentine, " and most acute and learned Mathematician, that an " Italian Gentleman of the family of the *Marsilii* " hath lately found the mutation of the Terrestrial " Meridians, and penned a Treatise thereof not yet " published, which the said *Galilæus* hath seen and " read *con stupore*, not without amazement. His words " are these: *Surge di presente una quinta Novita*, &c. " Which in English runs thus: *Now there ariseth a " fifth Novelty, from which we may argue the mobility " of the terrestrial Globe, by the means of that which most " subtilely the most illustrious Gentleman Sign.* Cæsar *of " the most noble family of the* Marsilii *of Bologna, a* Lyncean *Academic also, hath discovered, who in a most " learned Tract plainly sheweth how he hath observed a " continual mutation, although very slow, in the meridian line; which discourse, which with wonder I " lately saw, I hope he will impart to all those, who " are studious of the wonders of nature.* Surely if it be " so, the due consideration of the premises doth, as I " conceive, lay open a fair way for the salving of that " irregular motion imputed to the axis of the earth; I " mean the alterable obliquity of the ecliptic, which to " deny (as some yet do, not without great violence offered to the antients) I shall hardly, without very strong " arguments, be persuaded. I pretermit likewise a " supposition, which might be made of the correspondent motion of the pole of the magnet with those of " some of the planets; and divers other conceits, " which must be all left to future times to discover, " this invention being but newly presented to the world " in its infancy." Our Author wrote likewise *The*

(2) Pag. 1.

(3) Pag. 2.

(4) Pag. 6, 7.

(5) Pag. 20.

caſioned them both to be called in queſtion by the High-Commiſſion-Court [*B*]. He deſigned ſeveral other works for the public, beſides thoſe which he had favoured us with, when he was cut off by death in February 1637, and was interred in the Church of St. Peter le Poore in Broad Street London. His funeral Sermon was preached by Dr. Hannibal Potter, who had been his Tutor in Trinity College. His memory is preſerved in that College by a dial ſet up by him, while he was a ſtudent there, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Old Quadrangle (*e*).

(*e*) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ubi ſupra*, and *Athen. Oxon.* col. 612, 613.

Inſtitution Trigonometrical, explaining the Doctrine of Dimenſion of plain and ſpherical Triangles, &c. in 8vo. *Epitome of Navigation &c.* London 1674 &c. in 8vo. *Several neceſſary Tables pertaining to Navigation. A Triangular Canon Logarithmical; or a Table of artificial Sines and Tangents, &c. Two Chiliads; or the Logarithms of abſolute Numbers from an unite to* 2000. *Appendix containing the uſe of the Foreſtaff, Quadrant, and Nocturnal in Navigation.* Theſe laſt four Tracts are printed with the *Epitome of Navigation. A Treatiſe of building of Ships*; in manuſcript, which, after the Author's death, came into the hands of Edward Lord Conway. *Almanac for the year* 1631, publiſhed under the name of his ſervant William Beale. He wrote alſo a Preface to and publiſhed *Sciographia, or the Art of Shadows*, London 1635 in 8vo, written by John Wells of Brembridge in Hampſhire Eſq;.

[*B*] *His Almanac for the year* 1631, *publiſhed under the name of his ſervant* William Beale, *occaſioned them both to be called in queſtion by the High-Commiſſion Court.*] We are informed of this by *William Prynne* Eſq; in his *Canterbury's Doom: or the firſt part of a compleat Hiſtory of the Commitment, Charge, Tryal, Condemnation, Execution of* William Laud, *late Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, London 1646 in fol. who tells us (6), that our Author was charged with inſerting in his Almanac the names of the Martyrs mentioned by Mr. John Fox in his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, and omitting divers of the Apoſtles and Saints allowed by the Church of England, as alſo the Epiphany, the Annunciation of our Lady, &c. But Mr. Wood obſerves (7), that Mr. Prynne "endeavouring all the ways imagin- "able to bring envy on Dr. *Laud*, then Biſhop of Lon- "don, who did diſcountenance that Almanac very "much, the Reader therefore is not to believe every "matter, which that implacable perſon doth there "ſet down." T.

(6) Pag. 184.

(7) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 613.

GENTILIS DE BECHIS, a native of Urbino, and Canon of Florence, was promoted to the Biſhopric of Arezzo the 21ſt of October 1473. The Florentines were very glad of it, and ſent him frequently on embaſſies to the Courts of Princes: they made choice of him to go and make their compliments of condolence to Charles VIII, King of France, on the death of the King his father, and to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the throne (*a*). He gained a reputation by his eloquence, which he diſplayed in the Latin Orations he pronounced in ſeveral places of Italy. He had a ſhare in the education of Leo X. He applied himſelf likewiſe to Poetry. Some Critics mention his productions with a good deal of contempt, and cannot forgive him the barbarous Latin terms which crept into his Works, or bear that the beſt of his Pieces ſhould have in it the phraſe *præſtare obedientiam*. We ſhall ſee the proof of all this in a paſſage of Alcyonius [*A*]. The ſpeech wherein this phraſe is to be met with, was that which he made to Pope Alexander VI, on the Embaſſy of obedience. It is pretended that the earneſt deſire he had to harangue on that occaſion, was one of the reaſons which induced Peter de Medicis to hinder the States of Italy from paying that duty to the new Pope all together, and by a ſingle Deputation [*B*]. Gentilis was ſent Embaſſador to Charles VIII (*b*) at the time of

(*a*) Taken from the firſt Volume of Ughelli's *Italia Sacra*, pag. 479.

(*b*) Ughelli, ibid.

[*A*] *We ſhall ſee the proof of all this in a paſſage of Alcyonius.*] I take it from a Dialogue wherein Julius de Medicis, one of the Interlocutors, ſpeaks in this manner to the Legate, John de Medicis, who was afterwards Pope Leo X. *Memini etiam operam te dare Gentili præſuli Aretino homini, ut ſuis temporibus politioris humanitatis laude florentiſſimo. Sed nihil etiam melior ille fuit quàm Politianus: id quod cum ex aliis monumentis ejus perſpici poteſt, cum ex orationibus quas in diverſis Italiæ locis complures habuit, in illis enim multa verba ex trivio arrepta viſuntur, multæ quoque elocutiones barbaræ & agreſtes occurrunt, ſententiæ autem multæ pueriles ac imprudentes ſunt. Nonnulli tamen eam in primis orationem honorifica laude proſequuntur, quam habuit apud Alexandrum VI. Pontif. Max. Legatus populi Florentini paulo poſt quam ille ſacris Chriſtianis publice præfectus eſt. Verum hanc quoque non ſatis dignam video quæ iterum legatur; in ea enim minus eleganter expreſſit id quod homini exprimendum erat elegantiſſime, hoc eſt cauſſam cur Romam veniſſet, quæ erat ut per illum populus Florentinus ſe conferret ad auctoritatem Pontificis Maximi. Ille autem in hoc ſenſu reddendo plebeiam elocutionem uſurpavit, quæ eſt obedientiam præſtare; quam ob rem id genus orationis tempus, ut alias multorum oblivione obruet. Feruntur quoque ejuſdem verſiculi faciliore quidem muſa facti, ſed ſine cultu & Latinæ puritatis nitore* (1). i. e. "I recollect alſo that you ſtudy Gen- "tilis, Biſhop of Arezzo, a man very famous in his "time for polite learning. But he was not a whit "better than Politian, as may be ſeen both by his "other remains, and by the ſeveral Orations which "he pronounced in divers parts of Italy: for therein "we meet with many vulgar words, many barbarous "and clowniſh phraſes, and many childiſh imprudent "thoughts. Yet ſome particularly extol the Oration "which he pronounced, when Embaſſador from the "Florentines, before Pope Alexander VI, a little af- "ter his election. But even that, in my opinion, "ſcarce deſerves a ſecond reading; for therein he has "very inelegantly expreſſed what ought to have been "expreſſed with the greateſt elegance, that is, the oc- "caſion of his coming to Rome, which was to ac- "knowledge the Pope's authority, in the name of the "people of Florence. In repreſenting this ſenſe, he "has made uſe of the vulgar phraſe, *obedientiam præ- "ſtare*; for which reaſon ſuch Orations as theſe, as "well as many others, time will bury in oblivion. "Some verſes of his are alſo handed about, written "in an eaſy way, but not in a polite or pure Latin "ſtyle." This paſſage contains a prediction, which time has verified: for the Orations of our Gentilis are now no more talked of, than if they had never exiſted.

(1) Petrus Alcyonius, in *Medice Legato poſteriore*, circa fin.

[*B*] *The earneſt deſire he had to harangue, on occaſion of the Embaſſy of obedience to Alexander VI, . . . was one reaſon why that duty was not paid . . . . by a ſingle deputation.*] Lewis Sforza had cauſed a reſolution to be taken that the States of Italy ſhould ſend to the Pope only one Embaſſy of obedience, *wherein the Deputies of each Prince and Republic ſhould join, ſhould march in their reſpective ranks, ſhould have but one ſpokeſman, and ſhould concert their meaſures ſo well, that if the new Pope had purpoſed to divide them, he might loſe all hopes of ſucceeding . . . . .* (2). *But Peter de Medicis, who had not dared to oppoſe that reſolution, becauſe he was the only perſon of a contrary opinion, left no ſtone unturned to prevent the execution of it. He had*

(2) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles VIII*, liv. 2 pag. 162. of the Dutch Edition.

of the expedition of Naples, and ſettled the conditions which the Florentines were to obſerve in that nice ſituation of the affairs of Italy.

had cauſed himſelf to be appointed chief of the Deputation of the Florentines: his equipage was almoſt quite ready; and as none in Italy, except the Republic of Venice, had more money than he, and he ſpared for no expence on ſuch pompous occaſions, he was ſure of making a better appearance alone than all the other Embaſſadors and Deputies together. . . . He conſidered that if his train marched with that of the other Embaſſadors, it would be eclipſed by the great number of them, and that none but the ſharpeſt eyes would diſtinguiſh it in the confuſion; whereas if he made his entry into Rome, and went to audience alone, both the good judges, and thoſe who were but indifferent ones, would do him equal juſtice. Notwithſtanding it would not have been impoſſible to cure him of this prepoſſeſſion, if his friends had endeavoured it: but he among them who was moſt intimate with him, out of a caprice of another kind, confirmed him in his error, inſtead of convincing him of it. This was Scipio Gentilis, a Florentine Gentleman (3), *and Biſhop of Arezzo, who had made himſelf very famous by his ſkill in polite literature, and the charms of his converſation. His birth and great riches did not make him the leſs affable, and his exceſſive paſſion for eloquence was almoſt the only fault he had. He was no extraordinary Orator; and yet he had ſo good an opinion of himſelf in that reſpect, that he would hardly yield to the incomparable Savanarola. He had, by his intereſt, obtained of the Republic of Florence, that he ſhould harangue the Pope in their behalf; and had afterwards compoſed his ſpeech with the utmoſt application he was capable of. He had communicated it to Picus of Mirandula, Angelus Politianus, Marcellus Ficinus, and the other Wits of Italy, who having approved of it, had confirmed him in the conceit that it was a maſter-piece: ſo that nothing could diſoblige him more, than to prevent his ſpeaking it; which yet would neceſſarily happen, if there was but one Orator for all Italy: becauſe the King of Naples, as the firſt dignity of all the Princes, would have the right to name him. That Prince, who had in his Capital the moſt flouriſhing Univerſity in Europe for polite learning, of which the celebrated Sannazarius was the Director, would never chooſe a perſon who was not of that body to make a ſpeech to his Holineſs. Gentilis, therefore, animated by his own intereſt, excited Peter de Medicis to that degree that he made him ſollicit the King of Naples for the revival of the cuſtom, that every State in Italy ſhould pay their reſpects to the new Pope ſingly* (4). *This ſucceeded: The ceremony of obedience was performed by each Prince, and by each Republic of Italy ſeparately; and the two Florentines found their account in it. The equipage of Peter de Medicis ſurpaſſed all the others in magnificence; and the ſpeech of Scipio Gentile was ſo highly eſteemed, that it was placed at the head of the Collection of Pieces of that kind* (5).

(3) *Ugbelli* does not give him this Chriſtian Name: he only calls him *Gentilis de Becbis*: he makes him a native of Urbino, and not a Gentleman of Florence.

(4) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles VIII*, pag. 163.

(5) Ibid. pag. 165, 166.

Some may think this quotation too long; but I doubt not that ſeveral others will be glad to find here a complete account of ſo curious a fact.

GENTILIS (JOHN VALENTINE) (*a*), a native of Coſenza [*A*], in the Kingdom of Naples, left his country on account of Religion about the middle of the ſixteenth Century, and retired to Geneva, where ſeveral Italian families had already formed a Church. Among thoſe Italian Refugees there were ſome who would needs ſubtilize with regard to the myſtery of the Trinity, and the words Eſſence, Perſon, Coeſſential, &c. George Blandrata, a Phyſician, and John Paul Alciatus, a Milaneſe, were the chief of theſe Innovators, with an Advocate named Matthew Gribaud. The ſubject was treated without noiſe, and by private Writings. Gentilis engaged in theſe Diſputes, and contributed not a little to encourage thoſe new Arians. This occaſioned the Articles of Faith, which were drawn up in the Italian Conſiſtory, the 18th of May 1558 [*B*], and contained the moſt pure and orthodox doctrine with relation to that Myſtery, and by which they promiſed in preciſe terms, and on pain of being reputed perjured and perfidious, to do nothing directly or indirectly, which might wound it. Gentilis ſubſcribed theſe Articles, and notwithſtanding propagated his errors clandeſtinely. Thereupon the Magiſtrates took cognizance of the affair, and put him in priſon. He was convicted of having violated his ſubſcription; which he endeavoured to excuſe by pleading the inſtincts

(*a*) See the Remark [*D*] of the Article GENTILIS (Scipio) towards the end.

[*A*] *He was a native of Coſenza.*] Some (1) ſay he was not born in that City; others (2) make him a Neapolitan. Nicodemo invincibly refutes them by the teſtimony of ſeveral grave Authors, and by the very ſubſcription of Valentine Gentilis; but he is miſtaken in attributing to Theodore Beza the Hiſtory of that Heretic's execution. To be entirely in the right he ſhould have aſcribed that Work to Benedictus Aretius, after cenſuring Quatromani who had made Calvin the Author of it.

(1) Sertorio Quatromani, in *Epiſt. ad Celſum Mollum, apud* Leonardum Nicodemum, *Addizioni alla Biblioteca Napolitana*, pag. 243.

(2) Lindanus, in *Dubitantio*, Dial. 2. pag. 149, & *ex eo* Prateolus, *in* Elench. *Hæret.* pag. 510. *apud* Nicodemum, ibid. pag. 244.

[*B*] *This occaſioned the Articles of Faith, which were drawn up in the Italian Conſiſtory the 18th of May 1558.*] The Author (3) of the Italian Book which I have quoted, and Calvin againſt Gentilis, ſpeak only of the Articles of the Italian Conſiſtory, and name but five perſons who ſigned them; and ſay, indeed, that Gentilis and five others, having refuſed to ſign immediately, did ſign afterwards when they were ſent for in private (4); but they do not ſay he was one of the ſeven who choſe rather to quit Geneva than to ſubſcribe, till the earneſt ſollicitations of their countrymen obliged them to come back and ſign. It is Signor Leti (5) who, without mentioning the Articles drawn up by the Italian Conſiſtory, gives an account of a much longer ſet, which he ſays was propoſed to be ſigned before the Council. Theſe Articles were nothing more than the Confeſſion of Faith which Calvin had lately drawn up, and which the Miniſters, the Syndics, the Council of twenty five, the Council of two hundred, and the general Aſſembly of the people had approved. He names ſeveral people who ſigned them; and, among others, *Galeazzo Caracciolo, Celſo Conte Martinengo, Maſſimiliano ſuo fratello, Miniſtro della Chieſa.* But as to the firſt, the Account of his Life informs us that he was not in Geneva from the ſeventh of March, till the fourth of October, 1558; and it was in this interval that the Articles were ſubſcribed, and Gentilis was impriſoned, &c. As to the other two, the ſame Account informs us that we muſt reduce them to one, that is the Miniſter. Now this Martinengo was dead before the Subſcriptions were thought of. See the 262d Letter of Calvin. Signor Leti adds, that ſeven perſons, three of whom were Andrew Oſſellani, Mark Pizzi, and Valentine Gentilis, refuſed to ſet their hands, and left the City; *Che in fatti ſi ritirarono della Citta e tra queſti Andrea Oſſellani, Marco Pizzi, e Valentino Gentile: quali vinti poi in breve dalle perſuaſive de loro compatrioti, ſi riduſſero à ſotto ſcrivere* (6). What he ſays may be true; but if it be, how much are the Authors of the other Relations to blame, for having ſuppreſſed facts ſo eſſential to this piece of Hiſtory? Dr. Spon (7) agrees with them but in part: he ſays the Council cauſed the general Confeſſion of the Church to be ſigned by the ſuſpected Italians; he owns ſome of them left the city, but not that they returned thither to ſubſcribe; nor does he reckon Gentilis among thoſe who left the city. Why muſt Hiſtory be ſo full of variations? Is it becauſe Writers take a delight in falſifying the Memoirs they copy? Or is it becauſe they do not perceive the alterations they make therein?

(3) *Benedictus Aretius.* As to his Book ſee below, the Citation (*b*) in the Margin of the Text of this Article.

(4) *See* Beza, in the *Life of Calvin.*

(5) *Hiſtor. Genevrina*, tom. 3. pag. 104.

(6) Ibid. pag. 117.

(7) *Hiſt. de Geneve*, ad ann. 1558.

ſtincts of his conſcience. He preſented ſeveral Writings, at firſt to try to palliate and maintain his opinions, and afterwards to appeaſe Calvin, and to confeſs and abjure his errors: in conſideration whereof the Magiſtrates of Geneva ſentenced him only to undergo the *Amende honorable*, to throw his writings into the fire with his own hands, and to engage not to ſtir out of the City without permiſſion. This ſentence was executed the ſecond of September 1558. He was diſcharged from priſon a few days after; and on the petition which he preſented, alledging his inability to give bail, he was excuſed from it; but they obliged him to ſwear that he would not go out of Geneva without the conſent of the Magiſtrates. Notwithſtanding he ſoon fled, and retired into the country to Matthew Gribaud [*C*], his Brother Heretic. He then went to Lyons, and afterwards wandred about from place to place in Dauphiné and Savoy; and being no where ſafe, he returned to the village whither he firſt retired, in the territory of the Canton of Bern. He was quickly known there and put in priſon; but he was ſet at liberty in a few days, and publiſhed a Confeſſion of faith ſupported by ſome proofs, and ſome invectives againſt St. Athanaſius. He dedicated it to the Bailiff who had committed him to priſon, and made him very uneaſy by ſuch a dedication [*D*]. About the ſame time he was impriſoned at Lyons for his doctrine; but being artful enough to perſuade them that his deſign was againſt Calvin, and not againſt the myſtery of the Trinity, he was diſcharged. Blandrata and Alciatus, who uſed their utmoſt efforts in Poland to eſtabliſh their Hereſies, invited him to come to them, and aſſiſt them in their work. They would have done a great deal more miſchief than they did, if they had not been divided among themſelves, and if the King of Poland had not, in 1566, publiſhed an Edict for the baniſhing of all ſtrangers who ſhould teach their new doctrines [*E*]. Gentilis retired into Moravia, from whence he went to Vienna in Auſtria, and then reſolved to return to Savoy, where he hoped again to find his friend Gribaud; death having alſo delivered him from the moſt formidable enemy he had to fear in thoſe parts, I mean Calvin: but he brought himſelf into a ſnare: for the Bailiff of the Canton of Bern, who had formerly committed him, happened to be ſtill in office, and failed not to ſeize him the eleventh of June 1566 [*F*]. The cauſe was carried to Bern, where it was under examination from the fifth of Auguſt to the ninth of September. Gentilis, being duly convicted of having obſtinately, and contrary to his oath, attacked the myſtery of the Trinity, was condemned to loſe his head. He gloried in ſuffering, as he pretended, for the honour of God the Father.

[*C*] *He retired into the Country to Matthew Gribaud.*] Aretius ſays he retired *in pagam Fargiarum*; and that the ſaid village is in the country of Gex, *in præfectura Gajenſi*. This makes me believe there is a fault in the paſſage of Lubieniecius (8), where it is ſaid that *Matthæus Gribaldus, celeberrimus Juriſconſultus Patavinus*, was *pagi Turgiarum Dominus*. I ſhould ſay *Fargiarum*. The country of Gex was then in poſſeſſion of the Canton of Bern.

(8) *Hiſt. Reform. Polonicæ*, pag. 108.

[*D*] *He dedicated to the Bailiff of Gex a Confeſſion of Faith . . . and made him very uneaſy by ſuch a Dedication.*] This Bailiff of Gex had demanded of Gentilis a Confeſſion of Faith, in order to get it examined by the Miniſters, and to ſend it to Bern: thereupon Gentilis cauſed it to be printed, as by the Bailiff's order, and dedicated it to him (9). The *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum* tells us (10) that this Bailiff, who had diſcharged Gentilis out of priſon at the requeſt of John Paul Alciatus, became ſuſpected of Hereſy at Bern, becauſe that Confeſſion was dedicated to him; and that he therefore ſecured Gentilis as ſoon as he had an opportunity. This he did to remove ſuſpicions. Whether this be true or no, it is very certain at leaſt that there is ſcarce any machine, which more powerfully moves thoſe who would preſerve or increaſe their dignities, than the deſire of not paſſing for Heretics. If the Hiſtory of all the unjuſt and hypocritical actions which ſpring from this ſource was to be written, what ſtrange things would be brought to light! The Confeſſion of Gentilis, and the pieces joined to it, were printed at Lyons; yet the Title bears *Antwerp*, and the Bookſeller is made to ſpeak in the Preface under the name of *Theophilus ad filios Eccleſiæ*. In the proceedings againſt Gentilis, his lies were placed at the head of his impoſtures (11). Some other Works of his own writing were found upon him when he was ſeized; but they were not printed. Aretius (12) and the *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum* (13) mention them.

(9) Aretius, pag. 9, & 46.

(10) Pag. 27. Vide etiam *Hiſtoriam Reformat. Polonicæ*, pag. 107.

(11) Aretius, pag. 46.

(12) Ibid. pag. 11, 12.

(13) Pag. 26, 27.

[*E*] *The King of Poland . . . . in* 1566 *publiſhed an Edict for the baniſhing of all ſtrangers who ſhould teach new doctrines.*] Moreri has here been guilty of ſeveral faults. I. He pretends that Valentine Gentilis was driven out of Poland about the year 1562. In the IId place, that the Edict then publiſhed by King Sigiſmund Auguſtus baniſhed all Heretics. The whole of this is falſe. The Edict was publiſhed in a Diet called on the 5th of March 1566 (14), and did not concern the Calviniſts. Aretius would not have beſtowed ſuch commendations on the King of Poland as he has done, if the Reformed had been comprized in that Edict; and they were ſo far from being ſo, that they were accuſed of having contributed to the publiſhing of it. *Inſtigantibus adverſariis Romano & Lemano ſpiritu ductis Rex Auguſtus in Comitio Lublinenſi anno* 1566 *legem horrendi carminis in Anabaptiſtas, & Trideitas latam promulgari curavit, qua ii intra menſem regni finibus excedere juſſi.* i. e. "At the inſtigation of their "adverſaries, moved by the ſpirit of Rome and Ge- "neva, King Auguſtus, in the Diet of Lublin, in "the year 1566, cauſed a very ſevere Edict to be paſ- "ſed againſt the Anabaptiſts and Tritheiſts, by which "they were commanded to quit the Kingdom within "a month." Theſe are the words of Lubieniecius, in the 194th page of his *Reformation of Poland*. III. Laſtly, he is not at all exact in ſaying ſo generally that Gentilis, *going to Bern, had his head ſtruck off there about the year* 1565. Father Maimbourg (15) has not entirely avoided an Anachroniſm with regard to Gentilis: he makes him diſpute at the Conference of Petricow in 1566, whereas it was held in 1565.

(14) *In Comitiis Pinſovienſibus, anno* 1566, 5 *Martij celebratis.* Aretius, pag. 10. The *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Poland*, pag. 195. ſays it was *in Comitio Lublinenſi, anno* 1566.

(15) *Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme*, tom. 3. pag. 356. of the Dutch Edition.

[*F*] *The Bailiff . . . . who had formerly committed him, happened to be ſtill in office, and failed not to ſeize him, the* 11*th of June* 1566.] It was at Gex that Gentilis was arreſted, and not at Bern. He went thither to (16) wait on the Bailiff, to demand his leave for a public diſputation, the plan and conditions whereof were found among the fugitive's papers. He deſired the Bailiff to let the neighbouring Miniſters and Conſiſtories know, that if any one had a mind to maintain Calvin's doctrine againſt Gentilis, he ſhould come to Gex within eight days, to diſpute with him on this condition, that he who could not prove his opinion by the pure word of God, ſhould be put to death as an impoſtor, and a defender of a falſe Religion; and that if no body accepted the challenge, the Bailiff and the whole Council of the Town ſhould declare that Gentilis had orthodox and pious ſentiments of the moſt High God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt. The anſwer which was given to the firſt overture of this diſpute, was the committing the Heretic to priſon (17).

(16) Aretius, pag. 47, 48.

(17) *Ab præfecto Gaienſi* petit publicam diſputationem: reſpondit ille, fiat quod juſtum eſt, & ad carceres duci juſſit. *Idem*, pag. 10.

FAULTS of Moreri.

Father [G], and accuſed the others of Sabellianiſm (*b*). His opinion was very particular: he believed that in the extent of Eternity God had created a moſt excellent Spirit; which became incarnate when the fulneſs of time was come (*c*). I do not think this is being a Tritheiſt (*d*); but without doubt he held ſeveral opinions at different times.

(*b*) This Article is extracted from a Latin Book printed at Geneva by Francis Perrin, in 1567, in 4to. It contains, beſides divers dogmatical Treatiſes, the *Hiſtory of the Condemnation of Gentilis*, by *Benedictus Aretius*, a Divine of Bern. (*c*) See the Remark [G] at the end. (*d*) He is called ſo in the Dutch *Moreri*, in the Article of *John Paul Alciatus*.

[G] *He gloried in ſuffering, as he pretended, for the Honour of God the Father.*] Aretius does not tell us that he ſaid any thing more in particular on the day of his execution: but in another place (18) he gives us the detail which I am going to tranſcribe. *Gentilis de ſe ita & ſcripſit & loquutus eſt quod eſſet patronus ſummi patris eminentiæ, & aſſertor gloriæ patris. Nec dubitavit etiam dicere, neminem adhuc (quod ipſe quidem ſciret) pro gloria & eminentia patris mortuum eſſe; Prophetas, Apoſtolos, pioſque Martyres, pro Filii gloria perſecutiones, mortem, & extrema quæque paſſos eſſe; eminentiam autem Dei Patris nullos adhuc martyres habere.* That is, "Gentilis wrote and ſpoke of himſelf as the patron "of the preeminence of the ſupreme Father, and of "his glory. Nor did he ſtick to ſay, that no one as "yet (that he knew of) had died for the glory and ſu- "periority of the Father; that the Prophets, Apo- "ſtles, and pious Martyrs, had ſuffered perſecutions, "death, and the moſt extreme tortures for the glory "of the Son; but that the ſupremacy of God the "Father had as yet no Martyrs." Let us here ſet down the opinion he profeſſed in a Synod of Poland. *Sententia ejus quam in Polonia in Synodo Pinczoviæ ann.* 1562, *die* 4 *Novembris celebrata propoſuerat, hæc fuit,* Deum creaviſſe in latitudine æternitatis Spiritum quendam excellentiſſimum, qui poſtea in plenitudine temporis incarnatus eſt (19). i. e. "The opinion which he had "propoſed in Poland at the Synod of Pinczow held the "4th of Nov. 1562, was this; *That God had in the "extent of eternity, created a moſt excellent Spirit, which "afterwards, in the fulneſs of time, became incarnate.*"

(18) Pag. 27.

(19) *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitarior.* pag. 26. *Hiſt. Ref. Polon.* pag. 107.

GENTILIS (ALBERICUS), Profeſſor of Civil Law at Oxford, was ſon of Matthew Gentilis, an Italian Phyſician [*A*], deſcended of an ancient and noble family in the March of Ancona. This Phyſician, being perſuaded there were abuſes in the Romiſh Communion, and reliſhing the good ſeed of the Reformation, forſook his country and retired into Carniola with Alberic, his eldeſt ſon, and Scipio, the youngeſt but one, of his ſeven children. Alberic was ſent into England, where his great capacity procured him a good ſettlement, I mean the poſt of Profeſſor of Civil Law in the Univerſity of Oxford, in the year 1582. He had taken his degree of Doctor at Perugia, at the age of one and twenty, and ſhortly after he had been made a Judge in the city of Aſcoli, which preferment he quitted to go into baniſhment with his father, through a ſincere motive of conſcience. He wrote ſeveral Works [*B*], which got him great reputation. In ſome of them he does not wholly come into the Hypotheſes of the Proteſtants [*C*]; for his Diſſertation on the firſt Book of the Maccabees wants but very little of being an indirect Apology for thoſe who hold it to be Canonical. Almoſt the ſame judgment may be made of the Treatiſe which he compoſed againſt thoſe who find fault with the Latin of the Vulgate. See the Remark [*C*]. He died at London the 19th of June 1608, being fifty

[*A*] *He was ſon of Matthew Gentilis, an Italian Phyſician.*] I have met with ſomething relating to him in a Work of Scipio Gentilis. *An vero Dæmones morborum cauſſa ſint, hanc quæſtionem cum parens meus Matthæus Gentilis optimus & clariſſimus, Matth. Duraſtanti, Med. & Philoſ. præſtantiſſimo propoſuiſſet, edito libro ei reſpondit* (1). i. e. "When my father Mat- "thew Gentilis, a very good and learned man, had "propoſed to Matthew Duraſtantes, an excellent Phy- "ſician and Philoſopher, the following queſtion, Whe- "ther Dæmons are the cauſe of diſeaſes; he anſwered "him by a Book which he publiſhed on that ſubject." Note, by the way, that the Phyſician who anſwered that queſtion was here miſcalled, by Konig, Duraſtanes. His true name was Duraſtantes (2).

(1) Scipio Gentilis, in *Comment. in Apolog. Apuleij*, pag. 260.

(2) See *Lindenius renovatus*, pag. 504.

[*B*] *He wrote ſeveral Works.*] He compoſed three Books *de Jure Belli*, which have not been unſerviceable to Grotius. He alſo wrote three others *de Legationibus*. His Diſcourſes concerning the abſolute Power of Kings, the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain, and the Injuſtice inſeparable from the reſiſtance of Kings, *de vi civium in Regem ſemper injuſta*, yet more clearly ſhew that he was not for republican principles, than the ten Diſſertations which he made a preſent of to his ſon, that he might dedicate them, in the year 1607, to the Earl of Pembroke, his patron. They are on the Titles of the Code, *Si quis Imperatori maledixerit, ad legem Juliam de majeſtate.* His Books *de Juris Interpretibus*, and *de Advocatione Hiſpanica* (3), are not the leaſt conſiderable of his Works. I omit the Titles of ſeveral others.

(3) *To comprehend the reaſon of this Title, you are to know that* Alberic Gentilis *was appointed perpetual Advocate in all the Cauſes which the King of Spain's ſubjects ſhould have depending in England. See his Epitaph in* Konig's Bibliotheca vetus & nova.

[*C*] . . . . *In ſome of them he does not wholly come into the Hypotheſes of the Proteſtants.*] Voetius plainly perceived it. He relates that John Howſon, a Divine of Oxford, maintained in a public Diſputation the opinion of the Roman Catholics concerning the Indiſſolubility of marriage; that is, that adultery may, indeed, be a lawful reaſon to ſeparate from a wife, but not a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify the marrying of another. An Engliſh Divine, named Thomas Pye, wrote againſt this poſition of John Howſon: the latter defended himſelf, and wrote an Apology which was printed at Oxford, in 4to, in the year 1606, with the Theſis and two Letters, one from John Reynolds to Thomas Pye, and the other from Alberic Gentilis to John Howſon. Note, that Reynolds cenſured Pye for having advanced certain things which were not exact; but he perſiſted in the doctrine he had already maintained againſt Bellarmin, in an Engliſh Book concerning Divorce. Gentilis evaded the queſtion, and ſeemed as if he knew not what to think of it. And yet, in his Work *de Nuptiis* he had declared for the common doctrine of the Proteſtants. Voetius, having related all this, concludes with a Reflection which deſerves to be tranſcribed. *Iſte* (Alb. Gentilis) *in hac Epiſtola haud obſcurè fatetur ſe fluctuare, quamvis antea in libro de Nuptiis affirmantem ſententiam tradidiſſet. Sed neſcio quomodo* Albericus Gentilis *vaſtæ eruditionis Raynoldianæ, & theologiæ ipſius tanquam nimis puræ & reformatæ in dogmatibus & in practicis, ſi non æmulum (de quo quidem ex ſingularium factorum gnaris aliquid audiſſe memini) ſe oſtendere, ſaltem ſuſpectum ſe reddidiſſe videatur diatribis ſuis de vulgata verſione, de actoribus fabularum, de abuſu mendacii, &c. In quibus tam longè ac diſciplinæ reformata, à moribus antiquis Academiæ Peruſinæ, ubi antea Jus profeſſus erat, non abibat. Sed hæc in tantâ omnium imperfectione miſeriæ humanæ pars non minima* (4). i. e. "In this Letter Gentilis pretty plainly "confeſſes himſelf to be in doubt; tho' he had before "delivered his opinion in the affirmative in his Book "concerning Marriage. But Alberic Gentilis, for "ſome reaſon or other, ſeems openly to emulate the "vaſt erudition of Reynolds, and his Divinity, as too "pure and reformed both in practice (of which I re- "member to have heard ſomething from thoſe who "were acquainted with the particular facts,) at leaſt

(4) Gisbert. Voetius, *Politica Eccleſ.* tom. 2. pag. 171.

fifty eight years old. He was ſo deſirous of improving in the Sciences, that he ſought to inſtruct himſelf no leſs by converſation than by reading; and he has himſelf declared that his Collections were filled with a thouſand things which he had heard in familiar diſcourſe with people who never imagined what they ſaid would be honoured ſo far. The paſſage wherein he mentions this deſerves a place in our Remarks [*D*]. See Konig's *Bibliotheca*, and the funeral Oration of Scipio Gentilis.

" he has made himſelf ſuſpected of ſo doing, in his " Diſſertations concerning the Vulgate Verſion, Stage- " Players, the abuſe of lying, &c. Wherein he did " not depart, ſo much as the reformed diſcipline does, " from the ancient uſages of the Univerſity of Peru- " gia, where he had formerly profeſſed the Civil Law. " This is not the leaſt inſtance, among ſo many, of " human weakneſs and imperfection."

[*D*] *The paſſage wherein he mentions this deſerves a place in our Remarks.*] Here is what we read in one of his Books (5): *Quid de Oxonienſibus meis? vel repertoria mea teſtantur ſatis, quantum ego capiam fructus ex eorum virorum & juvenum colloquiis, nam in illis ego deſcripſi non pauca, quæ dum minus id ipſi cogitant, diſco tamen & aſſervo ex ſermonibus familiaribus.* i. e. " What ſhall I ſay of my acquaintance at Oxford? " The profit I reap from the converſation as well of " the younger men there, as of thoſe of maturer years, " ſufficiently appears from my Repertories; wherein " I have ſet down many particulars, which I learned " from their familiar diſcourſe, they, at the ſame " time, ſuſpecting nothing of the matter." He adds what had been told him by his father, who had ſtudied the Civil Law under Profeſſor Argenterius. That Profeſſor let nothing drop that he learned in converſation; and had blank Books wherein he carefully wrote down whatever he heard even from the ordinary ſort of people. *Tu non audiſti aliquando à Patre de illuſtri præceptore ſuo Argenterio, qui ab uniuſcujuſque ore ſolebat pendere ſi forte aliud agendo excidiſſet homini aliud quod ipſe diſceret, nam & dicta homuncionum curabat reponi in ſua quædam volumina, ſi quæ audiſſet non inepta?* Laſtly, our Gentilis relates that Alciatus learned from the action of a peaſant the ſenſe of a paſſage in Plautus, which had been till then unintelligible to him. *Refert Alciatus* (*) *ex facto ſui cujuſdam villici ſe locum Plauti intellexiſſe quem non potuerat antea.* God preſerve us from ſuch hearers! they would be the peſt of all companies, were they diſcovered: for a perſon who boldly advances in converſation whatever his memory ſuggeſts to him, would be very cautious and reſerved if he thought, that, at parting, any of the company ſhould go and write down in their Collections all they heard him ſay. A man muſt find frequent miſtakes, both as to proper names, and circumſtances of time and place, when he compares the converſation of perſons who have the happieſt memory, and ſpeak without a premeditated deſign, with the Books in his cloſet (6). Every one may have experienced this, and conſequently muſt wiſh that what he ſays in familiar diſcourſe may not be written down. Thoſe who wiſh the contrary ought never to ſpeak unprepared.

(5) *Dial. III, de Variis Interpret.* folio 36.

* Lib. 1. *Parerg.* cap. 21.

THOSE who write down what is ſaid in converſation are dangerous people.

(6) The Scaligerana, the Menagiana, &c. to ſay nothing of Guy Patin's Letters, confirm this truth.

GENTILIS (SCIPIO), brother to Alberic, and as celebrated a Civilian as he, was born at *Caſtello di Sangeneſio* in Italy, in the year 1563. He was yet a child when his father forſook his native country and his wife, to go elſewhere, that he might openly profeſs the Proteſtant Religion. He did not go out of the houſe with his father; but, ſoon after, means were found to ſteal him from his mother, and, under pretence of a walk, to carry him to his father, who had ſtopped to wait for him ſo ſoon as he got to a place of ſafety. We have already ſaid that he retired to Carniola, and that he ſent his eldeſt ſon to England. As to Scipio, whom he loved very tenderly, he ſent him to ſtudy at the Univerſity of Tubingen. He had wherewith to anſwer that expence; for he enjoyed in Carniola the title of Phyſician of the Province, with a ſalary (*a*). The young man made great progreſs at Tubingen. He learned the Greek tongue under the famous Martin Cruſius; and found his Genius ſo turned to Poetry, that Meliſſus, who was one of the beſt Poets in Germany, acknowledged himſelf to be his inferior. He afterwards went to ſtudy at Wittemberg, and then at Leyden, that he might be nearer his father, who having been conſtrained to leave Carniola on account of his Religion, had retired into England to his eldeſt ſon. Scipio Gentilis improved very much at Leyden, under Hugo Donellus and Juſtus Lipſius; after which he went to Baſil, and was there created Doctor of the Civil Law, in the year 1689. Some time after he went thence to Heidelberg, where Julius Pacius, an Italian as well as himſelf, taught the Civil Law. There aroſe a ſort of emulation between them, which made Scipio have a mind to leave that City and go to Altdorf, where, by the intereſt of Donellus, who was Profeſſor of Civil Law there, he became his Collegue in the year 1590; and when Peter Weſenbecius was invited into Saxony, our Gentilis was advanced to his poſt of firſt Profeſſor. He was alſo made a Counſellor of the City of Nuremberg. He diſcharged all theſe employments worthily till his death, which happened in the year 1616. His method of teaching clearly and briefly at the ſame time, and of mixing the flowers of polite Learning with the thorns of the Law (for he was a great Humaniſt;) this method, I ſay, being known, as well by his Lectures as by the Books he publiſhed, drew on him invitations from ſeveral famous Univerſities [*A*]; but he preferred the ſtation he enjoyed in the Univerſity of Altdorf to all the offers which were made him. He had lived a batchelor till the year 1612; but he was at laſt obliged to ſubmit to the conjugal yoke. The beauty and merit of a gentlewoman originally of Lucca, the daughter of Cæſar Calandrini, having captivated his liberty, he aſked her in marriage, and obtained her; and had by her a ſon

(*a*) *Provinciæ proceres . . . conſtituerunt illum Archiatron propoſitis iis conditionibus, & ea erga ipſum munificentia uſi quam ipſe nec aſpernari vellet, nec repudiare ulla ratione poſſet.* Orat. funebr. Scipion. Gentil. *See alſo* Alberic. Gentilis, lib. 3. *de Jure Belli*, cap. 13. & lib. 3. *de Legatis*, cap. 14.

[*A*] *His method of teaching . . . . drew on him invitations from ſeveral famous Univerſities.*] He was offered a Profeſſorſhip in France, at Heidelberg, and at Leyden; and what is much more remarkable and extraordinary, Pope Clement VIII, to induce him to accept of a Profeſſor's Chair at Bologna, promiſed to allow him liberty of conſcience (1).

(1) Piccart. in *Orat. funebri Scip. Gentilis.*

ſon [B] and a daughter (b). I ſhall give the Titles of his principal Works [C]. He is mentioned in the Letters of Bongars [D].

(b) Extracted from his *Funeral Oration*, pronounced by *Michael Piccart*, Profeſſor of Logic and Metaphyſics at Altdorf. It is in the Collection of the Sieur *Witte*.

[B] *He had . . . a ſon.*] We find in a Letter from Voſſius (2) to William Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that this boy's mother, not being in a condition to maintain him at any Univerſity, by reaſon of the loſſes ſhe had ſuffered during the Wars of Germany, endeavoured to get him into ſome College at Oxford or Cambridge. Her friends were to preſent a petition for that purpoſe, and they hoped the memory of Alberic Gentilis would be of ſervice to his nephew. Voſſius prepared the way for this petition: I do not know what was done upon it, or what became of that only ſon of Scipio Gentilis. I obſerve that it is extremely difficult to trace the deſcendants of moſt of the Hero's of the Republic of Letters. Frequently things go well enough for the firſt generation. The ſecond begins to grow obſcure; but the third or fourth are ſo confounded in the crowd, that they are no more to be diſtinguiſhed. So that the ſame could not be ſaid of the poſterity of thoſe great men, that a Roman Satyriſt has ſaid of his own anceſtors, and ſuppoſes ſeveral of the Nobility might ſay of theirs:

(2) It is the 266th; and was written in the year 1635.

REFLECTION on the deſcendants of learned men.

> . . . . *Quære ex me quis mihi quartus*
> *Sit pater, haud prompte, dicam tamen: adde etiam unum,*
> *Unum etiam, terræ eſt jam filius* (3).

(3) Perſ. Sat. 6. ver. 57.

> " . . . . Why prythee what am I? I know
> " My Father, Grandſire, and great Grandſire too;
> " If farther I derive my pedigree,
> " I can but gueſs beyond the fourth degree.
> " The reſt of my forgotten Anceſtors
> " Were ſons of Earth." Dryden.

The fourth degree downwards is already in the dark. What ſhall I ſay of ſo many men rendred illuſtrious by their learning, whoſe families are as obſcure in the firſt degree below them, as in the firſt degree above them? Should we not ſay that they are lights which we ſee ſhine afar off in the midſt of a dark night, without diſcovering any thing around them, by reaſon of the obſcurity which ſurrounds them on every ſide? See the Remark [B] of the Article BENSERADE.

[C] *I ſhall give the Titles of his principal Works.*] Here they are: *De Jure publico populi Romani. De Conjurationibus libri duo. De Donationibus inter virum & uxorem libri IV. De Bonis maternis & ſecundis Nuptiis libri duo. In Apulei Apologiam Commentarius. De Juriſdictione libri tres. Commentarius in Pauli Epiſtolam ad Philemonem. De Erroribus Teſtamentorum.* His funeral Oration with a Catalogue of his Works is in the Collection of Sieur Witte; but it muſt be obſerved that ſome Writings are aſcribed to him in that Liſt which belong to his brother; as the Treatiſe *de Jure Belli*, and that *de Legationibus*; and that no mention is there made of his Book *de antiquis Italiæ Linguis*, or of his Notes on Tacitus, or his *Quæſtiones ad Africanum Juriſconſultum*. Theſe are three Works which he takes notice of in his Commentary on Apuleius's Apology.

[D] *He is mentioned in the Letters of Bongars.*] If I remember well, he is almoſt always denoted by the words *Scipio noſter*, or the like. The Latin Tongue allows and approves this expreſſion; but the French Tranſlator is much in the wrong to render it by *Monſieur Scipion*. This is mere ignorance; for if he had known that the perſon meant was Scipio Gentilis, he would have ſaid *Monſieur Gentilis*, and not *Monſieur Scipion* (4).

(4) This fault is in the Hague Edition, 1695.

Note that this cuſtom of calling people in Latin, as well by their Chriſtian name as by the ſurname of their family, occaſions a great many miſtakes; and I fancy it has led Konig into an error with reſpect to Gentilis the Arian. He ſpeaks of him twice, without perceiving him ſtill to be the ſame Heretic. He ſpeaks of him under the word *Gentilis*, and under the word *Valentinus*. In the firſt place (5) he gives him the Chriſtian name of *Johannes* only; and ſuppoſes *Valentinus* to be a ſurname taken from the place where he was born. In the ſecond place (6) he gives him the ſurname of *Valentinus*, as that of his family, and the Chriſtian name of *Johannes*. The original ſource of this miſtake proceeded probably from ſome Books, wherein that perſon is ſimply named *Valentinus*, without any other addition; which was giving him only one half of his prænomen or Chriſtian name.

(5) Konig, *Bibliotb.* pag. 341.

(6) Idem, ibid. pag. 826.

GENTILLET (INNOCENT), a native of Vienne in Dauphiné (a), flouriſhed in the ſixteenth Century. He publiſhed ſome Books of Controverſy, which made him eſteemed by the Proteſtant Party [A]: for he diſplayed his learning, and ſhewed a great deal of zeal againſt Popery. He was a Civilian by profeſſion; and it is ſaid he was an Advocate in the Parliament of Toulouſe (b). I have ſeen in the Title page of one

(a) Allard, *Bibliotb. de Dauphiné*, pag. 114.

(b) See the Remark [B].

[A] *He publiſhed ſome Books of Controverſy, which made him eſteemed by the Proteſtant party.*] He did for them what Quadratus, Ariſtides, Juſtin Martyr, Melito, Tertullian, and ſome others had done for the primitive Chriſtians; I mean he wrote an Apology for them. He dedicated it to the King of Navarre, afterwards King of France. The Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated the 15th of February 1578. The Edition he publiſhed of it ten years after was very much enlarged, and well corrected. And note, that he publiſhed this Work in Latin and French. Here is the Latin Title: *Apologia pro Chriſtianis Gallis Religionis Evangelicæ ſeu Reformatæ, qua docetur hujus Religionis fundamenta in ſacra Scriptura jacta eſſe, ipſamque tum ratione, tum antiquis Canonibus, comprobari.* The Edition I make uſe of is the ſecond, and was printed at Geneva by James Stoer, 1588, in 8vo. The ſtyle there given him is, *Authore* INNOCENTIO GENTILLETO *Juriſconſulto clariſſimo, & ampliſſimi Senatus Provinciæ Delphinenſis præſide.* The work which he intitled *Le Bureau du Concile de Trente: auquel eſt monſtré qu'en pluſieurs poincts iceluy Concile eſt contraire aux anciens Conciles & Canons, & à l'autorité du* ROY. i. e. " The Trial of the " Council of Trent; wherein the ſaid Council is " proved in many points to be contrary to the anci- " ent Councils and Canons, and to the King's autho- " rity," was printed in the year 1586, in 8vo. He dedicated it to the ſame King of Navarre, and dated the Epiſtle Dedicatory the 12th of July 1586. He ſtiles himſelf ſimply *Innocent Gentillet, a Civilian of Dauphiné.* He publiſhed the ſame Book in Latin, the ſame year, under the Title of *Examen Concilii Tridentini: in quo demonſtratur, &c.* There have been ſeveral Editions of this Work: the laſt, if I am not miſtaken, is that of Gorcum in Holland, printed in 1678. Obſerve theſe words in the Epiſtle Dedicatory (1): *Seeing therefore,* SIR, *that thoſe who find fault with your Declaration ground their opinion wholly on the Council of Trent, I thought my duty for your ſervice, and my country, ſufficiently commanded me to employ the leiſure which by the Edict of Reunion, as it is called, I enjoy in my exile, in ſapping that foundation.* The Declaration he ſpeaks of is that which the King of Navarre *had cauſed to be every where publiſhed, that he would abide by the deciſion of a free Council, as to the differences of Religion in France.* This Declaration was publiſhed in the year 1585; the Edict *of Reunion* was made the ſame year. We may conclude, therefore, that Gentillet did not ſet about the work we are ſpeaking of before that year, and conſequently that Voetius is miſtaken when he ſays (3) that Book was publiſhed in Latin in the year 1556, under the Title of *Hiſtorica Relatio & Nullitas Concilii Tridentini.* He adds that it was printed at Amberg in 1615. Note that in 1556 the Council of Trent was not yet concluded.

(1) Gentillet, *Epitre Dedicat. du Bureau du Concile du Trente.*

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Voetius, *Politic. Eccleſ.* tom. 4. pag. 271.

(e) See the Remark [A].

one of his Books, that he ſtiles himſelf Preſident in the Parliament of Grenoble (c). He informs us, in a preface (d), that he was in baniſhment by reaſon of the Edicts which had been publiſhed in France againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion. Some aſſert that he was Syndic of the Republic of Geneva, and that he concealed himſelf under the name of *Joachimus Urſinus Anti-Jeſuita* [B], in the Titles of ſeveral Books which he preſented to the public. I believe Mr. Allard is miſtaken, when he affirms (e) that VINCENT GENTILLET, *his ſon, Counſellor, and afterwards Preſident in the Chamber of the Edict of Grenoble, wrote the Antimachiavel in* 1573, *a Remonſtrance to King Henry III, ſeveral Rules concerning Government, and tranſlated Joſias Simler's Book of the Republic of Switzerland.* I wonder ſo few particulars are to be found of the Life of a man who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Writings, and his employments; and I cannot ſufficiently admire that even they who have compiled an Account of the Authors of his Province, could not fill up ſix lines concerning him, without committing ſeveral blunders.

(d) See the ſame Remark.

(e) Allard, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 115.

GERGENTI,

[B] *Some aſſert that he was Syndic of the Republic of Geneva, and that he concealed himſelf under the name of* Joachimus Urſinus Anti-Jeſuita.] Pray conſider theſe words of Placcius (4): ANTIMACHIAVELLI *nomine vulgo inſigniuntur* commentariorum de regno . . . . libri tres . . . . *qui citantur ſub nomine* Innocentii GENTILETI *JCti Delphinatis olim Toloſanæ curiæ Advocati, dein Genevenſis Reip. Syndici.* i. e. "The three Books "of Commentaries *de Regno*, ... which are cited "under the name of *Innocent* GENTILLET, a Civi- "lian of Dauphiné, formerly Advocate in the Parlia- "ment of Toulouſe, and afterwards Syndic of the "Republic of Geneva, uſually bear the Title of AN- "TIMACHIAVEL." To prove this he quotes Draudius, page 1169 and 1144 of his *Bibliotheca Claſſica*; Voetius, page 124, 209, 211, 218, of the firſt Volume of his *Theological Theſes*; Pellerus, page 505 of his *Politicus ſceleratus impugnatus*; Conringius, in the Preface to his Edition of *Machiavel's Prince*; and Kerkerman, in the firſt Chapter of his *Conſilium de locis communibus*. Here are five Authors whom he cites; I have been able to conſult only the three firſt, and I find nothing in any of them which intimates that Gentillet ever pleaded in the Parliament of Toulouſe, or bore any office in the Republic of Geneva. It is even to be obſerved that Pellerus ſtiles him *Juriſconſultus Delphenſis*; which would make one apt to believe that Gentillet was of Holland, and not of Dauphiné. Monſr. Baillet takes notice (5) that, *according to the common opinion*, the Author of the Antimachiavel *was a Huguenot of Dauphiné, named Innocent Gentillet, who was firſt an Advocate in the Parliament of Toulouſe, and afterwards Syndic of the Republic of Geneva* (α).

(4) Placcius, *de Anonymis*, pag. 60.

(5) Baillet, tom. 2. *des Anti*, pag. 131.

(§ α) In the 43d page of the *Citadin de Geneve*, among the famous Lawyers who *have delivered their Oracles* in Geneva, we meet with Innocent Gentillet, but it is not there ſaid that he had born any office there. REM. CRIT.]

With reſpect to *Joachimus Urſinus Anti-Jeſuita*, Placcius (6) ſets down five Works which have appeared under that fictitious name. The firſt is intitled *Concilii Tridentini Hiſtorica Relatio, & nullitas ſolidè & ex fundamento demonſtrata*, and was printed at Amberg in the year 1615, in 8vo. The ſecond bears the title of *Apologia pro Chriſtianis Gallis Religionis Reformatæ*, at Geneva, 1598, in 8vo. The third is intitled *Stupenda Templi Jeſuitici:* it is divided into three parts, and was printed at Francfort, and at Amberg, in the year 1610, in 8vo. The title of the fourth is *Floſculi blaſphemiarum Jeſuiticarum, ex tribus Concionibus ſuper beatificatione Ignatii Loyolæ habitis decerpti, unà cum Sorbonæ Pariſienſis Cenſura.* This Work was printed in 1612, in 4to. The fifth was printed at Amberg, in the year 1611, in 8vo, and is intitled, *Hiſpanicæ Inquiſitionis, & carnificinæ ſecretiora, ubi præter illius originem . . . . exemplis illuſtrioribus tum Martyrum, tum articulorum, & regularum inquiſitoriarum in fine adjectis per* Joachimum Urſinum Anti-Jeſuitam *de Jeſuitis qui Inquiſitionem Hiſpanicam in Germaniam & Bohemiam vicinam introducere moliuntur, præfantem.* Vincent Mollerus, Burgomaſter of Hamburgh, and great grandfather to Placcius, had with his own hand ſet the name of Innocent Gentillet to the firſt of theſe five Works; which, with ſome other reaſons, induced Placcius to believe it was the true name of the pretended Joachim Urſinus (7). Mr. Baillet (8) has followed this opinion, and has attributed (9) to the ſame Gentillet a Work printed at Francfort, in the year 1612, under the Title of *Anti-Socinus*, hoc eſt, *Solida confutatio errorum quos olim Arriani, &c.* I have not Books enough to clear all this.

(6) Placcius, *de Pſeudonymis*, pag. 275.

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 276.

(8) Baillet, *ut tome 1 des Anti*, pag. 197.

(9) Ibid. tom. 2. pag. 11.

[C] *I believe Mr. Allard is miſtaken, when he tells us that* VINCENT GENTILLET, *&c.*] He obſerves (10) in the firſt place that the Examination of the Council of Trent is a Work of Innocent Gentillet, an Author, ſays he, who lived in the reign of Henry III; and then he adds that *Vincent Gentillet his ſon . . . . . wrote the Antimachiavel in the year* 1573. This is running counter to the uſage of Chronology: for when they ſet down the ages of illuſtrious men, they allow ſome diſtance between the fathers and the ſons, the maſters and the ſcholars: tho' it pretty frequently happens that the time the former continue in reputation concurs with the flouriſhing ſtate of the latter. The Author of the *Bibliotheque de Dauphiné* has not followed this rule: he places the father under Henry III, and fixes the writing of the principal Work of the ſon higher, under Charles IX. This is a leſs miſtake than that which I am going to take notice of. He ſhould have ſaid, according to the general opinion, that the Antimachiavel was the production of Innocent Gentillet, and not the production of his ſon. I have not met with any Bibliographer who mentions this Vincent Gentillet, ſon of Innocent; and it is certain that la Croix du Maine (11) aſcribes to Innocent Gentillet all the Works which Mr. Allard ſpecifies as the Writings of Vincent. It is true, la Croix du Maine is miſtaken with regard to the Chriſtian name; for he has put *Francis* inſtead of *Innocent* (12). The poſt of *Preſident in the Chamber of the Edict of Grenoble*, which he beſtows on that Writer, confirms me in the opinion that he had our Innocent Gentillet in view, who, as we have ſeen (13), ſtiles himſelf, in the Title to the Apology for the Reformed, *ampliſſimi Senatus Provinciæ Delphinenſis Præſes.* I gueſs he was made Preſident of the Chamber of the Edict at Grenoble, when that kind of Tribunal was granted the Huguenots *in each Parliament*, in the year 1576 (14). This intitled him to the quality of Preſident in the Parliament of his Province. We have ſeen (15) that the Edict of Reunion was the cauſe of his baniſhment; and I add here, that Poſſevin (16) has obſerved that the Calviniſt Author who had written againſt Machiavel, had taken refuge at Geneva. This is a freſh proof that Mr. Allard has been miſtaken in attributing the Work againſt Machiavel not to the father, but to the ſon. The Preface which the French Tranſlator has prefixed to Joſias Simler's Treatiſe on the Republic of Switzerland, has nothing in it which may induce us to conjecture that our Gentillet was the man; and yet I am apt to believe him to be the Author of that Verſion. Some actually aſcribed it to him, as we are told by la Croix du Maine. It was printed at Paris, in the year 1578 (17) (β), and at Antwerp, in the year 1580, in 8vo. Simler had publiſhed that Work in Latin, in the year 1576, and died ſome months after (18).

(10) Allard, *Biblioth. de Dauphiné*, pag. 114, 115.

(11) In the *Bibliotheq. Françoiſe*, pag. 97.

(12) Kecker-man, *apud* Placcium *de Pſeudonymis*, has committed the ſame fault.

(13) In the Remark [A].

(14) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chron.* tom. 5. pag. 212.

(15) In the Remark [A].

(16) Poſſevin. *Biblioth.* lib. 16. cap. 5.

(17) For James du Puys; the King's Licence is dated the 16th of Auguſt 1577.

(18) See the Tranſlator's Preface.

I ſhall ſpeak more fully elſewhere (19) of Gentillet's Anti-Machiavel.

(19) In the Remark [E] of the Article MACHIAVEL.

(§ β) From an Edition in 8vo of the year 1577, without any name of the place, for Antony Chupin and Francis le Preux. REM. CRIT.]

GERGENTI, a city of Sicily, formerly called *Agrigentum*, or *Acragas*. I ſpeak of it only to correct the faults of Moreri [*A*]. His omiſſions would require a long diſcourſe; for he has forgotten the moſt curious things which might be ſaid of Agrigentum [*B*].

GIFANIUS

[*A*] *I ſpeak of it only to correct the faults of Moreri.*] 1. It is not true that this city *took its name from the mountain Agragas*. Stephanus Byzantinus, who ſets down three other etymologies, takes no notice of that. Several towns in Sicily bore the names of their rivers (1); and this was one of the number, according to the firſt (2) of the three opinions mentioned by that Author. It is certain that it was built on the river Acragas (3); but, according to the third opinion (4), both the river and the town were ſo called from the goodneſs of the ſoil. I omit the ſecond opinion, according to which the city owed its name to Acragas, the ſon of Jupiter and Aſterope. II. It is not true that Virgil mentions the mountain Acragas; for the two Verſes (5) quoted by Moreri plainly ſignify no more than a town ſituate on an eminence. III. It was neceſſary for him to have named the Author who ſays that *the Ionians, led by Gellus, or Gelo, laid the firſt foundation* of Agrigentum; for that Author muſt be a very apocryphal one, ſince Cluverius knew nothing of him, or did not think him worth quoting. It would have been better to have ſaid nothing of that Gellus, or Gelo, and to have told us, from Thucydides, that the inhabitants of Gela ſent a colony to Acragas, 108 years after the founding of Gela (6). Now ſince Gela was built jointly by Antiphemus, leader of a company of Rhodians, and Entimus, leader of a company of Cretans, who eſtabliſhed there the Laws of the Dorians (7), I ſhould rather take Agrigentum for a Dorian, than for an Ionian colony. Thucydides, who ſets down the time and names of the founders, deſerves a little more credit in this particular than Strabo, who has contented himſelf with ſaying, in a vague manner, that Agrigentum belonged to the Ionians (8). I do not think he has ſaid it more than once, and I am ſure he has mentioned that town but ſeldom: wherefore I reckon for the IVth fault the following words of Moreri: *it is on this account that Strabo uſually gives Agrigentum the epithet of Ionian.* Before I go any farther, I ſay Polybius ſpeaks of Agrigentum as a Colony of the Rhodians (9). A groſs error has crept into Cluverius, which his Abbreviator has not corrected. We read there (10) that the inhabitants of Gela founded Agrigentum in the 99th Olympiad. It ſhould be the 49th; for here is the computation of Cluverius: he places the founding of Syracuſe in the ſecond year of the eleventh Olympiad; forty five years after which, according to Thucydides (11), Gela was founded by the Rhodians and Cretans, and according to the ſame Author, thoſe of Gela ſent a Colony to Agrigentum 108 years after their own city had been founded: they ſent it, therefore, in the 49th Olympiad. V. He ſhould not have quoted Ælian as to the luxury of the Agrigentines in their houſes and at their meals, without mentioning what he quotes from Plato; for a ſtroke of wit coming from Plato (12) has incomparably more force than if it came from Ælian. VI. It is not true that Diodorus Siculus acquaints us that Alcamon bore rule in Agrigentum after Phalaris, and that Alcander, Theron, and Thraſideus were the ſucceſſors of Alcamon. VII. Nothing is more oppoſite to the rules of exact Narration than to join together the time when the town of Agrigentum was taken by the Carthaginians, and the time when it became a part of the Roman Commonwealth: for the ſtate of the Agrigentines ſuffered many conſiderable changes between their being plundered by the Carthaginians, in the fourth year of the 93d Olympiad, and their becoming ſubject to the Romans. The latter made themſelves maſters of Agrigentum during the ſecond Punic War, but were not poſſeſſed of it when they took Syracuſe; for even after the taking of that city, the Carthaginians, who were maſters of Agrigentum, cut them out a good deal of Work (13). VIII. He ſhould not have applied to the time when it was ſubject to the Roman yoke, *the magnificent deſcription* which *Diodorus Siculus has left us of it.* This deſcription relates to the flouriſhing ſtate of the Agrigentines when the Carthaginians attacked them in the 93d Olympiad. The city recovered itſelf from the dreadful condition to which that war had reduced it: we even find that its forces were very formidable at divers times (14) after the ſacking it underwent, when it fell into the power of the Carthaginians, the year I have mentioned; but it is confounding times to ſay with Moreri, *that it was one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the* Roman *Empire, large, beautiful, and extremely well peopled,* when the Romans *drove the Carthaginians* thence and *eſtabliſhed themſelves* there. IX. Empedocles the Philoſopher, and Empedocles the Poet are one and the ſame man; wherefore Moreri ſhould not have ſplit him into two illuſtrious Agrigentines. X. Cicero does not *ſpeak of the temple and ſtatue of Hercules at Agrigentum, as one of the fineſt works of Antiquity.* At moſt he ſpeaks ſo of the ſtatue only, and contents himſelf with ſaying of the Temple that the Agrigentines looked on it as a very holy place: *Herculis templum eſt apud Agrigentinos non longè à foro ſane ſanctum apud illos & religioſum* (15). As to the ſtatue he ſays it was one of the fineſt he ever ſaw in his life; but he confeſſes he was not a proper judge, and that in ſuch matters he had made more uſe of his eyes than he had acquired ſkill (16). If Moreri had had any diſcernment with regard to thoſe things which ſtrike a Reader moſt, he would have added a very ſingular circumſtance concerning this ſtatue; that the lips and chin of it had been worn away by being ſo often kiſſed out of devotion. *Rictus ejus ac mentum paulo ſit attritius, quod in precibus & gratulationibus non ſolum id venerari, verum etiam oſculari ſolent* (17). XI. Pliny has not ſaid of the Salt of Agrigentum what Moreri imputes to him; but only that it bears the fire, and leaps out of the water. Of theſe two properties Moreri has omitted the laſt, and given a bad account of the firſt; for he tells us Pliny ſays that *Salt melted in the fire.* If he had a mind to tell us this, he ſhould have quoted other Authors than Pliny; for the words of that Writer (18), *Agrigentinus* (ſal) *ignium patiens* (19) *ex aqua exilit*, ſignify only that that ſalt crackled in the water, and leaped out of it, but that it bore the fire without crackling. By citing Solinus, or St. Auguſtin, Moreri would have had no cenſure to fear. Here are the words of Solinus: *Salem Agrigentinum ſi igni junxeris, diſſolvitur uſtione: cui ſi liquor aquæ proximaverit, crepitat veluti torreatur* (20). i. e. "If you throw Agrigentine Salt into the fire, it diſſolves by the heat; but "if into water, it crackles as if it were burning." St. Auguſtin alledges this phænomenon as an argument againſt the incredulous, who rejected all miracles in Religion, whenever the Divines could not explain them. He offers to the conſideration of thoſe unbelievers ſeveral natural things which the Philoſopher could not account for: and he begins with the ſingular properties of the Salt of Agrigentum. *Agrigentinum Siciliæ ſalem perhibens cum fuerit admotus igni velut in aqua flueſcere; cum vero aquæ, velut in igne crepitare* (21). i. e. "It is ſaid that the Salt of "Agrigentum in Sicily when held to the fire melts "as if in water; but when put into water, crackles "as if in the fire." Note, in anſwer to thoſe who would excuſe Moreri, that there is a vaſt difference between melting in the fire, and bearing fire without cracking, I ſay nothing of his falſe quotations (22). I only obſerve, to conclude this Remark, that there are a great many Articles in Moreri's Dictionary, which have no leſs a number of faults than this.

[*B*] . . . . *He has forgotten the moſt curious things which might be ſaid of Agrigentum.*] I have already cenſured him for having mentioned neither the devout kiſſes which had worn the lips of the brazen Hercules of the Agrigentines, nor one of the wonderful properties of the ſalt of Agrigentum. He deſerves no leſs blame for having ſaid nothing of the properties of the lakes which were near the city. The water of them was ſalt like that of the ſea, but men did not ſink in it; and

(1) Duris, *apud* Steph. Byzant.

(2) Thucydides, lib. 5. & Ariſtarchus, *apud* Scholiaſten Pindari *in Od. II Olymp.* are of this opinion.

(3) *See* Polybius, lib. 9. cap. 7; Ælian, *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 33; *the* Scholiaſt on Pindar *ex* Ariſtarcho, *ubi ſupra*; & Thucydides, *ibid.*

(4) Polybius, *apud* Stephanum Byzantinum.

(5) *Arduus inde Acragas, oſtentat maxima longe Mœnia, magnanimûm quondam generator equorum.* i. e. "Then lofty "Acragas appear "from far, "With mighty "walls begirt; "renown'd of old "For breeding "horſes generous "and bold." Virgil. *Æneid.* 3. ver. 704.

(6) Thucyd. lib. 6. *circa init.*

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Strabo, lib. 6. pag. 187.

(9) Polyb. lib. 9. cap. 7.

(10) Sicil. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 15. pag. m. 108.

(11) Thucyd. lib. 6. *circa init.*

(12) Diogenes Laertius, lib. 8. *in* Empedocle, *attributes to Empedocles what* Ælian *aſcribes to Plato.*

(13) *See* Cluverius, *Sicil. Antiq.* pag. 112. quoting *Livy*, lib. 24, & 25.

(14) *See* Cluverius, ibid. *citing* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16 & 19.

(15) Cicero, *in Verrem, Orat.* 6. cap. 43.

(16) *Ibi eſt ex ære ſimulacrum ipſius Herculis quo non facile quicquam dixerim me vidiſſe pulcrius: tametſi non tam multum in iſtis rebus intelligo quam multa vidi.* Idem, ibid.

(17) Idem, ibid.

(18) Plin. lib. 31. cap. 7. pag. m. 807.

(19) Meurſius, *in Antigon.* pag. 188. gueſſes we ſhould read *impatiens*. Father Hardouin, *in hunc locum Plinii*, abſolutely rejects this conjecture.

(20) Solin. cap. 5.

(21) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 21. cap. 5. *See alſo* cap. 7.

(22) He quotes *Pliny*, lib. 31. c. He ſhould have ſaid *chap.* 7. He ſhould have cited *Thucydides* in the 6th Book, *and not* l. 5; *and* Cluverius in Sicilia Antiqua, *and not* in Deſcr. Ital.

GIFANIUS (OBERTUS) was a learned Humaniſt, and a great Civilian. He was of Buren in Gelderland. He ſtudied at Louvain, and at Paris, and was the firſt who erected the Library of the German Nation at Orleans. He took his degree of Doctor of the Civil Law in that City, in the year 1567, and went thence to Italy in the retinue of the French Embaſſador; after which he removed to Germany, where he taught the Civil Law with ſo much capacity that he acquired a very great reputation. He taught it firſt at Straſburgh, where he was likewiſe Profeſſor of Philoſophy: then he taught in the Univerſity of Altdorf, and at laſt at Ingolſtadt. He forſook the Proteſtant Religion to embrace the Roman Catholic. He was invited to the Imperial Court, and honoured with the office of Counſellor and Referendary to the Emperor Rodolph. He died at Prague, the 26th of July 1609 [*A*], being above ſeventy (*a*) years old (*b*), if we believe certain Authors; but ſome others, who had better information, place his death in the year 1604 (*c*). He had ſcraped up a good deal of money; for he was a good Oeconomiſt [*B*]. He has been accuſed of a notorious breach of truſt with regard to the Manuſcripts of Fruterius [*C*]: and he was put into the Liſt of Plagiaries.

(a) Sixty five, according to *Witte*, in *Diario Biograph.*

(b) Extracted from Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 703.

(c) Thuanus does ſo, lib. 131, pag. m. 1041.

and even thoſe who could not ſwim floated on it like wood. Περὶ Ἀκράγαντα δὲ λίμναι, τὴν μὲν γεῦσιν ἔχουσι θαλάττης, τὴν δὲ φύσιν διάφορον· ὕδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολύμβοις βαπτίζεσθ συμβαίνει, ξύλων τρόπον ἐπιπολάζουσιν. *Apud Agrigentum lacus ſunt guſtu marino, natura planè diverſa: nam & natandi inſcii in iis lignorum in morem ſupernatant* (23). How many ſingular things might he not have taken out of the XIIIth Book of Diodorus Siculus, concerning the luxury of the Agrigentines, their riches, and the expence one of them was at to entertain ſtrangers? He ought not to have omitted that that part of the city which ſerved as a fortreſs, was built before the taking of Troy; that it was built, I ſay, by Dædalus, the moſt ſkilful Engineer of Antiquity. He fortified the place ſo well that three or four men might defend it. This determined King Cocalus to make it his reſidence, and to lodge all his treaſures there (24). I would not have omitted the ardent zeal of the Agrigentines againſt thoſe whom the Prætor Verres ſent to the Temple of Hercules with orders to take away the ſtatue. They forced the guards of the Temple, and were a whole hour endeavouring to move the Hercules by ſtrength of arms, and by engines. But notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night the Agrigentines had time to arm themſelves, and drive the Satellites of Verres out of the Temple. So ſoon as the alarm was given, every body got up: the old men and the infirm found vigour enough to go to the aſſiſtance of Hercules, with ſuch weapons as came firſt to hand. *Ex clamore fama tota urbe percrebuit, expugnari Deos patrios, non hoſtium adventu, neque repentino prædonum impetu: ſed ex domo atque cohorte prætoria manum fugitivorum inſtructam, armatamque veniſſe. Nemo Agrigenti neque ætate tam affecta, neque viribus tam infirmis fuit, qui non illa nocte eo nuncio excitatus, ſurrexerit, telumque, quod cuique ſors offerebat, arripuerit* (25). This great zeal did not hinder the inhabitants from turning the adventure into a jeſt: they ſaid it ought to be added to the other labours of the God, and that Verres was as great a monſter as the boar of Erymanthus. *Nunquam tantum mali eſt Siculis quin aliquid facete & commode dicant, velut in hac re: ajebant in labores Herculis non minus hunc immaniſſimum Verrem, quam illum aprum Erymanthium inferri oportere* (26).

(23) Strabo, lib. 6, pag. 189.

(24) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 4.

(25) Cicero, *in Verrem, Orat.* 6. cap. 43.

(26) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *He died at Prague, the 26th* (1) *of July* 1609.] Swertius (2) and Valerius Andreas (3) ſay ſo; but I do not know how to reconcile this with the Scaligerana, where mention is made of the death of Gifanius. *An Italian Jeſuit was preſent at his death, and has plundered a great many of his papers, and is gone away to Rome* (4). Could Scaliger ſay this, who died the 21ſt of January 1609? To remove the difficulty, you have my leave to ſuppoſe that a falſe report was ſpread of Gifanius's death, which was the ground Scaliger went on, or that the Compilers of the *Scaligerana* have inſerted many things therein which they never heard from Scaliger's mouth. This may be obſerved in other paſſages of that compilation. But the ſureſt method is to ſay that Swertius and Valerius Andreas are miſtaken, by not having followed Thuanus, who has placed the death of Gifanius in the year 1604.

(1) The 25th, according to Witte's *Diar. Bibliograph.*

(2) Athen. *Belg.* pag. 587.

(3) *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 703.

(4) *Scaligerana*, pag. m. 94.

[*B*] *He was a good œconomiſt.*] I have no other proof of it than theſe words of Scaliger (5). *He was Counſellor to the Emperor; and becauſe a married man muſt keep houſe, he ſent away his wife to Nuremberg. He was worth* 25000 *ducats; yet he lived in a garret, and made his children do the offices of ſervants. Liberis utebatur ut ſervis.* This goes beyond good huſbandry: it is ſordid avarice.

(5) Ibid.

[*C*] *He has been accuſed of a notorious breach of truſt with regard to the Manuſcripts of Fruterius.*] Fruterius, one of the greateſt genius's of his age, was at Paris in the year 1566, with ſome other Flemings, Janus Douza, Obertus Giſanius, Janus Lernutius, &c. and died there the ſame year, at the age of twenty five (6). He had already collected a conſiderable number of critical obſervations, which, at his death, he recommended to Gifanius. The latter acted fraudulently, and ſuppreſſed them as far as he was able; nor was he without difficulty prevailed upon to reſtore part of what he had been entruſted with, by the complaints of Janus Douza. Read theſe words of Thuanus (7). *Is* (Fruterius) *in puriore literatura cum excelleret, & jam multa commentatus eſſet, properata morte præpeditus omnia ea Gifanii judicio ac fidei commiſit* (8), *qui pari fide minime uſus creditur, vixque lite à Jano Duza mota exorari potuit, ut paucula quæ ex tanta jactura, velut ex magno naufragio exiguæ tabulæ ſupererant, ſint publicata.* Douza deſcribes the laſt tranſaction between Fruterius and Gifanius in the following verſes:

(6) Thuan. *Hiſt.* lib. 28. *ad ann.* 1566.

(7) Idem, ibid.

Adfuit ille quidem, fateor, lectique reſedit
Ante pedes: ſed non ut amici impendere, verum
Vulturis officium valido male poſſet amico:
Ut vel continuo patuit, cùm Fruterius jam
Deficiens, illi manuum monumenta ſuarum
Subjicienda operis prælorum traderet, atque
Hæc mea ſint Fanni tibi, diceret, ut tua curæ (8).

(8) Douza, Satire 2. pag. 339. Edit. 1609.

" Preſent he was, 'tis true, and by the bed
" Demurely ſat; but with conceal'd intent
" To act the Vultur's, not the friendly part:
" As ſoon appear'd, when to his faithleſs hands
" Fruterius, fainting, did his Writings truſt;
" Saying, To publiſh theſe be yours the care;
" Protect theſe labours, Fannius, as your own."

Douza was ſo angry with Gifanius for his treachery, that he omitted no means to bring him to reaſon. He even implored the aid of Giſelinus, that by their joint efforts they might oblige the thief to reſtore the manuſcripts.

Quid tamen hæc Giſeline juvant, ſi Fannius hæres
Se premere æterna tot bona nocte cupit?
Ille cupit: ſed tu genio communis amici
Aſſertor venias, injiciaſque manus.
Tunc ego damnatus voti de more ſacrabo
Prima quidem Nemeſi dona, ſecunda tibi.
Scis etenim quàm me mendaci læſerit ore,
Dum pia pro caris Manibus arma gero (9).

(9) Ibid. Epiſt. 34. pag. 412.

" Yet what avails, my Giſelin, our care,
" If Fannius, faithleſs Fannius, be his heir?
" Who fain would bury in eternal night
" Works worthy of the day, and everlaſting light.
" But thou prevent ſo undeſerv'd an end,
" And from oblivion ſnatch our common friend.

" My

Plagiaries [*D*]. His quarrels with Lambin made ſome noiſe in the Republic of Letters [*E*]. The occaſion of his falling out with the terrible Scioppius was a ſort of retaliation.

" My ſolemn vow perform'd ſhall ſet me free,
" And altars riſe to Nemeſis, and thee:
" His ſlanderous tongue no longer ſhall prevail,
" Nor, in our friend's defence, our pious warfare fail.

The *tamen* of the firſt line relates to a paſſage, where Douza ſays Giſelinus was the firſt who exclaimed againſt the treachery of Gifanius.

At quota virtutum pars eſt tamen iſta tuarum?
Majus opus Fannî non tacuiſſe dolos,
Verbaque Fruterícæ prima injeciſſe favillæ,
Nec dubiam factis exhibuiſſe fidem.
Non mihi Fruterium reddendo plura dediſſes:
Hoc quoque Fruterium reddere pæne fuit (10).

(10) Idem, ibid. pag. 411.

" Small credit from ſuch acts to virtue ſprings;
" Fannius expos'd more laſting honour brings.
" Scarce had you merited a nobler prize,
" (Such glory in detecting falſhood lies)
" Reſtoring loſt Fruterius to our eyes."

In his ſecond Satire he relates what he had done for the memory of the deceaſed, and againſt Gifanius.

Suſpectum ex illo cœpi obſervare, quid eſſet
Demum acturus, at ille vafer malè diſſimulare,
Nec de ſe quicquam promittere, donec aperto
Spes mutata metu nos extorquere ſubegit
Editionis opus. Mirum, quas perfidus hîc ſe
Verterit in facies, primùm civilia jura
Cauſſari: mox commentaria ſeſquipedali
Cæſaris ingeminare ſono, & cui nomen Agelli
Ipſe adeo primus vult reſtituiſſe videri.
Poſtremò, ipſe meas poſtponere res alienis
Nec volo, nec poſſum, nec debeo, dicere. quid te
Longa ambage moror? ceſſi inde, nec ulterius mî
Ceſſandum ratus, Haud falles tamen, improbe, dixi.
Nec mora, & archetypum exemplar nactus, & apta
Tempora, dum ſeſe miratur Fannius, & ſpe
Creſcentem tumida inflat utrem, præeunte fideli
Verba Syro, à capite ad calcem loca quæque notando
Deſcripſi ſapiens, hinc tempeſtatis origo.
Hinc illæ lacrymæ (11).

(11) Idem, Satire 2. pag. 339.

" Suſpected once, I kept him in my eye;
" But he nor promiſe made, nor would deny.
" What ſhapes he, Proteus-like, at firſt put on,
" The publication of the Work to ſhun!
" He quoted Codes, the Comment, and the Text,
" With lofty tone; th' Imperial Edicts next,
" And laſt Agellius: ſo he would reſtore
" The name which Aulus Gellius was before.
" Shall I neglect my own affairs, he cry'd?
" Then, peremptory, our requeſt deny'd.
" What's to be done? Repuls'd I took my leave,
" Reſolv'd he ſhould not thus our hopes deceive;
" And whilſt, elate with pride he ſwell'd, I brib'd
" His ſervant and the manuſcript tranſcrib'd.
" Hence roſe the ſtorm, and hence thoſe ſad complaints.

[*D*] *He was put into the liſt of Plagiaries.*] See the Collection of the learned Thomaſius concerning thoſe Gentlemen; where you will find (12) Gifanius loaded with all the reproaches you have juſt read, and with ſeveral others. You will there meet with the following Verſes of Douza.

(12) *Numero* 445, *& ſeq.*

Tu præter omnes alpha leguleiorum
Burene quem inter buſtuarios Verres,
Plumis adornatum & colore furtivo,
Autumnitas Pontana nobilem fecit,
Notiſque Tranſrhenana inuſta frons Gallis (13).

(13) Douza, *Ode in Feles literarias*, pag. 619.

You will meet with them, I ſay, accompanied by this note: *Autumnitas* Pontana *idem eſt quod* Fruteriana; *ſumebat enim Fruterius nomen* Pontani, *ut ſe* Brugis *(Pont, Brucke) natum ſignificaret: vide Reliquias ejus p.* 134. *Notæ autem* Gallæ *ſunt quas Dionyſius Lambinus* Gallus *Giphanio quamquam ſuam potius quàm Fruterii cauſam agens, tum initio coram auditoribus ſuis, tum poſtea in præfat. ad lectorem Lucretii tertium editi inuſſit.* i. e. " The *Autumnitas Pontana* is the ſame " as *Fruteriana*; for Fruterius took the name of *Pon-* " *tanus* to ſignify that he was born at *Bruges*: See his " Remains, page 134. The *Notæ Gallæ* are the notes " of infamy, with which Lambinus, a Frenchman, " tho' it was rather in vindication of himſelf than Fru- " terius, branded Giphanius, as well firſt among his " auditors, as afterwards in the Preface to his third " Edition of Lucretius." You will likewiſe find there that Giſelinus came off very ill for having lent his *Prudentius* to Gifanius: for he ſtole from him the beſt things in it.

Atque utinam tantùm ſcires mea vulnera, nec te
Luſiſſet plagiis improbus ille ſuis.
Illa dies nocuit, qua te ſibi credere primùm
Nobile Prudenti nomine ſuaſit opus.
Te quoque tunc animos vafra ſub vulpe latentes
Suſpicor, & Geldram perdidiciſſe fidem (14).

(14) Douza, *Epit.* 3. pag. 432.

This ſignifies, that Gifanius had ſtolen from Gelenius what he thought moſt valuable.

When Douza writes in proſe, he is not ſo angry, and even ſpares the name of his enemy; but he declares notwithſtanding that Gifanius had adorned his Lucretius with the ſpoils of Fruterius: *Nec dubium quin de Giphanio intelligendum ſit; quod lego apud Valer. Andræam, pag.* 629 *Bibl. Belg.* notaviſſe Janum Douſam ad Triumviros amoris, quæ in Lucretium adfecta Fruterius habuerit, iis non parùm adjutos fuiſſe, qui poſt Lambinum auctorem illum Collectaneis illuſtrârunt. *Utique enim in Lucretium habentur collectanea Giphanii* (15). i. e. " Nor is it to be doubted that it is to be " underſtood of Giphanius what we read in Valerius " Andreas, page 629 of the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, that " Janus Douza took notice in his notes on the *Trium-* " *viri Amoris*, that thoſe who illuſtrated that Author " with Annotations, after Lambin, were not a little " aſſiſted by the Obſervations of Fruterius. For we " have Giphanius's Annotations on Lucretius."

(15) Thomaſius, *de Plagio Literario*, pag. 196.

[*E*] *His quarrels with Lambin made ſome noiſe in the Republic of Letters.*] Lambin was not ſatisfied with complaining in his public Lectures that Gifanius had robbed him; he ſhewed his indignation in his Preface to Lucretius, when he printed it the third time. Here are ſome Verſes which relate to the invectives which he uttered from the chair (16).

(16) Douza, Sat. 1. pag. 336.

Nec libet antiquam plagii renovare querelam:
Quod te, felicem quondam, Lambine, cerebri,
Et vidi & pleno memini poſuiſſe theatro
Pariſiis, tunc cùm miſerandus & hoſtibus ipſis
Fannius introrſum detractâ pelle pateret.
Indignum ſcelus, & nullo ſatis igne piandum (17).

(17) See alſo the Verſes of the 2d Satire. *Non ut ineptus Fannius hic Fidentini genus, & plagii olim Convictus Lambine tibi, cùm fronte retecta Furtivis riſum movit cornicula plumis.* Idem, pag. 338.

" I have no mind to renew the old complaint of his " Plagiariſm, which I remember to have ſeen you, " O learned Lambinus, expoſe publicly in the Uni- " verſity of Paris, when Fannius was ſtripped of his " borrowed feathers in a manner pitiable even by his " enemies. His crime was ſhocking, and ſuch as even " fire would not expiate."

Giphanius, without being named in the Preface (18), is there treated like a dog: the moſt virulent abuſes ſhower down upon him. *P.* XXVI, *ipſi Giphanius eſt* quidam omnium mortalium, qui unquam fuerunt, qui ſunt, qui erunt injuſtiſſimus, audaciſſimus, impudentiſſimus. *p.* XXX audacem *vocat*, arrogantem, impudentem, ingratum, petulantem, inſidioſum, fallacem, infidum, nigrum. *p. ſeq.* unum ex omnibus mortalibus nulla re magis, quàm feritate, importunitate, contumacia, ſuperbia, audacia, confidentia, & impudentia excellentem (19). i. e. " *In the 26th page he calls* " Giphanius the moſt unjuſt, bold, and impudent of " all men, who ever were, or are, or ſhall be ſeen. " *In page* 30 *he calls him* bold, arrogant, impudent, " ungrateful, petulant, treacherous, deceitful, unfaith- " ful,

(18) *Ego autem nunquam abducar ut eum nominatim deſcribam.* Lambinus, *Præf. tertiæ Edit.* Lucretii, pag. 28. *apud* Thomaſium, pag. 197.

(19) Thomaſius, ibid.

retaliation [*F*]. The affair is curious enough. You will find the Titles of moſt of his Works

" ful, black. *In the following page he ſtiles him* a " man diſtinguiſhed above all others for fierceneſs, " impertinence, obſtinacy, pride, boldneſs, confidence, " and impudence." The ground of theſe horrid reproaches, is that Gifanius had plundered from Dionyſius Lambinus's Lucretius what he thought proper, and cenſured the reſt, without acknowledging to whom he was obliged for what he had valuable. *Omnia fere, quæ in eo Lucretio recta ſunt, mea ſunt: quæ tamen iſte aut ſilentio prætermittit, aut maligne laudat, aut ſibi impudenter arrogat. Sic unde reprehendendi anſam arripere poteſt, ibi mihi petulantiſſimè inſultat, in eo me improbiſſimè inſectatur* (20). i. e. " Almoſt every " thing, which is good in that Lucretius, is mine; " tho' he either paſſes it over in ſilence, or commends " it in an invidious manner, or impudently aſſumes it " to himſelf. Thus where he can take occaſion to " cenſure me, he inſults me with the utmoſt petulance, " and inveighs againſt me with the greateſt injuſtice." It is certain however, that he owns in his Preface, that Lambinus's Commentary had been of great uſe to him. *Dionyſio autem Lambino & Adriano Turnebo duobus Franciæ ornamentis quantum debeatur præmii, quippe qui de hoc graviſſimo ſcriptore optime ſint meriti, oratione mea quidem nequeam adſequi. Neque ſanè viri illi præſtantiſſimi à me id ut faciam expectant aut volunt; ſatis inclaruit eorum induſtria & eruditio incredibilis. Hoc tantum vereque teſtatum relinquere poſſum ac debeo, illorum maxime laboribus & ſolertia adjutum eſſe in his cujuſquemodi Emendationibus ac Notis comparandis* (21). i. e. " I have not language to expreſs what thanks are due " to Dionyſius Lambinus and Adrian Turnebus, the " two ornaments of France, for the great ſervice, " which they have done to this moſt valuable Writer. " Nor will thoſe excellent perſons expect or deſire this " of me, ſince their own induſtry and incredible learn- " ing are ſufficiently conſpicuous. But this I can and " ought to declare, that I have been particularly aſ- " ſiſted by their labours and diligence in theſe Emenda- " tions and Notes, whatever they are." Here are commendations enough; but they came too late, and could not heal the wound made by the preceding page, where he had ſaid, that he publiſh'd an Edition of Lucretius much ſuperior to that of Lambinus; and that Lambinus with all his learning was not able to give the world the true Lucretius. Gild the pill as much as you pleaſe with praiſe, you will never take away the bitterneſs of it: it will ſtill retain its bad taſte, and excite the bile and other ill humours. Here is the paſſage intire: upon the whole it is diſobliging. *Tandem Dionyſius Lambinus libros manu deſcriptos complures feliciſſimè nactus, adjutus etiam doctiſſ. virorum, in iis præcipuè Adriani Turnebi, & Joh. etiam Aurati opera, ipſe incredibili diligentia & eruditione præditus, à pluribus iiſque turpiſſimis mendis Lucretium liberavit. Sed quia tam fœdè eſſet contaminatus, uti adhuc præſtantiſſimus Poeta nomine tantùm fuerit notus; illi recuſantibus medicinam adhibere eruditis viris, ut ſi deſperatus eſſet ac depoſitus: efficere ille quamvis doctus & diligens (quod pace viri doctiſſ. dictum velim) non potuit, ut purum ac merum haberemus Titum. Nos igitur, etſi id quoque præſtare non potuimus, ſpero tamen id nos conſecutos, ut multis jam partibus melior & emendatior in hominum manibus eſſe poſſit optimus Romani ſermonis auctor* (22). i. e. " At laſt Dionyſius Lambinus having fortunately met " with ſeveral manuſcripts, and being aſſiſted by divers " learned men, eſpecially Hadrian Turnebus and John " Auratus, and being himſelf a man of incredible in- " duſtry and learning, cleared Lucretius from a great " many and thoſe very groſs errors. But as that ex- " cellent Poet was ſo extremely corrupted, that he was " hitherto known only by name, learned men " having refuſed to undertake the correction of him, " as if it were in vain to attempt it; Lambinus, tho' " a man of learning and diligence, was not able (I hope " to ſpeak this without offence to that excellent Scho- " lar) to give us Lucretius pure and uncorrupt. And " tho' we have not been capable of effecting this, yet " I hope, that we have procured an Edition of this " moſt valuable Maſter of the Roman Language much " more correct and exact than any of the former." I cannot tell any more than Thomaſius, whether Gifanius defended himſelf againſt Lambinus (23): I only know that he complained to Muretus (24), and undertook to recriminate. He pretended that his corrections upon Cicero and Cornelius Nepos had been conſidered as a good booty by Lambinus, and in another place accuſes him of a villanous lie. Lambinus, ſays he, boaſted of the friendſhip of all the Low-Country-men who ſtudied at Paris except Gifanius, and names a dozen of them, whoſe names he would not even have known, if he had not made uſe of an artifice. Here are Gifanius's words. *De Lambino, φεῦ τῆς ἀνειδείας! in quem ut omnia pulchrè conveniant, accipe & aliud ejus ſtratagema. Cùm Lutetiæ thyrſum, non Lucretianum illud, ſed ſuum in me quærere inſtituiſſet,* (*ego interim domi virgam tam puerilitèr peccanti minitabar,*) *primâ concione dixit, cum Belgis omnibus familiaritatem ſibi eſſe, me unum ſibi malè cupere: protulitque duodecim ferè Belgarum nomina, qui tum ibi agerent ſtudiorum cauſa,* (conferenda ſunt cum his, quæ ſcribit Lambin. ad Lect. tertiæ ed. Lucret. p. xxxi, xxxii.) *Multi ex his admirari hanc publicam teſtationem & citationem, quod illum ne ſalutaſſent quidem, me autem uterentur familiariſſimè; imo eo ipſo tempore epigrammata in illum partim proſcripſiſſent, ad me accurrerunt, & acumen Lambini, arteſque ejus oratorias mihi expoſuerunt. Mirantibus omnibus, unde eorum nomina collegiſſet, intervenit mox ejus convictor Bruxellenſis, qui ſcrupulum illum nobis exemit: ſe namque rogatum & coactum fuiſſe Lambino petenti domi aliquot Belgarum nomina dictare, cauſæ ignarum. Atque ita res in riſum abiit* (25). i. e. " With regard to Lambinus, (Oh the impudence of " the man!) that his whole conduct may be conſiſ- " tent, hear another trick of him. When he was " ſeeking at Paris againſt me a Thyrſus, not that of " Lucretius, but his own, (while I only threatned him " with a rod for his childiſh miſtakes) in his firſt Lec- " ture he ſaid that he had a friendſhip with all the Low- " Countrymen, and that I alone was an enemy to him; " and he mentioned the names of about twelve Gen- " tlemen of the Low-Countries, who then reſided there " for their ſtudies, (*theſe particulars are to be compared* " *with what Lambinus writes in his Preface to the* " *third Edition of Lucretius p.* 31, 32.) Several of " theſe Gentlemen were ſurprized at being thus pub- " licly mentioned, becauſe they had never ſo much " as ſpoken to him, tho' they were very intimate with " me, and even at that time had written Epigrams " againſt him. Upon this they came to me, and re- " preſented to me the genius and oratorial arts of " Lambinus. While they were all admiring, how he " procured their names, one of his boarders, who was " a native of Bruſſels, came in, and cleared our doubt, " informing us, that at Lambinus's importunate deſire, " and not knowing the deſign of it, he had been pre- " vailed upon to give him at his houſe the names of " ſeveral Gentlemen of the Low-Countries. And " thus the affair went off with a laugh." It is a very melancholy thing, that polite learning cannot reſtrain the Profeſſors of it from the diſorder of their paſſions.

Muretus was not the only perſon to whom Gifanius complained. There has juſt been publiſhed a Letter which the latter wrote to Theodorus Canterus in 1587, in which we meet with theſe words (26). *Præterea noſti quemadmodum mea compilarit, meque tractarit Lambinus in Æmilium Probum, cujus rei teſtes habeo epiſtolas Mureti, quas & tu jam divulgatas videre potuiſti, & Puteani cujus auctoritate Lambinus abutitur inviti, &c.* i. e. " Beſides you know how " Lambinus in his Notes upon Æmilius Probus has " ſtollen my obſervations, and uſed me; in proof " of which I have the Letters of Muretus, which " you might have ſeen publiſhed, and thoſe of Pute- " anus, whoſe authority Lambinus makes uſe of " contrary to his mind, &c." Gifanius wrote to the ſame Canterus in 1567 what follows (27). *Ille qui ea fulmina in me jacit anne ut divinavi eſt Ludovicus Carrion, quem mihi nomen amiciſſimum putavi? Certe eum eſſe indicavit Dn. Bombergus. Sic Lucretiana mea ubique vapulant, ſed tua & tui ſimilium amicitia fretus vana illa fulmina eſſe judico.* i. e. " Is it Ludovicus " Carrio, as I gueſſed, who has fallen upon me, and " whom I thought to be very much my friend? " Bomberg has aſſured me, that it is he. Thus my " Notes on Lucretius are every where attacked; but

(20) Lambinus, pag. 29. *apud* Thomaſ. ibid. *Note that I have verified the Quotations in the Preface of* Lambinus *cited by* Thomaſius.

(21) Gifan. *Præf. in Lucret.* folio m. ** 2.

(22) Idem, ibid. folio ** *verſo.*

(23) *Quid Douzæ, quid Lambino ipſi, ad iſtas accuſationes reſponderit Giphanius, fateor ignorare me.* Thomaſius, pag. 198.

(24) Thomaſius, pag. 199, 200. cites all the paſſages of the Letters of *Gifanius* to *Muretus*, and the Anſwers of *Muretus*.

(25) Gifan. *ad Muretum*, Epiſt. 78. lib. 1. *inter* Epiſtolas Mureti, *apud* Thomaſium, pag. 200.

(26) See the *Letters* which Mr. *Matthæus*, Profeſſor of Law at Leyden, publiſhed there in 1695, pag. 97.

(27) Ibid.

Works in Moreri's Dictionary, where Hubert Giphani, and Obertus Giphanius, are ridiculouſly given as two perſons.

" in confidence of your friendſhip and that of others " of your character, I conſider thoſe cenſures as in- " ſignificant."

I ſhall obſerve by the bye, that Scaliger is no very proper perſon to perſuade us, that Gifanius was not a plagiary. " Gifanius, *ſays he* (28), was learned; " his Lucretius is a very good one. I have ſent him " ſince ſome excellent Remarks, which he has kept, " and declares that he did not receive them, and intends " to make uſe of them himſelf. . . . . He ſtole from " L. Fruterius his Agellius, when it was ready for " the preſs."

(28) Scaligerana, pag. 93.

[F] *The occaſion of his falling out with the terrible Scioppius was a ſort of retaliation.*] Scioppius having obtained from Conrade Ritterhuſius, with whom he lodged at Altorf, a Letter of recommendation to Obert Gifanius Profeſſor at Ingolſtad, inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem of that Profeſſor, and having procured a very free acceſs to him, found an opportunity one day to viſit his Library in the abſence of the owner, and took away a manuſcript of Symmachus. He copied likewiſe what he thought proper from a manuſcript work of Gifanius, and found there materials to ſet up for a Critic; and when Gifanius loudly complained of this fraud, the plagiary caſt an hundred reproaches upon him. This is what Scaliger's friends relate againſt Scioppius. *In ædes primum, mox in animum, poſtea in bibliothecam abſentis penetravit Giphanii, cui MS. Symmachi codicem ſubduxit: libros vero Obſervationum linguæ Latinæ invito domino percurrit, & ex iis quæ voluit furtim ſublegit. E quibus partim, partim emendationibus Plautinis, quas è Camerarii membranis deſcriptas in ſuo Ritterſhuſius codice adnotarat, partim etiam reliquiis ſchedarum Modii, quas ab ampliſſimo Velſero, ſummo literarum patrono, acceperat; duos illos, quibus primum innotuit, libellos corraſit. . . . Quod quidem plagium cum paſſim voce paſſim literis teſtaretur Giphanius, in præceptorem ſuum & doctiſſimum hominem erupit hæc vipera, & quæcunque undique poterat convitia in eum contorſit* (29). i. e. " He firſt introduced himſelf into the houſe, then " into the friendſhip of Gifanius, and afterwards " into his Library during his abſence, and ſtole a ma- " nuſcript of Symmachus. He peruſed likewiſe, " without Gifanius's conſent, his Obſervations on " the Latin tongue, and tranſcribed from thence what " he thought proper. Partly from theſe, and partly " from the Emendations upon Plautus, which Rit- " terhuſius had noted in his Book from Camerarius's " manuſcripts, and partly from the papers of Modius, " which he had received from the noble Velſerus, " that great patron of learning, he patched up the " two Books, which firſt made him known. . . . . " Gifanius complaining every where in his Letters " of this piece of plagiariſm, this viper broke out " violently againſt his very learned maſter, and caſt " upon him all the calumnies which he could any " where pick up." Scioppius returned this anſwer. I. He cites two paſſages of his works (30), in which he owns the obligations which he had to Gifanius for communicating the manuſcript of Symmachus. II. He confeſſes, that theſe two paſſages were only raillery (31); for, adds he, Gifanius let me ſee the manuſcript but once, and when I deſired a ſight of it again, he anſwered: " Sir, to deſire my Symmachus " is the ſame thing as to deſire to lie with my wife." *Symmachum à me petere perinde eſt atque uxorem meam utendam poſtulare* (32). III. That Gifanius, who had ſtolen this manuſcript at Venice from the Library of Cardinal Beſſarion, would not publiſh it himſelf, nor ſuffer any other perſon to do it. *Erat autem liber ille Symmachi ex Beſſarionis Bibliotheca Venetiis furto Gifanii ſublatus (velut Wolfgangus Zundelinus indicium Scioppio fecit) quem ille neque ut ederet, neque ut Ritterſhuſio id petenti edendum daret, ullis precibus aut muneribus induci potuit* (33). i. e. " That manuſcript " of Symmachus was ſtolen by Gifanius from Beſſa- " rion's Library at Venice, as Wolfgang Zundelinus " informed Scioppius; and he could not be prevailed " upon by intreaties or rewards to publiſh it himſelf, " nor to ſuffer Ritterſhuſius to publiſh it, though " the latter ſollicited him for that favour." IV. That he (Scioppius) being deſirous, that the public might not be deprived ſo long of this treaſure, ſhewed a thouſand civilities to Gifanius, and deſired him frequently to ſup with him; but that all was to no purpoſe, though this Profeſſor was well enough pleaſed to ſup at his friends houſes. *Scioppius ne literarum ſtudioſis liber ejuſmodi diutius deberetur, Giphanium creberrime ad cœnam vocando demulcere (vix enim ullam diem toto anno elabi ſibi Gifanius ſinebat, quin foris cœnaret, ac plerumque Menelai Homerici exemplo invocatus amicis conditceret) & Symmachi copiam ab eo impetrare ſtuduit, ſed fruſtra* (34). V. That ſeeing this obſtinacy he joined with three Civilians to convey this manuſcript ſecretly away, and having made uſe of it he reſtored it to its place the next day. VI. That the ſubtilty, by which he gueſſed where this manuſcript was, exceeded all the acuteneſs of the Critics, who commented on Symmachus. *Unica illa conjectura ſua quo loco Symmachi codex in Gifanii Bibliotheca ſitus foret, omnium Criticorum quotquot ei ſcriptori operam navarunt ingenium & acumen longè ſuperavit* (35). VII. That it is falſe that he ſtole this manuſcript, ſince he kept it only one night, in order that others might make uſe of it. *Rem quoque malo furto acquiſitam poſſeſſori ſuo nequaquam ſubduxerit (velut tu mentiris) ſed uſum ejus unius noctis lucubratione cum aliis communicavit* (36). VIII. With regard to the other manuſcript, he owns that he had it in his hands by means of the Amanuenſis of Gifanius, and that he extracted what was moſt valuable in it, but not with a view to aſſume it to himſelf, ſince he had ſuffered divers perſons, who had a taſte for polite Latin, to take a copy of it. *Cum ei Giphanii amanuenſis librum illum obſervationum attuliſſet, cum iiſdem Juriſconſultis amicis ſuis, operas partitus intra paucos dies quicquid in eo minus pervulgatum eſſe videretur, deſcripſit, & paſſim poſtea aliis linguæ Latinæ ſtudioſis, etiam ſacrilego illi Guldinaſto deſcribendi copiam fecit* (37). i. e. " Gifanius's Ama- " nuenſis bringing to him that volume of Obſerva- " tions, Scioppius with the three Civilians, his friends, " dividing the work between them, copied what was " moſt uncommon in it within a few days, and af- " terwards permitted ſeveral others, who were curi- " ous in elegant Latin, and amongſt the reſt the vil- " lainous Guldinaſt, to take a copy of this piece." IX. He pretends, that he had publicly owned the advantage which he had made of this work. *De Obſervationibus Grammaticis fateri puta Scioppium cum præfatione diſputationis de injuriis ita Giphanium alloquitur*, Ego multa ex te quamvis inſcio & invito didici. i. e. " You may ſuppoſe, that Scioppius " ſpeaks of the Obſervations on the Latin tongue, " when in the preface to the Diſpute concerning the " Calumnies he thus addreſſes himſelf to Gifanius: " *I have learned a great many things of you, though* " *without your conſent or knowledge.*" I am not ſurprized that Gifanius ſhould be extremely incenſed; for who could bear with patience ſuch ill uſage? Scioppius confeſſes enough to perſuade his readers that he was not a man of probity. The greateſt misfortune of Gifanius was, that his reſentment was laughed at. *Hoc ut reſcivit Giphanius, tantum non in furorem redactus eſt, omnibuſque viris doctis etiam amicis ſuis deridiculo fuit* (38). i. e. " As ſoon as Gifanius diſ- " covered this, he was almoſt mad with rage, and " was expoſed to the ridicule of all learned men, " even his friends."

(29) See the Satire, *Hercules tuam fidem*, in which there is an Appendix intitled, *Vita & Parentes Gaſpar. Scioppii*, pag. 145, 146.

(30) The Preface to his *Verifimilia*, and the 15*th Letter* of his *Suſpectæ Lectiones.*

(31) *Iſta Scioppium non ſerio ſed joco tantum ſcripſiſſe.* Oporinus Grubinius, *Amphot. Scioppian.* pag. 159.

(32) Oporinus Grubinius, *Amphot. Scioppian.* pag. 139.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Ibid. pag. 140.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid. pag. 141.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid.

I have heard the famous Mr. Grævius mention, that he had ſeen in the hands of Frederic Gronovius a Letter of Philip Pareus, in which he informed Gronovius, that Gifanius's Manuſcript of Obſervations on the Latin tongue had been found again, and that it would be eaſy to diſcover by it the plagiariſm of Scioppius.

☞ GILBERT (Dr. WILLIAM), an eminent Engliſh Philoſopher and Phyſician in the ſixteenth Century, was born at Colcheſter [*A*] in Eſſex (*a*), and ſon of Jerom Gilbert

(*a*) *Fuller's Worthies*, in *Eſſex.*

[*A*] *Born at Colcheſter.*] Joſeph Scaliger, in a Letter of his to David Rivaldus à Flurentia dated at Leyden the 16th of April 1604 (1) erroneouſly ſtiles him *Gloceſtrenſis*, i. e. *of Glouceſter.*

(1) *Vide* Joſephi Scalig. Epiſt. lib. 2. Epiſt. 200. p. 410. edit. Franc. 1628, in 8vo.

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 321. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) Idem, ibid.

(d) Idem, ibid.

Gilbert of that town (*b*). He was educated in both the Univerſities, but whether in Oxford or Cambridge firſt, is not certain (*c*). After he paſſed through his ſtudies, he travelled into foreign countries, where he is ſuppoſed to have had the Degree of Doctor of Phyſic conferred on him; and at his return being famed for his learning, and his profound ſkill in Philoſophy and Chemiſtry (*d*), and his book *de Magnete* [*B*], he became Fellow of the College of Phyſicians at London, and Phyſician in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who had ſo high an eſteem for him, that ſhe allowed him an annual penſion to encourage him in his ſtudies. Beſides the work abovementioned he wrote *De Mundo noſtro ſublunari Philoſophia nova*, printed at Amſterdam 1651 in 4to from a manuſcript in the Library of Sir William Boſwell Knt. There is a manuſcript of this work in the King's Library (*e*). He died in the ſummer of the year 1603, having always lived a ſingle life (*f*). His body was interred in Trinity Church at Colcheſter (*g*), in which pariſh he was born. By his laſt will and teſtament he gave all his Library, Globes, Inſtruments, and Cabinet of Minerals to the College of Phyſicians; which part of his will was exactly performed by his brothers, *William* (ſo he is written in his will) a Proctor in the Arches, *Jerom*, *Ambroſe*, and *George*, who inherited his eſtate (*h*). His picture in the ſchool-gallery at Oxford ſhews him to have been tall of ſtature, and of a chearful countenance. He was the firſt who invented the two inſtruments for ſeamen to find out the Latitude of any place, without ſeeing of the Sun, Moon, or Stars, as appears from Mr. Thomas Blondeville's book printed at London 1602 in 4to, under the title of, *Theoriques of the Planets, together with the making of two Inſtruments for Seamen to find out the Latitude without ſeeing of Sun, Moon, or Stars, invented by Dr. Gilbert.* Sir Kenelm Digby (*i*) ſtiles our Author "an admirable ſearcher into the nature of the "Load-ſtone;" and tells us, "that by means of him and Dr. Harvey, our Nation "may

(e) See *The Catalogue of the Manuſcripts of the King's Library. By David Caſley.* 12 F. xi. pag. 212. edit. London 1734 in 4to.

(f) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(g) Fuller, *ubi ſupra.*

(h) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(i) *Treatiſe of Bodies*, c. 20.

[*B*] *His Book* de Magnete.] It was printed at London 1600 in fol. under the following title, *De Magnete, magneticiſq; Corporibus, & de magno Magnete Tellure.* To this Book the Author added an *Appendix* of ſix or eight ſheets; but whether printed or not, Mr. Wood (2) is uncertain. The Lord Bacon (3) ſtiles this a *painful and experimental Work*; and highly applauds it in ſeveral parts of his Writings. Nath. Carpenter obſerves (4), that "we had not any certain or ſatisfactory "knowledge of magnetical properties, until ſuch time "as it pleaſed God to raiſe up one of our country-"men, Dr. Gilbert, who to his everlaſting praiſe hath "trodden out a new path to Philoſophy, and on the "load-ſtone erected a large trophy to commend him to "poſterity." F. Rapin (5) remarks, that Dr. Gilbert has explained the Phænomena of the Loadſtone better than other Writers. Joſeph Scaliger in the Letter above quoted refers to our Author with relation to the Magnet, and obſerves, that in his Book *de Magnete* he ſhewed his own learning rather than the nature of the load-ſtone, and left Scaliger more uncertain than before. *Conſulendi ſunt, qui de Magnete ſcripſerunt, præſertim* Guilielmus Gilbertus *Gloceſtrenſis, Philoſophus & Medicus Londinenſis, qui ante triennium tres ampliſſimos Commentarios de eâ re edidit, quibus magis mihi probavit doctrinam ſuam quam Magnetis Naturam. Nam incertior ſum, quam dudum.* In another likewiſe addreſſed to Iſaac Caſaubon, and dated at Leyden 1604 (6), he writes thus: *Quidam Anglus ante triennium libro de Magnete edito nihil expectatione eâ, quam excitârat, protulit:* "A certain Engliſhman, who three "years ago publiſh'd a Treatiſe on the Load-ſtone, "performed nothing worthy of the expectation, which "he had raiſed." Dr. George Hakewill (7) ſtiles Dr. Gilbert's Book *a learned one*, and remarks, that "he "ſeems to be of opinion, that *Paulus Venetus* brought "the Invention of the uſe of the Loadſtone from the "Chineſes. *Oſorius* in his Diſcourſe of the Acts of King "*Emanuel* refers it to *Gama* and his countrymen the "*Portugals*, who, as he pretends, took it from certain "barbarous Pirates roving upon the ſea about the Cape "of Good Hope. *Goropius Becanus* likewiſe thinks "he hath greater reaſon to intitle it upon his country-"men the Germans, in as much as the xxxii points "of the wind upon the Compaſs borrow the name "from the Dutch in all languages. But *Blondus*, who "is therein followed by *Pancirollus*, both Italians, will "not have Italy loſe the praiſe thereof, telling us, that "about 300 years ago it was found out at Malphis or "Melphis, a city in the Kingdom of Naples in the "Province of Campania, now called *Terra di Lovorador*. But for the Author of it the one names him not; "and the other aſſures us, he is not known: yet *Salmuth* out of *Ciezus* and *Gomara* confidently chriſtens "him with the name of *Flavius*, and ſo doth *Du Bartas*." Mr. Wood tells us (8), that Mr. William Barlow (9), M. A. Prebendary of Wincheſter, Rector of Eaſton near that city, and Archdeacon of Saliſbury (10), and ſon of Dr. William Barlow, Biſhop of St. David's, and afterwards of Chicheſter, was the *perſon, who had the knowledge of the Magnet twenty years before Dr.* Wm. Gilbert *publiſhed his Book of that ſubject; and therefore by thoſe that knew him, he was accounted ſuperior, or at leaſt equal to that Doctor for an induſtrious and happy ſearcher and finder out of many rare and magnetical ſecrets.* "He was the firſt, that made the in-"clinatory inſtrument tranſparent, and to be uſed "pendant, with a glaſs on both ſides, and ring on "the top; whereas Dr. *Gilbert's* hath it but of one "ſide, and to be ſet on a foot. And moreover he "hanged it in a compaſs-box, where with two ounces "weight it was made fit for uſe at ſea. Secondly, he "was the firſt, that found out, and ſhewed the dif-"ference between iron and ſteel, and their tempers for "magnetical uſes, which hath given life and quicken-"ing univerſally to all magnetical inſtruments whatſo-"ever. Thirdly he was the firſt, that ſhewed the "piecing and cementing of load-ſtones. And laſtly, "the firſt, that ſhewed the reaſons why a load-ſtone "being double capp'd, muſt take up ſo great weight." Mr. Barlow publiſh'd *Magnetical Advertiſement or diverſ pertinent Obſervations and approved Experiments concerning the Nature and Properties of the Load ſtone*, &c. London 1616 in 4to. This work being animadverted upon by Dr. Mark Ridley, ſometime Phyſician to the Engliſh Merchants in Ruſſia, afterwards chief Phyſician to the Emperor of that Country, and at laſt one of the Elects of the College of Phyſicians of London, Mr. Barlow publiſh'd *A brief Diſcovery of the idle Animadverſions of* Mark Ridley, *Doctor in Phyſic, upon a Treatiſe intitled*, Magnetical Advertiſement. London 1618 in 4to. He wrote likewiſe *The Navigator's Supply; containing many things of principal importance belonging to Navigation, with the Deſcription and Uſe of divers Inſtruments framed chiefly for that purpoſe, &c.* London 1597 in 4to dedicated to Robert Earl of Eſſex. Mr. Wood informs us (11), that ſeven years before the *Magnetical Advertiſement* was publiſhed, Mr. Barlow ſent a copy of it in manuſcript to Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, "which he miſlaying or embezzling, he ſent "him, upon his deſire, another copy; and that being "imparted to others, the Author afterwards, before its "publication, met with many portraitures of his mag-"netical Implements, and divers of his Propoſitions "publiſhed in print in another man's name, and yet "ſome of them not rightly underſtood by the party "uſurping them." T.

(2) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 321.

(3) *Advancement of Learning*, lib. 2. cap. 13.

(4) *Geography delineated forth in two Books, containing the Sphærical and Topical Parts thereof.* B. 1. c. 3.

(5) *Reflex. ſur la Phyſique*, §. 9.

(6) Joſeph. Scaliger. *Epiſtol.* l. 1. Epiſt. 90. pag. 232.

(7) *Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*, l. 3. c. x. Sect. 4. pag. 284. edit. London 1630, in fol.

(8) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 495.

(9) He died May 25, 1625, as appears from his Epitaph in the Chancel of the Church of *Eaſton* near *Wincheſter.*

(10) He was collated to that Archdeaconry March the 12th 1614, on the death of Dr. Ralph Pickover.

(11) *Ubi ſupra.*

" may claim, even in this later age, as deſerved a Crown for ſolid philoſophical learning, " as for many ages together it hath done formerly for acute and ſubtle ſpeculations in " Divinity." Peireſkius uſed to lament, that when he was in England, he was not acquainted with Dr. Gilbert or Mr. Thomas Lydiat, the Mathematician and Chronologer (*k*). And Dr. Iſaac Barrow (*l*) repreſents him, together with Galileo, Gaſſendus, Merſennus, and Des Cartes, as men reſembling the Antients in ſagacity and acuteneſs of genius, and almoſt equal to them in thoſe reſpects.

(*k*) Gaſſendus *in Vitâ Peireskii*, lib. 2. pag. 52. edit. Hagæ-Comitum 1655, in 4to.

(*l*) *Opuſcul.* pag. 87.

GILLES (PETER), Paſtor of the Reformed Church at la Tour in the Valley of Luſerne, wrote by order of his Superiors an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Churches of the Vaudois, which he publiſhed at Geneva in 1644 in 4to. He was then in the ſeventy third year of his age. He had already publiſhed other works [*A*].

[*A*] *He had already publiſhed other Works.*] I have obſerved in another place (1), that the Prior Marco Aurelio Rorenco publiſhed in 1634 an Apology for a piece which he had written in 1632. Our Peter Gilles refuted this Apology in a Work intitled, *Conſiderations ſur les Lettres Apologetiques des Sieurs Marc Aurele Rorenc Prieur de Luſerne, & Theodore Belvedere Prefect des Moines* (2). The latter replied in a Latin Treatiſe intitled, *Turris contra Damaſcum, id eſt Tutela Eccleſiæ Romanæ contra Calviniſtarum incurſiones objecta conſiderationibus cujuſdam Miniſtri P. Gillio ſubſcripti ædificata cum propugnaculis à Fr. Theodoro Belvederenſi, &c.* This was printed at Turin in 1636, and refuted ſoon after by the Sieur Gilles, who anſwered likewiſe another book publiſhed by the ſame Monk in Italian under the title of *Lucerna della Chriſtiana Verita per conoſcer la vera Chieſa e la falſa preteſa Reformata*; he anſwered it, I ſay, in an Italian Treatiſe intitled, *Torre Evangelica*, divided into forty eight chapters, the ſummary of which he gives in his *Hiſtory of the Vaudois* (3). He did the ſame with reſpect to his Anſwer to another Italian Book dedicated by Belvedere to the Congregation *de propaganda fide* to inform them of the ſtate of the Reformed Churches among the Vaudois, and *of their Order, Doctrine, and Ceremonies, concluding obliquely that they ought to be exterminated* (4).

(1) In the Article RORENCO.

(2) See his *Hiſtoire des Egliſes Vaudoiſes*, pag. 540.

(3) *Hiſt. des Egliſes Vaudoiſ.* pag. 542, & *ſeq.*

(4) Ibid. pag. 545, & *ſeq.*

GIOACHINO GRECO, known by the name of the Calabrian, was ſo excellent a player at cheſs, that it cannot be thought ſtrange that I ſhould give a ſhort Article of him. All who excel in their profeſſion to a certain degree deſerve this diſtinction. He never had any equal to him at this game in any part of the world. He viſited all the Courts of Europe, and ſignalized himſelf by playing at cheſs in a ſurprizing manner. At the Court of France he met with famous players, the Duke of Nemours, Arnaud le Carabin, Chaumont, and la Salle; but though they valued themſelves upon their ſuperior ſkill, not one of them was able to engage him: all of them together were not a match for him. *He was in the game of cheſs an hero, who ſought out in every Nation ſome famous Knight, with whom he might engage and break a lance, and he could not meet with one, whom he did not conquer.* A man of wit wrote a copy of verſes upon this ſubject (*a*) [*A*]. See above the Article BOI.

(*a*) Extracted from a *Letter* inſerted in the *Mercure Galant* of Dec. 1693.

[*A*] *A man of wit wrote a copy of verſes upon this ſubject.*] The greateſt part of my Readers would be diſpleaſed, if I were to inform them of this, without preſenting them with the verſes themſelves. I ſhall therefore ſet them down.

A peine dans la carriere
Contre moi tu fais un pas
Que par ta demarche fiere
Tous mes projets ſont à bas.
Je vois dès que tu t'avances
Ceder toutes mes defenſes,
Tomber tous mes champions,
Dans ma reſiſtance vaine
Roi, Chevalier, Roc, & Reine
Sont moindres que des Pions (1).

i. e. " You ſcarce make one ſtep againſt me in the " game, but all my ſchemes prove abortive. When " you advance, all my defence fails, my champions " give way; and King, Knight, Rook, and Queen, " are more inſignificant than even Pawns."

(1) From the *Letter* inſerted in the *Mercure Galant*, Dec. 1693.

GIRAC (PAUL THOMAS Sieur de). See THOMAS.

☞GLANVILL (JOSEPH), a very learned and ingenious Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Plymouth in the year 1636, and on the 19th of April 1652 entered a Batler of Exeter College in the Univerſity of Oxford under the tuition of Mr. Samuel Conant (*a*). October the 11th 1655 he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*), and in the beginning of July 1656 removed to Lincoln College (*c*), where taking the Degree of Maſter of Arts June the 29th 1658 (*d*), he was about that time made Chaplain to Francis Rous, one of Oliver Cromwell's Lords, and Provoſt of Eaton College. But he dying ſoon after, Mr. Glanvill returned to Oxford, continued in Lincoln-College for ſome time, and " became a great admirer of Mr. Richard Baxter, and a zealous per- " ſon for a Commonwealth (*e*)." After the Reſtoration he *turned about*, ſays Mr. Wood (*f*), and *became a Latitudinarian*; and in 1661 publiſhed a book intitled, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* [*A*]. He was choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society;

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 662. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 107.

(*c*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* col. 122.

(*e*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid. col. 663.

[*A*] *A Book intitled* The Vanity of Dogmatizing.] The whole title is as follows: *The Vanity of Dogmatizing; or Confidence in opinions; manifeſted in a Diſcourſe of the Shortneſs and Uncertainty of our Knowledge and its Cauſes; with ſome Reflections on* Peripateticiſm; *and an Apology for Philoſophy. By* Joſ. Glanvill, *M. A.* London 1661 in 12mo. In the Epiſtle Dedicatory to Mr. Joſeph Maynard, B. D. dated at Cecil-Houſe in the Strand March 1ſt 1660, he obſerves that this Treatiſe was " a fortuitous, undeſigned abortive, and an e- " quivocal effect of a very diverſe intention. For having writ, *ſays he*, a Diſcourſe, which I formerly " let you know of, of the *Soul's Immortality*, I deſigned a Preface to it, as a correction of *Enthuſiaſm*, " in a vindication of the *Uſe* of *Reaſon* in matters of " *Religion*; and my conſiderations on that ſubject, " which I thought a ſheet would have compriſed, grew " ſo voluminous as to fill fourteen; which being too " much for a Preface, I was adviſed to print apart. " And therefore reaſſuming my pen to annex ſome ad- " ditional enlargements to the beginning, where I had " been moſt curt and ſparing, my thoughts ran out in- " to

Society; and taking Orders in the Church of England, was preſented by Sir James Thynne in the beginning of November 1662 to the Vicarage of Frome-Selwood in Somerſetſhire, in the room of Mr. John Humphrey ejected for Nonconformity (g). The ſame year he publiſhed his *Lux Orientalis* [B]; and in 1665 his *Scepſis Scientifica* [C]; and in the year following his *Some Philoſophical Conſiderations touching the being*

(g) Idem, ibid.

" to this diſcourſe, which now begs your patronage, " while the two former were remanded into the ob- " ſcurity of my private papers; the latter being ren- " dered leſs neceſſary by his Majeſty's much deſired " and ſeaſonable arrival; and the former by the ma- " turer undertakings of the accompliſh'd Dr. *H. More*." In this Diſcourſe he aſſigns ſeveral Reaſons for the Shortneſs of human Knowledge; 1. That knowledge lies deep, and is therefore difficult: 2. Becauſe we can perceive nothing but by proportion to our ſenſes (1): 3. The impoſtures and deceits of our ſenſes (2): 4. The fallacy of our imaginations (3): 5. The precipitancy of our underſtandings (4): 6. The intereſt, which our affections have in our dijudications (5). He afterwards makes ſeveral Reflections on the Peripatetic Philoſophy, and obſerves, that it is litigious, and hath no ſettled conſtant ſignification of words; that it gives no account of the phænomena; and is unfit for new diſcoveries, and hath been the author of no one invention; that it is in many things impious and ſelf-contradictory. For proof of this he tells us (6), that Ariſtotle held, that the Reſurrection is impoſſible; that God underſtands all things; that the world was from eternity; that there is no ſubſtantial form but moves ſome orb; that the firſt Mover moves by an eternal, immutable neceſſity; that if the world and motion were not from eternity, then God was idle. Of the *Ariſtotelian* contradictions *Gaſſendus* hath preſented us with a Catalogue; we ſhall inſtance in a few. Ariſtotle in one place ſaith, that the ſcintillation of the Planets is not ſeen, becauſe of their propinquity, but that of the riſing and ſetting Sun is, becauſe of its diſtance; and yet in another place he makes the Sun nearer us than they are. He aſſerts, that the elements are not eternal, and endeavours to prove it; and yet makes the world ſo, and the elements its parts. In his Meteors he ſays, that no dew is produced in the wind, and yet afterwards admits it under the South, and none under the North. In one place he defines a vapour *humid* and *cold*; and in another *humid* and *hot*. He affirms the faculty of ſpeaking to be a *ſenſe*, and yet before he allowed but five. In one place that nature doth all things beſt; and in another, that it makes more evil than good. And ſomewhere he contradicts himſelf within one line, ſaying, that an *immoveable Mover hath no principle of Motion*. Mr. Glanvill then proceeds to ſhew (7), that Dogmatizing is, 1. The effect of ignorance: 2. Inhabits with untamed paſſions, and an ungoverned ſpirit: 3. Is a great diſturber in the world: 4. Is ill manners and immodeſty: 5. Holds men captive in error: 6. Betrays a narrowneſs of ſpirit. In the laſt chapter he gives us an *Apology for Philoſophy*, and vindicates it from the imputation of irreligion; and aſſerts (8), that *next after the divine Word, it is one of the beſt friends to piety. Neither is it any more juſtly accountable for the impious irregularities of ſome, that have paid an homage to its ſhrine, than Religion itſelf for the ſinful extravagancies both opinionative and practical of high pretenders to it. It is a vulgar conceit, that* Philoſophy *holds a confederacy with* Atheiſm *itſelf; but moſt injurious; for nothing can better antidote us againſt it; and they may as well ſay, that Phyſicians are only murtherers. A* Philoſophick Atheiſt *is as good ſenſe as a* Divine *one*. All or moſt of this Book is contained in his *Scepſis Scientifica*, printed in 1665 in 4to. It was anſwered by *Thomas Anglus ex Albiis Eaſt-Saxonum* in his Book intitled *Sciri, ſive Sceptices & Scepticorum à jure Diſputationis Excluſio*. London 1663 in 12mo.

(1) Cap. 7.
(2) Cap. 8.
(3) Cap. 11.
(4) Cap. 12.
(5) Cap. 13.
(6) C. 19. pag. 183, 184, 185.
(7) C. 23. pag. 224, & ſeqq.
(8) Pag. 248.

[B] *His* Lux Orientalis.] The whole title is: Lux Orientalis: *or an Enquiry into the opinion of the Eaſtern Sages concerning the Præ-exiſtence of Souls: being a Key to unlock the grand myſteries of Providence in relation to man's ſin and miſery*. London 1662 in 12mo. His name is not prefixed to it. It is dedicated to *Francis Willoughby* Eſq; In this Treatiſe he propoſes the ſeveral opinions concerning the Original of Souls (9), and obſerves that the daily creation of them is inconſiſtent with the divine Attributes (10); that the traduction of them is impoſſible, and the reaſons for it weak and frivolous (11). He then calls us (12) from the *modern Diſputants* to look towards the antient Sages, thoſe Eaſtern Sophi, who have filled the world with the fame of their wiſdom; and tells us that it was the opinion of the Indian Brachmans, the Perſian Magi, the Egyptian Gymnoſophiſts, the Jewiſh Rabbins, ſome of the Grecian Philoſophers, and Chriſtian Fathers, that *the ſouls of men were created all at firſt, and at ſeveral times and occaſions, upon forfeiture of their better life and condition, dropt down into theſe terreſtrial bodies*. This the learned among the Jews made a part of their *Cabbala*, and pretend to have received it from their great Lawgiver *Moſes*. Our Author then obſerves, that the Scripture ſaith nothing againſt it; that its ſilence is no prejudice to this doctrine, but rather an argument for it, as the caſe ſtands; that Præexiſtence was the common opinion in our Saviour's time (13); that our forgetting the former ſtate is no argument to diſprove it; that the proof of the Poſſibility of Præ-exiſtence would be ſufficient, all other Hypotheſes being abſurd and contradictory; but that it is proved alſo by poſitive arguments (14); that an argument for it may be drawn from the conſideration of the divine goodneſs, which always doth what is beſt (15); that another argument may be drawn from the great variety of men's ſpeculative inclinations, and the diverſity of our genius's (16). He then ſhews what countenance it hath from the Old and New Teſtament (17); and afterwards ſtates a philoſophical Hypotheſis of the ſoul's Pre-exiſtence (18). In the Preface he remarks, that his deſign in this Book is *only an innocent repreſentation of an antient and probable opinion, which I conceive*, ſays he, *may contribute ſomewhat towards the clearing and vindicating the divine Attributes, and ſo repreſenting the ever bleſſed Deity as a more fit object of love and adoration than the opinions of the world make him..... For there is nothing more for the intereſt of Religion, than that God be repreſented to his creatures as amiable and lovely, which cannot be better done than by clearing up his providences and dealings with the ſons of men, and diſcovering them to be full of equity, ſweetneſs, and benignity*. He afterwards obviates the objection, which might be made to this Hypotheſis, as inconſiſtent with the *Frame of orthodox Divinity*, and tells us, that " it is but ſuppoſing that God created all " ſouls together, as he did the Angels; that ſome of " them ſinned and fell with the other apoſtate ſpirits, " and for their diſobedience were thruſt into a ſtate of " ſilence and inſenſibility; that the divine Goodneſs " ſo provided for them, that they ſhould act a part " again in terreſtrial bodies, when they ſhould fitly be " prepared for them; and that Adam was ſet up as " our great Protoplaſt and Repreſentative, who had he " continued in innocence and integrity, we had then " been ſharers in that happineſs, which he at firſt was " inſtated in; but by his unhappy defection and diſ- " obedience we loſt it, and becauſe thus miſerable in " our new life in theſe earthly bodies: I ſay, the " doctrine of Præ-exiſtence thus ſtated, is in nothing " that I know of an enemy to *common Theology*; all " things hence proceeding as in our ordinary ſyſtems, " with this only difference, that this Hypotheſis clears " the divine Attributes from any ſhadow of harſhneſs " and inequality, ſince it ſuppoſes us to have ſinned " and deſerved all the miſery we ſuffer in this condi- " tion before we come hither; whereas the other, " which teacheth that we become both guilty and mi- " ſerable by the ſingle and ſole offence of Adam, when " as we were not then in being, or as to our ſouls, as " much as potentially in our great Progenitour, bears " ſomewhat hardly upon the repute of the divine per- " fections."

(9) Cap. 1.
(10) Cap. 2.
(11) Cap. 3.
(12) Pag. 34.
(13) Cap. 4.
(14) Cap. 5.
(15) Cap. 6.
(16) Cap. 10.
(17) Cap. 11.
(18) Cap. 14.

[C] *His* Scepſis Scientifica.] The whole title is: Scepſis Scientifica: *or confeſt ignorance the way to ſcience, in an Eſſay on the Vanity of Dogmatizing and confident Opinion*. London 1665 in 4to. To this Work are ſubjoined,

being of Witches and Witchcraft [*D*]. June the 23d 1666 he was inducted into the Rec-
(*l*) Idem, ibid. tory of the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Bath (*h*). In 1668 he publiſhed his *Plus ultra*; *or the Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the days of Ariſtotle* [*E*]; in

ſubjoined, *A Reply to the Exceptions of the learned* Tho. Albius &c. or, Scire tuum nihil eſt; *or the Author's Defence of the Vanity of Dogmatizing &c.* and *A Letter to a Friend concerning* Ariſtotle.

[*D*] *His* Some Philoſophical Conſiderations touching the being of Witches and Witchcraft.] It is a Letter to *Robert Hunt* Eſq; printed at London 1666 in 4to. But all or moſt of the impreſſion of this Book being burnt in the great fire at London in the beginning of September the ſame year, it was reprinted there again 1667 in 4to
(19) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 665. (19). We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his Books relating to this ſubject. *A Blow at modern Saduciſm, in ſome Philoſophical conſiderations about Witchcraft.* London 1668 in 4to. To this Book are ſubjoined, *A Relation of the famed Diſturbance at the Houſe of Mr.* Mumpeſſon; and *Reflections on Drollery and Atheiſm.* In 1668 he publiſhed *Palpable Evidence of Spirits and Witchcraft, in an account of the famed diſturbance by a Drummer in the Houſe of Mr.* Mumpeſſon.
(20) Col. 666. London 1668. This, according to Mr. Wood (20), is moſt, if not all, the ſame with the *Relation* abovementioned, only the title altered. *A Whip for the Droll, Fiddler to the Atheiſt; being Reflections on Drollery and Atheiſm.* London 1668. This is likewiſe moſtly the ſame with the *Reflections on Drollery &c.* abovementioned. It is reprinted, as a new piece, by Dr. Henry More, among the Additions to the ſecond Edition of *Saduciſmus Triumphatus.* Saduciſmus Triumphatus: *or full and plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions, in two parts.* London 1681 in 8vo, and there again in 1682 with large Additions by Dr. *Henry More*, the Editor of both Editions. The *firſt part* treats of the Poſſibility, the *ſecond* of the real Exiſtence of Witches; with a Letter to Dr. *Henry More* upon the ſame ſubject. The *firſt part* conſiſts of his *Conſiderations touching the Being of Witchcraft*, reprinted here the fifth time. The *ſecond part* contains an anſwer to part of the *Diſplay of ſuppoſed Witchcraft &c.* by Mr. John Webſter, Practitioner in Phyſic and Chirurgery in the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire, printed at London 1667 in fol. and Mr. Glanvill's former *Relation of the famed Diſturbance at the Houſe of Mr.* Mumpeſſon, and a ſecond Narrative of it inlarged, with a Collection of twenty ſix modern Relations. The Author's imperfect Preface to the *ſecond part* gives an account of the ſeveral Editions of his former Treatiſe of *Witches*, and relates the many motives, which induced him to make thoſe large Additions in the Edition. The perſon, who peruſed his papers after his death, digeſteſt his materials, which were left ſomewhat imperfect, and ſupplied what was wanting by Advertiſements thro' the whole Work. The laſt advertiſement is the moſt conſiderable; and as an Appendix to the firſt part concerning the Poſſibility of Apparitions, &c. is added an Account of the Nature of a Spirit, tranſlated out of the two laſt Chapters of Dr. More's *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum*.

[*E*] *His* Plus Ultra: or the Progreſs and Advancement of knowledge ſince the days of Ariſtotle.] The whole title is as follows: Plus Ultra: *or the Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the days of* Ariſtotle. *In an Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable late Improvements of* practical, uſeful Learning: *to encourage philoſophical Endeavours. Occaſioned by a conference with one of the Notional Way. By* Joſ. Glanvill. London 1668 in 12mo. The *Imprimatur* is dated May 2d 1668. This Book was written upon the following occaſion (21): After Mr. Glanvill had ſettled at Bath, and written ſome things againſt Ariſtotle, he was deſired to pay a viſit to Mr. Robert Croſſe, Vicar of Great Chew near Pensford in Somerſetſhire, a great zealot for the old Philoſophy. In the year 1667 therefore our Author was introduced to Mr. Croſſe, who had been ſpeaking before he came about Ariſtotle and his Philoſophy. After their firſt civilities were over, he renewed the diſcourſe, and applied it all to Mr. Glanvill, and treated the Royal Society and modern Philoſophers with ſome contempt. Mr. Glanvill being ſurprized at this behaviour did not then much oppoſe him, but afterwards by letters and diſcourſe attacked Mr. Croſſe's Hypotheſis, "that *Ariſtotle* had

(21) See *Plus Ultra*, cap. 1. pag. 2, & *ſeqq.* and Wood, col. 753.

"more advantages for knowledge than the *Royal So-*
"*ciety* or all the preſent Age had, or could have, be-
"cauſe he did *totam peragrare Aſiam.*" Our Author therefore drew up his *Plus Ultra*; in which he ſhews, that the two chief ways of promoting knowledge, are, 1. By inlarging the Hiſtory of things: 2. By improving Intercourſe and Communications; and that this Age hath great advantages from the advancement of Chemiſtry and Anatomy (22); and the improvements of (22) Cap. 2.
Mathematics, particularly of Arithmetic, Algebra and (23) Cap. 3, 4.
Geometry (23), Aſtronomy (24), Optics and Geography (25). He then obſerves, that uſeful knowledge is aſſiſt- (24) Cap. 5.
ed by the inſtruments lately invented, as the Teleſcope Microſcope, Thermometer, Barometer, and Air-Pump (25) Cap. 6.
(26); and by the modern improvements of natural Hiſtory (27). That the latter Ages have great advantages for (26) Cap. 7, 8.
ſpreading and communicating knowledge, particularly by Printing, Compaſs, and the Royal Society (28). (27) Cap. 10.
Our Author ſhews the reaſons of the inſtitution of that Society, and their deſigns (29), and gives an account of (28) Cap. 11.
what Mr. Boyle had then done for the promotion of uſeful knowledge, and what he had by him not then (29) Cap. 12.
publiſhed; and points out the reaſons for the world to expect greater things of the Royal Society (30). "It (30) Cap. 13,
"is eaſy, *ſays he*, to ſee in the very frame of this 14.
"Aſſembly, that they are fitted with opportunities to (31) Pag. 108,
"amaſs together all the conſiderable notices, obſerva- 109, 110.
"tions, and experiments, that are ſcattered up and
"down in the wide world; and ſo to make a bank
"of all the uſeful knowledge that is among men.
"For either by their whole body or ſome other of
"their particular members, they hold a learned cor-
"reſpondence with the greateſt Virtuoſi of all the
"known univerſe, and have ſeveral of their own Fel-
"lows abroad in foreign parts, by reaſon of whoſe
"communications they know moſt of the valuable
"rarities and phænomena obſerved by the curious in
"nature, and all conſiderable attempts and perform-
"ances of art, ingenuity, and experiment. To which
"conſideration if you add the inquiſitiveneſs of their
"genius, and the way of their procedure by particu-
"lar and cautious obſervations; the coldneſs and ſhi-
"neſs of their aſſent; and the numbers of judicious
"men, that carefully examine their reports; I ſay,
"if theſe particulars be weighed, it will appear to the
"unprejudiced, that the world had never ſuch an ad-
"vantage for the cumulating a treaſure of ſubſtantial
"knowledge, as it hath by this conſtitution. For
"ſingle inquiſitors can receive but ſcant and narrow
"informations either from their own experience or
"converſes; and thoſe they have are frequently very
"imperfect, or very miſtaken. There is often either
"vanity or credulity, ignorance or deſign in their Re-
"lations, which therefore are many times falſe in the
"main matter, and oftner in the circumſtance. So
"that the Hiſtories of Nature we have hitherto had,
"have but an heap and amaſſment of truth and falſ-
"hood, vulgar tales and romantic accounts; and it is
"not in the power of particular unaſſociated endea-
"vours to afford us better. But now the Frame of
"this Society ſuggeſts excellent ground to hope from
"them ſincere and univerſal relations, and the beſt
"grounded and moſt uſeful collection of the affairs of
"art and nature, that ever yet was extant. And as
"they have peculiar privileges for the gathering the
"materials of knowledge; ſo they have the ſame for
"the impartment, and diffuſion of them." Our Author next ſhews the abſurdity of making compariſon between the advantages, which Ariſtotle had for knowledge, and thoſe of later Ages (32); and concludes (32) Cap. 15.
with certain obſervations about the cenſure of Atheiſm applied to philoſophical men, and an apology for the Royal Society and other generous Philoſophers (33); (33) Pag. 137,
and with regard to himſelf, he gives us the following & *ſeqq.*
account (34). In his firſt education he was continually (34) Pag. 142
inſtructed into a religious and faſt adherence to every 143, 144.
thing, which he was taught, and a dread of diſſenting in the leaſt article. This diſcipline he underwent in his younger days, and thought very ſtrangely of thoſe, who believe any thing different from the opinions of their inſtructors. But advancing in years, and coming to a

freer exerciſe of his own mind, he began to make reflections upon the vaſt diverſity and variety of apprehenſions and religions in the world. He conſidered, that they were all as confident in their way, as he was in that, wherein he was inſtructed; and the greateſt part had nothing but their education for their inducement. He thought how eaſy we are in our firſt age; and that tho' children muſt believe, yet men, eſpecially thoſe bred in the way of ſtudy, muſt try. He conſidered what he ſhould firſt adviſe an Heathen or Mahometan to do, who had been brought up to idolatry and fables; and upon the conſultation with himſelf concluded, that it ſhould be to look about him, and to examine other Religions, regarding his own with the ſame eye of indifferency and ſuſpenſion, as if he had never been born under that Faith, which was a thing extrinſic and accidental, and therefore not fit to make an argument to engage a reaſonable belief; and when he had ſo thought, he turned the tables, and took the ſame counſel himſelf. He therefore bent his chief ſtudies and endeavours to know the truth of the Chriſtian Faith; and after the foundations laid in the ſettling the grand article, *The Being of a God*, and the conſequent doctrines of Natural Theology, he ſate down to inquire about the Authority of the holy Scriptures; not that he poſitively doubted or diſtruſted their veracity, but that he might have a firm bottom, and be able to give an account of his faith and hope. In his inquiry, the firſt diſcourſes he met with on the ſubject did not at all ſatisfy, but ſeemed weak and greatly obnoxious. But in the progreſs of his ſearch, he lighted upon thoſe grounds, *which, I thank God*, ſays he, *quieted my mind, and gave me the moſt demonſtrative aſſurance, that the nature of the thing could bear, of the truth and certainty of thoſe ſacred Writings, which undoubtedly contain the fulleſt diſcoveries of the divine wiſdom and perfections, which I infinitely admire, and ſhall eternally adore that Goodneſs, that bleſt the ſons of men, with ſuch clear diſcoveries of his will. And though I perceive that the follies and ſuperſtitions of Sects, who have the holy Oracles always in their mouths, and preſs them for the ſervice of their conceits, have prejudiced ſome of the pretenders to reaſon againſt them; yet this I ſee, that the wiſer, freer, better, and more reaſonable any man is, the greater ſtill is his veneration of thoſe holy Records, and the reliſh of them increaſeth with our improvements in virtue and goodneſs.* Mr. Croſſe abovementioned wrote a piece againſt this Treatiſe, which Mr. Glanvill (35) ſtiles a *Fardel*, and tells us, it was rejected by the Licenſers both at Oxford and London for its *incomparable railing and impertinence*. However our Author procuring an account of the contents of it, ſent it in a private Letter to Dr. *Ingelo*, which Letter afterwards coming into a friend's hands in London was printed at London, and called the *Chue Gazette*; but there were not an hundred copies of it, and thoſe all given into private hands. In this Letter Mr. Glanvill preſented a collection of ſome of the ſcurrilous names, which Mr. Croſſe had called him; recited about ſixteen of his groſs falſhoods; diſcovered the contemptible impertinency of the Book; and gave a ſpecimen of the learning, which Mr. Croſſe ſhewed in ſchool-ſcraps, little ends of verſe, and children's phraſes; "which "are, *ſays our Author* (36), all the reading he diſco- "vers. Theſe things are in brief repreſented in the "*Gazette*, and much more largely in a Latin account "of his performance, which I have ready by me." After this Letter was abroad, Mr. Croſſe wrote Ballads againſt our Author; and engaged Mr. *Henry Stubbe*, the Phyſician of Warwick, in his Defence, who publiſh'd at London 1670 in 4to a Book intitled, *The* Plus Ultra *reduced to a* Non Plus: *Or a Specimen of ſome Animadverſions upon the* Plus Ultra *of Mr.* Joſ. Glanvill, &c. *with divers Enquiries made about ſeveral matters*. This occaſioned our Author to publiſh *A Præfatory Anſwer to Mr.* Henry Stubbe, *the Doctor of Warwick. Wherein the malignity of his temper, the hypocriſy of his pretences, the falſhood of his reports, and the impertinency of his arguings and quotations in his* Animadverſions *on* Plus Ultra *are diſcovered. By.* Joſ. Glanvill. London 1671 in 12mo. This piece is addreſſed to his *much honoured Friend* Francis Godolphin, *Eſq*; Upon this Mr. Stubbe wrote a *Preface againſt* Ecebolius Glanvill, *Fellow of the Royal Society*, ſubjoined to his *Reply unto a Letter written to Mr.* Henry Stubbe *in defence of* The Hiſtory of the Royal Society. Oxford 1671 in 4to. He fell upon him likewiſe in his *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe concerning Phlebotomy, in oppoſition to* George Thomſon, *Pſeudo-Chymiſt, a pretended Diſciple to the Lord* Verulam. London 1671 in 4to. Mr. Glanvill immediately publiſhed *A further Diſcovery of Mr.* Stubbe, *in a brief Reply to the laſt Pamphlet againſt* Joſeph Glanvill. London 1671 in 8vo. To this Tract is ſubjoined *Ad Clerum Somerſetenſem Epiſtola* ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ. Dr. Meric Caſaubon alſo made ſome Reflections upon our Author's *Plus Ultra*, in a *Letter to* Peter du Moulin, *D. D. &c. concerning natural experimental Philoſophie, and ſome Books lately ſet out about it* (37). In this Letter Dr. Caſaubon vindicates Ariſtotle from the imputations thrown upon him by Mr. Glanvill; who, he obſerves (38), *doth not want words to ſet out his matter to the beſt advantage*; and remarks (39), that "whereas a long "Inventory is given by our Author of things lately "diſcovered, that were not known to the ancients, "it would have been the part of an impartial man to "have told us at the ſame time, that we have loſt "ſome things alſo known to the ancients, and what "they are, which happily might deſerve as much re- "ſpect; ſo much at leaſt as not to be paſſed in ſilence. "Many ſuch things (beſides what is collected by *Pan- "cirollus* in a Treatiſe of that argument) have been "obſerved by more than one, Phyſicians and others, "all which I cannot call to mind ſuddenly. One "thing may be *cutting for the ſtone in the kidneys*, "which in *Hippocrates's* time was practiſed (I have "read it in more than one,) with good ſucceſs; but "now, and ever ſince Galen's time (for which ſome "blame him) loſt and forgotten. To this divers o- "ther things are added by learned Phyſicians, as that "which they call *Diſſectio in Empyematibus*; *Exuſtio "in jecoris humoribus*; *Cranii perforatio in aquâ cere- "bri*; *Sectio ſupra oculum in ſuffuſionibus*; *Extractio "aquæ intercutis*; which laſt, tho' ſome venture upon "in theſe days alſo, yet it is obſerved that few or none "eſcape for want of the right way. To theſe I make "no queſtion many more might be added; and I am "ſure I have met with more in their Books, which "I do not at this time remember." *Whether* Galen *had any knowledge of the* Venæ lacteæ, *and the like, I know not; but I am confident he had that knowledge of all the* muſcles, ſinews, arteries, fibres, *and the like, and their proper uſe in every part of the body, (as doth appear by thoſe admirable Books he hath written on that ſubject) as I think few Phyſicians have at this day . . . It is my opinion, that there is ſcarce any art or faculty, wherein we do not come ſhort of the ancients. Indeed their induſtry, much provoked by the greatneſs of rewards, was greater generally; that cannot be denied. Painting, Carving, the Statuaria, are in a manner loſt, in compariſon of what they had attained to. So is the art of coining of money, as uſed in the beſt times of the Roman Empire. The beſt Writers and artificers of theſe days acknowledge it. So is Muſick.* Ludovicus Vives (*beſides* Pancirollus *before named*) *was of that opinion, I am ſure; and there is ſo much to be ſaid, that it is ſo, that I do not ſee how it can be doubted or denied by any man. The ſecret of thoſe eternal lamps, as we may call them, found in divers ancient graves, though ſo much by more than one hath been written of them, continues a ſecret to this day; and I doubt whether modern Chymiſtry, ſo much admired by ſome men, afford any thing that deſerves more admiration. Doth any body pretend in theſe days to underſtand the Mathematicks, as* Archimedes *did? What would not men, Kings, and Princes give for one of his inventions?* Dr. Caſaubon having made ſome animadverſions upon Mr. Glanvill's Book has theſe words (40): "What I had to except againſt the Book you brought "me, I have told you: I muſt now thank you for it. "For in very truth, his Divinity at the end, which is "ſomewhat myſtical (I hope I do not underſtand it) "and thoſe two particulars, his contempt of *Ariſtotle*, "and his cenſuring all other learning beſides *Experi- "mental Philoſophy*, and what tendeth to it, as *uſeleſs* "and mere *wrangling* and *diſputing*, excepted; I have "read the reſt, wherein he doth give us an exact account "of late diſcoveries, with much pleaſure. For though "I think many Ages may paſs before the uſe of many "of thoſe particulars is known; yet *Ariſtotle* hath "taught me, (and he proves it excellently) that no- "thing

(35) *Præfatory Anſwer to Mr. Henry Stubbe*, pag. 2.

(36) Ibid. pag. 188.

(37) It was printed at Cambridge 1669 in 4to, pagg. 36.

(38) Ibid. pag. 20.

(39) Ibid. pag. 27, 28, 29.

(40) Pag. 35, 36.

in 1670 his *Seaſonable Recommendation and Defence of Reaſon &c* [F]; and in 1671 his *Philoſophia Pia*: or, *A Diſcourſe of the religious Temper and Tendencies of the Experimental Philoſophy*

" thing can be in nature ſo mean, or ſo vile, but de-
" ſerves to be taken notice of, and will afford to an in-
" genious ſpeculative man matter of pleaſure and de-
" light." Mr. Glanvill mentions this piece of Dr. Caſaubon at the end of the *Preface* to his *Præfatory Anſwer to Mr.* Henry Stubbe, and tells us, that he had *anſwered the Strictures of that reverend Man in a particular diſcourſe, which I think*, ſays he, *to publiſh when I next reckon with Mr.* Stubbe.

[F] *His* Seaſonable Recommendation and Defence of Reaſon &c.] The whole title is: Λόγε Θρησκεία: *or a ſeaſonable Recommendation and Defence of Reaſon in the Affairs of Religion, againſt Infidelity, Scepticiſm, and Fanaticiſm of all ſorts.* London 1670 in 4to, pagg. 36. The running title is, *A friendly Agreement between Reaſon and Religion.* Our Author's name is not prefixed to it. As this Pamphlet is very ſcarce, we ſhall give ſome account of it. It is a Diſcourſe on *Rom. xii. the latter part of verſe* 1. addreſſed *ad Clerum.* Mr.
(41) Pag. 1. Glanvill begins with obſerving (41), that there is nothing which hath done ſo much miſchief to Chriſtianity, as the *diſparagement of Reaſon*, under pretence of reſpect and favour to *Religion*; ſince hereby the very foundations of the Chriſtian Faith have been undermined, and the world prepared for Atheiſm. Whereas to repreſent *the fair agreement that is between Reaſon and Religion, is the moſt ſeaſonable ſervice that can be done unto both, ſince hereby Religion will be reſcued from the impious accuſation of its being groundleſs and imaginary; and Reaſon alſo defended againſt the unjuſt charge of thoſe that would make this beam of God*
(42) Pag. 2. *prophane and irreligious* (42). Our Author's deſign is to ſhew, that *Religion is a reaſonable thing*, in treating of which propoſition he, I. States what he means by *Religion*, and what by *Reaſon*. II. Demonſtrates their harmony and agreement. III. Diſables the main objections which are alledged againſt the uſe of Reaſon in the affairs of Faith. IV. Improves all by ſome inferences and advices. With regard to the firſt par-
(43) Pag. 4. ticular he obſerves (43), that the name of *Religion* ſignifies *binding*, and ſo imports *Duty*; and all Duty is compriſed under theſe two generals, *Worſhip* and *Virtue*. *Worſhip* comprehends all our duties to *God*; *Virtue* all thoſe which relate to our neighbour or our ſelves. *Religion* then primarily conſiſts in theſe. But *Duty* cannot be performed without *Knowledge*; and ſome principles there muſt be, which muſt direct theſe practices; and thoſe which diſcover and direct them in thoſe actions of duty, are called *Principles* of *Religion*. Theſe are of two ſorts: ſome are, 1. *Fundamental* and *Eſſential*; others, 2. *Acceſſory* and *Aſſiſting*. *Fundamental Principles* are ſuch as are ſuppoſed to the duties of Religion, one or more, and ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary to the performance of them reſpectively. Of this ſort our Author mentions four: 1. *That there is a God of infinite Perfection.* 2. *That we are ſinners, and expoſed to his diſpleaſure.* This is neceſſary to confeſſion of ſins, and repentance; parts of worſhip. 3. *That God is our Maker, and the Author of all our bleſſings.* This is neceſſary to the duties of prayer, praiſe, and adoration. 4. *That there is moral good and evil.* Without this there can be no charity, humility, juſtice, purity, or the reſt. The *Acceſſory and Aſſiſting Principles* are, 1. *That God will pardon us, if we repent.* 2. *That he will aſſiſt us, if we endeavour.* 3. *That he will accept of ſervices, that are imperfect, if they are ſincere.* 4. *That he will reward or puniſh, in another world, according to what*
(44) Pag. 5. *we have done in this.* This Mr. Glanvill (44) eſteems to be the ſum of *Religion in general*; and that *Chriſtianity* takes in all thoſe *Duties*, and all the *Principles*; advancing the *Duties* to nobler meaſures, and encouraging them by new motives and aſſiſtances, and ſuperadding two other inſtances, *Baptiſm*, and the *Lord's Supper*. And for the *Principles*, it confirms thoſe of natural Religion, and explains them further, and diſcovers ſome few new ones. " And all theſe, *ſays*
(45) Pag. 5, 6. " *our Author* (45), both of the former and latter ſort, " are contained in the *Creed*. Here are all the *Fun-* " *damentals* of Religion, and the main *aſſiſting* prin- " ciples alſo. And I call nothing elſe Religion but " plain *Duties* and theſe *acknowledged Principles.* " And though our Church require our aſſent to more " propoſitions, yet thoſe are only *Articles* of *Commu-* " *nion*, not doctrines abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. " And if we go beyond the *Creed* for the *Eſſentials* of " *Faith*, who can tell where we ſhall ſtop? The ſumm " is, *Religion* primarily is *Duty*; and Duty is all that " which God hath commanded to be done by his " Word or our Reaſons; and we have the ſubſtance " of theſe in the *Commandments*. Religion alſo in a " ſecondary ſenſe conſiſts in ſome principles relating " to the worſhip of God and of his Son, in the ways " of devout and virtuous living; and theſe are com- " priſed in that ſummary of Belief called the *Apoſtles* " *Creed*. This I take to be Religion; and this Re- " ligion I ſhall prove to be reaſonable. But I can- " not undertake for all the opinions ſome men are " pleaſed to call *Orthodox*; nor for all thoſe that by " many *private perſons* and ſome Churches are count- " ed *eſſential Articles* of *Faith* and *Salvation*." Mr.
(46) Pag. 6. Glanvill (46) then proceeds to fix the proper notion of *Reaſon*; which is ſometimes taken for Reaſon in the *Faculty*, which is the *Underſtanding*; and at other times for Reaſon in the *Object*, which conſiſts in thoſe principles and concluſions, by which the underſtanding is informed. This latter is meant in the diſpute concerning the agreement or diſagreement of Reaſon and Religion. Having premiſed this, our Author goes on to his *ſecond point*, to ſhew, that *Religion is reaſonable*; which implies two things, viz. That *Reaſon is a friend to Religion*, and that *Religion is ſo to Reaſon*. From theſe two reſults their *Correſpondence* and *Agreement*. Under the firſt branch he obſerves (47), that with regard to the principles of Religion, which are called *Faith*, Reaſon greatly befriends them, 1. *By proving ſome of thoſe principles*; (47) Pag. 7, &
2. *By defending all.* Having ſhewn how ſerviceable *ſeqq.*
Reaſon is to Religion, he next proves, that Religion befriends Reaſon (48); for which purpoſe he offers (48) Pag. 14.
ſome teſtimonies of Scripture, in which God himſelf, and Chriſt, and his Apoſtles own and acknowledge Reaſon. From this Diſcourſe he draws the following inferences (49); 1. Reaſon is certain and infallible. (49) Pag. 23, &
2. Reaſon is, in a ſenſe, *the Word of God.* 3. The *ſeqq.*
belief of our Reaſon is an exerciſe of Faith, and Faith is an act of Reaſon. 4. No principle of Reaſon contradicts any article of Faith. 5. When any thing is pretended from Reaſon againſt any article of Faith, we ought not to cut the knot by denying Reaſon: but endeavour to unty it by anſwering the argument; and it is certain it may be fairly anſwered. 6. When any thing is offered us for an article of Faith, that ſeems to contradict Reaſon, we ought to ſee that there be good cauſe to believe that this is divinely revealed, and in the ſenſe propounded. 7. There is nothing that God hath revealed to oblige our Faith, but he hath given us Reaſon to believe that he hath revealed it. 8. A man may hold an erroneous opinion from a miſtaken ſenſe of Scripture, and deny what is the truth of the propoſition, and what is the right meaning of the text; and yet not err in Faith. 9. In ſearching after the ſenſe of Scripture we ought to conſult the principles of Reaſon as we do other Scriptures. 10. The eſſentials of Religion are ſo plainly revealed, that no man can miſs them that hath not a mighty corrupt biaſs in his will and affections to infatuate and blind his underſtanding.
" Theſe are ſome propoſitions, ſays Mr. Glanville
" (50), that follow from my diſcourſe, and from one (50) Pag. 28, 29
" another. The better they are conſidered, the more
" their force will be perceived; and I think they
" may ſerve for many very conſiderable purpoſes of
" Religion, Charity, and the Peace of Mankind."
He then addreſſes himſelf to his *Brethren of the Clergy* in the following reflections. 1. To diſclaim Reaſon, as an enemy to Religion, tends to the introduction of Atheiſm, Infidelity, and Scepticiſm; and hath already brought in a flood of theſe upon us. 2. The denial of Reaſon in Religion hath been the principal engine that Heretics and Enthuſiaſts have uſed againſt the Faith; and that which lays us open to infinite follies and impoſtures. 3. By the ſame way great advantage is given to the Church of Rome. *If Reaſon*, ſays

losophy which is professed by the Royal Society [*G*]. In July 1672 he exchanged the Vicarage of Frome for the Rectory of Streat, with the Chapel of Walton annexed, in Somersetshire, with Mr. Richard Jenkins, M. A. About the same time he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King Charles II; and by the interest of Henry Marquis of Worcester, (to whom our Author's wife claimed some alliance) was installed on the 22d of June 1678 one of the Prebendaries of Worcester (*i*). Besides the works abovementioned, he wrote several others, which we shall give an account of in the Note [*H*]. Mr. *Henry Stubbe*, the Physician of Warwick, in his *Epistolary Discourse concerning Phlebotomy* has treated Mr. Glanvill in a very abusive manner; and tells us, that he was *the most impudent liar in the world*, and *so ignorant and illiterate a fellow, that he was not fit to come into any learned Company* (*k*); that he did *not understand Greek* (*l*); that he *could not construe Aristotle* (*m*); that he was *a renegado Presbyterian, Latitudinarian, a proud and conceited person*; and he charges him with *impiety* and *indiscretion* (*n*). But these reproaches are of little weight, since they come from a person of the most virulent disposition; and Mr. Richard Baxter declares (*o*), that Mr. Glanvill was a "man of more than ordinary ingenuity, and famous for his great wit;" and *Thomas de Albiis* (*p*) applauds him for his excellent genius. Mr. Wood likewise assures us (*q*), that he was "a person of more than ordinary parts, of a quick, warm, spruce, and gay "fancy, and was more lucky, (at least in his own judgment,) in his first hints and "thoughts of things, than in his after-notions, examined and digested by longer and more

(*i*) Idem, ibid.

(*k*) *Epistolary Discourse*, pag. 14, 15.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 22.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 25.

(*n*) Ibid. pag. 6, 7.

(*o*) *Second true Defence of the meer Nonconformists, &c.* London 1681, pag. 174, 175.

(*p*) *In Epist. dedicat. Juvioribus Britannic. Scholarum Academicis, ad Libr. cui titul. est* Sciri.

(*q*) *Athen. Oxon.* col. 663.

(51) Pag. 33, 34. Mr. Glanvill (51), *be renounced in matters of Religion, with what face can we use it against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, or any other points of the Roman Creed? Would it not be blameless and irreproachable for us to give up our understandings implicitly to the dictates and declarations of that Church? .... How easily may they rejoin, when we dispute against them; "You argue from Reason, and by Consequences. "But Reason is dull and carnal, and an enemy to the "things of the Spirit, and not to be heard in the high "matters of Religion." And what can we say next, if we consent to the accusation? I say, by this way we perfectly disable, or grossly contradict our selves in most of our disputes against the Romanists. And we are very disingenuous in our dealings, while we use Reason against them, and deny it, when it is urged against our selves by another sort of adversaries; which implies, that when we say, Reason* is not to be heard, *we mean, It is not to be heard* against us; *but it must* against the Church of Rome, *or any others we can oppugn by it. Thus, I say, our denying Reason in Religion is either very humoursome and partial; or it is a direct yielding up our selves to our enemies, and doing that our selves, which is the only thing they desire, to undo us, and to promote their own interests upon our ruins.*

[*G*] *His* Philosophia Pia, &c.] It was printed at London in 8vo, and dedicated to Dr *Seth Ward*, Bishop of Sarum. In this Discourse he shews, "I. That "God is to be praised for his works. II. That his "works are to be studied by those that would praise "him for them. III. That the study of nature and "God's works is very serviceable to Religion. IV. "That the Ministers and Professors of Religion ought "not to discourage, but promote the knowledge of "nature and the works of its Author." To this Discourse is subjoined his *Seasonable Recommendation and Defence of Reason in the affairs of Religion* against Infidelity, Scepticism, and Fanaticisms *of all sorts*; which in the Preface he observes to have been a *Visitation Sermon*.

[*H*] *He wrote several other Works, which we shall give an account of in the Note.*] Several Sermons, as, 1. *A Fast Sermon on King Charles I's Martyrdom*, on *Rom.* xiii. 2. London 1667. 2. *Catholick Charity recommended in a Sermon before the Lord Mayor of London, on* 1 *Peter* i. *part of the 22d verse, in order to the abating the animosities among Christians, that have been occasioned by differences in Religion.* London 1669 in 4to. *An earnest Invitation to the Lord's Supper.* London 1673, 1674, 1677, in 12mo. *Seasonable Reflections and Discourses in order to the conviction and cure of the scoffing infidelity of a degenerate age.* London 1676 in 8vo. This consists of four Sermons, viz. 1. *The sin and danger of scoffing at Religion*, on 2 *Peter* iii. 3. 2. *The Church's Contempts from profane and fanatic enemies*, on *Psalm* cxxiii. 3, 4. 3. *Moral Evidence of a Life to come*, on *Matth.* xxii. 32. 4. *The serious Considerations of a future Judgment*, on *Acts* xvii. 31. *Essays on several important subjects in Philosophy and Religion.* London 1676 in 4to. These Essays, which are seven in number, were all, except the last, published before singly by the Author; who in his Preface gives an account of his revising and collecting them into a body. *An Essay concerning Preaching; written for the direction of a young Divine, and useful also for the people, in order to profitable hearing.* London 1678 in 12mo. Our Author's name is not prefix'd to it. The *Imprimatur* is dated December 6th 1677. This *Essay* is addressed to Mr. *Charles Fountain*. Mr. Glanvill tells us (53), that he purposely kept himself from reading any other Writers on this subject, that he might freely, without bias, give his own apprehensions; but that since the papers were written and transcribed, he had look'd over two or three of the chief of those discourses, and was exceedingly encouraged by finding, that his conceptions, as to the main, are not only consistent, but very agreeable with theirs. At the end of this *Essay* is a *Letter* to a Member of Parliament *concerning the State of Ministers in Corporations and great Towers.* With this Essay is likewise printed *A seasonable Defence of Preaching and the plain Way of it.* London 1678 in 12mo. It is written by way of *Dialogue. Some Discourses, Sermons*, and *Remains.* London 1681 in 4to. with our Author's picture before them. These Sermons, which were in number eleven, were most of them printed before separately. Dr. *Anthony Horneck* was the Editor of this Collection. *The zealous and impartial Protestant, shewing some great, but less heeded dangers of Popery, &c. in a Letter to a Member of Parliament.* London 1681 in 4to. This Book being published a little before our Author's death, was so displeasing to some Parliament-Men, that they would have called him to an account for it, if he had lived a little longer (54). Mr. Richard Baxter hath made some animadversions upon this piece in his *Second true Defence of the meer Non-Conconformist, &c.* Printed at London 1681 in 4to. *Letters to the Duchess of Newcastle. A Letter to the Earl of Bristol, with another to a Friend, of the Usefulness of the universal character, with the way of learning it.* This was never printed (55). Mr. Glanvill likewise published *Two Discourses*, viz. *A Discourse of Truth* by Dr. *George Rust* Bishop of *Dromore* in Ireland; and *The Way to Happiness and Salvation.* London 1677 in 12mo. These Discourses were printed in 1683 in 8vo with this title; *Two choice and useful Treatises: the one* Lux Orientalis, &c. *The other* a Discourse of Truth. *By the late Reverend Dr.* George Rust, *Lord Bishop of Dromore in Ireland*; with *Annotations* on them by Dr. Henry More (56). These *Annotations* are full as large as the Discourses themselves. The title to the latter *Annotations* on Dr. *Rust's* Discourse runs thus; *Annotations upon the Discourse of Truth:* in which is inserted by way of digression, *A brief Return to Mr.* Baxter's *Reply, which he calls* A placid Collation with the learned Dr. *Henry More*, occasioned by the Doctor's *Answer to a Letter of the learned Pythophorist* (57). *Whereunto is annexed a devotional Hymn, translated for the use of the sincere lovers of true piety.* Dr. Rust's *Discourse of Truth* was afterwards printed in his *Remains collected and published by* Henry Hallywell, London 1686 in 4to.

(53) Pag. 3.

(54) Wood, col. 667.

(35) Idem, ibid.

(56) Idem, ibid.

(57) Dr. More means by this Mr. Baxter whose Letter to the Doctor was published by the latter, without Mr. Baxter's knowledge in the second edition of Mr. Glanvill's *Saducismus triumphatus.*

" more mature deliberation. He had a very tenacious memory, and was a great maſter " of the Engliſh Language, expreſſing himſelf therein with eaſe and fluency, and in a " manly, yet withall a ſmooth ſtile." *He reflected upon his Univerſity education with regret and diſſatisfaction, declaring often in common diſcourſe, that his being trained up in that trite and beaten road was one of his greateſt unhappineſſes that had ever befallen him* (r). Dr. *Anthony Horneck* has given him a very great character [I]. He died at his houſe at Bath on the 4th of October 1680, and was interred in his Church there on the 9th of the ſame month (s). His funeral Sermon was preached by Mr. Joſeph Pleydell, Archdeacon of Chicheſter, and afterwards publiſhed.

(r) Ibid. col. 664.

(s) Ibid. col. 668.

[I] *Dr.* Anthony Horneck *has given him a great character.*] In his *Preface* to *Some Diſcourſes, Sermons,* and *Remains* by our Author, printed at London 1681 in 4to he tells us, that Mr. Glanvill's *Wit lay out of the common road*; that death ſnatched him away when the learned world expected ſome of his greateſt attempts and enterprizes. " As he valued no notions " that were mean and trivial, ſo thoſe he hath ſent " abroad ſavour of more than an ordinary genius. " His ſoul ſeemed to be ſpun of a finer thread than " thoſe of other mortals, and things looked with an- " other face, when they paſſed through the quicker " fire of his Laboratory.... Even the moſt obvious " truths coming from our Author received a greater " luſtre; and that meat, which familiarity made in " a manner nauſeous to ſome nicer palates, when " dreſſed with his ſauce, became more poignant, and " conſequently more acceptable. His Diſcourſes from " the pulpit, as they were ſolid, ſo they were (which " is the grace and life of them) pathetic; and by his " zeal and fervor one might gueſs how big his deſire " unto God for Iſrael was, that they might be ſaved. " Though he met with diſappointments ſometimes, " yet he remembered he was a Chriſtian; and as he " was not without his croſſes, ſo he carried himſelf " under them like a true Philoſopher. His mind " ſeemed to be ſerene, when things went moſt con- " trary to his wiſhes. And whatever ſtorm the in- " conſtancy and fickleneſs of ſublunary objects threw " upon him, within ſtill he felt a calm beyond that " of Socrates, when the ungrateful Athenians ſent " him the fatal draught to drink, his death and ruin. " He had a mind fitted for contemplation; and his " thoughts could dwell on a divine object till he had " ſucked out the cream and marrow. His Divinity, " as well as Philoſophy, was free from dogmatizing; " and while he tied himſelf to no αὐτὸς ἔφη, he ar- " rived to a clearer apprehenſion of truth and error. " The divine *Plato* was ſomewhat dearer to him, " than the ſubtiler *Ariſtotle*; and it cannot be other- " wiſe where ſouls long to be transformed into the " image of the Deity. Nothing ſeemed to engroſs " his deſire ſo much, as the reformation of an unbe- " lieving world; and indeed there were few men " fitter for that enterprize, God having bleſſed him " with a conſiderable ſtock both of Reaſon and Elo- " quence." *To a clarified mind, the groſs atheiſtical ſurmiſes of modern wits muſt needs be exceeding fulſome; and no marvel, if ſouls ſo fine break forth ſometimes into very ſevere Satyrs to laſh this petulant humour. If any thing could raiſe his paſſion, it was the nonſenſical diſcourſes of Deiſts and Chriſtian Infidels; and he thought he might be juſtly angry with ſuch wretches, that, like the giants of old, durſt make new wars with tremendous omnipotence. He loved not to invelope theological doctrines in myſterious phraſe; and ever thought that Divinity beſt agreed with the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, that was ever expreſſed in rational and intelligible propoſitions. He was never any great admirer of our modern* Illuminati, *and he accounted that diſcourſe but little better than nonſenſe, which affected to recommend itſelf to the admiration of the hearers by its not being underſtood. Where his Reaſon tired, and could give him no direction, he was willing to take Faith for his guide. And though he confeſſed, that not a few things in Scripture were altogether unaccountable to his underſtanding; yet he doubted not but they would all be made clear in that ſtate, where we* ſhall know even as we are known. T

GLAPHYRA, wife of Archelaus, High Prieſt of Bellona at Comana in Cappadocia, procured Kingdoms to her two ſons by her beauty. She flouriſhed at the ſame time with Marc Anthony. There are ſome Hiſtorians who do not formally aſſert, that her behaviour was irregular; they only inſinuate it [A], by mentioning what Marc Anthony did out of affection for her. But Dion without any ceremony treats her as a woman of ſcandalous character [B]. It is in reality very probable, conſidering the diſpoſition of Marc Anthony, that he did not beſtow crowns out of regard to Glaphyra, merely for the ſatisfaction of obliging a fine Lady, but that he received from her all the marks of gratitude, which a man of pleaſure is capable of wiſhing and preſcribing. The report of this intrigue reached as far as Rome; and Fulvia the wife of Anthony would have engaged Auguſtus to take vengeance of her huſband on account of this infidelity of his towards her. Her deſires were ſo ſtrong in this point, that ſhe threatened Auguſtus with a declaration of war, if he would not treat her in the ſame manner as Anthony had treated Glaphyra. Auguſtus contemned this threat, and choſe to expoſe himſelf to a war rather than be the gallant of Fulvia. This at leaſt is what he would have

[A] *There are ſome Hiſtorians, who do not formally aſſert, that her behaviour was irregular; they only inſinuate it.*] Appian is the perſon, whom I point at. Here is what he ſays, when he mentions what Marc Anthony did in Aſia after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius. *Diſceptationes quoque civitatum ac regum ex arbitrio ſuo compoſuit, Siſinnæ Ariarathiſque in Cappadocia, prælato Siſinna in Glaphyræ matris formoſæ gratiam* (1). i. e. " He ſettled, as he thought proper, the conteſts " of Cities and Kings, particularly of Siſinna and A- " riarathes in Cappadocia, preferring Siſinna out of " regard to his mother Glaphyra, who a woman of " great beauty." It was in the year of Rome 713 that Siſinna was eſtabliſhed King of Cappadocia to the Excluſion of Ariarathes. He did not enjoy this Crown long; for we ſhall ſee preſently, that in the year 718 Ariarathes reigned in Cappadocia.

(1) Appian. lib. 1. d. *Bell. Civil.* pag. m. 392.

[B] *Dion .... treats her as a woman of ſcandalous character.*] It is where he ſpeaks of the change of Government made by Marc Anthony in ſeveral Provinces of Aſia in the year 718. Amyntas, who had been Secretary to Dejotarus, was put in poſſeſſion of Galatia and ſome parts of Lycaonia and Pamphylia, Ariarathes was baniſhed from Cappadocia, and Archelaus ſubſtituted in his room; Archelaus, I ſay, who was deſcended from that Archelaus, who had made war againſt the Romans, and ſon of the Courtezan Glaphyra. Ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος οὗτος, πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς, ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχελάων ἐκείνων τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιπολεμησάντων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς ἑταίρας Γλαφύρας ἐγεγένητο. *Archelai vero hujus genus paternum deducebatur ab Archelais qui contra Romanos belligeraverant; mater autem ei erat ſcortum Glaphyra* (2).

(2) Dio, lib. 49i pag. 469, D.

have us think of him; for he wrote an Epigram upon this ſubject, which Martial has inſerted in his Poems [C]. I cannot tell by what fatality the huſband of Glaphyra had not the ſame ſupport from Cæſar, as her ſons had from Anthony. I have already obſerved, that he was High-Prieſt of Bellona; this was an office of great dignity. Cæſar gave it to a Nobleman named Lycomedes [D], who founded his pretenſions upon good titles. Where was Glaphyra then? If ſhe had pleaded her huſband's cauſe before Cæſar, ſhe would undoubtedly have ſhewn, that the pretenſions of Lycomedes were ill grounded: the Judge would have been too gallant not to declare in favour of a Prieſt, who had a beautiful wife. I ſhould be glad to know upon what grounds a man of wit has aſſerted (a), that Glaphyra mentioned in Auguſtus's Epigram was the Actreſs Citheris. We ſhall ſee in the following Article, that Glaphyra pretended to be deſcended from the Kings of Perſia.

(a) *Nouv. Dialog. des Morts*, Part. 2. Dial. 4. pag. m. 28.

[C] *Auguſtus wrote an Epigram upon this ſubject, which Martial has inſerted in his Poems.*] If I cite it, it ſhall be after I have ſuppreſſed thoſe words, which are too groſs (3).

(3) Martial. Epigr. 21. lib. 11. See the Remark [F] of the Article LYCORIS.

Cæſaris Auguſti laſcivos livide verſus
Sex lege, qui triſtis verba Latina legis.
Quod . . . Glaphyram Antonius, hanc mihi pœnam
Fulvia conſtituit, ſe quoque uti . . .
Fulviam ego ut . . . quid ſi me Manius oret
Pædicem, faciam? non puto ſi ſapiam.
Aut . . . aut pugnemus ait. Quid quæ mihi vita
Carior eſt ipſa mentula? ſigna canant.
Abſolvis lepidos nimirum Auguſte libellos
Qui ſcis Romana ſimplicitate loqui.

Father Noris imagined, that Auguſtus wrote this Epigram againſt Marc Anthony, with a view to reproach him with this criminal converſation (4). But it was not at all levelled againſt Anthony, but againſt Fulvia his wife, and it is the ſevereſt ſatire that can be imagined againſt a woman. I am the leſs ſcrupulous in taking the liberty of animadverting upon this ſlight miſtake of the learned Keeper of the Vatican Library, as he will be highly pleaſed to alledge, that he has not examined this kind of verſes, and will eſteem it an honour to be miſtaken. His error is infinitely leſs than that of Farnaby, who thought, that theſe verſes contained a proteſtation of Auguſtus, that chaſtity was dearer to him than life. We ſhall ſee in the Article LYCORIS, that there are ſome, who ſuppoſe, that it was the Courtezan Cytheris, who is ſpoken of in this Epigram.

(4) *Hinc* (that is, from what is cited from Appian) *argumentum obſcœni Epigrammatis Auguſtus poſtea ſumpſit: quod Antonio objecit apud Martialem.* Noris, *Cenotaph. Piſan.* 225.

[D] *Cæſar gave it to a Nobleman named Lycomedes.*] I have obſerved in another place (5), that Hirtius calls him Nicomedes. I ſhall give his own words; *Id* (Bellonæ templum) *homini nobiliſſimo Nicomedi Bithynio adjudicavit, qui regio Cappadocum genere ortus propter adverſam fortunam majorum ſuorum mutationemque generis, jure minime dubio, vetuſtate tamen intermiſſo, Sacerdotium id repetebat.* i. e. "He adjudged it (*the Temple of Bellona*) to Nicomedes of Bithynia, a man of "great quality, who was deſcended from the Family "of the Kings of Cappadocia, and claim'd that Prieſthood by an undoubted right, tho' it had been long "interrupted by the misfortunes of his Family and the "revolutions in it." We ſee by this paſſage that there had been ſome diſputes before Cæſar concerning the poſſeſſion of this Prieſthood. Now as Strabo affirms, that Lycomedes poſſeſſed it after Archelaus, it appears that the conteſt was between them two. Father Noris is likewiſe of this opinion; for he does not ſcruple to aſſert (7), that Archelaus enjoyed the Prieſthood of Bellona till Cæſar diveſted him of it in the year 707 to confer it upon Lycomedes. Upon this ſuppoſition we have reaſon to aſk, where were then the charms of Glaphyra, and why did not ſhe make uſe of them in oppoſition to the claim of Lycomedes? They muſt have been more potent than in 713. This is not a fruit, which is the better for time. Would her huſband have conceal'd her? Would he have choſen to loſe his Prieſthood, rather than to have expoſed his wife to the known Gallantry of Cæſar? This is what I know nothing of.

(5) In the Remark [D] of the article ARCHELAUS King of Cappadocia.

(6) Hirtius, *de Bello Alexandr.*

(7) In *Cenotaph. Piſan.* pag. 225.

GLAPHYRA, grand-daughter of the preceding, was daughter of Archelaus King of Cappadocia. She was firſt married to Alexander ſon of Herod and Mariamne; and being haughty and infatuated with her Nobility, ſhe did not at all maintain concord in the family, into which ſhe entered; a family, whoſe diviſions made Herod the moſt unhappy and moſt criminal of all fathers. Glaphyra boaſted upon every occaſion, that her father was deſcended from Temenus (a); that her mother was of the race of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes; and that therefore ſhe infinitely ſurpaſſed all the Ladies of the Court in point of Nobility. She treated Herod's ſiſter and wives with contempt, and upbraided them, that their beauty alone, and not their quality had raiſed them to the rank which they enjoyed. Nothing was more proper than ſuch talk to excite a flame in Herod's family; and it is certain, that the haughtineſs of Glaphyra was one of the firſt cauſes of her huſband's death. She made him odious, and added new force to the deſign, which had been laid to deſtroy him by calumnies and artifices (b). During the criminal proſecution which Herod carried on againſt Alexander, he ordered Glaphyra to be put to the queſtion. The anſwer, which ſhe gave, deſerves to be mentioned [A]. After Herod had put Alexander to death, he ſent back Glaphyra to her father Archelaus, and kept the two ſons, whom the deceaſed had by this Lady (c). Joſephus affirms, that ſhe was married again to Juba King of Libya, and that having loſt this ſecond huſband ſhe returned to her father; but it is eaſy to prove this to be falſe [B], if he means Juba King of Mauritania.

(a) She meant probably him, who was one of the three Chiefs of the Heraclides upon their return to Peloponneſus; ſo that ſhe pretended that her father Archelaus was deſcended from Hercules.

(b) *Ex* Joſepho *de Bello Judaico*, lib. 1. cap. 17.

(c) Idem, ibid. cap. 18. & *Antiq.* lib. 17. cap. 1.

[A] *The anſwer, which ſhe gave, deſerves to be mentioned.*] She underwent the rack in the preſence of her huſband, who was bound in chains as a ſon, who had conſpired againſt his father's life. The ſight of this ſtruck her with horror, and made her ſigh in the moſt moving manner. Her huſband being urged to declare whether his wife was an accomplice of his crime, anſwered, that he was not a man, who could conceal any thing from a woman, by whom he had children, and who was dearer to him than life. Upon this ſhe proteſted her innocence, and declared, that ſhe would not ſcruple to tell a falſity, if it would contribute to ſave her huſband's life, tho' ſhe ſhould loſe her own; but that otherwiſe ſhe would confeſs all. Her huſband immediately made his confeſſion, and ſaid, that himſelf and his wife had no other deſign than to go to Archelaus's Court, and thence to Rome (1).

(1) *Ex* Joſepho, *Antiq.* lib. 16. cap. 16.

[B] *It is eaſy to prove this to be falſe.*] Joſephus ſpeaks of this marriage of Glaphyra with Juba King of Libya, as of a thing certain (2): he adds, that Juba

(2) Idem, ibid. lib. 17. cap. 15. *De Bello Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 11.

Mauritania. It is certain that Archelaus the ſon of Herod was ſo deeply in love with her, that he divorced his wife in order to marry her (*d*). It is ſaid that Glaphyra lived not long after her return to Judea on account of a marriage ſo oppoſite to the Jewiſh Laws; and we have an account of a dream which ſhe had, and which was a preſage of her death [*C*]. The two ſons whom ſhe had by Alexander her firſt huſband ſoon abandoned the Jewiſh Religion (*e*), probably becauſe Archelaus their grandfather by the mother's ſide ſent for them into his Kingdom, and took care of their fortune. One of them was named Alexander, and the other Tigranes. We ſhall give ſome account of their adventures in the Remarks [*D*]. If the Chronology of ſome moderns were true [*E*], we

(*d*) *Ex* Joſepho, *Antiq.* lib. 17. cap. 15. & *de Bello Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 11.

(*e*) Idem, *Antiq.* lib. 18. cap. 7.

Juba was dead, when Glaphyra married Archelaus. Here is the way, by which it may be demonſtrated, that this is not to be underſtood of the King of Mauritania. Juba, King of Mauritania, was not dead (3), when Strabo wrote his VIth Book. Now Strabo wrote it under the Emperor Tiberius (4). Juba was not dead therefore, when Archelaus the ſon of Herod married Glaphyra, ſince he married her during his proſperity, and conſequently before the year of Rome 759, which was that of his diſgrace; for it was then that Auguſtus baniſh'd him to Vienne. Auguſtus lived ſeven or eight years longer. We may prove that Strabo wrote his VIth Book about the 5th year of Tiberius; for in the IVth Book (5) he obſerves, that it was about 33 years ſince Tiberius and Druſus had ſubdued the Norici (6). It would be ſuperfluous to remark after this, that Dion (7) ſpeaks of Juba as a Prince alive the ſame year, under which he places the baniſhment of Archelaus. We may collect from the IVth Book of the Annals of Tacitus, that Juba died about the 10th year of Tiberius. This Hiſtorian ſpeaks (8) of him as a man living under the year of Rome 776; but under the following year he ſpeaks of the reign of Ptolomy ſon of Juba (9). The XVIIth Book of Strabo was written ſoon after the death of the ſame Juba (10). It is a clear caſe therefore, that Joſephus would be groſly miſtaken, if by the King of Libya, whom he repreſents as the ſecond huſband of Glaphyra, he meant the King of Mauritania. Father Noris (11) would acquit Joſephus of but part of his error, if he had reaſon for conjecturing, that Glaphyra was divorced by Juba. What Joſephus relates concerning the death of the ſecond huſband prior to the marriage of Archelaus and Glaphyra, would be ſtill falſe; but this ſuppoſition of a divorce is founded upon mere arbitrary conjecture. Noldius (12) ſuppoſes a fact, which perhaps is leſs uncertain; that Joſephus meant by the King of Libya a King, who had no relation to the Romans, and whoſe widow Glaphyra was, when Archelaus became her lover. This Author affirms (13), that Libya is taken for all Africa in general, or certain parts of Africa in particular; but that in this latter ſignification it never comprehends Mauritania; whence he takes occaſion to cenſure (14) Sigiſmond Gelenius, who tranſlated by *Regem Mauritaniæ* the words, which Joſephus makes uſe of in ſpeaking of Juba King of Libya, τῶν Λιβύων. He is ſtill ſeverer in criticizing upon Father Salian, who thought that Juba had been killed in the battle, which Dion (15) mentions in his IVth Book. It was the battle, in which the Getulians gained the victory, and had taken arms, becauſe they would not obey Juba. This Jeſuit obſerves in ſupport of his opinion, that Juba was dead at that time; that his widow was returned to her father; and that ſhe married for her third huſband Archelaus Ethnarch of Judæa. He cites Joſephus; but he ſhould have recollected, that in the year when the Getulians gained the victory mentioned by Dion, Archelaus was baniſhed by Auguſtus. It is certain therefore that Juba was living in the year, when Archelaus was baniſhed beyond the Alps: it is not therefore true, that his widow was the wife of Archelaus; for it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that he married her but a few days before his diſgrace, which happened in the 9th or 10th year of his Ethnarchate. So that the ſingle paſſage of Dion, which Father Salian has made uſe of, is ſufficient to convict him of a miſtake.

(3) Strabo, lib. 6. pag. 198.

(4) Ibid. p. 199. *quæ eſt ultima lib.* 6.

(5) Pag. 142, *ſub fin.*

(6) Calviſius places this expedition under the year 738 of Rome, and the death of Auguſtus under 766.

(7) Dio, lib. 15. *ad ann.* 759.

(8) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 5. cap. 5.

(9) Ibid. cap. 23.

(10) *See* Strabo, lib. 17. pag. 570.

(11) *Cenotaph. Piſan.* pag. 238.

(12) Noldius, *de Vita & Geſtis Herodum*, pag. 190.

(13) Pag. 185, *& ſeqq.*

(14) Pag. 185.

(15) *Ad annum* 759.

[*C*] *We have an account of a dream, which ſhe had, and which was a preſage of her death.*] I ſhall cite the ſtory with the reflections of the Hiſtorian (16): I make uſe of Genebrard's Tranſlation, for my principal deſign is to compile facts; it is enough for me that they are to be found in this Book, for the obſolete ſtyle is of no conſequence. *While ſhe lived with her laſt huſband Archelaus, ſhe had a dream to this purpoſe. She fancied that ſhe ſaw Alexander coming towards her, and that ſhe embraced him with great tenderneſs; when Alexander reproached her after the following manner: Glaphyra, ſays he, thou haſt made good the old ſaying, that women are not to be truſted. I was the huſband of thy virginity. I have had children by thee. But thou haſt forgot our loves ſo far as to enter into a ſecond marriage, and after that into a third; nay to take for thy huſband a man, who has ſo ſhamefully crept into the bed of his brother. However for the ſake of our paſt loves I ſhall reſcue thee from thy preſent reproach, and make thee mine, as thou waſt once. Glaphyra told this dream to ſeveral women of her acquaintance, and died ſoon after. I thought this ſtory might not be impertinent in this place, wherein I ſpeak of thoſe Kings; beſides that the example deſerves to be taken notice of, as it contains a moſt certain proof of the immortality of the ſoul and of divine Providence. If any man thinks theſe facts incredible, let him enjoy his opinion to himſelf; but let him not endeavour to diſturb the belief of others, who by inſtances of this nature are excited to the ſtudy of virtue.*

(16) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 17. *cap. ult.* See likewiſe *de Bello Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 11.

[*D*] *We ſhall give ſome account of their adventures in the Remarks.*] Tigranes was King of Armenia, and died without children (17). Joſephus only ſays, that the Romans accuſed him: he ſhould have added, that Tiberius ordered him to be puniſhed capitally (18). Alexander, the brother of Tigranes, had a ſon named Tigranes, upon whom Nero conferred the Kingdom of Armenia. This Tigranes had a ſon named Alexander, who married Jotapa daughter of Antiochus King of the Comagenians, and obtained of Veſpaſian a Kingdom in Cilicia. Let us add to this account of Joſephus this Supplement, which Tacitus furniſhes us with. *Advenit Tigranes à Nerone ad capeſſendum imperium delectus, Cappadocum ex nobilitate, regis Archelai nepos, ſed quod diu obſes apud urbem fuerat uſque ad ſervilem patientiam demiſſus* (19). i. e. "Tigranes came thither, who was choſen out of the Cappadocian Nobility to that Kingdom, being grandſon to Archelaus, but having been a long time an hoſtage at Rome, he was ſunk into a ſervile ſubmiſſion and behaviour." There is reaſon to think, that the Romans did not ſupport Tigranes againſt the Parthians, who endeavour'd to procure Armenia for Tiridates. Tacitus does not exactly enough mention the degree of relation between this Tigranes and Archelaus King of Cappadocia (20). This Archelaus was not his grandfather, but his great grandfather, ſince this Tigranes was the ſon of an Alexander, whoſe father was another Alexander, and whoſe mother was Glaphyra daughter of Archelaus.

(17) Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. 18. cap. 7.

(18) *Ne Tigranes quidem Armeniæ quondam potitus, ac tunc reus nomine regio ſuppliciæ civium effugit.* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 6. cap. 40. *ad ann.* 788.

(19) Idem, ibid. lib. 14. cap. 26.

(20) See remark [*E*].

[*E*] *If the Chronology of ſome moderns were true.*] Noldius proves in oppoſition to Tacitus, that Archelaus was not grandfather, but great grandfather of this Tigranes, to whom Nero gave the Kingdom of Armenia; he proves it (21), I ſay, firſt by the teſtimony of Joſephus, and ſecondly by the great age, which this Tigranes muſt have been of, if he had been the grandſon of Archelaus; for in this caſe he would have been the ſon of Alexander. Now Herod put his ſon Alexander to death ſoon after the battle of Actium; Tigranes muſt therefore have been born about the year of Rome 724; and conſequently he would have been almoſt 90 years old when he was ſent into Armenia. This is the inference, which Noldius ſhould have drawn from his Hypotheſis; however he has not done ſo, but choſen to reaſon thus: ſince the father of Tigranes was put to death ſoon after the battle of Actium, it follows that Tigranes was born about the middle of the age of Auguſtus; he could not therefore be in a condition to act under the Emperor Nero. The firſt concluſion is not

(21) Eum *pronepotem* fuiſſe præter Joſephum, *Ant.* XIIX. *c.* 7. ipſa rerum ſeries oſtendit. Quo pacto enim *Tigranes nepos* circa tempus medium *Auguſti* natus (pater non multo poſt *victoriam ad Actium* ab *Herode* interfectus) ſub Nerone agere aut pati potuit? quo profecto tempore natura eum *aut* morte *aut* ſenio ita multavérat, ut rebus gerendis aptus tum haud eſſe potuerit, nedum ita arduis & perturbatis. Noldius, *de Vita & Geſtis Herodum*, pag. 367.

we ought to rank the two Glaphyra's among thoſe women, who retained their beauty in old age.

not agreeable to exact Chronology. Auguſtus died in the year 766 of Rome, aged 76 years: the middle of his age was therefore in the year 728. Now can an exact Chronologer aſſert, that a man born about the year 728 is the ſon of a father, who was put to death after the battle at Actium? The other conſequence is much better: Armenia was given to Tigranes by Nero in 813; if Tigranes therefore was born in 728, he muſt have gone to Armenia at 85 years of age. But let us ſhew, that Noldius has built upon a falſe Hypotheſis. The death of Alexander the ſon of Herod could not be ſoon after the battle of Actium; for this unfortunate Prince left two ſons. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that his wife was twenty years old when he died; ſhe muſt then have been born about the year of Rome 704; Archelaus her father therefore would have been born about the year 684; and conſequently he muſt have been 85 years old at his death. Now this is not at all probable, ſince the Hiſtorians, who mention his death, have done it in a manner very odious with regard to Tiberius, and yet have not remark'd the circumſtance of his advanced age, a circumſtance, which was extremely proper to render the cruelty of that Emperor much more ſhocking. Add to this, that if Archelaus was born in the year 684, his mother muſt have been almoſt fifty years, when her beauty inſpired Marc Anthony with ſuch affection. The proof is obvious. Archelaus was not the eldeſt ſon; we may therefore reaſonably ſuppoſe, that ſhe had him when ſhe was about twenty years of age. Now it was in 713 that Marc Anthony gave the Kingdom of Cappadocia to Siſinna the ſon of Glaphyra. It would have been an extraordinary thing to ſee a grandmother, whoſe grand-daughter was then nine or ten years old, detain in her chains by the charms of her perſon the diſpoſer of ſceptres and crowns (22). Auguſtus would have had a fine ſubject to make ſatyrical Epigrams upon Marc Anthony, and to expoſe him to ridicule. On the other hand as Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus did not marry Archelaus the ſon of Herod till after Herod's death, ſhe might inſpire an ardent affection at the age of fifty years. Let us therefore correct the Chronology of Noldius, and obſerve with Father Noris (23), that Alexander the huſband of the latter Glaphyra was not put to death till after the year 742 of Rome.

(22) The Reader will ſee in this *Dictionary* Remark [G] of the article ARAGON (Joan of) and Remark [F] of the article of CYRUS ſome inſtances of women, whoſe beauty continued long. However we ought not to draw conſequences from thence to ſupport Chronological Hypotheſes, which are in other reſpects uncertain.

(23) *Cenotaph. Piſan.* pag. 153, & *ſeq.*

GLEICHEN. There is related a very remarkable adventure of a German Count of this name. He was taken in a battle againſt the Turks, and carried into Turkey. He ſuffered there a ſevere and long captivity; he was obliged to till the earth, &c. but he was delivered in this manner. He was one day accoſted by the daughter of the King his maſter (*a*), who aſked a great many queſtions, while ſhe was taking the pleaſure of a walk. His good mien and ſkill in his buſineſs were ſo highly agreeable to the Princeſs, that ſhe promiſed to procure his liberty, and follow him, if he would marry her. I have a wife and children, ſaid he. This ſignifies nothing, anſwered ſhe; it is the cuſtom in Turky for a man to have ſeveral wives. The Count was not obſtinate; he ſubmitted to theſe reaſons, and engaged his promiſe. The Princeſs uſed her endeavours immediately with ſuch ſucceſs in order to reſcue him from captivity, that they were ſoon ready to embark. They arrived ſafely at Venice. The Count met there one of his ſervants, who roamed about every where to enquire after him. He was informed by him, that his wife and children were well; and he immediately went to Rome, and having made an ingenuous repreſentation of the whole affair, obtained of the Pope a ſolemn licence to keep both his wives (*b*). If the Court of Rome ſhewed itſelf compliant on this occaſion, the Count's wife was no leſs ſo; for ſhe careſſed in the moſt tender manner the Turkiſh Lady, who had been the means of reſtoring her beloved huſband, and entertained a particular affection for this concubine (*c*). The Turkiſh Princeſs returned all her civilities with a very good grace. She had no children of her own, and yet ſhe loved extremely the children which the other wife had ſtore of. A monument of this is ſtill extant at Erford (*d*) [*A*]. A very ingenious Gentleman (*e*), who pointed out to me this ſtory in 1697, ſeemed to me ſurprized, that the Proteſtant Writers, who were obliged to anſwer the reproaches caſt upon the Reformers on account of the permiſſion given to a Landgrave of Heſſe, ſhould not alledge the licence granted by the Pope to the Count of Gleichen; and he deſired to know my opinion upon this point [*B*]. He informed me that du Val has ſpoken of this adventure in his deſcription of Germany (*f*). *In the year* 1227, ſays du Val, *a Count of Gleichen obtained of the Pope a permiſſion to have two wives at the ſame time.* If this Hiſtory be true, we have here a very eminent triumph

(*a*) *Filia Regis ſub quo ſerviebat Comes.* Hondorf. *Theatr. Exempl.* pag. 535.

(*b*) *Re ordine narrata literas à Pontifice impetrat quibus ei concederetur* utramque fovere conjugem. *Idem, ibid.*

(*c*) *Summo amore pellicem, cujus opera cariſſimum maritum recepiſſet, proſequitur.* Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Extracted from the *Hiſtorical Theatre* of *Andrew Hondorf*, pag. 535. of the 5th edition Francfort 1633 in 8vo.

(*e*) Monſ. *Pallardy*, a French Miniſter at Delft.

(*f*) Pag. 205. of the Paris edition 1668. The Author of *Polygamia triumphatrix*, pag. 556, ſays that this Count de Gleichen was in the Croiſade of Frederic II in the year 1217; but the expedition of that Emperor was in 1228.

[*A*] *A monument of this is ſtill extant at Erford.*] Here are Horndorf's words: *Hujus rei monumentum Erfordiæ etiamnum exſtat: in quo ex utroque latere Comiti uxores adſtant. Regina marmorea coronâ ornata: Comitiſſa ſculpta eſt nuda & infantes ad ejus pedes reptantes* (1). i. e. "A monument of this fact is ſtill extant at "Erford, in which the Count's two wives ſtand on "each ſide of him. The Queen is adorned with a "marble crown; the Counteſs's ſtatue is naked, and "her children lie at her feet."

[*B*] *He deſired to know my opinion upon this point.*] If I remember right, my anſwer was to this purpoſe: In the firſt place, that the fact is very obſcure; and ſecondly that it would ſignify nothing to alledge it, unleſs we could produce the Pope's Letters, or the teſtimony of ſome contemporary Author, or the Confeſſion of the Catholic Writers. Horndorf is almoſt the only Author, who is cited (2): he quotes no authority; he is a compiler little eſteemed by learned men; and as he is a Proteſtant, the Roman Catholics would not fail to reject his teſtimony. They would demand the Records or Annaliſts, from whence he took this fact; and ſince he appeals to none, they would pretend, that he only built upon report and uncertain traditions. They would ſay that a great many noble families have propagated uncertain and even fabulous traditions concerning the manner, in which their anceſtors were delivered from priſon in the time of the Croiſades. In ſhort if they ſhould deny the fact, what anſwer could be given them? The monument at Erford cannot prove any thing; does a ſtatue of a man between two ſtatues of women plainly ſignify polygamy? May not it ſignify among other things two ſucceſſive marriages, or two marriages contracted between an huſband and two living wives, the latter of which was annulled? How many abſurd ſtories are there, which are endeavoured to be proved by monuments of ſtone? It is in this manner that they attempt to prove that a Counteſs of Holland had 365 children at a birth, a ſtory laugh'd at by good Hiſtorians, and ſhewn to be abſolutely falſe.

(1) Horndorf. *Theat. Exempl.* pag. 535. edit. 1633.

(2) *Simon Goulart*, who has inſerted this ſtory in his Tranſlation of *Camerarius's Hiſtorical Meditations*, tom. 2. lib. 2. cap. 14. pag. m. 152. cites only *Horndorf's Theatrum.* I know that the Author of *Polygamia triumphatrix*, pag. 556. has quoted *Dreſſer. Millen.* 6. *Zeiller. Contin. Itiner. German. Peccenſteinius*, in *Theatr. Saxon.* But theſe Authors and an hundred others of the ſame ſtamp cannot give any weight to this ſtory.

triumph of love [C]. An Abbé, who held a correſpondence by letters with Count de Buſſi, had heard ſomething of this ſtory; but he knew not the true ſtate of the queſtion [D]. To conclude, the Author of the Fifteen Pleaſures of Matrimony ſeems to ſuppoſe, that it often happens, that a woman marries again upon the falſe ſuppoſition of her huſband's death [E]. The *Journal of Hamburg* will furniſh me with a good Supplement to this Article [F].

☞ GLISSON

[C] *We have here a very eminent triumph of love.*] Here is a King's daughter not only ready to renounce the noble advantages of her ſtate to follow a ſlave about the world, but actually flying away with him after having deſpiſed all the dangers, to which her deſign expoſed her own life and that of the priſoner, whom ſhe was in love with. She does not engage by degrees in a flight ſo full of danger, ſo prejudicial, and diſhonourable; ſhe reſolves abſolutely the very firſt time ſhe ſaw the ſlave: *Ut vidi ut perii, ut me malus abſtulit error* (3), might ſhe cry out as well as a great many others. It is juſtly ſaid in an Opera;

(3) Virgil. Eclog. 8. ver. 41.

Bacchus revient vainqueur des climats de l'Aurore,
Il traîne après ſon char mille peuples vaincus:
Il mepriſoit l'amour, mais l'amour eſt encore
Un vainqueur mille fois plus puiſſant que Bacchus.

i. e. "Bacchus returning conqueror from the Eaſt drags "after his chariot a thouſand vanquiſh'd Nations: He "deſpiſed love, but love is ſtill a conqueror a thou- "ſand times more potent than Bacchus."

I cannot tell whether Madam de Ville-Dieu has given us a romance upon the ſtory of our Count de Gleichen. It would have been a fine ſubject for her pen, and how dry ſoever Horndorff's narration might be, ſhe would have made a beautiful piece of it. We may obſerve, that the triumph of love regards here only the fair ſex, for certainly the Count did not become a Polygamiſt as a lover, but only as a Gentleman, who was weary of being a ſlave and tilling the ground. But we may remark likewiſe, that the conduct of this Turkiſh Princeſs is not near ſo criminal as that of the daughter of Niſus, or of the daughter of Pterelaus (4). Perhaps it is more excuſable than that of Minos's daughter. And her treachery was much more ſucceſsful than that of theſe three Princeſſes, and ſeveral other ſuch victims of love, who adorned the triumphal Car of Venus. However we muſt not aſcribe the advantage to the male-ſex; for certainly there are a great many more men, who marry their maids, than women, who marry their ſervants.

(4) See the article AMPHITRYON, in the text between the quotations (*c*) and (*d*).

[D] *An Abbé . . . had heard ſomething of this ſtory; but he knew not the true ſtate of the queſtion.*] Here is what he wrote to Count de Buſſi Rabutin June 12, 1674 (5). "I met the other day Madam de . . . and the "converſation turning upon Monſr. de . . . . who had "preſented a petition to the Pope, for a licence to "marry another wife, it was ſaid, that the Holy See "had granted this favour once to a German Count, "whoſe wife not being ſufficient for him, he was al- "lowed for the health of his ſoul to keep a ſecond "wife with his former. Madam de . . . . who was "ſleeping before, awak'd at this paſſage, and ſaid ſigh- "ing, that there were no ſuch huſbands to be met with "now-a-days." We ſee plainly, that he confounds two things, and that of two adventures he makes but one. He confounds what relates to Count de Gleichen with what regards a Landgrave of Heſſe, and knows not the circumſtances of either of theſe two ſtories. The Licence, which it is pretended the Holy See granted to a German Count, was not founded on the inſufficiency of the wife; nor was that granted to a Landgrave founded upon ſuch a reaſon (6), tho' Thuanus aſſerts it. I would not affirm, that this Abbé has more ſtrictly obſerved the laws of Hiſtory with regard to the ſmart ſaying and ſigh of Madam de . . . . than in the reſt of the ſtory. He invented perhaps this reflection himſelf, and yet wrote it as a piece of Hiſtory to Count de Rabutin in order to conclude his Letter by a ſtroke of humour. However that be, I met t'other day a Gentleman, who has been married five or ſix years, and I obſerved, that after he was told of all that this part of the Abbe's Letter, he ſaid almoſt ſighing, if there are ſcarce any huſbands now to be met with like him, there are ſtill fewer wives like her. I wiſh that he had made another reflection, that the Lady ſuppoſed very wrongly, that our Age is inferior to the former times. This is falſe: Huſbands of that caſt have been always very rare, and as rare in former Ages as the preſent.

(5) *Lettres du Comte de Buſſi Rabutin*, tom. 4. pag. 114, 115. Dutch edition.

(6) See remark [Q] of the article LUTHER.

[E] *The Author of the Fifteen Pleaſures of Matrimony ſeems to ſuppoſe, that it often happens that a woman marries again upon the falſe ſuppoſition of her huſband's death.*] Here is his *Thirteenth Pleaſure of Matrimony*. A Gentleman, ſays he (7), who lived with his wife *in great delight and pleaſure* five, or ſix, or eight years or leſs, *had a mind to gain honour by his valour. . . . He went beyond ſea into the army in queſt of honour and knighthood. . . . . He takes leave of his wife with great regret, who ſhews all the ſorrow ſhe can; but he is a man, who is ambitious of honour, and nothing can detain him. . . . . He goes away, and recommends his wife and children, whom he loves above all things, except his honour, to his particular friends. Now it happens that he paſſes the ſea, is taken by the enemy, where by chance or otherwiſe he continues three or four years or more without being able to return. His Lady is in great affliction; ſhe hears at laſt that he is dead, upon which ſhe laments him in the tendereſt manner; but ſhe cannot weep for ever, and comforts herſelf through God's mercy ſo far as to marry another huſband, in whom ſhe takes pleaſure, and forgets her former huſband, whom ſhe had uſed to love, and her affection for his children is worn off; the careſſes, kiſſes, and other fondneſs, which ſhe had ſhewn to him, are all paſt and forgot; and whoever had ſeen her careſs her ſecond huſband, would ſay, that ſhe loved him more than ever ſhe had done the former, who is a priſoner, or in ſome other diſtreſs in purſuit of honour. The children, whom the good man loved, are thruſt aſide and neglected; thus the married pair play and ſpend their time in jollity. But it happens that the good man her huſband returns, being grown old and altered for the worſe in his perſon; for he was ill uſed the two or three years which he was in priſon; and when he comes near his own country, he inquires for his wife and children, for he is greatly anxious leſt they ſhould be dead, or be involved in ſome misfortune. And think you how often the good man thought of them in the midſt of the pains of his confinement, and how much ſolicitude he ſuffered, while his wife was enjoying herſelf; and perhaps at the very hour when he was thinking of her, and praying God to preſerve her, her laſt huſband was embracing her, and had no thought of danger. He then heard that ſhe was married; judge what ſorrow he felt upon this news. . . . . Now he arrives in his own country, and knows the thing certainly; if he is a man of honour he will never take her to himſelf; the other, who had married her, and enjoyed her, will leave her. Thus ſhe entirely loſes her reputation, and perhaps is ruined abſolutely. The good man will ſuffer a perpetual uneaſineſs; his children will be in ſome meaſure diſgraced by their mother's fault, and neither of them can marry again during the other's life.*

(7) *Les quinze joies de Mariage*, pag. 154, & *ſeqq.* edit. de Rouen 1596. *The title ſhews that this Book was extracted* from an old Manuſcript written four hundred years before.

[F] *The Journal of Hamburg will furniſh me with a good Supplement to this Article.*] Mr. Dartis ſpeaking (8) of a Novel of Monſieur le Noble intitled, *Zulima ou l'Amour pur*, obſerves, that *the firſt idea of this* Romance *was taken from a Memoir extracted from the Archives of the Houſe of Gleichen, which was deſcended from the Prince of Weſtphalia, a principal Hero of this hiſtorical Novel. He was named Eberard, and having been taken at the battle of Joppa, which Sultan Noradin gained over the Chriſtians in the Croiſade, he was ſo fortunate as to inſpire the Sultan's daughter with love. She aſſiſted him in breaking off his fetters, and went with him into Europe, and was his ſecond wife after the death of her, whom he had married ſome time before the Croiſade. Monſieur le Noble alledges as an inconteſtable evidence of the truth of this ſtory the monument, in which are interred the aſhes of that Prince and his two wives. It is ſeen, ſays he, at Herford in Weſtphalia, where he lived. It is upon this foundation that*

(8) *Hambourg Journal of the 26th of Auguſt 1695*, pag. 142.

☞GLISSON (FRANCIS), a learned Engliſh Phyſician in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſecond ſon of Mr. William Gliſſon of Rampiſham in Dorſetſhire, ſecond ſon of Mr. Walter Gliſſon of the City of Briſtol (*a*). He was educated in Gonvil and Caius College in the Univerſity of Cambridge where he took the Degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and became Fellow of his College. October the 25th 1627 he was incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford. He was afterwards appointed Regius Profeſſor of Phyſic in Cambridge in the room of Ralph Winterton, M. D. Auguſt the 1ſt 1634 he became Candidate of the College of Phyſicians, and September the 30th the year following was admitted Fellow thereof. In 1639 he was choſen Lecturer of Anatomy in that College (*b*). During the civil wars he practiſed Phyſic at Colcheſter, where he reſided while that town was beſieged in 1648, and afterwards. In 1655 he was choſen one of the Elects of the College of Phyſicians, and afterwards Preſident thereof, in which poſt he continued for ſeveral years (*c*). He publiſhed ſeveral works [*A*]. The world is obliged to him for the diſcovery of the *Capſula communis* or *Vagina Portæ*; and he has furniſhed us with certain Notes for the more eaſy diſtinguiſhing of the *Vena Cavâ*, *Porta*, and *Vaſa Fellea*, in excarnating the liver; and given ſuch an excellent account of ſanguification (diſcharging the liver from that office) and proved it by ſuch ſtrong arguments and clear experiments, that few have ſince doubted the truth thereof (*d*). He died in the pariſh of St. Bride in London in October or November 1677.

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 238. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) From the Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians.

(*c*) Dr. Charles Goodall's Epiſtle Dedicatory to his *Hiſtorical Account of the College of Phyſicians Proceedings againſt Empiricks and unlicenſed Practiſers &c.* edit. London 1684 in 4to.

(*d*) See the *Epiſtle Dedicatory to Dr. Charles Goodall's Book*, intitled, *The Royal College of Phyſicians of London founded and eſtabliſhed by Law, &c. London* 1686 in 4to.

that he has built the Adventures of a pious love, which iſſued firſt in the converſion of the Sultaneſs, and afterwards in her marriage with the Weſtphalian Prince. He ſays in another place (9), that the Writers of Romance are obliged to follow Hiſtory, when they lay down in their Preface a foundation for their ſtories. *This is however*, continues he, *what Monſ. Le Noble has not done in the Advertiſement, which he has prefixed to his* Zulima, *as will appear from the Extract of a Letter which I received from a good hand on this ſubject.* It is as follows: "It appears plainly from what you "mention of Monſieur Le Noble's little piece, that "he has confounded the whole thing. Eberhard Duke "of Weſtphalia is a perſon abſolutely unknown to "Hiſtory; and if he lived in the time of Noradin a "Saracen Prince in the twelfth Century, how could "he be the firſt of the Counts of Gleichen who pre"tend to have received their Earldom from Charle"magne, and who at leaſt are more antient than the "wars beyond ſea? The Houſe of the Counts of "Gleichen is extinct, and I believe, that what is "pretended to be taken from their Archives, is as fa"bulous as the reſt of the Novel. It is true how"ever, that there is a tradition, confirmed by ſome "modern Chronicles, which informs us, that a Count "of Gleichen bringing the Lady, who had delivered "him, from beyond ſea, and meeting with his former "wife, found means to keep them both in good har"mony with each other, and this with the conſent, "as it is ſaid, of the Church; in which there is "ſome little probability. We may be aſſured, that "there is no monument of Duke Eberhard of Weſt"phalia either at Erford or Hervorde. The Counts "of Gleichen were ſeated near Erford in Thuringia, "and had no relation to Hervorde in Weſtphalia."

(2) *Journal de Hambourg*, of the 30th of Sept. 1695, pag. 219, 220, 221.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral Works.*] I. *Prolegomena Anatomica* (1). II. *Anatomia Hepatis*. London 1654. In this Book he hath given a more exact deſcription of the liver and its ſeveral veſſels than any Anatomiſt before him. And beſides his diſcovery of the *Capſula communis*, or *Vagina portæ*, and an excellent account of Sanguification, he acquaints us, how by the continual concoction of the blood the *Bilis* is neceſſarily produced and ſeparated from the blood, and gives the reaſons of its bitter taſte. III. *De Lymphæductibus nuper repertis* In this Book he gives an admirable account of the Lympheducts, and the *Succus nutritius*, with the manner of its conveyance; and offers his Conjectures about the uſe of the Spleen and other Glands, &c. All theſe Treatiſes were printed at Amſterdam 1659 in 12mo. IV. *Tractatus de Naturæ ſubſtantiâ energeticâ, ſeu de Viâ Vitæ Naturæ ejuſque tribus primis facultatibus, &c.* London 1672 in 4to. with his picture before it. V. *Tractatus de Ventriculo & Inteſtinis. Cui præmittitur alius de partibus continentibus in genere, & in ſpecie de iis Abdominis*. Amſterdam 1677 in 4to, dedicated to the Univerſity of Cambridge and the College of Phyſicians, as was his *Anatomia Hepatis*. In this Treatiſe he diſcourſes of the *Cutis* and *Cuticula*, with the ſeveral Colours, which are obſervable in hair; and there delivers ſeveral ingenious Problems. He diſcuſſes many conſiderable queſtions concerning Rumination, and why ſome animals have more ſtomachs than one, as likewiſe concerning the Structure, Tenacity, and various Uſes of Fibres. He acquaints us with his thoughts, that the ſtomach and guts are not wholly made up of membranes (as moſt have formerly ſuppoſed) but have a conſiderable quantity of *Parenchyma*, which he conjectures to be glandulous. He examines the Nature of Hunger and Thirſt, and ſhews wherein they ſpecifically differ from the other five ſenſes. He proceeds to ſhew the manner of Deglutition, Concoction, Diſtribution of the Chyle, Secretion, &c. concluding with an *Appendix* concerning Fermentation. Throughout the whole Book there are abundance of ingenious queſtions diſcourſed of, ſome of which relate to Diſeaſes; as the differences, cauſes and ſigns of *Flatus's*; what are the moſt proper diſcutients of them; of hypochondriac *Flatus's*; of the parts affected in a Rheumatiſm, as alſo of febrile and malignant Ferments, &c. He publiſh'd likewiſe, in conjunction with Dr. George Bate and Dr. Ahaſuerus Regemorter, the Treatiſe *De Rachitide, ſive Morbo puerili, qui vulgo* the Rickets *dicitur*. London 1650 in 8vo. In this Book we have not only the original, cauſes, ſymptoms, and method of curing that diſeaſe delivered, but alſo a moſt admirable Collection of many anatomical Obſervations, diſcovering how the ſeveral Viſcera of thoſe that died of this diſeaſe, were affected. The Authors of this Treatiſe obſerve, that this diſeaſe was firſt diſcovered in the Weſt-parts of England, viz. in the Counties of Dorſet and Somerſet about fifteen years before the publication of their Book; from whence it ſoon found its way to London, and ſo ſpread thro' all parts of England. This agrees with what Capt. John Graunt remarks (2), that we find no mention of the *Rickets* in the Bills of Mortality till the year 1634. T.

(1) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 238.

(2) *Natural and Political Obſervations made upon the Bills of Mortality*, pag. 46. 3d edit.

☞GODOLPHIN (JOHN), an eminent Engliſh Civilian in the ſeventeenth Century, third ſon of John Godolphin Eſq; of the antient family of Godolphin in Cornwall, was born in the iſland of Scilly, in the Caſtle which belonged to his family, November the 29th 1617. He became a Commoner of Glouceſter Hall in the Univerſity of Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1632, under the tuition of Mr. William Sandbrooke, and made a great progreſs in Logic, Philoſophy, and Civil Law (*a*), in the laſt of which he took the Degree of Bachelor July the 3d 1636 (*b*). In March 164$\frac{2}{3}$ he was created Doctor of

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 610. 2d edit.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 267.

of Civil Law (*c*), *being then puritannically inclined* (*d*); and removing afterwards to London, he took the *Engagement*, and on the 30th of July 1653 he with William Clerke, Dr. of the Civil Law, and Charles George Cocke Esq; were appointed Judges of the Admiralty (*e*); and in the middle of July (*f*) 1659 (Dr. Clerke being then dead) he and Mr. Cocke were again constituted, but limited not to exercise the said office longer than the 10th of December. At the Restoration he was appointed one of his Majesty's Advocates. He was esteemed a man of considerable learning, and as great a Master of Divinity as of his own Faculty (*g*). He published several works [*A*]. He died in or near Fleetstreet April the 4th 1678, and was interred in the North Isle of the Church of St. James's Clerkenwell (*h*).

(*c*) Idem, ibid. vol. 2. col. 27.

(*d*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. Whitelocke in his *Memorials of the English Affairs*, pag. 681. edit. Lond. 1732. tells us, that the Parliament were employ'd on the 19th of that month in *appointing Judges of the Admiralty*.

(*g*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon* ubi supra.

(*h*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *He publish'd several Books.*] I. *The holy Limbec: or an Extraction of the Spirit from the Letter of certain eminent places in the holy Scripture.* London 1650 in 12mo. Other copies have this title; *The holy Limbec; or a Semicentury of spiritual Extractions, &c.* II. *The holy Arbour, containing the whole Body of Divinity; or the Sum and Substance of Christian Religion.* London 1651 in a thin folio. III. *A View of the Admiral Jurisdiction, wherein the most material points concerning that Jurisdiction are fairly and submissively discussed, &c.* London 1661 in 8vo. To this is subjoined *A Catalogue of such that have been dignified with the office of Lord High Admiral in this Kingdom, &c.* This is for the greatest part taken from Sir Henry Spelman's *Glossary* in the word *Admiralius*. IV. *The Orphan's Legacy; or a Testimentary Abridgment in three parts: 1. Of last Wills and Testaments. 2. Executors and Administrators. 3. Of Legacies and Devises. Wherein the most material points of Law relating to that subject are succinctly treated, as well according to the Common and Temporal, as Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of this Realm. Illustrated with a great variety of select Cases in the Law of both Professions, as well delightful in Theory, as useful for the practice of all such as study the one, or are either active or passive in the other.* London 1674 in 4to. V. Repertorium Canonicum: *or, An Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm, consistent with the Temporal: wherein the most material points relating to such persons and things, as come within the cognizance thereof, are succinctly treated.* London 1678, 1680, &c. in 4to. In the *Introduction* (1) he observes, with regard to the *King's Supremacy*, that the question, which Henry VIII put to both the Universities of this Realm, *An aliquid Authoritatis in hoc regno Angliæ Pontifici Romano de jure competat, plusquam alii cuicunque Episcopo Extero?* being resolved in the negative, and that resolution ratified in the Convocation *Anno* 1534, an Act of Parliament passed two years after for the extinguishing of that Papal Authority in this Realm. This succeeded so well in consequence of what the Convocation *Anno* 1530 had before acknowledg'd him, viz. *The supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England*, that that *Supremacy* was likewise after confirmed by Act of Parliament to him, his heirs, and successors. "This is that *Supremacy*, *says Dr.* "Godolphin, here tenderly touch'd at in the first "chapter of the ensuing *Abridgment*, and without "which all that follows would but be insignificant and "disfigur'd cyphers." Our Author then remarks, that when Henry VIII was thus both Parliamentarily and Synodically invested with this Supremacy, altho' it was with all the privileges and preheminences incident thereto, yet no more accrued to the Crown thereby, than was legally inherent in it before. Yet in regard of the usurpations, that in divers Kings reigns had successively invaded the rights thereof, another Convocation *Anno* 1532, to give the King, as it were, Livery and Seisin of the said Supremacy, promised him *in verbo Sacerdotis*, that they would not from henceforth assemble in any Convocation or Synod without his Majesty's Writ, nor make any Canons or Constitutions without his licence and consent, nor execute the same until they were ratified under the Great Seal of England. "All which was done without the least di- "minution of any Archiepiscopal or Episcopal Power "or Privileges in the free exercise of that Ecclesiasti- "cal Jurisdiction, which they antiently enjoyed; the "whole of this design being only to eject the Roman "*Pontifex*, and annul his usurpation in a matter of "that weighty consequence, to which the Crown was "so undoubtedly intitled; and this only in a way "consonant to that allegiance, which every subject "without dissimulation owes to his lawful Sovereign "in all matters, as well ecclesiastical as civil, within "his Majesty's Realms and Dominions; whereby the "*Clergy* as well as *Laity*, being all subjects alike, "might be reduced not only to their primitive obe- "dience unto, but also to their dependence on their "Sovereign in preference to any foreign Potentate "whatever." *That the supreme civil Power is also supreme Governour over all persons, and in all cases, is a rule*, says Bishop Taylor (2), *of such great necessity for the conduct of conscience, as that it is the measure of determining all questions concerning the Sanction of Obedience to all Ecclesiastical Laws, the Duty of Bishops and Priests to their Princes, the Necessity of their paying Tribute, and discharging the burdens and relieving the necessities of the Republic.* In another place the same Author writes thus (3): *It was never known in the primitive Church, that ever any Ecclesiastical Law did oblige the Catholic Church, unless the secular Prince did establish it.* Upon which Dr. Godolphin observes, that the Nicene Canons became Laws by the Rescript of the Emperor Constantine, according to Sozomen. When the Council of Constantinople was finished, the Fathers wrote to the Emperor Theodosius, and petitioned, *ut Edicto Pietatis tuæ confirmetur Synodi sententia.* The confirmation of the Canon and Decrees of the great Council at Ephesus by the Emperor is to be seen at the end of the Acts of the Synod. And Marcian the Emperor wrote to Palladius his Prefect a Letter, in which he testifies, that he made the Decrees of the Council of Chalcedon to become Laws, *Ea quæ de Christianâ fide a Sacerdotibus, qui Chalcedone convenerunt, per nostra præcepta statuta sunt, &c.* Thus also the Fathers of the fifth general Synod petitioned Justinian to confirm and establish their Canons into a Law. The same Prince also published a Novel, in which he commands *Vim Legum obtinere Ecclesiasticos Canones à quatuor Synodis*, Nicenâ, Constantinopolitanâ *primâ*, Ephesinâ *primâ*, & Chalcedonensi *expositos & confirmatos*, *Vide Concil.* Tolet. "All which, *says Dr.* Godolphin (4), confirms it for "a truth, that even in the Primitive Church the Su- "premacy in matters ecclesiastical was in the supreme "secular Princes." In the *first Chapter* of the *Abridgment* our Author asserts, that the King is *Dei Vicarius* within his own Territories and Dominions; that he is, next under God, supreme Governor of the Church of England; that he hath here in matters ecclesiastical the same power *de jure*, which the Pope heretofore claimed and exercised in this Kingdom by way of usurpation; that the Kings of this Kingdom antiently made their own Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions without the Pope's Authority; that the King is *Lex viva*, and in some cases may dispense with some Canons; and that no Canons or Ecclesiastical Constitutions can be made without his Majesty's consent, nor be of force to oblige the subject without his Royal Assent and Confirmation. Dr. Godolphin, besides the Books abovementioned written by him, translated into English out of *Garsias* or *Ferrand*, *An Extract of the ancient Laws of Oleron*, printed with his *View of the Admiral Jurisdiction*, at London 1661 in 8vo. T

(1) Pag. 1.

(2) *Ductor Dubitantium*, lib. 3. cap. 3. Rule 4. pag. 160. edit. London 1660, in fol.

(3) Ibid. cap. 4.

(4) Introduct. pag. 3.

Vide Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglic.* pag. 1.

☞GODWIN (FRANCIS), a learned English Writer and Bishop, was son of Dr. Thomas Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells (*a*) [*A*], and born at Hannington in Northamptonshire

(*a*) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 154. & 272.

[*A*] *Son of* Thomas Godwin, *Bishop of Bath and Wells.*] This Bishop was born at Okingham in Berkshire, sent to Oxford about the year 1538, elected a Probationer of Magdalen College in 1544, and the year after per-

Northamptonſhire in the year 1561, elected Student of Chriſt Church in the Univerſity of Oxford in 1577, where he took the Degrees of Maſter of Arts March 16, 1584 (*b*), and entering into holy Orders became Rector of Samford-Orcais in Somerſetſhire, Prebendary of S. Decuman in the Church of Wells, Reſidentiary there, and Vicar of Weſton in Zoyland in the ſame county; which laſt he reſigning, became Vicar of Biſhops Lidiard in 1595, being then Sub-dean of Exeter, and about that time Doctor of Divinity. In the year 1601 he publiſhed his *Catalogue of the Biſhops of England* [*B*]; upon the account of which (*c*) he was the ſame year nominated to the See of Landaff by Queen

(*b*) *Faſt. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 125.

(*c*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 581. 2d edit. London 1721 in fol.

petual Fellow, being then Bachelor of Arts. In 1547 he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts; and two years after, on account of the oppoſition, which he met with from the Papiſts there, reſigned his Fellowſhip, and accepted from the College the Maſterſhip of their School at Brackly in Northamptonſhire. He afterwards married, and applied himſelf to Divinity at his leiſure hours; but upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the Crown he was reduced to great neceſſity; upon which ſtudying Phyſic, he was admitted to the reading of any of the Books of Hippocrates, or of the Aphoriſms of that Author, that is, to the Degree of Bachelor of Phyſic June 17, 1555. After Queen Elizabeth came to the Throne, he received holy Orders, from Dr. Bullingham Biſhop of Lincoln, who made him his Chaplain (1), and in June 1565 he was appointed Dean of Chriſt-Church (2), and the year following Dean of Canterbury. In 1584 he was nominated Biſhop of Bath and Wells, after that See had been vacant three years, and being conſecrated to it in September the ſame year, he ſate there to his death. Sir John Harrington (3) tells us, that he *came to the place as well qualified for a Biſhop as might be, unreprovable, without ſimony, given to good hoſpitality, quiet, kind, affable, a widower, and in the Queen's good opinion.* But he had the misfortune afterwards to loſe her Majeſty's favour; for being aged, diſeaſed, and lame of the gout, he married (as ſome thought for ſake of wealth) a widow of London, which was his ſecond wife at leaſt. A chief favourite at that time, Sir Walter Raleigh, had laboured to get the Manor of Banwell from his Biſhopric; but meeting with a repulſe, upon hearing of the Biſhop's marriage he informed the Queen of it, (who extremely diſliked ſuch matches;) and immediately preſſed him with Letters and Mandates for the Manor for an hundred years. The Biſhop not expecting ſuch a ſtorm was greatly perplexed; yet held out for a while, and endured many ſharp meſſages from the Queen, of which Sir John Harrington carried one, being delivered to him by Robert Earl of Leiceſter, who ſeemed to favour the Biſhop, and miſlike Sir Walter Raleigh for moleſting him. But they were ſoon agreed like Pilate and Herod to condemn Chriſt. Never was harmleſs man ſo traduced to his Sovereign, that he had married a girl of twenty years of age with a great portion; that he had conveyed half the Biſhopric to her; that (becauſe he had the gout) he could not ſtand to his marriage, with ſuch and the like ſcoffs to make him ridiculous to the vulgar, and odious to the Queen. The Earl of Bedford happening to be preſent when theſe tales were told, and knowing the Londoner's widow whom the Biſhop had married, ſaid merrily to the Queen after this manner, *Madam, I know not how much the widow is above twenty, but I know a ſon of her's is but a little under forty &c.* The concluſion of the premiſes was this, that to pacify his perſecutors, and to ſave Banwell, he was fain to part with Wyvelſcomb or Wilſcomb for ninety nine years, and ſo purchaſed his peace. He was a man of great learning, a ſound judgment, and exemplary charity (4). He died at Okingham Nov. 19th 1590, and was interred on the South ſide of the chancel of the church there, where a monument was erected to him by his ſon Dr. Francis Godwin (5).

(1) Franc. Godwin. *Comment. de Præſul. Anglic.* inter Epiſc. *Bath. & Well.* p. 444. and Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 709.

(2) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 254.

(3) *Brief View of the State of the Church of England &c. London* 1653. pag. 111.

(4) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 710.

(5) Godwin. *Comm. de Præſul. Angl.* ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *In the year* 1601 *he publiſh'd his* Catalogue of the Biſhops of England.] The title is as follows: *A Catalogue of the Biſhops of England, ſince the firſt planting of the Chriſtian Religion in this Iſland; together with a briefe Hiſtory of their Lives and memorable actions ſo neere as can be gathered out of antiquity. By* F. G. *Subdeane of Exeter.* London 1601 in 4to. It is dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Sackvyll*, Baron of *Buckhurſt*, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford. In the Preface Dr. Godwin tells us, that his delight in the ſtudy of Hiſtory and Antiquities had been ſomewhat greater than was needful for a man, who had dedicated himſelf and his labours unto the ſervice of God's Church in the Miniſtry; which fault he had long before in ſome ſort reformed by reſtraining himſelf within the compaſs of ſuch antiquities, as ſeemed to concern only eccleſiaſtical cauſes or perſons. That his collections with regard to matters eccleſiaſtical could add nothing unto Mr. Foxe's large and painful work; but that in the other kind relating to eccleſiaſtical perſons, what many years reading and obſervation could yield unto him, he had ſeven or eight years before compriſed into a volume; which with ſome additions he was now induced to publiſh. *The principal reaſon*, ſays he, *that moved me thereunto is in effect but that, which Tacitus ſaith every Hiſtoriographer ſhould propoſe unto himſelfe*, Ne virtutes ſileantur, utque pravis dictis factiſque ex poſteritate & infamiâ metus ſit. *In the latter of theſe (the faults of thoſe men of whom I am to write) I need not greatly to paine myſelf. For it is not to be denied, that the moſt part of the Chroniclers and Hiſtoriographers of our age have borne hard enough at leaſt upon the Prelates and Clergy of former times, every where like Cham's diſcovering the nakedneſs of theſe Fathers; but ſeldom or never indevouring with Sem to hide the ſame, much leſſe affording unto them any honourable mention never ſo well deſerved. This kinde of dealing though happily intended to good purpoſes, might not expect that ſucceſſe and bleſſing at God's hand, that the plaine and ſincere truth is wont to finde. . . . . Theſe men impugning ſomewhat too furiouſly the ſuperſtition and errors, which the Clergy of former times (much deal of ignorance) did teach and defend; whileſt that the rather to diſcredit their doctrine, they depraved their perſons; it hath pleaſed God, that this uncharitable courſe ſhould ſort to ſome other effect then was intended, and that ſuch, as without his great mercy was like to have cauſed an inconvenience of little leſſe importance (I will not ſay greater) then that which our late Reformation had redreſſed.*

" For in the vulgar ſort (which diſtinguiſh not ſo eaſily betweene perſons and things) it bred a conceit,
" not onely that the men were wicked, and ſo their doctrine corrupt (although I know the conſequence to
" be weake) but alſo their functions and callings to
" be utterly unlawful and antichriſtian; which opinion once received in the minds of the multitude
" gave occaſion of divers plots, coloured with the
" plauſible ſhew of reformation, but indeed princi-
" pally ayming at the goods and revenues of the
" Church, the temporal rewards of learning, which
" being once taken away, what confuſion is like to
" follow we may eaſily ſee by the effects it bringeth
" foorth elſewhere. Thoſe countries that heretofore
" have yielded great plenty of able worke-folkes
" for the Lord's vineyard, now that brood is ſpent,
" which attayned learning, the rewards yet ſtanding
" whole, they hardly can ſhew a man able to ſet
" pen to paper in defence of the truth. Yea even
" amongſt us, although the godly and excellent care
" of her Majeſtie hath preſerved the ſtate of this our
" Church in ſuch ſort, as I thinke no other reformed
" Church of Chriſtendom any thing neere comparable
" unto it; yet the example of other, the knowen
" greedines of ſo many ſacrilegious cormorants as
" await daily the deſtruction of the ſame, and the
" doubt leaſt it will decay, for that we cannot hope
" for the like piety in all ſucceeding Princes, it ſo far
" foorth diſcourageth men from the ſtudy of Divinity,
" as the beſt wits dayly refuſe the Univerſities (or
" Divinity at the leaſt, which in ſome other countries
" is accounted the ſureſt way to advancement) and
" rather betake themſelves to any other kind of life.
" Hereof it cometh to paſſe, that every age bringeth
" forth leſſe plenty of learned men then other amongſt
" us." He afterwards obſerves, that the reader is not

to

Queen Elizabeth; to which being conſecrated on the 22d of November, he ſate there about ſixteen years, "being a Biſhopric, ſays Mr. Wood (*d*), rather proportioned to his "modeſty than merits, becauſe much impaired by one of his predeceſſors named *Anth.* "*Kitchen* alias *Dunſtan*; and therefore he had liberty allowed to him to keep one of his "dignities in *commendam* with it, and to take upon him the Rectory of Kingſton-"Seymour in the Dioceſe of Wells." King James afterwards, out of reſpect to his great learning, gave him the Biſhopric of Hereford, to which he was tranſlated the 10th and confirmed the 28th of November 1617. He wrote ſome other works beſides his *Catalogue of Biſhops* [C]. He died in the latter end of April 1633, and was interred in the Chancel of his Church of Whitborne, which with the manor thereof belongs to the

(*d*) Idem, ibid. col. 581.

to expect any ample diſcourſe of the lives and actions of the Biſhops of his own time or near to it, ſince he had purpoſely avoided to ſet down any thing of them, but what either he found written by others, or elſe remaineth to be ſeen in public record. And that he hath taken this courſe, becauſe he judged it neither ſeemly to praiſe, nor ſafe to reprehend (how juſtly ſoever) thoſe men, who either by themſelves, their near friends, or poſterity then living, might ſeem either to have allured him to flatter, or deterred him from diſcloſing that truth, which otherwiſe he would have uttered. Neither did he think it needful to ſay much of them, who being either preſent in action, or freſh in memory, were ſufficiently known. And whereas he has paſſed over in ſilence two Sees, he was obliged to it by want of ſome neceſſary inſtructions, which by reaſon of the diſtance of his dwelling from them, he had not means to attain, although he had endeavoured it. He therefore deſired all men, who were able, to yield him help for the ſupplying of whatſoever might ſeem wanting either in thoſe Sees or any other. The two Sees omitted are thoſe of Bangor and St. Aſaph. Our Author therefore in 1615 publiſhed at London in 4to another edition of this book with many additions; to which he prefixed, *A Diſcourſe concerning the firſt Converſion of this Iſland of Britain unto the Chriſtian Religion*; and ſubjoined *A Diſcourſe concerning ſuch Engliſhmen, as have either been, or in our Hiſtories reputed, Cardinals of the Church of Rome.* But this edition, with the two additional Diſcourſes, "being very full of faults, ſays Mr. Wood "(6), and not to be endured by any ordinary reader," he immediately publiſhed them in Latin under the title of *De Præſulibus Angliæ Commentarius*, London 1616 in 4to. In 1621 he added an *Appendix ad Commentarium de Præſulibus Angliæ.* London 1621 in two ſheets in 4to. Mr. Wood tells us (7), that this book made him famous both at home and abroad; but that "as he hath in thoſe his infinite "labours endeavoured out of a puritannical pique, to "bring a ſcandal on the antient Catholic Biſhops, "and to advance the credit of thoſe that were mar-"ried ſince the Reformation (he being one of that "number) for the credit of the Proteſtant cauſe; ſo "comes one afterwards, by name W. Prynne, a "crop ear'd and ſtigmatiz'd Preſbyterian, the moſt "inveterate enemy to the Biſhops that ever appeared "in our horizon, who thence (from his labours) takes "all (*o*) advantages, whether truth or not truth, to "raiſe arguments againſt, or bring a ſcandal upon "the prelatical function."

(6) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 581.

(7) Ibid. See likewiſe *Hiſt. & Antiq.* lib. 2. pag. 272.

(*o*) In his *Antipathy of the Engliſh Lordly Prelacy, &c.* London 1641 in 4to.

[C] *He wrote ſome other works, beſides his* Catalogue of Biſhops.] I. *Concio Latina in Luc. cap. v. ver.* 3. 1601 in 4to. II. *Rerum Anglicarum, Henrico VIII, Edwardo VI, & Maria regnantibus, Annales*, London 1616 in fol. Ib. 1628 and 1630 in 4to. and fol. Theſe Annals were tranſlated into Engliſh by his ſon Morgan Godwin, Bachelor of Arts of Chriſt Church, afterwards Bachelor of the Civil Law of Pembroke College, Maſter of the Free-ſchool at Newland in Glouceſterſhire, Canon of Hereford, and Doctor of Divinity. This Tranſlation was printed ſeveral times, and particularly at London 1630 in fol. under the following title: *Annales of England: containing the Reignes of Henry the Eight, Edward the Sixt, Queene Mary. Written in Latin by the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God*, Francis, *Lord Biſhop of Hereford. Thus Engliſhed, corrected, and inlarged with the Author's conſent by Morgan Godwyn.* The Biſhop in his Preface obſerves, that he had undertaken this work when he was paſſed fifty years of age with a view to excite others of greater abilities to write the hiſtory of thoſe reigns, and to ſatisfy the deſires of foreigners, who not without cauſe complain, that thoſe times, than which for a thouſand years there have not been any more memorable with regard to remarkable Revolutions, were not deſcribed by any perſon except in a ſlight manner, and as if the writer had not intended any ſuch thing. He tells us therefore he had written in ſuch a way, that though many things proper to an Hiſtorian might be wanting in him, yet he is confident his endeavour would find acceptance with many. Other Writers may have here as it were a ſtore-houſe, from whence they may ſupply themſelves with ſome materials, which help to raiſe an everlaſting monument. Foreigners likewiſe ignorant of the Engliſh tongue may have ſome knowledge of thoſe times, till ſome other ſhould ariſe, who ſhall compile an Hiſtory of our Nation worthy the Majeſty of the Britiſh name. He aſſures us, that he has in this work been ſo obſervant of impartiality, ſincerity, and truth, that he feared nothing ſo much as a domeſtic anger for not being pious enough, becauſe he would not be over-pious. Many contend that a good Prince ſhould be μὴ πονηρὸς, ἀλλ' ἡμιπονηρὸς. This, he thinks, no man will affirm of an Hiſtorian, tho' ſome ſeem to be of that opinion; ſo that he will be thought to fail of his duty either to God or his country, who in writing Hiſtory will not be at leaſt ἡμιπονηρὸς, and who by affirming uncertainties and known truths ſhall not yield much to his affections, if they be but joined with the love of Religion and his Country. "But how much do they injure truth, *ſays* "*our Author*, who from lies and falſhood deſire help "to ſupport her? But we have no need of them; "and if we had, yet it would not do us much ſervice "to rely on ſuch weak advantages, ſince one pious "lie detected proves more hurtful, than a thouſand "others, although ſo artfully contrived as to eſcape "diſcovery, can prove profitable. For an example "of this we need ſeek no further than the Papiſts, "whoſe feigned miracles, impoſtures, and legends "have made even what is true ſuſpected. Where-"fore I am well content, that truth, which in ſpite "of all oppoſition will at length be every where "victorious, ſhould prevail with me. I have done "to my power. Politely, eloquently, politicly, I "could not write. Truly and *ſide Atticâ*, I could. "If I have done amiſs, in any point, it is not out "of malice, but error." Degory Whear (8) tells us, that theſe Annals are written *non magis ſuccinctâ quam laudabili Brevitate*; which Dr. Nicholſon obſerves (9) to be our Author's *juſt character*, and that he was *a perfect maſter of the Latin tongue.* The Biſhop in the Dedication of his ſecond edition to King Charles I, remarks that the errors of the preſs in the firſt had extremely deformed it, but that they were corrected in the preſent. His ſon in the Preface to his Tranſlation tells us, that he hopes the reader will not object againſt the omiſſion of ſome things in it, "the know-"ledge whereof is to our natives ſo innate, that now "to inſert them, were as bad as to farce with tauto-"logies, and make this little volume nauſeous. Yet "hath it loſt nothing of its bulke, whatſoever it hath "of its ſplendor, thoſe defalcations being here and there "in the courſe of this Hiſtory ſupplied with not "unneceſſary additions, whereto the Author's appro-"bation and conſent was not wanting." III. *The Man in the Moone; or a Diſcourſe of a Voyage thither. By Domingo Gonſales.* London 1638 and 1657 in 8vo. This was written while our Author was a Student of Chriſt Church, and publiſhed ſome years after his death by *E. M.* of Chriſt Church, who in the Preface tells us, that this piece is an "Eſſay of fancy,

(8) *Relationes Hyemales de ratione & methodo legendi utraſque Hiſtorias, Civiles & Eccleſiaſticas*, Sect. 30. pag. 144. edit. Oxon. 1637.

(9) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part 1. pag. 225. ed. London 1696.

(e) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq.* ubi ſupra.

the Biſhops of Hereford, and in about fourteen miles diſtant from that City (*e*). Mr. Wood tells us (*f*) that he was a good man, and grave Divine, ſkilful Mathematician, excellent Philoſopher, pure Latiniſt, and incomparable Hiſtorian, "being no leſs critical "in Hiſtories than the learned Selden. . . . He was eſteemed a good Preacher and a "ſtrict Liver, but ſo much employed in his ſtudies and matters of Religion, that he "was as it were a ſtranger to the world and the things thereof." He had a ſon, *Morgan*, who was Bachelor of Arts of Chriſt Church in Oxford; and afterwards Bachelor of Laws of Pembroke College, Maſter of the Free-School at Newland in Glouceſterſhire, Canon of Hereford, and Doctor of Laws. He tranſlated into Engliſh his Father's *Annals*, printed at London 1630 in fol. The Biſhop had another ſon, *Charles*,

(f) *Athen. Oxon.* col. 58. and *Hiſt. & Antiq.* ubi ſupra.

"where invention is ſhewed with judgment; *and* it "was not the Author's intention, *ſays he*, to diſcourſe "thee into a belief of each particular circumſtance. "It is fit thou allow him a liberty of conceit, where "thou takeſt to thy ſelf a liberty of judgment. In "ſubſtance thou haſt here a new diſcovery of a new "world, which perchance may find little better entertain-"ment in thy opinion, than that of *Columbus* at firſt "in the eſteem of all men. Yet his then but poor "Eſpial of America betrayed unto knowledge ſo "much as hath ſince encreaſed into a vaſt plantation; "and the then unknown to be now of as large ex-"tent as all the other known world. That there "ſhould be *Antipodes* was once thought as great a "paradox, as now that the Moon ſhould be habitable. "But the knowledge of this may ſeem more proper "for this our diſcovering age; in which our Gali-"læus's can by advantage of their ſpectacles gaze "the Sun into ſpots, and deſcry mountains in the "Moon. But this and more in the enſuing Diſcourſe "I leave to thy candid cenſure, and the faithful rela-"tion of the little eye-witneſs, our great diſcoverer." There was a French Tranſlation of it printed at the Hague 1651 in 12mo, with this title; *L'Homme dans la Lune, ou le Voyage Chimerique fait au Monde de la Lune découvert par Dominique Gonzales, Avantariur Eſpagnol.* IV. *Nuntius inanimatus. Utopia* 1629 in 8vo. There was an edition printed at London 1657 in 8vo under this title: *Nuncius inanimatus. By F. G. B. of H.* It was tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed at London 1657 in 8vo under this title: Nuncius inanimatus: *or the Myſterious Meſſenger, unlocking the ſecrets of Mens Hearts. By F. G. B. of H.* In this piece, which contains but two ſheets, he treats of a method, by which two perſons at a diſtance may communicate their thoughts to each other without writing. It is ſaid, that Biſhop Godwin made the experiment with ſucceſs before King James I (10). He gives an account in this Tract of the inventions for this purpoſe related in the Antients; and afterwards obſerves (11), that he dares confidently affirm, that a man ſkilful in the art he propoſes, may tell whatever he pleaſes or thinks conducive to his good, to another perſon at a diſtance, who is alike ſkilful, if he be within a quarter of a mile, though beſieged, or lying hid, or perchance detained in any place, which is not directly known to him, that ſends the tidings, and, if known, yet not acceſſible. "Let no body "come near him, *ſays he*, ſecure the body in a pri-"ſon, let the hands be bound, hoodwink the face; "but be not troubleſome any other way; and he "ſhall underſtand the words of his abſent friends, if "this liberty be not taken away from him, that he "may be able to do thoſe things which are wont "ſometimes to be done by freemen, or may do them "without fear or danger. I ſay moreover, that if "the place be known where a friend reſides, to whom "our meſſage ſhould be brought, and if both enjoy "a full liberty, the cauſes being before agreed upon, "which conduce to the diſpoſition of the means, any "thing may be told ſuch a friend without any meſ-"ſenger going between each, or any living creature, "though he be a hundred, nay perchance a thou-"ſand miles off, and that in a ſhort ſpace of time, "perchance an hour, or it may be ſomewhat leſs. "Theſe things ſome whiſperingly ſay are ſtrange and "wonderful, but they are not ſo ſoon to be believed. "But what doth ſeem ſo wonderful and incredible? "You have yet but this only in the genus and ſpe-"cies; behold an individual is preſented to thy eyes, "which thou wilt leſs believe. Tell unto this my "*Nuncio* at London in as few words as may be what "you deſire may be told to me dwelling at Briſtol, "Wells, or, if you will rather, at Exeter, for I do "not much regard the length of the way, ſo it is "but paſſable; I ſay, tell him at London, and that juſt "about noon, any one whole verſe of the ſacred Scrip-"ture, I will ſee that he ſhall perform our com-"mands in the deſigned place (mark what I ſay) be-"fore the high noon of the ſame day. Do not raſhly "pronounce this propoſal impoſſible; for the courſe "of the Sun makes the noon later by ſome minutes at "Briſtol than at London. This it is that you wonder "at, that this meſſenger ſhould exceed the heavenly "motion thereof in ſwiftneſs. This he will do, will do "it, I ſay, if there be need, or elſe I am the vaineſt per-"ſon of all that know, how either to ſpeak or write. "What ſpeak I of towers or cities, that are beſieged? "Our *inanimate Nuncio*, not fearing any thing, will "paſs through whole troops of enemies. A trench "digg'd almoſt as low as hell, or a wall, though "higher than thoſe of Babylon, ſhall not hinder his "journey, but he will faithfully perform the meſſage, "(ſo it be in as conciſe terms as may be,) of him that "ſent him, though beſieged, or whether he would "have it told to him that is beſieged, and that with "ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs, if he be to be found with-"in 5 or 7 miles, though I doubt not but it may be "done effectually within 20 miles." *You have here three promiſes of this my Nuncio preſented to your conſideration; perchance it will be worth our while to ſhew how they differ among themſelves, for perſpicuity's ſake. In the firſt I ſet forth the ſubtlety of deceiving; in the ſecond the ſwiftneſs of its paſſage; in the third its unconquered power and ſtrength in penetrating all things. That in the firſt place will eaſily be performed without any coſt or labour of any one, ſave him, that ſends; but it hath this inconvenience, that its frequent uſe will not free us from ſuſpicion. That in the ſecond place is very often effected without any help from others, and in ſome places almoſt without any charge, but for the moſt part it will do little or nothing without preparation, and that ſuch that for each mile it will coſt five pounds more or leſs, if it be deſigned for perpetual uſe; and nothing can be done without the countenance and authority of the Magiſtrate, who can eaſily, if he pleaſe, hinder our Nuncio's journey. As concerning the third, truly it requireth no great charge; but it muſt be obſerved, that he that doth act, be ſettled in a place without danger, where he may reſiſt his enemies force, until he hath perfected his work; and here we muſt not deny, that the condition of him that ſends in, is worſe than that of him that ſends out.* "You "ſeem to me, O Reader, to aſk by what ſenſe a friend "may perceive thoſe things, that are to be told; for "the ſenſes are the guard, interpreters, and meſſengers "of the underſtanding (ſo *Cicero* *) by which alone I "come to underſtand. I anſwer; ſometimes by hear-"ing, and ſometimes by ſight. You aſk a reaſon "how? You will have it in few terms, and perchance "not ſo clearly, but that you require examples. If "you deſire to repreſent any thing to the eyes of your "abſent friend, I ſay abſent, and at a great diſtance, "ſooner than any ſublunary body can come to the "place, that is ſeparated by ſo long an interval, (for "I undertake that,) we muſt ſee that the ideas or vi-"ſible forms be increaſed in quantity, multiplied in "number, and be varied according to the variety of "the things to be ſignified, in quality, quantity, po-"ſition, or order. There is none but knows, that "nothing can be perceived by the ears without a "ſound;

(10) *See* Niceron, *Mémoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres.* tom. 22. pag. 170. edit. Paris 1733.

(11) § 19, & *ſeqq.* We make uſe of the Engliſh Tranſlation.

* *De Leg.* 1. *De Nat. Deor. lib.* 2.

(g) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 581, 582.

Charles, who was Maſter of Arts, and Miniſter of Monmouth (*g*). Sir Henry Saville in a Letter to Camden dated February the 26th 1617 (*h*) animadverts upon a miſtake of our Author in the following words. "I find in the Biſhop of Hereford's Book of "*Biſhops* a babble of one William Sever Biſhop of Dureſme, ſon, as he ſaith, of a "Sieve-maker, Warden of Merton College, and Provoſt of Eton, made Biſhop of "Carlile 1496, and tranſlated to Durham (*ut videtur*) 1502, and died *anno* 1505. "True it is, that Henry Sever was firſt Provoſt, and ſo named in the Act of Parliament of Eton foundation; and the ſame man was afterwards Warden of Merton "College, where he had his breeding, as kinſman to our Founder, and, as our Regiſter ſays, *penè alter Fundator*. He lies buried in that Church as Warden there, and "never Biſhop, as I remember, though he had twelve or fourteen Eccleſiaſtical promotions, as by a pardon in Edward IV's time to the College, I find him ſtiled. "Beſides the times cannot agree: Eton College was founded 1440; ſo that in 1505 he "muſt live ſixty five years afterwards, to the latter end of Henry VII; whereas in "Merton College we had two or three Wardens in the mean time, *Cigur*, and "*Fitz-James*."

(*b*) Vide *G. Camdeni & illuſtrium Viror. ad G. Camdenum Epiſtolæ*, pag. 219, 220. edit. London 1691, in 4to.

"found; it is therefore neceſſary that he, to whom "any thing is to be declared by the mediation of "hearing, ſhould hear thoſe ſounds; and thoſe muſt "be diſtinguiſhed according to the number of the "things to be heard, which becauſe they are infinite, "the variety of ſounds, that are to be ecchoed forth, "muſt be infinite alſo. Nevertheleſs it will be ſufficient, that they be diſtinguiſhed either in the kind, "or time, manner and number. He that ſhall rightly "underſtand, (and by examples they are more clear "than the Sun in its meridian ſplendor) how ſounds "of this nature are reported to a place far diſtant, "will never queſtion the verity hereof. And here "leſt any one ſhould timorouſly ſuſpect theſe things to "be effected by unlawful and condemned arts, in the "preſence of that God, who is both the greateſt and "beſt, I proteſt and openly denounce, that this diſcipline contains in it nothing that it is unlawful or "contrary to the laws either of God or man; and that "many things are done by the help of Arithmetic, "Geometry, and Muſic; the reſt, if not by uſual, "yet by lawful means, and that at a very ſmall coſt, "I had almoſt ſaid none at all; for certainly many "things may be performed in this kind without the "leaſt expence or loſs that can be imagined. And ſeeing that it is ſo, I leave it to the judgment of thoſe "that are judicious, to conſider how much and how "far theſe our inventions may be profitable to the "Commonwealth for the future. If they are defective, let them die, and like an untimely birth let them "not ſee the light; or if they chance to ſee the light, let "them not enjoy it ever ſo little, but forthwith vaniſh "into nothing. Yet I my ſelf think the uſe of this art to "be very great, as well in times of peace as war; "and I thought it my duty to beſtow ſome pains in "the delivery thereof, which I will not do ſo willingly, "leſt that when it ſhall be made known to many, we "cannot uſe or practiſe theſe things in their due time." There is a paſſage in our Author's *Man in the Moone: or a Diſcourſe of a Voyage thither*, which may perhaps give ſome light into this project of his. It is where he tells us (12), that *Domingo Gonſales* and his Negroe *Diego* being obliged to live in different parts of the Iſland of St. Helena on account of procuring proviſion; whenever Domingo had any occaſion to confer with Diego, whoſe habitation was upon a promontory or cape on the North-Weſt part of the Iſland, about a league off, tho' within ſight of Domingo's chapel, they could at all times by ſignals declare their minds to each other in an inſtant. *If in the night-ſeaſon*, ſays Domingo, *I would ſignify any thing to him, I uſed to ſet up a light in the tower or place where our bell hung. It is a pretty large room, having a fair window well glazed, and the walls within being plaſtered, were exceeding white; by reaſon thereof, tho the light were but ſmall, it gave a great ſhew, as alſo it would have done much further off, if need had been. This light after I had let ſtand ſome half hour, I uſed to cover; and then if I ſaw any ſignal of light again from my companion at the cape, I knew that he waited for my notice, which perceiving by hiding and ſhewing my light, according to a certain rule and agreement between us, I certified him at pleaſure what I liſt. The like courſe I took in the day to advertiſe of my pleaſure, ſometimes by ſmoke, ſometimes by a more refined and more effectual way. But this art containeth more myſteries than are to be ſet down in few words. Hereafter I will perhaps afford a diſcourſe for it of purpoſe, aſſuring my ſelf, that it may prove exceedingly profitable unto mankind, being rightly uſed and well employed; for that which a meſſenger cannot perform in many days, this may diſpatch in a piece of an hour.* Dr. George Hakewill † tells us, "that among the rare in- "ventions, which this preſent Age hath afforded, "*Nuntius inanimatus* may juſtly challenge a place; "and it were to be wiſhed, that being an experiment "of ſo great conſequence, greater notice were taken "of it by the higher powers, than hitherto hath been." V. A computation of the value of the *Roman Seſterce* and *Attic Talent*, printed at the end of the ſecond Edition of Dr. George Hakewill's *Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*. Oxford 1630. in fol. In this piece he obſerves, that *unus Seſtertius in maſculino genere, ſive unus Nummus, valebat noſtræ monetæ Anglicanæ ferè* 2 d. *nimirum ut* 10 *valeant* 19 d. With regard to the Talent he writes thus: *Talentorum apud antiquos multa fuere genera, Atticum, Euboicum, Æginenſe, Hebraicum, Babylonicum, & alia. Sed hoc obſervandum eſt, Scriptores, ubi Talenti mentionem faciunt abſque ulla adjectione, vix unquam aliud intelligere quam Atticum, quod valebat noſtræ monetæ Anglicanæ Libras* 190.

(12) Pag. 19, & ſeqq.

† *Advertiſements* at the end of his *Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*, edit. Oxon. 1630 in fol.

T.

☞GODWIN (Dr. THOMAS), a learned Engliſh Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſecond ſon of Anthony Godwin of Wookey in Somerſetſhire, ſecond ſon of William Godwin of the City of Wells (*a*). He was born in that County, and became a Student of Magdalen Hall in Oxford in the year 1602, and in that of his age fifteen. Four years after he was made a Demy of Magdalen College (*b*), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January the 24th 1606 (*c*), and that of Maſter October the 11th 1609 (*d*). He was afterwards choſen chief Maſter of the Free-School at Abingdon in Berkſhire, where he educated a great many youths, who became eminent both in Church and State. He was Chaplain likewiſe to Dr. James Mountague, Biſhop of Bath and Wells (*e*). June the 4th 1616 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*f*); and November the 18th 1636 that of Doctor of Divinity (*g*). But before this time being weary of the fatigue of his ſchool, he had the Rectory of Brightwell near Wallingford in Berkſhire conferred upon him, which he held to his death. His works ſhew him to have

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 27. 2d ed. London 1721.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 174.

(d) Idem, ibid. col. 183.

(e) Idem, *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(f) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 201.

(g) Idem, ibid. col. 268.

have been a man of great learning [*A*]. He died March the 20th 164$\frac{2}{3}$, and was interred in the Chancel of the Church of Brightwell, where his widow, Philippa, cauſed a marble ſtone to be laid over his grave, with an inſcription in Latin [*B*].

[*A*] *His Works ſhew him to have been a man of great learning.*] They are as follow: I. Romanæ Hiſtoriæ Anthologia. *An Engliſh Expoſition of the Roman Antiquities, wherein many Roman and Engliſh Offices are parallel'd, and divers obſcure phraſes explained.* Oxford 1613 in 4to. The ſecond Edition, publiſh'd in 1623, was conſiderably enlarged, and dedicated to Dr. John Young, Dean of Wincheſter. The Dedication is dated at Abingdon Novem. 18th 1622. In 1658 there was publiſhed an Edition under this title: Romanæ Hiſtoriæ Anthologia recognita & aucta. *An Engliſh Expoſition of the Roman Antiquities &c. For the uſe of Abingdon School. Newly reviſed and inlarged by the Author.* London 1658 in 4to. But this Edition could not then be *newly reviſed and enlarged by the Author*, who died about ſixteen years before. In the Preface, Dr. Godwin vindicates himſelf for publiſhing ſuch a trivial work, and repreſents the miſeries of the employment of teaching a School; and obſerves, that this Book was occaſioned by the perpetual queſtions of his Scholars, at the ſame time that his own inclinations led him to the ſtudy of Divinity. *Miraris forſan & redarguis, quod nondum deſtituerim ab his elementaribus, quaſi Vita mihi vitalis foret, in his minutiis integram meam ætatem eludere, & votum unicum in his prævviis ſtudiis ſenium contrahere. Qui ſic ſentis, nec me ſatis noris, nec Ludi Literarii (pone Lenocinium minimis, moletrinæ dices) iniquas leges aut miſerias quotidianas & omnigenas. Sentio me in piſtrinum damnatum; & cogita tu hanc Anthologiam è piſtrino prodeuntem. Si minus placeat, illud dabis puerorum circumſtrepentium ſuſurris, inter quos nata eſt. Si placeat, illud debes puerorum crebris interrogatiunculis, quorum Enodationes me vel invitum indies reducunt ad hæc ſtudia, quæ aliàs quamdudum juſſiſſem ſuas ſibi res habere. Sic me amet Theologia, ſacratior mihi pagina in votis, cum hæc in manibus, ludo cogente. Interim te monitum velim, quæ acceſſere, non vulgaria aut obvia, nec quæ vulgus hominum aut docuit aut didicit.* II. *Synopſis Antiquitatum Hebraicarum ad Explicationem utriuſque Teſtamenti valde neceſſaria, &c. Lib. III.* Oxford 1616 &c. in 4to. Dedicated to Dr. James Montague, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and Dean of his Majeſty's Chapel. III. Moſes *and* Aaron. *Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Rites uſed by the ancient Hebrews, obſerved, and at large opened, for the clearing of many obſcure Texts throughout the whole Scripture.* London 1625 in 4to. The ſeventh Edition was publiſhed at London 1655 in 4to under this title: Moſes *and* Aaron. *Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Rites uſed by the ancient Hebrews, obſerved, and at large opened, for the clearing of many obſcure Texts thorowout the whole Scripture. Which Texts are now added in the end of the Book. Herein likewiſe is ſhewed what cuſtomes the Hebrews borrowed from Heathen people; and that many Heathenish cuſtomes originally have been unwarrantable imitations of the Hebrews. By* Thomas Godwyn, *B. D.* The Dedication to William Earl of Pembroke, is dated at Kenſington February 21ſt 1624. In it our Author obſerves, that the reaſon why "many have no "better acquaintance with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, is, "becauſe they are ſuch ſtrangers with Moſes and Aaron. "Were cuſtoms antiquated thoroughly known, many "difficulties in Scripture would appear elegancies, and "the places, which now, thro' obſcurity, diſhearten "the Reader, would then become ſweet invitements "to an unwearied aſſiduity in peruſing thoſe ſacred "Oracles. If my preſent labour ſhall give ſuch light "to ſome obſcure paſſages, that hereby God's people "ſhall be drawn on with the greater delight to exer-"ciſe themſelves in reading of holy Writ, it ſhall not "repent me of my tedious travels in theſe rites and cu-"ſtoms of generations long ſince paſt, which whoſoe-"ver undertaketh, ſhall find the way long and thorny, "the path over-grown and hardly diſcernible, the "guides few to direct, and thoſe ſpeaking in ſtrange "languages, and many apt to diſcourage him, becauſe "themſelves are either lazy and will not, or lame and "cannot walk the ſame way." * IV. Florilegium Phraſicon: *or, A Survey of the Latin Tongue.* V. *Three Arguments to prove Election upon Foreſight of Faith.* This coming into the hands of Dr. William Twiſſe, he wrote an Anſwer to it, upon which Dr. Godwin made a Reply, which occaſioned a Rejoynder by Dr. Twiſſe. Mr. George Kendal (1), who allows our Author to be a man well ſkilled in Roman, Greek, and Jewiſh Antiquities, yet repreſents him as inferior to Dr. Twiſſe in this controverſy. And Mr. Samuel Clarke has expreſſed himſelf to the ſame purpoſe in very harſh terms: *After* Maſon, ſays he (2), *there aroſe one* Thomas Godwin, *a very learned man both in the Antiquities of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, but indeed fitter to inſtruct Grammarians than to deal with Logicians, and who had more power as Maſter of the School at* Abingdon *than as Doctor of Divinity. And our Dr.* Twiſſe *quickly whipt this old Schoolmaſter; and that Ferula, which he had uſed with pride enough, he wreſted out of his hand, and expoſed him to be derided by his boys.*

* The third edition of a Latin Tranſlation of this Book was printed at Utrecht 1690 in 8vo.

(1) *In Twiſſii Vitâ & Victoriâ*, pag. 78. edit. 1657.

(2) *Lives of ſundry eminent Perſons in this laſt Age. In two Parts.* Part 1. pag. 16. edit. London 1683.

[*B*] *An Inſcription in Latin.*] It is as follows: *Depoſitum* Thomæ Godwyn, *S. T. P. Viri integerrimi, pietate, literaturâ, morum ſuavitate ſpectabilis, Rectoris hujus Eccleſiæ vigilantiſſimi; cujus merita melius poſteris tranſmittant Scripta quam Marmor. Hunc Lapidem uxor ejus* Philippa Godwyn *Amoris ergo mœrens poſuit. Obiit Martii* 20. *Anno Dom.* 1642. T.

GOLDAST (*a*) (MELCHIOR HAIMINSFIELD) born at Biſchoffsel (*b*) in Swiſſerland, and a Proteſtant of the Confeſſion of Geneva, was a very learned man in the ſeventeenth Century. His family was not rich [*A*], and he never made a fortune, ſo

(*a*) By the Latin Letters written to him it appears that he was called indifferently *Goldaſtus* or *Goldinaſtus*, or *Guldinaſtus*. His ſurnames were Latiniz'd, *Melchior*, or *Melior Heimensfeldius*, or *Haiminsfeldius*, or *Hamenveltus*, or *Hamenvelto*, or *Hamenevelto*.

(*b*) In Latin *Epiſcopocella*. Moreri is miſtaken in repreſenting him as a native of *Heminsfeldt*.

[*A*] *His Family was not rich.*] This appears from ſome Letters of Conrad Ritterſhuſius, at whoſe houſe Goldaſt boarded. Goldaſt went away, without paying his Landlord, and after he return'd to his own country, it was a conſiderable time before he diſcharged the debt. Ritterſhuſius complains of this (1), and repreſents that the Butchers, Bakers, and Brewers had preſſed him ſo much, that he was obliged to borrow money upon intereſt in order to put a ſtop to their dunning. He adds, that he hoped, that Goldaſt would let him have the principal and intereſt, and that it was thus Taurellus and others treated their Boarders, who had occaſion for credit. His Letter is dated Auguſt 24th 1598. The year following Stuckius (2) wrote to Goldaſt, that Ritterſhuſius complained, that he had not received the 52 florins of gold due to him; and therefore urged the debtor to pay the money, and told him, that if he failed, it ſhould be complained of to his mother. A Letter of Ritterſhuſius (3) dated Septemb. 8th 1599 informs us, that he had been paid, and had diſcharged the intereſt; but that as Goldaſt had left ſeveral debts at Altorf, divers ill reports were ſpread of him. This is not a proof, which can be oppoſed to his pretenſions of being of a noble Family. We learn from Scaliger, that Goldaſt pretended to be a Gentleman (4). He might be ſo without being able to pay for his board. Scioppius remarks, that Goldaſt inſerted in his name a particle, which was only ſuitable to Nobility: *Fratribus quidem certo hoc uno nomine nobilior, quod ille ſe tantum* Heiminsfeld, *hic autem Heros noſter pro conſuetudine pleræque nobilitatis* ab Heiminsfeld *cognominat* (5). i. e. "He is certainly more "noble than his brethren on this ſingle account, that "the former ſtiles himſelf only *Heiminsfeld*, whereas our "Hero,

(1) His Letter is the 3d in the Collection printed in 1688.

(2) His Letter is the 9th of that Collection.

(3) It is the 11th of that Collection.

(4) Goldaſtus ſays, that he is of a noble family, and obſerves, that his family has an eſtate about St. Gal. *Scaligerana*, pag. m. 95.

(5) *Oporini Grubinii Amphot. Scioppius*, pag. 111.

I

ſo that he became more known by the number of the books which he wrote or publiſhed, than by his public employments. A Collection of Letters printed in the year 1688 [*B*] ſhews that in 1598 he was at Biſchoffsel. That the year following he lived at St. Gal at the houſe of a Gentleman, who declared himſelf his patron, and whoſe name was Schobinger. That the ſame year he was at Geneva, and lived there at the houſe of Lectius [*C*] with the ſons of Vaſſan, whoſe Preceptor he was: that he was ſtill at Geneva in 1602, and complained of his diſtreſs. That the ſame year he went to Lauſanne, becauſe he could live cheaper there than at Geneva. That he returned ſoon after to Geneva. That upon the recommendation of Lectius he was appointed Secretary to the Duke of Bouillon. That he did not keep this place long, for he was at Francfort in February 1603. That he had a ſettlement at Forſteg in 1604. That in the year 1605 he lived at Biſchoffsel, where he complained that he was not ſafe [*D*] on account of his Religion, which rendered him very odious even to his relations. That he was at Francfort in 1606. That he married and continued there till the year 1610 in bad circumſtances [*E*], and ſeeing the diſappointment of his friends deſigns to procure him ſome good ſettlement [*F*]. The Collection, which I ſpeak of, ends here. Goldaſt had already publiſhed a great many books, and continued to do ſo till his death [*G*], that is, till

" Hero, according to the cuſtom of moſt perſons of qua-
" lity, calls himſelf *ab Heiminsfeld*." But here follows a plain inſtance of the poverty of Goldaſt. When he publiſhed Books, he ſent copies of them to the Magiſtrates of Cities and Conſiſtories, with a view to obtain ſome preſent. They ſent him ſomewhat more than the Book coſt, and his friends thought that they did him a great deal of ſervice by procuring for him thoſe little rewards. This wretched traffic help'd to ſupport him. A Miniſter named David Lange wrote to him from Memmingen, that the Magiſtrates of that place ſent to him incloſed *unum nummum aureum*, and the Conſiſtory another, for the copy of his Book (6).

(6) See the 131ſt Letter of this Collection.

[*B*] *A Collection of Letters.*] The title is as follows: *Virorum clariſſimorum & doctorum ad Melchiorem Goldaſtum Epiſtolæ, ex Bibliotheca Henrici Guntheri Thulemarii J. C. editæ. Francofurti & Spiræ* 1688 *in* 4to.

[*C*] *Lived at Geneva at the houſe of Lectius.*] He was one of the Profeſſors of the Univerſity. The Collection of Letters, which I mentioned, contains one (7), which is exceſſively ſevere upon him. He complains, that when Goldaſt and his Scholars left him, they had not made him an handſome preſent. But Goldaſt on his part complains, that they had been obliged to pay for an hundred things unjuſtly, as ſtoves, benches, locks, keys, &c. It muſt be owned, that thoſe, who keep Boarders in Univerſities, ſhew too often a ſordid avarice. Though they were no Profeſſors, the crime would be very great; but what a ſcandal is it to learning, what a diſhonour to their character, when Profeſſors apply themſelves ſo wretchedly to lucre!

(7) It is the 56th.

[*D*] *In* 1605 *he lived at Biſchoffsel, where he complained* (8), *that he was not ſafe.*] Scioppius informs us, that the Sieur Jodocus Mezlerus, Vicar of the Abbey of St. Gal, had told him, that Goldaſt was put into priſon at St. Gal for ſtealing. He adds, that Goldaſt had deſired leave to purchaſe a ſmall eſtate near St. Gal, where the Lutheran woman, whom he deſigned to marry, might have liberty of conſcience; but as for himſelf, he would readily become a Catholic. *Commodum eas literas legeram cum officii cauſa viſum ad me venit D.* Jodocus Mezlerus *illuſtriſſimi Principis & Abbatis S. Galli vicarius, iſtumque Melchiorem adhuc vivum probeque ſibi notum eſſe affirmavit. Idque ut credibilius faceret præter alia hoc quoque de eodem narravit, expoſuiſſe eum ſibi in ſermone, in quanto apud Sangallenſes periculo ſemel verſatus fuerit, cum illi furti nomine in carcerem ſe compegiſſent: petiiſſe etiam ut prædioli cujuſdam in Sangallenſi territorio emendi ab Abbate poteſtas ſibi fieret, ita tamen ut uxori, quam ducere in animo haberet, Lutheranæ Religionis libertas ſalva eſſet: nam ſeipſum quidem Catholicum facilè futurum. His ego auditis cœpi de ipſo non deſperare futurum ut fato aliquando fratris utatur, & ſublime potius quàm humi putiſcat, cum præſertim nemo, qui faciem ejus viderit, non confeſtim patibulo dignum judicet.* Interim nos *velut Ciceronem Vatinii morte nunciata, cujus parum certus dicebatur auctor, reſpondiſſe legimus*, uſura fruemur (9). i. e. " I had juſt read thoſe Letters, when Jodocus " Mezlerus, Vicar of the moſt illuſtrious Prince and " Abbot of St. Gal, came to viſit me, and aſſured me " that this Melchior was living and well known to " him. And to make this the more credible, he told " me among other things, that Melchior had inform- " ed him in what danger he had once been at St. Gal, " when he was thrown into priſon on pretence of ſtealing; " and that he deſired leave of the Abbot to purchaſe a " little eſtate in the territory of St. Gal, and that the " woman, whom he intended to marry, might be al- " lowed the liberty of the Lutheran Religion; but " that for his own part, he would readily become a " Catholic. When I heard this, I began to be in " hopes, that he would ſome time or other ſuffer his " brother's fate, and rot on high rather than on the " ground, eſpecially ſince no perſon, who ever ſaw " his face, did not immediately judge him worthy of " a gibbet. In the mean time I remember that I an- " ſwered as Cicero did upon the news of the death " of Vatinius, which was related by a perſon of no " great credit, *Let us enjoy the ſuppoſition of it.*" Scioppius is here to be ſuſpected, as well becauſe he was very abuſive, as becauſe he conſidered Goldaſt as a man who had furniſhed Scaliger with materials for compiling the Satyr intitled, *Munſterus Hypobolimæus* (10). Apply this to the Remark [*H*].

(8) See the 109th Letter of the Collection.

(9) Sciopp. *in Oper. Grabin. Amphot. Sciopp.* pag. 108.

(10) *Hem qui tibi omnium illorum, quæ de Scioppii natalibus, vita, ſtudiis, ac fortuna in Satyram & Confutationem tuam conjecisti, auctor fuit.* Idem, ibid. pag. 111. *See alſo* pag. 332.

[*E*] *He continued there till* 1610 *in bad circumſtances.*] This appears from a Letter (11) which was written to him by Quirinus Reuterus, Director of the College of Wiſdom at Heidelberg. He adviſes him to come and board in that College.

(11) It is the 278th of the Collection.

[*F*] . . . . *and ſeeing the diſappointment of his friends deſigns to procure him ſome good ſettlement.*] They endeavoured at the Court of the Elector Palatine to obtain for him the place of Counſellor to his Electoral Highneſs in the year 1608. The 191ſt Letter ſpeaks of it as a thing concluded; but in the 194th Lingelſheim declares, that this affair began to decline; and in the 209th he ſhews, that it was intirely at an end. The Elector of Mentz offered then an employment to our Goldaſt. The latter aſked the advice of Lingelſheim (12), who durſt not abſolutely diſſuade him from accepting of theſe offers, knowing the diſtreſs of his circumſtances, and that he had nothing offered to him. He only repreſented to him the ſlavery, which was unavoidable in a place, where the Jeſuits had the aſcendant.

(12) See the 214th and 217th Letter of the Collection.

[*G*] *He continued to publiſh books till his death.*] We ſhall give a Catalogue of his principal Works. *Alamannicarum Rerum Scriptores vetuſti*, three volumes in folio. *Monarchia Imperii Romani, ſeu de Juriſdictione & Poteſtate Imperatoris & Papæ per varios Autores*, three volumes in folio. *Conſtitutionum Imperialium tomi quatuor*, in folio. *Suevicarum Rerum Scriptores veteres*, Francfort 1605, in 4to. *De Juribus ac Privilegiis Regni Bohemiæ, & hereditariâ regiæ Familiæ ſucceſſione Libri VI cum Appendice*, in fol. *Conſultatio de officio & jure Electoris Bohemiæ in Conventibus Electorum Romani Imperii. Rationale Conſtitutionum Imperialium. Statuta & Reſcripta Imperialia. Politica Imperialia. Catholicon rei monetariæ, ſeu Leges monarchicæ generales de rebus nummariis & pecuniariis. Digeſta regia ſeu Conſtitutiones Imperiales de SS. Euchariſtia. Apologiæ Principum Germaniæ pro Henrico IV Imperatore contra criminationes Gregorii VII. Replicatio pro Cæſarea & Regia Francorum Majeſtate & Ordinibus Imperii contra Gretſerum.*

till the 11th of Auguſt 1635 (e). Scioppius had given orders for publiſhing in his *Scaliger Hypobolimæus*, that Goldaſt had been broken on the wheel; but underſtanding the falſity of this ſtory, he procured it to be corrected. We ſhall ſee in the Remarks how he extricated himſelf out of the affair [*H*]; it was not without abuſing Goldaſt in an exceſſive manner. It is not poſſible to approve of the conduct of the latter with regard to Juſtus Lipſius,

(e) Witte, *in Diario Biographico.*

(13) A German Jeſuit, who wrote divers books againſt *Goldaſt.*

rum (13). *Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum. Paradoxon de honore Medicorum, & obiter de honore Theologorum & Jureconſultorum. Sibylla Francica, ſeu de admirabili Puella Joanna Lotharinga exercitus Francorum ductrice ſub Carolo VII. Dialogi duo de querelis Franciæ & Angliæ, & de jure ſucceſſionis utrorumque Regum in regno Franciæ. Centuria Epiſtolarum Philologicarum diverſorum hominum*, à Francfort 1610 in 8vo. *Emendationes in Petronium Arbitrum. Notæ ad paræneticos Scriptores veteres.*

This laſt work was not much eſteemed by Scaliger. *He cites old Writers in his Parenetics*, ſays he ſpeaking of Goldaſt (14). *He is too much amuſed with theſe old words. There is nothing valuable in Melchior's Paræneticks. It would be right for him to publiſh theſe old inſtruments; we ſhould always be informed of ſomething new with regard to the families of Gentlemen. Melchior has manuſcripts, but of the loweſt age. I demeaned my ſelf in writing to Melchior, ſince he is ſuch a man* (15). There is no occaſion to obſerve, that the greateſt part of the Works publiſhed by Goldaſt, are productions not written by him. The titles ſhew plainly enough, that he only reduced them into a body, or publiſhed them from manuſcripts in Libraries. In this way he proved himſelf one of the moſt indefatigable men in the world. Conringius gives him a great character. *Vir*, ſays he (16), *editis antiquis Germaniæ monumentis tam bene de patria meritus, ut abſque dubio Athenienſes illum in Prytanæo aluiſſent, ſi quidem illud in ævum incidiſſet. Cum* (17) *in Germania certius meliuſque hoc ſtudiorum genus* (de Jure publico Imp. Germ. agit) *incenſum fuit initio hujus ſæculi auctore* MELCHIORE GOLDASTO, *cui nemo Germaniæ rebus illuſtrandis par fuit, nec forte erit quiſpiam, & vero illius ductu paulatim cœpit apud nos ſolito exquiſitior Reip. cognitio.* i. e. "He is a perſon, who has ſo well deſerved "of his Country by publiſhing the antient monuments "of Germany, that undoubtedly the Athenians would "have maintained him in the Prytanæum, if he had "lived in thoſe times. When this more valuable and "certain kind of learning (*he ſpeaks of the public Law "of the German Empire*) was promoted in Germany in "the beginning of this Century by *Melchior Goldaſt*, "who had no equal, nor perhaps ever will have in "illuſtrating the affairs of Germany; and by his "guidance a more exact knowledge of the Empire "began by degrees to prevail among us." However he treats him as a man of no great ſincerity in ſome points (18). *Sunt hæc omnia* (examinat nonnulla ex libro III. Conſtitutionum Imperialium) *illaudabili facinore perquam tamen* GOLDASTO *familiari efficta quo nomine eum ex merito acerrime increpavit Wendelinus c. 2. de l. Salica.* i. e. "All theſe particulars (*he examines "ſome points in the third Book of the* Conſtitutiones Imperiales) by a very diſhoneſt but frequent cuſtom "with Goldaſt are forged by him; on which account "he is ſeverely chaſtiſed by Windelinus, *c. 2. de L. "Salica.*" He is not the only perſon, who complains of Goldaſt on this account. *Qui noverit quam multas ſuſpectæ fidei merces pro veris erudito orbi obtruſerit* GOLDASTUS, *cui cæteroquin diligentiæ laudem non negamus, in re cui aliunde fides fieri non poteſt, vix ejus ſolius auctoritate ſibi aliquid plane perſuaderi patietur* (19). i. e. "Whoever knows how many ſuſpected things have "been obtruded for truth upon the learned World by "Goldaſt, whom in other reſpects we allow to be a "learned man, will ſcarce depend on his authority "alone in a point otherwiſe doubtful."

(14) Scaligerana, pag. 95.

(15) Ibid. pag. 154. under the word *Melchior.*

(16) In Præfat. ad *Tacitum de Moribus Germanorum*, apud *Magirum Eponymolog.* pag. 393.

(17) Idem in Dedicat. *Exercitationibus de Rep. Imp. Germ.* præmiſſ. apud eundem *Magirum*, ibid.

(18) Idem, cap. 7. *de O. J. G.* apud eundem ibid. pag. 394.

(19) Er. Maurit. *de matricula Imperii*, num. 12. apud eundem *Magirum*, ibid.

[*H*] *We ſhall ſee in the Remarks how Scioppius extricated himſelf out of the affair.*] Two Gentlemen of Franconia, who had lodg'd with him at Conrad Ritterſhuſius's houſe at Altorf, paid him a viſit during their ſtay at Rome. He aſked them news concerning their common friends, and among the reſt concerning Goldaſt, who had boarded with them at Altorf. They informed him that this wretched man had been broken on the wheel, and afterwards burnt for an horrible murther. *Eum videlicet ſuperiori anno cum Bullionio Duce, cui interpretis operam dederit, Geneva in Germaniam profectum, cum Argentinæ in familiaritatem Centurionis cujuſdam perveniſſet, qui in contubernio ſuo puellam nobilem, domo paterna abductam pro ſecutuleia muliere & concubina circumducebat, audito eum jam ſatietate illius captum mille aureos ei, qui ab illa ſe liberaret, polliceri, avide conditionem, quod pretio inhiaret, arripuiſſe, & ita digreſſo Centurione non procul ab urbe in ipſa via regia . . miſellam obtruncaſſe* (20). He had contracted a friendſhip, they ſaid, with a certain Captain, who began to be weary of a girl, whom he had ſtolen, and promiſed a thouſand crowns to any one, who would rid him of her. Goldaſt accepted the terms; but ſoon after murdered the woman in the middle of the high way near Straſbourg, and ſtripp'd her, and return'd to the city. He was ſeized at his inn as he was opening the woman's cloaths, and committed to priſon, and within ſeven days condemned to be broken on the wheel and burnt. *Septimo tandem poſt die capitis condemnatum & ſummo ſupplicio, tanquam parricidam affectum, hoc eſt membratim pæne rota contuſum & comminutum, & inde lignis infelicibus uſtulatum conflagraſſe* (21). Scioppius wrote down this ſtory immediately, in order that it might be inſerted in a Book, which he was then printing in Germany againſt Scaliger. He thought that he had no occaſion for any other apology or revenge againſt Goldaſt (22) on account of the ill office, which he imagined he had received from him. He pretended, that Goldaſt had publiſhed under the name of Scioppius a Commentary on the *Priapeia*, of which Scioppius was not the Author. The Letter which he wrote concerning this pretended tragical end of Goldaſt, was followed by another five months after (23), in which he informs his friend, that the ſtory told by the two German Gentlemen related to a brother of Melchior Goldaſt. Charles Fugger, Preſident of the Imperial Chamber at Spire, had informed Scioppius of this barbarous action, and the puniſhment of Goldaſt's brother. Here is what he wrote. *Sebaſtianus Heiminsfeld, dictus Guldenaſt, natus Cellæ Epiſcopi in Turgoviæ die ſexta Junii anno* 1603 *propterea in carcerem conjectus fuit, quod pridie feminam quandam, Dorotheam de Gries, Bambergæ aut Herbipoli, quemadmodum ipſe retulit, natam, quam diebus aliquot hac illac circumduxerat, bene mane non longe ab hac civitate priuſquam patefactæ eſſent portæ, Satanæ inſtinctu cultro immaniter obtruncaſſet, & omni veſtitu uſque ad lineam interulam ſpoliaſſet, ac poſtquam aliquantum de via regia eam provolverat, in civitatem portis commodum apertis ingreſſus in hoſpitium publicum divertiſſet, ubi & captus mox, factumque quæſtioni ſubjectus, & ſponte etiam ſua, confeſſus die* 10 *ejuſdem menſis Rotæ ſupplicio affectus fuit* (23). i. e. "Sebaſtian Heiminsfeld, called Guldenaſt, "born at *Cella Epiſcopi* in Tergovia, on the 6th of "June 1603 was caſt into priſon for murthering in a "cruel manner with a knife, at the inſtigation of the "Devil, Dorothy de Gries, born at Bamberg or "Wurtzburg, as he relates, which woman he had car-"ried about ſome days before. He killed her early "in the morning before the gates were opened, not far "from this city, and ſtripp'd her of all her cloaths "even to her ſhift, and having removed her a little "out of the high way, he went into the city juſt at "the opening of the gates, and returned to his inn, "where he was ſoon after taken, and being put to the "queſtion, readily confeſſed the fact, and was broken "on the wheel on the 10th of the ſame month." Scioppius was informed ſoon after by Jodocus Mezlerus, Vicar of the Abbot of St. Gal (25), that Melchior Goldaſt was then living: he wrote therefore to his friend that he ſhould not print what had been ſent to him concerning Goldaſt's puniſhment. *Hoc à te pro amicitia noſtra peto, ut ſi adhuc eſſet integrum illa ſupplicii de monſtro iſto ſumpti mentio ex Scaligero meo Hypobolymæo circumſcribatur. Sin autem, quod vereor, hæc ipſa mea epiſtola ad calcem libri illius adjuncta totius geſtæ rei ordinem palam omnibus declarari cupio* (26). i. e. "I deſire you by our friendſhip, that if there be any "opportunity

(20) Oporinus Grubinius, *in* Amphotidibus Scioppian. *pag.* 104.

(21) Idem, ibid.

(22) Ibid. pag. 106.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Ibid. pag. 109, 110.

(25) See the Remark [*D*].

(26) Opor. Grubin. Amphot. Sciopp. *pag.* 109.

Lipſius [*I*], under whoſe name he publiſhed an Oration, of which himſelf was the Author. It appears that his capricious temper [*K*], and his want of integrity (*d*) were complained of.

(*d*) See Remark [*G*], quotations (18) and (19).

" opportunity the whole account of the puniſhment of " that monſter may be ſuppreſſed in my *Scaliger Hypo-* " *bolimæus*. But if, as I fear, it be too late, I intreat " you, that by ſubjoining this Letter of mine at the " end of that Book the whole ſtate of the affair may " be exactly repreſented." This ſecond Letter is dated March 3d 1607; and by this one might ſhew, that the two Gentlemen were miſtaken in the circumſtance of the time; for in the beginning of November 1606 Scioppius wrote to his friend, that they had informed him, that Goldaſt was executed the year before, *ſuperiori Anno*. Now Goldaſt's brother was broken on the wheel June 10th 1603 (28). They ſaid likewiſe, that when Goldaſt murthered the woman near Straſbourg, he was travelling through Germany with the Duke of Bouillon, whoſe Secretary he was. This does not agree with a Letter written by Goldaſt to Schobinger his patron in February 1603 (29). He was then no longer with the Duke of Bouillon, and yet the murtherer of the woman being aſked by the Judges in June 1603 declared, that Melchior Goldaſt his brother was in the ſervice of the Duke of Bouillon (30).

(27) Scioppius's 2d Letter was written five months after the firſt. Ibid. pag. 106.

(28) *Sebaſtianus Melchioris* frater germanus, *is fuerit qui Argentinæ anno* 1603 *a. d.* 10 *Junii ob crudeliſſimum homicidium & latrocinium affectus, nunc quoque ſuperbus & celſus in rota, velut in radiato diſco, quotidiano prandio aſſo, inquam, bene ad ſolem toſto corvos accipiat.* Ib. pag. 107. See above quotation (24).

[*I*] *It is not poſſible to approve of the conduct of the latter with regard to Juſtus Lipſius.*] Scioppius, who had a great talent at exaggerating, made no ſcruple to ſay at the time, when he imagined that Goldaſt had been broken on the wheel, that the principal crime, which had expoſed him to this dreadful puniſhment, was having forged a ſpeech in the name of Lipſius. *Hujus ego non minus facti, quam ſupplicii atrocitatem cum animo meo recogitans, nullius magis ſceleris, quam quod orationem illam, de qua Lipſius Cent.* IV. *Epiſt.* LXVIII *ad conſules ac ſenatum Imperialis oppidi Francofurtenſis ſcribit, ejuſdem Lipſii nomine præſcriptam minime Helvetica ſimplicitate, ſed actu pluſquam Punico & vere Genevenſi malitia Tiguri edendam curaſſet, pœnas ab eo expeditas & ſumptas eſſe judicavi* (31). i. e. " When I reflect- " ed upon the ſhocking nature of the fact as well as of " the puniſhment, I thought that he was puniſhed for " no crime more than for publiſhing at Zurich not " with an Helvetian ſimplicity, but with a more than " Punic and a true Geneva treachery, under Lipſius's " name, that Oration, which Lipſius mentions in his 68th " Letter of the 4th Century addreſſed to the Magiſtrates " and Senate of the Imperial City of Francfort." This Oration was intitled, *De duplici Concordia Literarum & Religionis*, and was publiſhed in 1600. It was pretended, that Lipſius had pronounced it at Jena July 31ſt 1574. It was not printed at Leyden, as the title intimates, but at Zurich by John James Friſius (32). An hundred copies were ſent to Francfort-fair, which were all bought up by Plantin, who denied this piece to be Lipſius's, and threatned that the Printer and real Author ſhould repent of it (33). The Bookſeller of Zurich informed Goldaſt of this, and deſired him to ſhew, that this Oration was really written by the perſon, whoſe name it bore. A Profeſſor of Zurich acquainted Goldaſt of the threats of Lipſius, and obſerved, that the whole thread of the Oration ſhewed it to be written by Lipſius. *Nos quidem ex filo orationis conjicimus omnino ejus eſſe* (34). In this manner judged the learned men of Zurich: but the judgment of thoſe of Paris was quite different; they could not diſcover Lipſius's ſtyle in it. *Lipſii oratio nova nobis viſa eſt, nec in eâ Lipſii ſtylum ſine monitione tuâ unquam agnoviſſemus* (35). i. e. " We have ſeen the new Oration " of Lipſius; but ſhould not have known it to be his " ſtyle without your informing us of it." Lipſius's threats were not in vain; he applied himſelf to the Magiſtrates of Francfort, who ordered, that this Oration ſhould be ſtruck out of the Catalogue of their Fair (36). He returned them his thanks, and demonſtrated to them by a great many reaſons the impoſture of thoſe, who had forged the Oration. He aſſerted among other things, that he was not at Jena July 31ſt 1574, and that he departed thence on the 1ſt of March (37). Goldaſt deſerved all the ſhame imaginable; there was ſcarce any man of honour but was convinc'd of Lipſius's innocence in this point. *Inſulſam illam & vix Latialem orationem* de duplici concordia literarum & religionis *Jenæ, ut volunt habitam, jam olim falſimoniam eſſe meram, edita epiſtola ipſe oſtendit, & nuper ſuppoſititii iſtius fœtus parens* Melchior Heiminsfeldus Goldaſtus *ſe prodidit* (38). i. e. " With reſpect to the in- " ſipid and ſcarce Latin Oration *De duplici Concordiâ* " *Literarum & Religionis*, pronounced, as it was pre- " tended, at Jena, he ſhewed by a Letter, which he " publiſhed, that it was a mere forgery; and *Melchior* " *Heiminsfeldius Goldaſtus* has lately diſcovered himſelf " to be the Author of that ſpurious piece." But there are ſome people ſo obſtinate in their prejudices, that they will not part with any opinion, and are inflexible to the cleareſt reaſons. There were ſome, who perſiſted in maintaining, that Lipſius had made exactly ſuch a ſpeech as Goldaſt had forged. Read the following paſſage (39). *Juſti Lipſii nomine* de duplici concordia literarum & religionis, *editas* Orationes (40), *non eſſe ipſius, ſed* Melchioris Goldaſti, Miræus *in Vita Lipſii pag. m.* 67 *refert. Carolus etiam* Scribanius *Jeſuita, cap. ult. defenſionis poſthumæ, Lipſii operibus in folio præfixæ, aliquot jam ante menſibus, quam Orationes iſtæ habitæ perhibentur, Lipſium Jena diſceſſiſſe, audacter ſcribit: ſed vide refutationem hujuſce mendacii factam à* Sagittario *in* Lipſio Proteo, *Francofurti* 1614 *edito*. i. e. " Miræus in the *Life of Juſtus Lipſius* re- " lates, that the Orations publiſh'd under Lipſius's " name *De duplici Concordia Literarum & Religionis*, " were not written by him, but by Melchior Goldaſt. " And Charles Scribanius the Jeſuit in the laſt chap- " ter of the poſthumous defence prefixed to Lipſius's " Works *in folio*, confidently aſſerts, that Lipſius left " Jena ſeveral months before thoſe Orations are ſaid to " have been pronounced. But the Reader may ſee a " confutation of this falſity by Sagittarius in his *Lip-* " *ſius Proteus* publiſhed at Francfort in 1614." I do not pretend to deny Lipſius's inconſtancy in the point of Religion.

(29) See the *Collection of Letters to Goldaſt*, printed in Germany 1688.

(30) Amphotides Scioppian. pag. 110.

(31) Ibid. pag. 105.

(32) See *Stuckius's Letter to Goldaſt* in the Collection quoted above quotation (29). It is the 18th. *See* Lipſius, Epiſt. 68. Cent. ad German. & Gallos.

(33) John James Friſius informed Goldaſt of all this. His Letter is in the Collection.

(34) Waſerus, *Epiſt. ad Goldaſt.* It is the 38th of the Collection,

(35) Vaſſan in the 31ſt Letter of this Collection, written to Goldaſt from Paris Sept. 23, 1600.

(36) See the 68th Letter of Lipſius, *Centur. ad Germanos & Gallos*, pag. m. 700.

(37) Lipſius, *Ep.* 68. *Centur. ad German.* p. 702.

(38) Miræus *in* Vitâ Lipſii, *circa finem*, pag. m. 35.

(39) Placcius, *de Pſeudonymis*, pag. 219.

(40) The plural number ſhould not be uſed here, ſince there was but one Oration.

[*K*] *His capricious temper . . . . was complained of.*] When his Patron Schobinger adviſed him to go to Lauſanne, if the charge of living there was leſs than at Geneva, he adds this reſtriction: *Modo à crebris migrationibus in poſterum abſtineas, quæ neque è re neque pro exiſtimatione tua moroſitatis neſcio cujus ſuſpectum te apud nonnullos fecere, qui id mihi Tiguri nuper objecerunt* (41). i. e. " So that you refrain hereafter from your frequent " removals, which are not for your advantage or cre- " dit, and have made you ſuſpected of an odd turn of " temper among ſome perſons, who lately complained " of it to me at Zurich."

(41) See the 5th Letter of the Collection printed in 1688. It is dated at St. Gal in Feb. 1602.

GOLIUS (JAMES) Profeſſor of the Mathematics and Arabic in the Univerſity of Leyden, was born at the Hague in the year 1596, of an ancient and conſiderable family [*A*]. He had a ſtrong inclination for learning, and a very extenſive genius; for he was not contented with ſtudying the Languages, Philoſophy, the Grecian and Roman

[*A*] *He was of an ancient and conſiderable family.*] It was originally of Leyden, where FRANCIS GOLIUS, the great-great grandfather of him we are ſpeaking of, was Echevin, about the year 1458. CORNELIUS and GILBERT GOLIUS, his grandſons, were Senators of the ſame City. They were ſons of THEODORIC GOLIUS, who being twice or thrice married, procured to his deſcendants divers degrees of relation to a great many good families. Another THEODORIC GOLIUS deſcended from this latter was the father of our James. He poſſeſſed a conſiderable imployment (1), and was one of the citizens of Leyden who contributed the moſt to ſave the town, during the ſiege ſo much ſpoken of in Hiſtory. His wife, the mother of our Profeſſor, was named Anne Hemelar (2), and had a brother of whom I deſign to compoſe an Article (3), wherein I ſhall ſay ſomething of PETER GOLIUS, the brother of James.

(1) *Feudorum Hollandiæ actuarius.* Gronovius, in *Orat. funebri Jacobi Golii*, pag. 6.

(2) *Ex Oratione funebri Golii*, habitâ a *Gronovio.*

(3) See HEMELAR (John.)

man Antiquities, Divinity, and Phyſic; but he applied himſelf alſo to the Mathematics with the utmoſt ardour. At the age of twenty he left the Univerſity of Leyden, where he had made great progreſs, and retired to a houſe in the country (*a*), with a reſolution of ſpending two years there in no other occupation than that of his ſtudies; but by too great attention to his ſtudy he ſoon fell ſick, and was forced to interrupt his deſign. He was ſo charmed with the Labours and Lectures of the learned Erpenius (*b*), that he attached himſelf entirely to him. He took a journey to France with the Dutcheſs de la Trimouille, which occaſioned his being invited to Rochelle to teach Greek there. He did not exerciſe that office long (*c*), becauſe the civil wars, which ended at length by the taking of that city, made Golius deſirous of returning to Holland. Some time after (*d*) he attended the Embaſſador ſent by the United Provinces to the King of Morocco, and made extreme good uſe of the advice which Erpenius gave him [*B*], to attain a perfect ſkill in the Arabic. He appeared ſo curious, and ſo well acquainted with the ſciences and cuſtoms of the Arabs, that he made himſelf very agreeable to the Doctors and Courtiers. He even received ſeveral marks of favour from Muley Zidan King of Morocco [*C*]. He furniſhed himſelf with many books unknown to the Europeans, and among others the Annals of the ancient Kingdom of Fez and Morocco, which he reſolved to tranſlate. He likewiſe made a great many Collections relating to the Hiſtory of the Sheriffs. By this means he brought Erpenius a thouſand valuable treaſures, which would have rendred great ſervice to that learned Profeſſor, if a contagious diſtemper had not carried him off ſoon after. Golius, without conſidering the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, did all the ſervices in his power to his dear maſter in the courſe of that illneſs, and did not leave him till he ſaw him expire. He was choſen his ſucceſſor in the chair of Arabic Profeſſor (*e*), conformably to the advice the deceaſed had given them a little before his death; and he acquitted himſelf ſo learnedly in that employment that the incomparable Erpenius was not miſſed (*f*). But while he contented every body elſe, he was not ſatisfied with himſelf; he thought he wanted many things, which he could not attain without tranſporting himſelf to the places moſt near the fountain-head. He aſked leave,

(*a*) Situate near Naaldwijk. It belonged to his father.

(*b*) He was Profeſſor of Arabic at Leyden.

(*c*) One year only.

(*d*) In the year 1622.

(*e*) In the year 1624.

(*f*) *Hæc in Sparta ornanda jam ſatisfaciebat omnibus, haud quaquam ſibi: nemo non renatum in Golio Erpenium, & corpus tantum hominis, non virtutem Profeſſoris mutatam credere: ipſe non credulus illis omnia in ſeſe requirere, & licet haud quaquam arrogaret ſibi magiſtri ſummam, tamen ne hac quidem contentus eſſe.* Joh. Frid. Gronovius, *in Orat. funebri Jac. Golij*, pag. 15.

[*B*] *He made good uſe of the advice which Erpenius gave him.*] He charged him, among other things, to inform himſelf of the origin of certain proverbs, and to inquire on what cuſtom, or on what inclination of the people ſeveral Arabic terms or expreſſions were founded, which he underſtood by conjecture only, and concerning which he imagined he could have procured good explications, if he had been in the countries where that tongue is ſpoken. But let us make uſe of the deſcription we find of this matter in the book which I quote. *Intellexerat* (Erpenius) *unum ſibi deeſſe quod terras, in quibus viget atque in uſu habetur Arabiſmus, non incoluiſſet, non acceſſiſſet. Quum enim multa in promptu haberet verba, proverbia, vocabula, quæ quid ſignificarent, divinabat magis & ſuſpicabatur quam noverat, quod de rerum formis, hominum actionibus, locorum habitu, unde & ubi illa nata eſſent nunquam oculis judicaſſet, hoc præcepit, inculcavit, infixit noſtro, ut quicquid ejuſmodi ſive natura illic, ſive ars, ſive conſuetudo nobis ignarum peperiſſet, aut introduxiſſet, diligentiſſime obſervaret, accurate deſcriberet, annotaretque una cum ſignato cujuſque nomine, & ſi noſcerentur, cauſis nominum* (4). i. e. "Erpenius knew himſelf to "be deficient in one thing, that he had not lived in "nor viſited the countries where the Arabic language "flouriſhes and is ſpoken. For having met with "many words, proverbs, and terms, the ſignification "of which he rather gueſſed at and ſuſpected, than "really knew, becauſe he had never examined with "his own eyes the forms of things, the actions of "men, and the habit of the places, from whence "and where they took their riſe, he directed, inculcated, and fixed this in our Golius's mind, that "whatever thing of that kind either nature, art, or "cuſtom had there produced or introduced, which "was unknown to us, he ſhould diligently obſerve, "deſcribe, and ſet down, together with the proper "name of each thing, and the reaſons of thoſe names, "if known."

(4) Gronovius, *in Orat. funebr. J. Golij*, pag. 13, 14.

[*C*] *He received ſeveral marks of favour from Muley Zidan King of Morocco.*] He had brought him a letter from Erpenius very well written, and he had happily recommended himſelf to him by his agreeable behaviour (5). This is all that is to be found on this head in his funeral Oration; to which we may join a very curious ſupplement, taken from a manuſcript relation which Colomiés had read, and of which he has publiſhed a ſhort paſſage relating to Golius. I ſhall ſet down the paſſage at length, though I fall into the importunate neceſſity of repeating ſomething of what is to be found in Moreri. "Golius, whom I "ſaw at Leyden, where he was Arabic Profeſſor in "the room of Erpenius, was very ſkilful in the "Languages, and in the Mathematics; but he had "yet more genius than learning. He got a great "deal of honour in the voyage which he made in the "Eaſt in 1622, and eſpecially to Morocco with an "Embaſſador from the States, and an Eſquire of the "Prince of Orange. When they arrived at that city "they went to pay their compliments to the King, "whoſe name was Mouley Zidam, and who received "them and their preſents in a very obliging manner. "He declared particularly his ſatisfaction in the preſent ſent him by Erpenius, which was a Grand "Atlas and a New Teſtament in Arabic, which he "afterwards read frequently. The Embaſſador from "the States growing uneaſy becauſe his affairs were "not diſpatched, was adviſed to preſent to the King a "petition which Mr. Golius wrote in the Arabic cha"racter and language, and in the Chriſtian ſtyle, a "thing very extraordinary in that country. The "King was aſtoniſhed at the beauty of this petition, "with reſpect both to the writing and ſtyle; and "ſending for the Talips or Secretaries, ſhewed them "the petition, which they admired. He ſent immediately for the Embaſſador, and aſked him who had "drawn up that petition. The Embaſſador anſwering, that it was Mr. Golius, a ſcholar of Mr. Erpenius, who had ſent him thither, he deſired to "ſee him, and ſpoke to him in Arabic. Mr. Golius anſwered him in Spaniſh, that he underſtood "very well what he ſaid, but that he could not anſwer him in Arabic, ſince his throat would not "aſſiſt him. The King, who underſtood Spaniſh, "admitted his excuſe, and having granted the Embaſſador what he requeſted, diſpatched him immediately. I owe all theſe particulars to the relation "of Monſieur le Gendre Merchant of Roan, who "was then at Morocco. Monſieur Briot kept a copy, "which he communicated to me at Paris. Let us "add one word concerning Mr. Golius. He was "brother of Peter Golius, who was likewiſe admirably well ſkilled in the Oriental Languages, and "tranſlated from Latin into Arabic Thomas a Kempis's book of the imitation of Jeſus Chriſt, and entering into the Order of the barefooted Carmelites "took the name of Father Celeſtin de St. Lidwine. "Theſe two brothers were nephews of a Canon of "Antwerp, named Hemelar, who wrote an excellent "book of Medals, which is not eaſy to be met "with (6)." I wiſh that Monſieur Colomiés's *Mélanges Hiſtoriques* were a book in folio.

(5) *Nec privata tantum humanitate, ſed & Imperatoris ipſius Mulei Zidani (quam & literis Erpenii puriſſimo ſermone ſcriptis, & ſuo lepore atque honeſtate promeruerat) clementia, cumulatiſſime præſtitit.* Gronov. in *Orat. fun. J. Golij*, pag. 14.

(6) Colomiés, *Mêlanges Hiſtoriques*, printed at Orange 1675. pag. 75, *& ſeqq.*

leave, therefore, of his ſuperiors to take a journey to the Levant (*g*). He ſtaid a year and a half at Aleppo; after which he made ſome excurſions into Arabia, and towards Meſopotamia, and came by land to Conſtantinople. His learning and prudence made him find friends every where, and the neceſſary means to facilitate his profiting by travelling among thoſe barbarous Nations. He met with Turks who permitted him to ſearch ſome fine Libraries [*D*]. In a word, he left ſo good a name behind him, that it was of great uſe to his brother (*b*), who ſome time after undertook the ſame journey. Our Golius returned to Leyden at the end of four years, loaden with fine Manuſcripts, and the remembrance of an infinite number of rare things (*i*). Having reſumed the courſe of his former Lectures, he ſoon ſaw himſelf called to read Lectures of another nature [*E*]; for he was made Profeſſor of Mathematics in the room of Willibrod Snellius. He very worthily diſcharged the functions of theſe two poſts for about forty years; and though they might take up all the time of a laborious man, he nevertheleſs found leiſure to compoſe ſome excellent Works which have been publiſhed [*F*], and to undertake others which would not have been inferior to thoſe, if he had lived long enough to put the laſt hand to them [*G*]. What was moſt commendable in his labours, was that he zealouſly endeavoured to make his ſkill in the Languages ſerviceable to the propagation of the faith among the Infidels [*H*], and the conſolation of the Chriſtians who groan under the tyranny

(g) The Letters Patents which the Prince of Orange Frederic Henry granted him, are dated the 30th of Nov. 1625.

(b) He was a Monk. See the Article HEMELAR.

(i) *Quadriennio circumacto cum inæſtimabili quo bibliotheca publica ſuperbit, rariſſimorum librorum theſauro quem mente ac pectore condiderat, huc regreſſus intermiſſa docendi munia repetiit.* Gronov. *Orat. fun. J. Golii*, pag. 19. The Catalogue of the Manuſcripts which he brought with him has been printed more than once.

[*D*] *He met with ſome Turks, who permitted him to ſearch ſome fine Libraries.*] The Turks are not ſo deſtitute of books as is imagined. See what Mr. Spon relates (7), and add to it this paſſage of Gronovius. *Simul cum Legato* (8) *in Aſiam tranſiit* (Golius) *Præfecto oræ Propontidos amæniſſimos hortos cum ampliſſima Bibliotheca eis cedente: in quo ſeceſſu in Hiſtoricorum & Geographorum Arabum ſcripta aut ignorata adhuc, aut inevoluta ſe ingurgitavit. Ut rediit, & memoriam lectorum per occaſiones in ſermonibus apud Megiſtanas oſtendit, ita obſtupefecit audientes, ut purpuratorum principi dignatione proximus cum eo egerit, Imperatoris diplomate ornatus ac tutus omne Imperium obiret ac ſitus locorum rectius quam vulgo fit in tabulis depingeret: ille gratiam fecit prætexto Sacramento quod Ordinibus dixiſſet, ſed & periculi magnitudinem cogitans* (9). i. e. "He went into Aſia with the Embaſſador, the Governor of the Coaſt of the Propontis "allowing him the uſe of his pleaſant Gardens and "copious Library. In this retirement he applied "himſelf wholly to the reading of the Arabian Hiſtorians and Geographers, whoſe writings were till "then unknown or never peruſed by him. Upon "his return, diſcovering occaſionally in converſation "with the great men there a prodigious memory of what "he had read, he ſtruck thoſe, who heard him diſcourſe, with ſuch admiration, that one of the principal Officers of the Empire treated with him, that "he might go with the Grand Seignior's Commiſſion, "and view the whole Empire, and deſcribe the ſituation of the places with more exactneſs than in the "preſent maps. He excuſed himſelf from this employment on pretence of the oath which he had "taken to the States, but in reality on account of "the danger." This paſſage deſerves to be mentioned, ſince it informs the reader of the great regard ſhewn to Golius at Conſtantinople, and the offers made him of an authentic commiſſion to be Geographer of the Grand Seignior. Golius's ſkill in Phyſic, and his furniſhing medicines *gratis*, procured him a great many preſents and friends. He was offered very conſiderable advantages to engage him to continue in the Eaſt. *Philarchi & reguli Arabum admiſerunt eum familiariter, & ob Medicinæ experimenta ſuſpexerunt, quodque mercedes recuſaret donis plurimis & pretioſis affecerunt: majoribus, ut ſecum maneret, ſollicitarunt* (10). Theſe are circumſtances very honourable to a Chriſtian.

(7) In the firſt volume of his *Travels*, pag. 193. of the Dutch edition. *See likewiſe* Mr. Wheeler's *Travels*, pag. 162.

(8) He means Cornelius Haga, Embaſſador from Holland at Conſtantinople.

(9) Gronov. *in Oratione funebri*, pag. 18.

(10) Idem, ibid. pag. 17.

[*E*] *He ſoon ſaw himſelf called to read Lectures of another nature.*] I have exactly followed Gronovius's account in order to give my Readers a convincing inſtance, how carefully things are to be obſerved, if we would take in every thing neceſſary to clear up a fact. This is related in the funeral Oration in ſuch a manner, that every body would conclude, that Snellius died after the return of Golius, and that the latter was not made Profeſſor of Mathematics till he had diſcharged for ſome time the functions of his other place, after his return to Leyden. Thoſe who ſhould imagine this would be miſtaken. Snellius died in 1626, and Golius returned from the Eaſt in 1629, and was appointed Snellius's ſucceſſor during his voyage. He was informed at Conſtantinople, that he had been choſen Profeſſor in the room of Snellius.

[*F*] *He found leiſure to compoſe ſome excellent Works, which have been publiſh'd.*] He publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Saracens written by Elmacin. This Edition is partly due to Erpenius, who began the Verſion of this Hiſtory. Golius compleated what was wanting. He publiſh'd the *Life of Tamerlan* written in Arabic by a Writer of great reputation. He publiſhed likewiſe Alferganus's Elements of Aſtronomy, with a new Verſion and learned Commentaries. His *Lexicon Arabicum* is a very accurate Work (11). He enlarged Erpenius's Arabic Grammar with Notes and Additions, and added ſeveral pieces of poetry extracted from the Arabian Writers, and eſpecially Tograi and Ababolla. Tho' he did not begin ſeriouſly to ſtudy the Perſian Language till he was fifty four years of age, he made himſelf ſo perfect a maſter of it, that he wrote a very large Dictionary of it printed at London (12). He could have done as much for the Turkiſh Language. He had ſo great a natural talent for the ſtudy of Languages, that tho' he began late to learn the Chineſe, he made ſuch a progreſs as to be able to read their Books, and underſtand them. It is no ſlight matter to know only the characters, which the Chineſe make uſe of in writing. They have to the number of eight thouſand (13). The Atlas of China, to which he made ſome Additions, ſhews the progreſs, which he had made in that Language.

(11) *Non parvæ molis, ſed immenſæ atque infinitæ curæ & induſtriæ.* Gronovii, *Orat. fun. J. Golii*, pag. 20.

(12) It is inſerted in Caſtellus's *Lexicon Heptaglotton.*

[*G*] *... and to undertake others, which would not have been inferior to thoſe, if he had lived long enough to put the laſt hand to them.*] He propoſed to publiſh a ſecond Edition of the *Life of Tamerlane*; and to print the Text with Vowels; and to add a Tranſlation and a Commentary full of Explications with regard to the Eaſtern Hiſtory. This work was almoſt ready to be given to the Printer. He had begun a Geographical and Hiſtorical Dictionary for the Eaſtern Countries, *in quo omnia locorum & hominum per Orientem nomina explicarentur.* He had long given expectations of a new Edition of the *Koran*, with a Tranſlation and Confutation of it. He intended to give a Catalogue of all the Perſian Books in Europe, and a Treatiſe of the Dialects of the Perſian Language. He had principally examined that Dialect, which is thought to be the beſt, and obtained that character by one of the moſt authentic Decrees, which can be demanded in ſuch kind of privileges. See the margin (14): you will find there a curious fact: neither the Greeks, Romans, nor any other Nation ever did for their Languages what the Kings of Perſia have done. The Academy *della Cruſca* and others of that nature, and that founded by Cardinal Richelieu, are nothing compared to that Aſſembly of Sages called together by the Kings of Perſia for the admiſſion or excluſion of words.

(13) *Quod rariſſimum, annis jam vergentibus Sinenſi etiam linguæ difficillimæ, & niſi quis inter ipſos ætatem exigat, ingenio humano inexſuperabili attenderat, & ad octo millibus ſignorum quibus pro vocibus utuntur ſatis aſſuerat, ut libros illorum non ægre legere atque intelligere poſſet.* Gronovii, *Orat. fun. J. Golij*, pag. 20.

[*H*] *He zealouſly endeavoured to make his ſkill in the Languages ſerviceable to the propagation of the Faith among the Infidels.*] We may reckon as a mark of his zeal the particular care, which he took of publiſhing the New Teſtament in the learned and vulgar Greek. The States of Holland would be at this expence out of regard to the Greeks. *Nemo tanto ſtudio, labore, gratia ob conſula-*

(14) *Et libellus de variis linguæ Perſicæ dialectis, præſertim de omnium puriſſima, quam juſſu magnorum regum omnibus ex partibus regni concilio coacto ſapientes moroſo verborum delectu probarunt, & aula recepit.* Ibid. pag. 21.

(k) Gronovius names ſeveral, and among others Mr. Des Cartes. See in the Life of that Philoſopher by Mr. Baillet, the friendſhip Golius had for him.

tyranny of the Mahometans. He correſponded by Letters with the moſt learned men of Europe (*k*), and was highly eſteemed by his Sovereigns (*l*). His conſtitution was ſo robuſt [*I*], that he almoſt always enjoyed a very good ſtate of health. He died the 28th of September 1667, after having paſſed through all the Academical Honours, and made himſelf as much reſpected for his virtue and piety, as for his learning. He made a very ſound judgment of things; for he deplored the method which is followed in the Religious Diſputes [*K*]. He left two ſons, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the Remarks [*L*].

(l) Extracted from his *Funeral Oration*, pronounced by *John Frederic Gronovius*. The dates were wanting throughout, and I have been obliged to ſupply them in the margin.

tus & præturas & imperia contendit, omnemque lapidem movit, quam ille ut Novi Fœderis ſacratiſſimæ tabulæ, ſimul uti ſcriptæ ſunt, ſimul ut in ῥωμαικὸν (ut appellant) ſeu Græcam linguam vulgarem traductæ, formis vulgarentur: atque id magnificum atque divinum munus Potentiſſimorum Liberi Belgii Ordinum beneficio, gemens ſub barbariæ intolerabili jugo gens libertatis & elegantiæ inventrix acciperet (15). i. e. "No body ſollicited ſo "ſtrongly for great offices of State, and uſed ſo much "induſtry in the proſecution of their views, as he did "to procure an Edition of the New Teſtament in the "original Language and the vulgar Greek, which is "called Ῥωμαικὸς; which noble preſent was conferred "on that Nation, once the mother of liberty and po"liteneſs, now groaning under the intolerable yoke of "Barbarians, by the munificence of the high and "mighty States of the united Provinces." He took care to ſpread among the Chriſtians of the Eaſt an Arabic Tranſlation of the Confeſſion of the Reformed, and their Catechiſm and Liturgy; for there are ſome Chriſtians in thoſe Countries, who uſe the Arabic Tongue in divine ſervice. He employed in this Tranſlation an Armenian, who underſtood the vulgar Arabic and the Phraſes conſecrated to Religion, and could accommodate Golius's ſtyle to the capacity of every body; for if Golius had laboured at this work alone, it would have been to be feared that his expreſſions would have been too ſublime and abſtruſe. He kept this Armenian two years and an half at his houſe, and promis'd him the ſame penſion that the States had granted to the Archimandrite, who tranſlated the New Teſtament into vulgar Greek. However he did not know whether the States would be at this expence. He did not propoſe the affair to them till the work was finiſhed, and they did not refuſe his propoſal. They likewiſe made an handſome preſent to him in particular (16). I ſhall not refer to any other place what I have to ſay concerning another preſent. He was their Interpreter in ordinary for the Arabic, Turkiſh, Perſian &c. Languages; and for this he had an annual penſion. I believe that the buſineſs of this place did not at all interrupt his other employments; but as often as they had occaſion for him in affairs of this nature, he received a thouſand civilities, and had a preſent of a chain of gold with a very beautiful medal (17).

(15) Ibid.

(16) Gronov. *in Orat. fun. Golii*, pag. 22, 23.

(17) Idem, ibid.

[*I*] *His conſtitution was . . . robuſt.*] He preſerved it by a conſtant temperance and avoiding of pleaſures (18). At the age of ſeventy years he travelled on foot all the way from the Meuſe to the Wahal, which is a journey of fourteen hours (19).

(18) Idem, ibid. pag. 28.

(19) *Septuaginta natus annos continenti quatuordecim horarum Vahalim inter & Moſam ambulatione iter pedes confecit.* Ibid.

[*K*] *He deplored the method, which is followed in religious diſputes.*] The Author of the funeral Oration upon him expreſſes himſelf thus: *Religionem, perinde ut rempublicam, factionibus geri dolebat. Speciem quandam externam ſibi circumdediſſe multis ſufficere, quam vita & actiones confutarent. Inter diſſentientes, de mediis quoque rebus atque indifferentibus, nullam turpem rationem vincendi: calumnias, artes malas, pias fraudes vigere. Nuſquam moderata conſilia, zelum, qui furor ſit, vocari. Partim Scripturam S. tractare, potius ut ingenium inde quam ſalutis curam nutriant. Theologicen præferre, ut nomen ſcientiæ atque auctoritatis. Ergo miſſa in diſcrimen veritate, quamvis ſatis & excellenter doctos eſſe conſtet, tam ſecure de illa tranſigere. Hos in Theologia Philoſophari, ad diſputandum modo, atque ut magni & conſpecti ſint, Theologos* (20). i. e. "He re"gretted, that Religion was managed, like the State, "by factions. That many perſons were ſatisfied with "aſſuming a ſpecious outward appearance, which they "contradicted by their life and actions. That thoſe who "differed upon things of an indifferent nature, thought "no method of gaining their point to be diſhonoura"ble; and that calumnies, ill arts, and pious frauds "were greatly employed. That moderation was no "where obſerved; but that mere fury was ſtiled zeal. "That the holy Scriptures were handled by ſome in "ſuch a manner as to ſhew their parts rather than their "regard for the ſalvation of men's ſouls. That they "pretend Divinity, as a title of Science and Authority. "And that they therefore expoſing the truth to danger, "tho' they were men of admirable learning, yet acted "without any regard to the intereſts of it: and that theſe "Divines introduce Philoſophy into Divinity merely "for the ſake of diſputing, and to make themſelves "eminent and important." This is one of the five or ſix Reflections, which Gronovius ſelected out of ſeveral others, which he heard Golius make in his laſt ſickneſs (21). All perſons of good ſenſe will allow that this choice is judicious; for there is ſcarce any thing, which deſerves to be lamented, if the abuſes in queſtion do not ſo; and yet we ſee the world ſo hardened and ſo little affected by this diſorder, that one may conclude, that none but perſons of excellent judgment think upon this point like our Profeſſor. The Church divided into factions and cabals exactly like the State; into factions, I ſay, which riſe and fall as in the State, not in proportion as the cauſes are good or not, but as people can more or leſs employ all kinds of artifices (22); ſuch a Church is without doubt an object of compaſſion, a ſubject of regret. Another reflection pitch'd upon by Gronovius is, in my opinion, very ſenſible. Golius, who lived ſo long, and had ſeen and travelled ſo much, had found nothing more rare to meet with than a Chriſtian worthy of that title. Mankind appeared to him plunged in vice, and every where maſked (23). Travellers remark an infinite diverſity among men; from day to day they remove into a new country; they ſee a new language, a new dreſs, new manners; but notwithſtanding theſe infinite variations all people reſemble one another, and reunite in this point, that there are but few honeſt men, and that forbidden pleaſures are their uſual employment.

(20) Gronovius, ibid. pag. 30.

(21) Ibid. pag. 28.

(22) *Nullam turpem rationem vincendi: calumnias, artes malas, pias fraudes vigere.* Gronov. *Orat. fun. J. Golii*, pag. 30.

(23) *Vana eſſe omnia, & fucata, totumque orbem inundatum & immerſum vitio.* Ibid. pag. 29.

[*L*] *He left two ſons, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the Remarks.*] They both ſtudied the Civil Law at Leyden, and were admitted Advocates. The elder's name was THEODORE; he was choſen one of the Council of Leyden in 1669. He was three times Burgomaſter of that city, and enjoyed the office of chief Bailiff there. It is the principal poſt in the Cities of Holland. He was alſo Deputy in the College of Admiralty at Amſterdam. He died in 1679 in the poſt of Burgomaſter. His brother MATTHEW GOLIUS, a man of great probity and ability, Dean of the Court of Holland, died at the Hague in September 1702. Their mother was of a very good family, and well allied (24): ſhe lived four and twenty years with her huſband in the utmoſt harmony (25).

(24) Gronovius, *Orat. fun. J. Golii*, pag. 24, & ſeq.

(25) Idem, ibid.

GOLIUS (THEOPHILUS) Profeſſor of Ethics at Straſbourg, where he was born in 1528 (*a*), died in 1600 (*b*). He wrote in Latin a ſhort ſcheme of morality extracted from the ten books of Ariſtotle *ad Nichomachum*, and a ſhort ſcheme of Politics taken from the ſame Author. He dedicated the former of theſe two works to Baron de Tanberg September the 1ſt 1592. The edition which I have of both is of Straſbourg *typis Joſiæ Rihelii hæredum* 1621 in 8vo. I have not ſeen his Greek Grammar. Konig mentions it (*c*).

(a) Konig. *Bibliotb.* pag. 352.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Idem, ibid.

GOMARUS

GOMARUS (FRANCIS) Profeſſor of Divinity, was born at Bruges January the 30th 1563. His father and mother who had embraced the Reformed Religion, retired into the Palatinate in 1578, in order to profeſs it without diſturbance, and ſent him to Straſbourg to ſtudy under the celebrated John Sturmius. He was under the diſcipline of this worthy old man about three years, after which he went to proſecute his ſtudies at Neuſtad, whither the Profeſſors of Heidelberg were retired (*a*). He went over to England about the end of the year 1582, and heard at Oxford the Divinity Lectures of Dr. John Rainolds, and at Cambridge thoſe of Dr. William Whitaker. He took there the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in June 1584. He ſpent the two following years at Heidelberg (*b*), where the Univerſity had been reſtored. The Flemiſh Church at Francfort deſired him for their Miniſter in 1587, and he performed the functions of his office from that time till the year 1593 when the Church was diſperſed by the perſecution. He was ſent for to Leyden to be Profeſſor of Divinity in 1594. He accepted this poſt, but before he took poſſeſſion of it he went to Heidelberg, where he had the degree of Doctor conferred on him. He diſcharged his place of Profeſſor very peaceably till 1603, when he had for his collegue James Arminius, a man, who ſoon began to ſpread his Pelagian doctrines [*A*], and to make himſelf the head of a party in the Univerſity. Gomarus appeared againſt him with great zeal, not only in the ſchools of Leyden, but likewiſe in the preſence of the States of the Province. They diſputed twice one againſt the other in the Aſſembly of the States of Holland in 1608, and five againſt five the year following. The ſucceſs of the diſputes was not ſuch as the Churches deſired (*c*); however it ſerved ſome purpoſe, for it diſcovered the Pelagianiſm of Arminius. This Profeſſor, who was then ſick, made uſe of that excuſe to diſcontinue the Conferences, and died ſome time after. His adverſaries employed all their induſtry to prevent Vorſtius from ſucceeding him; but not being able to ſucceed, it happened that Gomarus, to avoid having ſuch a collegue, left his country, and retired to Middlebourg in 1611. He was Miniſter there, and read public Lectures. This continued till the year 1614, when he was invited by the Univerſity of Saumur to be Profeſſor of Divinity. He diſcharged that poſt for four years; after which he retired to Groningen, to be principal Profeſſor of Divinity and the Hebrew Language. He found here a ſettlement which he conſtantly maintained till his death, which happened January the 11th 1641. If he was abſent twice, it was not for his diverſion, it was only to be one of the Judges of Arminius's cauſe in the Synod of Dort (*d*), and to reviſe the Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament (*e*). He was three times married, and had no children but by his ſecond wife [*B*]. He was a man of great abilities, and eſpecially in the Oriental Languages. His works were printed at Amſterdam in 1645 (*f*) [*C*]. If it be true that he gave Barnevelt the anſwer mentioned by Grotius, he cannot be acquitted of a great deal of outrageous zeal [*D*]. It is eaſy to convince thoſe who are judges of things. Meurſius has miſled

(*a*) The Elector Palatine had baniſhed them, becauſe they were not Lutherans.

(*b*) The Elector Lewis, a perſecutor of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, dying in 1583, Prince Caſimir his brother had the adminiſtration of the Electorate, and reſtored the Reformed.

(*c*) See Remark [*A*], quotation (1).

(*d*) In 1618.

(*e*) At Leyden in 1633.

(*f*) Taken from his *Life* in the Collection of the Lives of the Proteſtants of Groningen.

(1) *Dogmata Pelagiana clam, palam, voce, ſcripto ſpargere cœpit, ac familiam in Academia ducere.* Vita Gomari, *inter* Profeſſ. Groningenſ. Vitas, *pag.* 76.

(2) The 19th of the *ſecond part.*

(3) *Succeſſu quidem non eo quem Eccleſiæ optabant, ut profligatis erroribus ac ſchiſmate orthodoxa veritas & concordia in arce collocaretur: non tamen nullo, cum detracta larva Adverſarii Pelagianiſmus palam evictus fuerit.* Vita Gomari, *pag.* 77.

(4) He had married his firſt wife in the ſame city; and he married his third at Middlebourg; ſo that it ſhould not have been ſaid in the firſt tome of the *Anti*, p g. 128. that he married at Leyden before he went to Middlebourg.

[*A*] *Arminius ſoon began to ſpread his Pelagian Doctrines.*] I advance this as a Tranſlator of the Writer of the life of Gomarus (1): but I do not pretend to affirm that he is in the right; for I know that Arminius did not own that his opinions were like thoſe of Pelagius, or even of the Semi-Pelagians. See Grotius's Treatiſe intitled, *Diſquiſitio an Pelagiana ſint ea dogmata quæ nunc ſub eo nomine traducuntur?* It is in the third volume of his Theological Works. See likewiſe one of his Letters (2). When you read therefore in the Life of Gomarus, that this advantage at leaſt was gained by conferences with the Arminians, that they were plainly convicted of teaching the doctrines of Pelagius (3), do not think, that they were obliged to own this, and that the Judges of the Conference pronounced that they were ſufficiently convicted of it. The expreſſions of that Author ought not to be underſtood in any other ſenſe, than that Gomarus pretended to have produced good proofs of his accuſation againſt Arminius.

[*B*] *He had no children but by his ſecond wife.*] Her name was Mary Leremite, and was a Gentlewoman both by her father's and mother's ſide. He married her at Francfort (4). He had one ſon and two daughters. The ſon died before his father, and left children. The younger daughter married David de la Haie, Miniſter of a Walloon Church. This remark and ſeveral others of the ſame kind, which may be found through this Dictionary, are made out of regard to many good people, who are very curious to have an account of the families of Miniſters and learned men. If there are ſome readers, who have no curioſity of this kind, as undoubtedly there are too many, they are deſired to remember, that an Author is not obliged to ſay nothing but what is to their taſte. In a work like this the Author ought to write ſometimes for one ſett of readers, and ſometimes for another. Let this be ſaid once for all.

[*C*] *His Works were printed at Amſterdam in fol. in* 1645.] This ſignifies, that many of his Tracts publiſhed at different times were collected into one body. His *Anti-Colerus* was printed in 1599 and 1600. His *Lyra Davidis* was publiſhed long before his death. Lewis Capellus wrote againſt this Work. *Non ita pridem Vir Clariſſ. & doctiſſ.* it is Rivetus who ſays this (5), *Franciſcus Gomarus edidit* Lyram Davidis, *in qua putavit ſe ad metra Horatiana & ſimilia Davidis Pſalmorum verſus ita exegiſſe, ut veram poeſeos Hebraicæ rationem invenerit. Sed Ludovicus Capellus animadverſionum libello totum illud D. Gomari opus obelo transfigere conatus eſt, ut inde lector diſcat vix inter doctos de eo poſſe convenire, neque labore parum utili ſe ultra fatiget.* i. e. "Not long ago the very famous and "learned Francis Gomarus publiſhed *Lyra Davidis*, "in which he thought that he had ſo far reduced the "verſes of David's Pſalms to Horace's Metre and "others of that kind, that he had diſcovered the true "nature of the Hebrew Poetry. But Lewis Capellus "in his Book of Animadverſions has endeavoured to "confute that whole Work of Gomarus, ſo that the "Reader will perceive from thence, that learned men "can ſcarce agree upon the point, and will not trouble himſelf any further with a taſk of little uſe."

(5) *Prolegom. in Pſalmos.*

[*D*] *If it be true, that he gave Barnevelt the Anſwer mentioned by Grotius, he cannot be acquitted of a great deal of outrageous zeal.*] Barnevelt made a ſhort ſpeech to the two antagoniſts before the States of Holland, in which he declared, that he gave thanks to God, that the controverſies did not relate to the fundamental doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion. Upon this Gomarus, having obtained leave to ſpeak, proteſted that he would not appear before the throne of God with the errors of Arminius. This particular is to be found in Grotius's Letters (6). We meet with it likewiſe in the Preface to the Acts of the Synod of Dort. I doubt

(6) *Cum D. Oldenbarneveldius, brevi, quam ad Profeſſores habebat, oratione inter alia gratias ſe habere Deo diceret, quod de Chriſtianæ Religionis capitibus nulla eſſet diſputatio; reſpondit Gomarus, poſtulata dicendi venia, ejuſmodi eſſe Collegæ ſui opiniones in articulis inter ipſos controverſis, ut ipſe, ita ſentiens, nolit coram Deo Judice conſiſtere.* Grotius, *Epiſt.* 11. Part 1. pag. 3.

that

Moreri with regard to ſome facts [*E*] ; but the errors which Moreri has committed of himſelf, are miſerable ones [*F*]. Almoſt all of them have been marked in the Dutch edition

that there are ſtill partizans of Gomarus paſſionate enough, to maintain, that he was in the right in ſaying this. The heat of diſputes and the malignant influence of a profeſſorial emulation, made him carry things to exceſs, and diſturbed his judgment; for at preſent the moſt rigid Calviniſts do not ſcruple to own, that the five articles of the Remonſtrants are not fundamental hereſies ; and they give us to underſtand, that the ſchiſm would be eaſily removed, if the Sect of Arminius had not fallen into new errors a thouſand times more pernicious than thoſe, which divided Gomarus and Arminius. So that thoſe, who have not an head heated by the perſonal conteſts, which inflamed Gomarus, would not be of his opinion, that a perſon, who believes the five Articles of the Arminians, will be eternally damned. We ought therefore to impute to a perſonal animoſity the cruel opinion of this adverſary of Arminius.

That the facts, which I have advanced, may not be conteſted, I ſhall produce a proof, which tho' founded only upon a witneſs, has all the force of a juſt demonſtration ; ſince this witneſs is no other than Monſieur Jurieu, a man the moſt intractable of all others with regard to the Arminians. Mr. Arnaud imagined, that he had written a Book, which would abſolutely confound the Miniſters, when he publiſhed his *Renverſement de la Morale*. He founded his proofs upon the doctrines of the Synod of Dort, and ſuppoſed, that an Aſſembly of that importance would not have obliged people to profeſs thoſe doctrines under pain of excommunication, if they had not judged them to be fundamental Mr. Jurieu in his anſwer to him ſays an hundred good things, and throws him into the utmoſt confuſion by maintaining, that this Synod never conſidered the doctrines treated of in the diſputes with the Remonſtrants as neceſſary to ſalvation (7). He ſays in particular with reſpect to the doctrine of the impoſſibity of falling from Grace, one of the principal points of the diſpute, that ſince the deriſion of the Synod, *it is free for the Lutherans and all other Communions to defend this doctrine or not to admit it. I ſay, it is free ; not that a perſon does not ſin in rejecting a truth, ſound, important, and eſtabliſh'd by the Word of God, as that is. But it is not a ſin, according to us, which excludes from Grace, and deſtroys the Faith* (8). He ſays likewiſe, that thoſe, who live in the Communion of the Contra-Remonſtrants have the liberty of not *ſubmitting to the deciſion of the Synod of Dort in that point*, and maintaining *their own private opinions upon it*, provided they do not *dogmatize and make diſciples*; and that tho' *Miniſters are not allowed in the pulpit, who attempt to oppoſe the perſeverance of the true Saints*, but are denied Communion, yet it is not pretended, that they are *cut off from the Body of Chriſt* on that account (9).

(7) I have given the reaſons why the Synod of Dort inſerted this among their deciſions ; it is . . . in the third place to put an end to the differences by determining a controverſy, upon which their minds were divided. But I deny once more that the Synod had a deſign to make a fundamental article of our faith by this new deciſion. Jurieu, *Juſtification de la Morale des Reformez*. Part. 2. B. 6. cap. 3. pag. 216.

(8) Idem, ibid. B. 6. cap. 2. pag. 207.

(9) Ibid.

If we credit the Engliſh Writer of ſome Letters publiſhed by the Arminians, Gomarus was a man of violent paſſions. See the Letters of the Arminians, p. 548, 565, &c. This makes me the more confident in rejecting the raſh and malignant conjecture of thoſe, who would pretend, that he did not believe that the doctrines of Arminius lead to hell, but that he aſſerted this in order to juſtify his oppoſition to thoſe doctrines ; for he had reaſon to think, that the States would tell him, that the affair did not deſerve ſuch vehement exclamations, if the Arminian opinions were not inconſiſtent with ſalvation. The beſt anſwer, which could be given to this objection, would be to ſay, that it was impoſſible to ſtir too much and to deſire too zealouſly the authority of the Magiſtrate againſt theſe doctrines, ſince they would ſink into hell thoſe who ſhould be infected by them. Grotius remarks, that Gomarus, in a converſation which they had upon the Arminian diſputes, ſtiled Arminius's opinions profane and impious, and fell into a great paſſion againſt him, but without ſaying almoſt any thing concerning Predeſtination. *Cum multa acriter in Arminium diceret, impiaſque & profanas vocaret ipſius opiniones, tamen de prædeſtinatione vix quicquam locutus eſt. Sed primum in illam maxime ſententiam invectus eſt, quæ juſtificationis objectum aut materiam ſtatuit fidem, juſtitiam autem Chriſti cauſam meritoriam juſtificationis ejus quæ eſt ex fide* (10). i. e. " Tho' he ſaid a great many ſevere " things of Arminius, and called his opinions impi- " ous and profane, yet he ſpake ſcarce any thing con- " cerning Predeſtination. But he firſt inveighed " chiefly againſt the doctrine, that Faith is the object " or foundation of Juſtification, and that the Right- " eouſneſs of Chriſt is the meritorious cauſe of that " Juſtification, which is of Faith." He inſiſted principally upon the doctrine of Juſtification ; and yet the greateſt part of the Members of the States of the Province had judged, that upon this point the diſpute between Gomarus and Arminius was only a diſpute of words (11). If there was any artifice in not inſiſting much upon the point of Predeſtination, it was an artifice alſo to inſiſt upon it; and this latter artifice was Arminius's. He obſerved that the doctrine of abſolute Reprobation was eaſily capable of an odious ſenſe, and which ſhocks the mind ; and that his own doctrine in that point was more plauſible and popular. Upon this account he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that quarter (12). This is the general cuſtom of pleaders ; they always repreſent their cauſe in the faireſt ſide. Obſerve well what Grotius ſays at the end of this letter. Uyttenbogard had foreſeen in 1608 the event of theſe diſputes, which was that the doctrine of Calvin would triumph in Holland, as it did at Geneva in the time of Caſtalio, a man who was perſecuted in ſuch a manner, and reduc'd to ſuch neceſſity, that he was obliged to maintain himſelf by making faggots. *Cum tantis præjudiciis res agatur, & ſingulares Doctorum opiniones in mentes diſcipulorum ſenſim irrepentes, atque auctu temporis, & altius inquirendi negligentia ac ſpecie, tacito Eccleſiarum conſenſu receptæ, liberam magnorum ingeniorum ſedulitatem autoritate ſua jugulent, neque minus in Eccleſiis, quàm in ullis conceſſibus vincat major pars meliorem, non alium ſe eventum rerum Arminii ſperare, quam Caſtellionis fuerit, qui preſſus impotentia adverſariorum eo redactus ſit, ut vir non indoctus & perpetuæ famæ lignando ſibi victum quæreret* (12). i. e. " Since the affair " is carried on with ſo much prejudice, and the par- " ticular opinions of Divines inſinuating themſelves by " degrees into the minds of their diſciples, and by " length of time, and neglect of examining further " into points, are admitted with the tacit conſent of " the Churches, and by their authority lay a reſtraint " upon the free enquiry of perſons of great minds ; " and ſince in Churches no leſs than in other Aſſem- " blies the majority has the aſcendant over the better " part ; he has no hopes of any other event of Ar- " minius's cauſe, than that of Caſtalio's, who being " perſecuted by the malice of his adverſaries was re- " duced to ſupport himſelf by making faggots, tho' a " man of learning and laſting reputation."

(10) Grotius, Epiſt. 11. Part. 1. pag. 3.

(11) *Plerique ex Senatu judicaverant hoc non multo plus eſſe quam λογομαχίαν* (verborum pugnam) . . . . . *ille contra rem magnam agi putabat.* Grotius, ibid.

(12) *At Arminius dicebat, non ita graves eſſe controverſias, ſed maxime circa prædeſtinationem ambigi, quod ideo in Conventu dixiſſe videbatur aut credebatur, quia in iſto argumento, popularis ac plauſibilis eſt novitas.* Idem, ibid.

(12) Ibid. pag. 4.

[*E*] *Meurſius has miſled Moreri with regard to ſome facts.*] He has fixed (13) the birth of Gomarus in the year 1562 (14), and repreſented him as going to England before he went into Germany. We diſcover theſe errors when we read the account mentioned by me, which is incomparably better than that followed by Moreri, ſince it is extracted from a Book written at Groningen, where Gomarus was Profeſſor two and twenty years ; a Book, I ſay, written after Gomarus's death, and from Memoirs much fuller than thoſe made uſe of by John Meurſius.

(13) Athen. Batav. pag. 176.

(14) Monſ. Baillet, tom. 1. of the *Anti*, p. 127. having followed *Meurſius* in this point, ought conſequently to have ſaid, that *Gomarus* died aged 79 years, ſince he died in 1641. The truth is, he wanted ſome days of 78 when he died.

[*F*] *The Errors, which Moreri has committed of himſelf, are miſerable ones.*] He ſays, that Gomarus's father carried him into England. Meurſius does not mention this, and the Author of the Lives of the Profeſſors of Groningen affirms expreſly the contrary. He ſays that Gomarus's father retired into the Palatinate, and ſent his ſon to Straſburg. Moreri pretends that Arminius taught a peculiar doctrine at Leyden, when Gomarus was invited thither. This is an egregious Anachroniſm. Gomarus had been ten years Profeſſor at Leyden, when Arminius began to teach there. But the ſtrangeſt miſtake of our Author, and the moſt inexcuſable in a French Prieſt, who ought to think himſelf obliged to labour the converſion of Huguenots, is his imagining, that the doctrine of irreſiſtible and inamiſſible Grace was an error, into which Gomarus fell by being *carried a little too far by his paſſion*. What ignorance is this ! Is it not a doctrine, which always

GOMARUS (FRANCIS) Profeſſor of Divinity, was born at Bruges January the 30th 1563. His father and mother who had embraced the Reformed Religion, retired into the Palatinate in 1578, in order to profeſs it without diſturbance, and ſent him to Straſbourg to ſtudy under the celebrated John Sturmius. He was under the diſcipline of this worthy old man about three years, after which he went to proſecute his ſtudies at Neuſtad, whither the Profeſſors of Heidelberg were retired (*a*). He went over to England about the end of the year 1582, and heard at Oxford the Divinity Lectures of Dr. John Rainolds, and at Cambridge thoſe of Dr. William Whitaker. He took there the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in June 1584. He ſpent the two following years at Heidelberg (*b*), where the Univerſity had been reſtored. The Flemiſh Church at Francfort deſired him for their Miniſter in 1587, and he performed the functions of his office from that time till the year 1593 when the Church was diſperſed by the perſecution. He was ſent for to Leyden to be Profeſſor of Divinity in 1594. He accepted this poſt, but before he took poſſeſſion of it he went to Heidelberg, where he had the degree of Doctor conferred on him. He diſcharged his place of Profeſſor very peaceably till 1603, when he had for his collegue James Arminius, a man, who ſoon began to ſpread his Pelagian doctrines [*A*], and to make himſelf the head of a party in the Univerſity. Gomarus appeared againſt him with great zeal, not only in the ſchools of Leyden, but likewiſe in the preſence of the States of the Province. They diſputed twice one againſt the other in the Aſſembly of the States of Holland in 1608, and five againſt five the year following. The ſucceſs of the diſputes was not ſuch as the Churches deſired (*c*); however it ſerved ſome purpoſe, for it diſcovered the Pelagianiſm of Arminius. This Profeſſor, who was then ſick, made uſe of that excuſe to diſcontinue the Conferences, and died ſome time after. His adverſaries employed all their induſtry to prevent Vorſtius from ſucceeding him; but not being able to ſucceed, it happened that Gomarus, to avoid having ſuch a collegue, left his country, and retired to Middlebourg in 1611. He was Miniſter there, and read public Lectures. This continued till the year 1614, when he was invited by the Univerſity of Saumur to be Profeſſor of Divinity. He diſcharged that poſt for four years; after which he retired to Groningen, to be principal Profeſſor of Divinity and the Hebrew Language. He found here a ſettlement which he conſtantly maintained till his death, which happened January the 11th 1641. If he was abſent twice, it was not for his diverſion, it was only to be one of the Judges of Arminius's cauſe in the Synod of Dort (*d*), and to reviſe the Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament (*e*). He was three times married, and had no children but by his ſecond wife [*B*]. He was a man of great abilities, and eſpecially in the Oriental Languages. His works were printed at Amſterdam in 1645 (*f*) [*C*]. If it be true that he gave Barnevelt the anſwer mentioned by Grotius, he cannot be acquitted of a great deal of outrageous zeal [*D*]. It is eaſy to convince thoſe who are judges of things. Meurſius has miſled Moreri

(*a*) The Elector Palatine had baniſhed them, becauſe they were not Lutherans.

(*b*) The Elector Lewis, a perſecutor of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, dying in 1583, Prince Caſimir his brother had the adminiſtration of the Electorate, and reſtored the Reformed.

(*c*) See Remark [*A*], quotation (1).

(*d*) In 1618.

(*e*) At Leyden in 1633.

(*f*) Taken from his *Life* in the Collection of the Lives of the Proteſtants of Groningen.

(1) *Dogmata Pelagiana clam, palam, voce, ſcripto ſpargere cœpit, ac familiam in Academia ducere.* Vita Gomari, *inter* Profeſſ. Groningenſ. Vitas, *pag.* 76.

(2) The 19th of the *ſecond part.*

(3) *Succeſſu quidem non eo quem Eccleſiæ optabant, ut profligatis erroribus ac ſchiſmate orthodoxa veritas & concordia in arce collocaretur: non tamen nullo, cum detracta larva Adverſarii Pelagianiſmus palam evictus fuerit.* Vita Gomari, *pag.* 77.

(4) He had married his firſt wife in the ſame city; and he married his third at Middlebourg; ſo that it ſhould not have been ſaid in the firſt tome of the *Anti*, p. 128. that he married at Leyden before he went to Middlebourg.

[*A*] *Arminius ſoon began to ſpread his Pelagian Doctrines.*] I advance this as a Tranſlator of the Writer of the life of Gomarus (1): but I do not pretend to affirm that he is in the right; for I know that Arminius did not own that his opinions were like thoſe of Pelagius, or even of the Semi-Pelagians. See Grotius's Treatiſe intitled, *Diſquiſitio an Pelagiana ſint ea dogmata quæ nunc ſub eo nomine traducuntur?* It is in the third volume of his Theological Works. See likewiſe one of his Letters (2). When you read therefore in the Life of Gomarus, that this advantage at leaſt was gained by conferences with the Arminians, that they were plainly convicted of teaching the doctrines of Pelagius (3), do not think, that they were obliged to own this, and that the Judges of the Conference pronounced that they were ſufficiently convicted of it. The expreſſions of that Author ought not to be underſtood in any other ſenſe, than that Gomarus pretended to have produced good proofs of his accuſation againſt Arminius.

[*B*] *He had no children but by his ſecond wife.*] Her name was Mary Leremite, and was a Gentlewoman both by her father's and mother's ſide. He married her at Francfort (4). He had one ſon and two daughters. The ſon died before his father, and left children. The younger daughter married David de la Haie, Miniſter of a Walloon Church. This remark and ſeveral others of the ſame kind, which may be found through this Dictionary, are made out of regard to many good people, who are very curious to have an account of the families of Miniſters and learned men. If there are ſome readers, who have no curioſity of this kind, as undoubtedly there are too many, they are deſired to remember, that an Author is not obliged to ſay nothing but what is to their taſte. In a work like this the Author ought to write ſometimes for one ſett of readers, and ſometimes for another. Let this be ſaid once for all.

[*C*] *His Works were printed at Amſterdam in fol. in* 1645.] This ſignifies, that many of his Tracts publiſhed at different times were collected into one body. His *Anti-Colerus* was printed in 1599 and 1600. His *Lyra Davidis* was publiſhed long before his death. Lewis Capellus wrote againſt this Work. *Non ita pridem Vir Clariſſ. & doctiſſ.* it is Rivetus who ſays this (5), *Franciſcus Gomarus edidit* Lyram Davidis, *in qua putavit ſe ad metra Horatiana & ſimilia Davidis Pſalmorum verſus ita exegiſſe, ut veram poeſeos Hebraicæ rationem invenerit. Sed Ludovicus Capellus animadverſionum libello totum illud D. Gomari opus obelo transfigere conatus eſt, ut inde lector diſcat vix inter doctos de eo poſſe convenire, neque labore parum utili ſe ultra fatiget.* i. e. "Not long ago the very famous and "learned Francis Gomarus publiſhed *Lyra Davidis*, "in which he thought that he had ſo far reduced the "verſes of David's Pſalms to Horace's Metre and "others of that kind, that he had diſcovered the true "nature of the Hebrew Poetry. But Lewis Capellus "in his Book of Animadverſions has endeavoured to "confute that whole Work of Gomarus, ſo that the "Reader will perceive from thence, that learned men "can ſcarce agree upon the point, and will not trouble himſelf any further with a taſk of little uſe."

(5) *Prolegom. in Pſalmos.*

[*D*] *If it be true, that he gave Barnevelt the Anſwer mentioned by Grotius, he cannot be acquitted of a great deal of outrageous zeal.*] Barnevelt made a ſhort ſpeech to the two antagoniſts before the States of Holland, in which he declared, that he gave thanks to God, that the controverſies did not relate to the fundamental doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion. Upon this Gomarus, having obtained leave to ſpeak, proteſted that he would not appear before the throne of God with the errors of Arminius. This particular is to be found in Grotius's Letters (6). We meet with it likewiſe in the Preface to the Acts of the Synod of Dort. I doubt that

(6) *Cum D. Oldenbarneveldius, brevi, quam ad Profeſſores habebat, oratione inter alia gratias ſe habere Deo diceret, quod de Chriſtianæ Religionis capitibus nulla eſſet diſputatio; reſpondit Gomarus, poſtulata dicendi venia, ejuſmodi eſſe Collegæ ſui opiniones in articulis inter ipſos controverſis, ut ipſe, ita ſentiens, nolit coram Deo Judice conſiſtere.* Grotius, *Epiſt.* 11. Part 1. pag. 3.

Moreri with regard to ſome facts [*E*] ; but the errors which Moreri has committed of himſelf, are miſerable ones [*F*]. Almoſt all of them have been marked in the Dutch edition

that there are ſtill partizans of Gomarus paſſionate enough, to maintain, that he was in the right in ſaying this. The heat of diſputes and the malignant influence of a profeſſorial emulation, made him carry things to exceſs, and diſturbed his judgment; for at preſent the moſt rigid Calviniſts do not ſcruple to own, that the five articles of the Remonſtrants are not fundamental hereſies; and they give us to underſtand, that the ſchiſm would be eaſily removed, if the Sect of Arminius had not fallen into new errors a thouſand times more pernicious than thoſe, which divided Gomarus and Arminius. So that thoſe, who have not an head heated by the perſonal conteſts, which inflamed Gomarus, would not be of his opinion, that a perſon, who believes the five Articles of the Arminians, will be eternally damned. We ought therefore to impute to a perſonal animoſity the cruel opinion of this adverſary of Arminius.

That the facts, which I have advanced, may not be conteſted, I ſhall produce a proof, which tho' founded only upon a witneſs, has all the force of a juſt demonſtration; ſince this witneſs is no other than Monſieur Jurieu, a man the moſt intractable of all others with regard to the Arminians. Mr. Arnaud imagined, that he had written a Book, which would abſolutely confound the Miniſters, when he publiſhed his *Renverſement de la Morale*. He founded his proofs upon the doctrines of the Synod of Dort, and ſuppoſed, that an Aſſembly of that importance would not have obliged people to profeſs thoſe doctrines under pain of excommunication, if they had not judged them to be fundamental. Mr. Jurieu in his anſwer to him ſays an hundred good things, and throws him into the utmoſt confuſion by maintaining, that this Synod never conſidered the doctrines treated of in the diſputes with the Remonſtrants as neceſſary to ſalvation (7). He ſays in particular with reſpect to the doctrine of the impoſſibity of falling from Grace, one of the principal points of the diſpute, that ſince the deriſion of the Synod, *it is free for the Lutherans and all other Communions to defend this doctrine or not to admit it. I ſay, it is free; not that a perſon does not ſin in rejecting a truth, ſound, important, and eſtabliſh'd by the Word of God, as that is. But it is not a ſin, according to us, which excludes from Grace, and deſtroys the Faith* (8). He ſays likewiſe, that thoſe, who live in the Communion of the Contra-Remonſtrants have the liberty of not *ſubmitting to the deciſion of the Synod of Dort in that point*, and maintaining *their own private opinions upon it*, provided they do not *dogmatize and make diſciples*; and that tho' *Miniſters are not allowed in the pulpit, who attempt to oppoſe the perſeverance of the true Saints*, but are denied Communion, yet it is not pretended, that they are *cut off from the Body of Chriſt* on that account (9).

(7) I have given the reaſons why the Synod of Dort inſerted this among their deciſions; it is ... in the third place to put an end to the differences by determining a controverſy, upon which their minds were divided. But I deny once more that the Synod had a deſign to make a fundamental article of our faith by this new deciſion. Jurieu, *Juſtification de la Morale des Reformez*. Part. 2. B. 6. cap. 3. pag. 216.

(8) Idem, ibid. B. 6. cap. 2. pag. 207.

(9) Ibid.

If we credit the Engliſh Writer of ſome Letters publiſhed by the Arminians, Gomarus was a man of violent paſſions. See the Letters of the Arminians, p. 548, 565, &c. This makes me the more confident in rejecting the raſh and malignant conjecture of thoſe, who would pretend, that he did not believe that the doctrines of Arminius lead to hell, but that he aſſerted this in order to juſtify his oppoſition to thoſe doctrines; for he had reaſon to think, that the States would tell him, that the affair did not deſerve ſuch vehement exclamations, if the Arminian opinions were not inconſiſtent with ſalvation. The beſt anſwer, which could be given to this objection, would be to ſay, that it was impoſſible to ſtir too much and to deſire too zealouſly the authority of the Magiſtrate againſt theſe doctrines, ſince they would ſink into hell thoſe who ſhould be infected by them. Grotius remarks, that Gomarus, in a converſation which they had upon the Arminian diſputes, ſtiled Arminius's opinions profane and impious, and fell into a great paſſion againſt him, but without ſaying almoſt any thing concerning Predeſtination. *Cum multa acriter in Arminium diceret, impiaſque & profanas vocaret ipſius opiniones, tamen de prædeſtinatione vix quicquam locutus eſt. Sed primum in illam maxime ſententiam invectus eſt, quæ juſtificationis objectum aut materiam ſtatuit fidem, juſtitiam autem Chriſti cauſam meritoriam juſtificationis ejus quæ eſt ex fide* (10). i. e. "Tho' he ſaid a great many ſevere "things of Arminius, and called his opinions impi- "ous and profane, yet he ſpake ſcarce any thing con- "cerning Predeſtination. But he firſt inveighed "chiefly againſt the doctrine, that Faith is the object "or foundation of Juſtification, and that the Right- "eouſneſs of Chriſt is the meritorious cauſe of that "Juſtification, which is of Faith." He inſiſted principally upon the doctrine of Juſtification; and yet the greateſt part of the Members of the States of the Province had judged, that upon this point the diſpute between Gomarus and Arminius was only a diſpute of words (11). If there was any artifice in not inſiſting much upon the point of Predeſtination, it was an artifice alſo to inſiſt upon it; and this latter artifice was Arminius's. He obſerved that the doctrine of abſolute Reprobation was eaſily capable of an odious ſenſe, and which ſhocks the mind; and that his own doctrine in that point was more plauſible and popular. Upon this account he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that quarter (12). This is the general cuſtom of pleaders; they always repreſent their cauſe in the faireſt ſide. Obſerve well what Grotius ſays at the end of this letter. Uyttenbogard had foreſeen in 1608 the event of theſe diſputes, which was that the doctrine of Calvin would triumph in Holland, as it did at Geneva in the time of Caſtalio, a man who was perſecuted in ſuch a manner, and reduc'd to ſuch neceſſity, that he was obliged to maintain himſelf by making faggots. *Cum tantis præjudiciis res agatur, & ſingulares Doctorum opiniones in mentes diſcipulorum ſenſim irrepentes, atque auctu temporis, & altius inquirendi negligentia ac ſpecie, tacito Eccleſiarum conſenſu receptæ, liberam magnorum ingeniorum ſedulitatem autoritate ſua jugulent, neque minus in Eccleſiis, quàm in ullis conceſſibus vincat major pars meliorem, non alium ſe eventum rerum Arminii ſperare, quam Caſtellionis fuerit, qui preſſus impotentia adverſariorum eo redactus ſit, ut vir non indoctus & perpetuæ famæ lignando ſibi victum quæreret* (12). i. e. "Since the affair "is carried on with ſo much prejudice, and the par- "ticular opinions of Divines inſinuating themſelves by "degrees into the minds of their diſciples, and by "length of time, and neglect of examining further "into points, are admitted with the tacit conſent of "the Churches, and by their authority lay a reſtraint "upon the free enquiry of perſons of great minds; "and ſince in Churches no leſs than in other Aſſem- "blies the majority has the aſcendant over the better "part; he has no hopes of any other event of Ar- "minius's cauſe, than that of Caſtalio's, who being "perſecuted by the malice of his adverſaries was re- "duced to ſupport himſelf by making faggots, tho' a "man of learning and laſting reputation."

(10) Grotius, Epiſt. 11. Part. 1. pag. 3.

(11) *Plerique ex Senatu judicaverant hoc non multo plus eſſe quam λογομαχίαν* (verborum pugnam) ..... *ille contra rem magnam agi putabat.* Grotius, ibid.

(12) *At Arminius dicebat, non ita graves eſſe controverſias, ſed maxime circa prædeſtinationem ambigi, quod ideo in Conventu dixiſſe videbatur aut credebatur, quia in iſto argumento, popularis ac plauſibilis eſt novitas.* Idem, ibid.

(12) Ibid. pag. 4.

[*E*] *Meurſius has miſled Moreri with regard to ſome facts.*] He has fixed (13) the birth of Gomarus in the year 1562 (14), and repreſented him as going to England before he went into Germany. We diſcover theſe errors when we read the account mentioned by me, which is incomparably better than that followed by Moreri, ſince it is extracted from a Book written at Groningen, where Gomarus was Profeſſor two and twenty years; a Book, I ſay, written after Gomarus's death, and from Memoirs much fuller than thoſe made uſe of by John Meurſius.

(13) Athen. Batav. pag. 176.

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" time of his birth be truly ſet down by his own hand in one of the books of his Li-
" brary, as he told it ſecretly [C] to a perſon who did not mention it till after Gom-
" bauld's death." He was one of thoſe *who were moſt conſtantly at the Aſſemblies* formed by Mary of Medicis and Ann of Auſtria during the regencies of theſe two Princeſſes. But *it was ſtill with more aſſiduity and pleaſure that he went to Mademoiſelle de Rambouillet's houſe* (d) [D]. He died in the year 1666. I ſhall collect in one ſingle Remark what I have to obſerve concerning his Writings, and concerning the opinion which able judges had of them [E].

(d) Taken from the Preface to the *Traitez & Lettres de Gombauld.*

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ſhe is as ready to ſuppreſs them, and to apply to other uſes the funds on which they were aſſigned. There are continually new comers; and the Court is willing to gratify them without a new expence, by granting them what had before been given to others, who are ſuppoſed to have enjoyed the favour long enough. Old Penſioners are the moſt odious, and are obliged to petition with the moſt extenſive and moſt humble patience, and theſe the Court does not much ſcruple to diſappoint.

[C] *His life . . . laſted almoſt an whole Century, . . . as he told it ſecretly.*] What is this! A man of good morals, and zealous for his Religion, ſuch a man, I ſay, makes a ſecret of the year of his birth; and though he determined to reveal this great ſecret to a friend, yet he deſires him ſo earneſtly to be diſcreet, that his friend thinks himſelf under an obligation not to mention a word of it till after his confident's death. This would hardly be excuſed in a maiden or in a widow, though for the reſt men be indulgent enough, not to find fault with them, when they would make a ſecret of the true time of their birth (6). But we may ſee here, as on a thouſand other occaſions, that what at firſt ſight ſeems to be nothing but a fantaſtical humour, an impertinent weakneſs, and an old woman's ſillineſs, is yet grounded on ſome plauſible reaſon, which even is ſolid in ſome reſpects. Gombauld was no Poeta-ſter or ſorry Rhymer, he was an excellent Poet, who had gained the eſteem of the polite part of the World (7). He had been conſtantly at the aſſemblies of the Ladies; he had conſequently uſed himſelf to polite and courtly converſations: when he happened to be with Ladies he remembered the manners of his youth; he praiſed and admired them. His part was ſtill that of a polite man and a man of wit. But in order to act it in a becoming manner, it was neceſſary for him that people ſhould not know how old he was. He publiſhed a large Collection of Epigrams in the year 1657; had he not reaſons to fear, that if it were known that he was then fourſcore and ten years old, it would be thought very ſtrange, that at ſuch an age he ſhould aſk a licence for a work of this kind, and make preſents of it himſelf? Had he not reaſons to fear that Monſieur Daillé and the other Miniſters of Paris would ſecretly cenſure him for minding ſuch trifles in ſo advanced an age? After all, he is not the only perſon who laboured under this weakneſs; we ſhall meet with it below (8) in a Grammarian briſtling with Greek, and who ought to have been free from it much more than a Court-Poet.

(6) See the *Nouvelles Lettres contre Maimbourg*, pag. 762, 763, where the Author quotes a pretty paſſage from the *Lettres du Chevalier d'Her* **.

(7) See quotation (17), and Monſ. Menage's *Obſervations on Malherbe's Poems*, in which Gombauld is commended and quoted in ſeveral places.

(8) See the remark [B] of the article GUYET (Francis).

[D] *It was with aſſiduity . . . that he went to Mademoiſelle de Rambouillet's houſe.*] The Author of the Preface calls it *the delicious meeting-place of all the perſons of quality and merit that were then living* (9). *It was*, adds he, *like a ſmall but choice Court; leſs numerous indeed, than that of the Louvre, but if I may be allowed to ſay it, more excellent; becauſe nothing came near this Temple of Honour, where Virtue itſelf was worſhipped under the name of the Incomparable Arténice, but what deſerved her approbation and her eſteem.*

(9) Preface des *Traitez & Lettres de Mr. de Gombauld.*

[E] *I ſhall collect in one ſingle Remark what I have to obſerve concerning his writings, and concerning the opinion which able judges had of them.*] We find in the Hiſtory of the French Academy (10), that in the year 1652 Gombauld had not yet publiſhed either his Tragedy of the Danaides, or the Tragi-Comedy of Cidippe, nor three Books of Epigrams, or ſeveral other Poems, nor ſeveral Letters and Diſcourſes in proſe: but that his Endymion, and his Paſtoral of Amaranthe, and a volume of Poems, and a volume of Letters were printed. The Abbot de Marolles obſerves in a Book, which he publiſhed in the year 1657, that *Monſieur Gombauld had juſt publiſhed an excellent Collection of Epigrams* (11), and (12) that *his Aconce* (13) *and his immortal Danaïdes which abound with ſuch beautiful lines* had not been printed. We are told in the Preface to his poſthumous Treatiſe, that the Tragedy of Danaides has been publiſhed, and that he left behind him not only a *Tragi-Comedy of Cidippe*, but alſo *a number of Poems ſufficient to make a new Collection, eſpecially of Sonnets and Epigrams, which could not yet be publiſhed, becauſe they were in the poſſeſſion of perſons who have but little ſkill in theſe things.* Obſerve that the Endymion is in proſe: it was firſt printed in the year 1624, and then reprinted in the year 1626. It is a kind of a romance.

(10) Pag. 339. of the Paris edition, 1672 in 12mo.

(11) Marolles, *Suite des Mémoires*, pag. 246.

(12) Ibid. pag. 242.

(13) It is the ſame piece which Monſ. Peliſſon calls *Cidippe.*

Men differ in their opinion concerning the merit of his Poems. Some Authors pretend that he excelled chiefly in writing Sonnets, that this was in a manner his lot, and the portion of the Parnaſſus that fell to his ſhare. *Let us always follow our natural genius*, ſays Monſieur Guerat (14), *let us never go beyond that kind of writing which is proper to us, nor let us envy others the glory which we cannot attain like them. Let Deſportes write Elegies, Theophile Stanzas, Gombauld Sonnets, and Mainard Epigrams.* Others extend Gombauld's Dominions farther; they pretend that he not only reigned over the Sonnet, but that he alſo conquered the Empire of Epigrams over Mainard. " GOMBAULD the great Caſuiſt and Legiſlator of the *Sounding Iſland* or *Land of Sonnets*, ſent thither for a company of Soldiers very ſpruce and neatly dreſſed; he " alſo took from the *Epigrammatic Mountains* three " troops of light horſe of a ſmall ſize, but who fought " with a wonderful briſkneſs, and had very dangerous " arrows, which they ſhot with an uncommon dexterity; he had employed them in the conqueſt of " the Principality, which he uſurped over the Preſident Ménard (15)." The Abbé de Marolles does not go ſo far; he only places *Monſieur Ménard, Monſieur de Beautru and Monſieur Gombauld* amongſt the French Poets, *with whom our neighbours cannot diſpute the firſt rank*, with regard to Epigrams, *and who are but little inferior to the ancients* (16). Monſieur Boileau Deſpreaux does not value our Poet's Sonnets.

(14) Guret, *Guerre des Auteurs*, pag. 138, 139.

(15) Furetiere, *Nouvelle Allégorique*, pag. 56, 57. of the Paris edition, 1658, 8vo.

(16) L'Abbe de Marolles, *Suite des Mémoires*, pag. 246.

Un ſonnet ſans defauts vant ſeul un long Poéme.
Mais en vain mille auteurs y penſent arriver;
Et cet heureux Phenix eſt encor à trouver.
A peine dans Gombaut, Maynard, & Malleville,
En peut on admirer deux on trois entre mille:
Le reſte auſſi peu lû que aux de Pelletier,
N'a fait de chez Sercy qu'un ſant chez l'Epicier (17).

(17) Deſpreaux, *Art. Poetique*, Chant. 2. ver. 94. He ſays in the 4th Canto, ver. 48. that *Gombaut tant vanté, garde encore la Boutique.* i. e. " Gombauld " much printed, " yet ſtill remained unſold."

The ſenſe is; " A faultleſs Sonnet is alone worth an " whole Poem: but in vain did a thouſand Authors " attempt to arrive at that degree of perfection! That " happy Phœnix is yet no where to be found. Amongſt a thouſand Sonnets of Gombauld, Maynard " and Malleville, you can hardly meet with two or " three that deſerve to be admired: the reſt, which " are as little read as Pelletier's Poems, were carried at " once from the Bookſeller's ſhop to the Grocer's."

Here follows the opinion of another Critick; I give it in Monſieur Baillet's words (18). " Monſ. Roſteau " obſerves, that there are but few Poets who finiſhed their literary labours with writing *Epigrams*, " which conſiſt in ſome witty conceit, and in ſuch " a metal as becomes a young man much better than " it does an old and decayed Poet. But he adds, that " Monſieur Gombauld may be excuſed, though he applied himſelf to that kind of writing in the latter " part of his life, becauſe moſt of his Epigrams are " rather a cenſure of the corrupt morals and wicked " life of his contemporaries, than Love-Poems, which " are generally compoſed for the Ladies." Monſieur Roſteau ſuppoſes a thing, which is not very certain; namely that Gombauld's Epigrams were the laſt pieces

(18) Baillet, *Jugemens ſur les Poëtes*, tom. 5. pag. 25, 26.

GONET (JOHN BAPTIST) a Dominican Friar born at Beziers, had been a Doctor of the Univerſity of Bourdeaux, and read public Lectures of Divinity there. He cauſed Montalte's (*a*) famous Provincial Letters to be approved by the Univerſity, which drew upon him the indignation and hatred of the Jeſuits. He publiſhed ſeveral Works [*A*], by which it appears that he was chiefly ſkilled in School-Divinity, but that he was not very well verſed in what is called *Poſitive Theology*. Towards the latter end of his life he retired to Beziers, where he died January the 24th 1681 (*b*). Monſieur de Rocolles, who had commended him in one of his works (*c*), prefixed to a new edition of it a letter of thanks which he had received from this Monk, who declared to him that he would return the favour the firſt opportunity he ſhould have.

(*a*) That is to ſay Monſieur Paſcal's.

(*b*) Taken from ſome *Memoirs* ſent from Paris.

(*c*) I think it is in his *Introduction à l'Hiſtoire*.

(19) I ſpeak thus, becauſe I do not well know when his *Danaides* were publiſhed.

(20) I mean, that he began very early to write ſome, and continued to add others to them every year, as occaſion offered.

he wrote. This is very doubtful, not to ſay any thing worſe of it. For though they make up the laſt poetical Work which Gombauld publiſhed (19), it does not follow from thence that he did not write them in his youth (20).

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] His Body of Divinity, intitled *Clypeus Doctrinæ Thomiſticæ*, that is, "The Shield of the Doctrine of St. Thomas;" was firſt printed at Bourdeaux, in ſixteen volumes in 12mo, in the year 1666; it was afterwards reprinted at Paris in five volumes in folio in the year 1669. To this laſt Edition were added ſeveral Prefaces, and ſeveral Diſſertations; it is alſo much more correct than the former. The Spaniards find this work too ſhort, and call it *a very pretty Abridgment of Divinity*. In the year 1664 he publiſhed at Bourdeaux a little Book, intitled *Diſſertatio Theologica de Probabilitate* (1); i. e. "A Theological Diſſertation concerning Probability." His laſt work is intitled *Manuale Thomiſtarum*; i. e. "The "Manual of the Thomiſts;" printed at Beziers in the year 1680 in ſix volumes in 12mo. He left behind him a Courſe of Philoſophy to be printed; but it is thought to be too prolix, and little ſuited to the taſte of this Age (2).

(1) There is a very good account of it in the *Journal des Savans* for March 30, 1665.

(2) Taken from ſome *Memoirs* ſent from Paris.

GONTAUT (ARMAND DE) Baron of Biron (*a*) was made Marſhal of France in the year 1577. He had been Great Maſter of the Ordnance ever ſince the 5th of November 1569, and before that time he had gone through all the military poſts (*a*). Of all the glorious actions which gained him ſo great a reputation, there is none that deſerves ſo much to be commended as his loyalty towards Henry III, who did not love him [*A*], and towards Henry IV, who had openly forſaken the Roman Catholic Religion.

(*a*) See a particular account of them in Brantomé, *Memoires*, tom. 3. pag. 326, &c. F. Anſelme, whom Moreri tranſcribes, has only abridged Brantome's account.

(*a*) Mr. Bayle might have added, that Biron the father went with the Duke of Anjou into the Low-Countries; that he was at Antwerp when that Prince attempted to ſubdue that City; and that the inhabitants ſuſpected him at firſt to be one of the chief authors of the conſpiracy; but that after the Duke of Anjou's retreat, they found amongſt that Prince's clothes a letter from Biron to him, in which he diſſuaded him from that undertaking, and even abhorred it; whereupon the Citizens of Antwerp, who hated Biron before, held him in a very high eſteem, and loved him extremely. This is what Buſbeck relates in the 19th Letter of his Embaſſy into France. CRIT. REM.]

[*A*] *Henry III, who did not love him.*] He drew upon him this King's indignation (1), becauſe he had endeavoured to prevent the peace that was concluded before Rochelle in the year 1573. Henry III, who was then but Duke of Anjou, had beſieged that city during ſeveral months, and did not know how to raiſe the ſiege without diſgrace, but by concluding a treaty of peace. For it was dangerous to continue the ſiege any longer, nor could he do it, without diſobliging the Queen Dowager, who very much longed to ſee him; and beſides he himſelf was in haſte to go and take poſſeſſion of the Crown of Poland: ſo that both he and his mother deſired that the beſieged would accept ſome terms. "Biron did all that lay in his "power to diſſuade the *King and the Queen* from coming to any agreement, and promiſed that if they "would let him go on with the ſiege, he would force "the town to ſurrender within a month, or at the "furtheſt within five weeks, without loſing or expoſing any thing, but only by well blocking up "the town. His advice and his letters proved ineffectual at that time ... Mr. de Biron finding that "he could not in the leaſt prevail with the King, "nor with the Queen, nor with the King of Poland "in that reſpect, attempted to raiſe diſturbances from "another quarter; he wrote to the Cardinal de Lorrain and to ſome of the chief members of the "Council, deſiring them to prevent the raiſing of "the ſiege, and the peace; and promiſed, that if "they would ſuffer him to proſecute his deſign, he "would, after a delay of ſix weeks, render the City "of La Rochelle to the King, more humble and "obedient than it ever had been; as indeed it was "true. The Cardinal, who was a perfect intermeddler, began hereupon to cabal, and to practiſe "upon the members of the Council, in order to diſ-"ſuade the King and the Queen from this capitula-"tion and this peace; they teized their Majeſties, "and eſpecially the Queen to ſuch a degree, that ſhe "knew of no other remedy to get rid of theſe im-"portunities, but by ſending the Abbot de Gadagne, "on whom ſhe confided entirely, with letters to the "King of Poland her beloved ſon, acquainting him "with Monſieur de Biron's underhand dealings and "ſecret practices againſt him, and adviſing him to "reprove him in the moſt ſevere manner; ſhe alſo "adviſed him to write haughty and threatening let-"ters to the Cardinal and to thoſe fine Counſellors "who had managed that affair. This the King of "Poland could perfectly well do; he wrote the let-"ters with his own hand, in ſo proud and ſevere a "ſtyle (as I certainly know) that thoſe Councellors "were quite ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed, ſo that they "durſt not any longer mention one word of their "former advice. And as for Monſieur de Biron, he "happened one morning to go and wait upon the "King in his wardrobe, where the Council then "met; the place was narrow, and there were but "few perſons preſent; the King of Poland took him "to taſk in a manner that did not fall to the ground, "as we ſay, for he immediately ſpoke to him thus. "Come hither, my pretty fellow, I have heard of "your carriage: you pretend to cabal againſt me "and to write to Court: what hinders me from "ſtriking this dagger into your breaſt, and killing "you upon the ſpot; or rather from appointing "Commiſſioners to inquire into your conduct, and "examine the Treaties you have made againſt me, a-"gainſt the King, and againſt the State, and then to "have you beheaded? Is it your buſineſs to act againſt "my will and pleaſure? Who are you? What would "you be if it were not for the King and me? And "you come to forget yourſelf; you pretend to be a "great man; you will take Rochelle, ſay you, and "even within a month or ſix weeks; you would have "the honour of taking it, and deprive me of it; you "have already but too much expoſed my reputa-"tion, you little villain you .... You made me con-"tinue ſix months before the city, and now when I "can make an honourable retreat, you labour to pre-"vent it, you deſign to continue the ſiege, to carry "the city, and thus to triumph over me. I will teach "you to perſonate a great General at my peril, whilſt "you are none at your own (2)." Biron juſtified himſelf ſoftly as well as he could (3), and *ſince that time the King of Poland look'd always cold upon him, even after his*

(1) *Take notice that* Brantome had already obſerved, that this Prince fell into a violent paſſion againſt Biron, and threatened him with his dagger, in the third civil war, and before the battle of Moncontour. *See below the remark* [*D*].

(2) Brantôme, *Elog. de Marechal de Biron*, tom. 3. of his *Memoires*, pag. 340.

(3) Ibid. pag. 344.

ligion. He was the perſon, who after Henry III's death did chiefly contribute to ſecure the Crown to Henry IV [*B*]; wherefore the latter of theſe Princes was extremely grieved when this great man was killed at the ſiege of a town in Champagne (*b*), before the League had been quite ſubdued. He would deſerve the greateſt commendations, though he had only diſſuaded King Henry from following the advice of thoſe that would have him take ſanctuary beyond ſea [*C*]. He was almoſt a Free-thinker; or, if he had any Religion, he was rather a Proteſtant than a Roman Catholic [*D*]. The Inquiſitors miſtruſted

(*b*) At Epernai, July 26, 1592.

his return from Poland (4). But *he received him with more kindneſs* (5) when Biron waited upon him in Auguſt 1575 having been ſent for by the Queen at the Duke of Guiſe's requeſt, *who would not have any other Generals with him but Monſieur de Biron and Monſieur de Strozze, in order to beat Monſieur de Thoré* (6) *and all his Reiſtres ſoundly*. Biron behaved very gallantly in this war, and though it had been aſſerted that he would have joined with the Leaguers, had the thirty thouſand crowns, *which were offered him*, been put into his hands, yet it is more probable that he refuſed all thoſe offers (7). *However it be, the King had not a more loyal ſubject as long as that war laſted. . . . On Monſieur de Guiſe's death, Biron went very opportunely to wait upon the King, who wanted him very much, ſo that he rejoiced to ſee him; he ſupported his maſter in the great perplexity he was in; for all France had conſpired againſt him on account of Monſieur de Guiſe's murther* (8).

(4) Ibid. pag. 345.

(5) Ibid. pag. 346.

(6) Son of the Conſtable de Monmorency.

(7) Others, and theſe the moſt reaſonable, ſay that he was certainly at that entertainment, and heard their diſcourſes and their deſigns, but that he condemned them, tho' they pretended to act for the good of Religion, and with a view to deſtroy hereſy; at which he laughed. Brantôme, *Memoires*, tom. 3. pag. 353, 354.

(8) Ibid. p. 354.

[*B*] *He was the perſon who . . . did chiefly contribute to ſecure the Crown to Henry IV.*] Let us hear Brantome (9) again. "The King being dead, Biron, "who had a long while before gained a great credit in "the Army, both amongſt the French and amongſt "the Foreigners, who all loved and almoſt adored "him, knew ſo well how to gain and perſuade them, "that he did a bold ſtroke, even the greateſt action "he had ever performed, the moſt uſeful for the State; "I mean, that by his means the King of Navarre "was elected unanimouſly and without the leaſt con"tradiction, in the room of the late King. . . . . So "that the World was perſuaded, and it may eaſily be "imagined, that the Marſhal de Biron made him King; "and indeed he did afterwards reproach him with it "once, as I have been told. For the Roman Catho"licks, ſeeing he was an Huguenot, would have for"ſaken him, and the Huguenots were not powerful "enough to raiſe him to the Throne. But by Mon"ſieur de Biron's prudent conduct even the Ro"man Catholics were prevailed upon to ſubmit to this "new King, notwithſtanding he was an Huguenot, "if not very willingly, at leaſt in order to revenge "the death of the poor deceaſed, who had been un"juſtly murthered, as Biron hinted to them. This "was not all; for there were ſeveral places in which "the new King had but very little authority, or none "at all. Theſe places were either to be kept in awe, "or conquered: The Marſhal de Biron aſſiſted his "King ſo well in this, that before his death he helped "him to recover ſeveral conſiderable and ſtrong cities, "to gain the battle of Yvry, to retire ſafe out of Ar"ques and Dieppe, as I deſign to relate it in our King's "Life; laſtly Biron had his head carried off by a can"non ball, as he was taking a view of the city of "Eſpernay." He failed once in his loyalty for Henry IV, but not for a long while. He thought himſelf more uſeful to the King than any other perſon, and ſo he was indeed after Henry the third's death; *and as he imagined that during the confuſion of the civil war the Kingdom would be diſmembred, he was in hopes to get ſome ſhare of it: and entering into the King's cloſet without being called, he heard for ſome time the complaints of ſeveral Courtiers, and took afterwards Sancy aſide, and declared to him that he deſired to have the County of Perigord with a ſovereign power, as a reward for the ſervices he would do to the King. Sancy, who would not diſcourage him, went immediately to his Majeſty, and communicated Biron's propoſal to him: the King ordered him to make the Marſhal the faireſt promiſes; and Sancy worked upon him with ſo much art and eloquence, that he rouſed his noble ſoul, and engaged him not only to give over his claim, but alſo to declare that he would never ſuffer any part of the ſtate to be ever diſmembred from it in behalf of any perſon whatſoever* (10).

(9) Ibid.

(10) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 829.

[*C*] *He diſſuaded King Henry from following the advice of thoſe, that would have him take ſanctuary beyond Sea.*] The Duke of Mayenne having forced this Prince to raiſe the ſiege of Roan, and to retire towards Dieppe, endeavoured to block him up ſo cloſe, that he could not eſcape, but by Sea. Henry IVth's Officers, *even they that were of the Proteſtant Religion* (11) . . . *did not well know by what means the King could be delivered out of this danger, and were extremely concerned for his ſecurity on which that of the whole State entirely depended. So that in a Council which was held September the 5th* (12) *moſt of them were of opinion, that the King muſt leave his army aſhore, fortified in ſome ſtrong poſt, and ſecure his ſacred perſon by embarking immediately either for England, or for Rochelle. . . . They ſupported this advice by ſo many arguments, that the King himſelf began to be perſuaded; whereupon the Marſhal de Biron, who had heard theſe diſcourſes with the utmoſt diſdain, and was ſorry that they ſhould make ſo deep an impreſſion on the King's mind, got up, and with an angry voice told the King, &c.* I ſhall not tranſcribe his Diſcourſe; you may read it in Mezerai; it is ſo well turned, and abounds with ſuch ſtrong arguments, that we ought not to wonder at the effect it produced. Henry IVth having heard it, reſolved to ſtand his ground, and to defend himſelf in his poſt; he was attacked in it, and glorioufly repulſed the enemy. Biron was in the right to ſay, *that conſidering the ſtate of affairs, to leave the Kingdom only for twenty four hours, was to leave it for ever.* In ſuch circumſtances the true method to ſucceed was not, to ſay to one's Generals,

(11) Mezerai, ibid. pag. 842.

(12) 1589.

Ayez ſoin de ma Couronne
J'auray ſoin de ma perſonne, &c.
That is,

"Secure my crown, I ſhall take care of my perſon."

[*D*] *He was rather a Proteſtant than a Roman Catholick.*] The ſuſpicions that were entertained againſt him in that reſpect, were the reaſon why he was not made a Knight of the Holy Ghoſt in the beginning of the civil wars. *Obſerve*, ſays Brantôme, *that the chief reaſon why he did not receive this honour, and why no great account was made of him, was that he paſſed for an Huguenot, and it was even ſaid at Court, that he had his children baptized after the manner of the Huguenots, which the great Warriors of that time, as the King of Navarre, Meſſieurs de Guiſe, the Lord Conſtable, and the Marſhal de St. André abhorred, as well as the Monks and all the World. And therefore Monſieur de Biron was not well received at Court; ſo that he reſolved to leave it, and to retire upon his own eſtate.* He would have executed that deſign, had not Du Perron, who was afterwards the Marſhal de Rets, interceded for him with the Queen. They perſuaded him to ſtay, and he followed the army without any employment. But he ſoon gave ſuch proofs of his great merit, that he was choſen an aſſiſtant to the Major-Generals. *Monſieur de Guiſe began to like him, though he always ſaid and did ſome thing like an Huguenot, which he could not forbear; yet he did it ſecretly, and ſhewed that he had a hidden affection for that party. He gained at laſt ſo great a ſkill in the art of war, that the Court was obliged to employ him* (14). In the third civil war *he was twice unfortunate*, and was very much blamed by the King's brother who commanded the army. *And we in the Army*, ſays Brantôme (15), *were of opinion that he had threatened to ſtrike him with his dagger: and Monſieur de Biron was obliged to juſtify himſelf in the moſt humble manner; for if he had in the leaſt talked loud, Monſieur, the King's brother, was ſo exaſperated againſt him, that he would certainly have ſtruck him. He upbraided him with being an Huguenot, and favouring that party; be charged him with taking wrong meaſures on purpoſe to make him receive an affront, and to expoſe him and his whole army to be cut in pieces by the enemy. Monſieur de Tavannes, who was a proud and haughty man, rebuked him alſo very ſeverely; he bid*

(13) Brantôme, *Mémoires*, tom. 3. pag. 328.

(14) Ibid. pag. 330.

(15) Ibid. pag. 332.

truſted him ſo much, that he was one of thoſe who were doomed to be murthered on St. Bartholomew's day [*E*]. But as he lodged at the Baſtille, being Great Maſter of the Ordnance, he knew how to diſappoint the wicked deſigns of thoſe murtherers. The reaſon why he was ſuſpected of favouring the Proteſtants is very much to his honour [*F*]. Never was a man of his quality ſo univerſal a ſcholar as he was [*G*]. He was proper not only for all military employments, but alſo for the management

him learn his leſſon better; he told him, that he meddled with every thing, and followed a trade which he did not yet underſtand, but that he would make him learn it; that he was an Huguenot, that he never went to Maſs, or if he went, it was only for form's ſake. All this was told him in a full Council, and Monſieur de Biron had no other part to chooſe, but to ſubmit and hold his tongue. After the maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, the King ſent him into Saintonge (16), to reduce the City of Rochelle either by treaty or by force of arms to ſubmit to the King. He was obliged to beſiege the City. Biron was (17) *unfortunate in this ſiege; for he laboured and took all poſſible pains to take the city, and performed all the duties of a great Officer, and a ſkilful Maſter of the Ordnance, and what is worſe, was greatly wounded by the ſhot of an Arquebuſe: and yet moſt of the beſiegers were of opinion, that he held a ſecret intelligence with the beſieged, and that he and his friends gave them notice of all that was done in the King's army: which was the greateſt error in the world; for he was Governor of that City, and if he had taken it, he would have been maſter of one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the Kingdom. I leave you to judge, whether he, who was an ambitious man, would have ſlipt the opportunity of taking it, if it had been in his power. If his advice and Monſieur de Strozze's had been followed, the city would have been taken, by advancing ſucceſſively to it, as we did at laſt* (18). We may be perſuaded, that the ſuſpicions of his correſpondence with the inhabitants of la Rochelle, were grounded on the inclination he was ſuppoſed to have for the Huguenots; it is for this reaſon that I have added this paſſage from Brantôme to thoſe quoted above. I ſhall confirm them by the following words of Mezerai, taken from his Elogium of our Biron (19). "With regard to Religion, he inclined a little towards the new Reformation. A Tutor he had in his younger days had given him the firſt hints of it; and his wife, who openly profeſſed the Reformed Religion, confirmed him in his ſentiments (20): ſo that he ſecretly favoured the Proteſtants, except in what concerned the King's ſervice only. And as what the heart thinks the mouth ſpeaks, he often dropt ſome ſtrokes of raillery againſt the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. It was therefore ſuſpected that he delayed the King's converſion; who for that very reaſon, and for the great ſervice he had done him after Henry III's death, when he made the army declare for him, repoſed a great truſt in him, and ſubmitted abſolutely to his advice, not, however, without being often offended at his haughty behaviour."

(16) Biron was Governor of that country, and of the *Pais d'Aunix*.

(17) Brantôme, *Memoires*, tom. 3. pag. 338.

(18) Add to his misfortunes in this ſiege, the King of Poland's ſevere reproof. See above remark [*A*], quotation (2).

(19) Mezerai, *Hiſtoire de France*, tom. 3. pag. 1026.

(20) I wonder he ſays nothing of Biron's mother, who according to Thuanus gave ſhelter to the Proteſtants. *Denique in Aginnenſi agro apud Annam Bonvalliam, Armani Bironi famoſi illius ducis matrem, toto eo tempore tutus fuit.* Thuan. lib. 33. pag. 671. *ad ann.* 1562. i. e. "Laſtly he "was all this "while ſafe in "the territories "of Agen, at "the houſe of "Ann de Bon-"neval, the mo-"ther of that fa-"mous General "Armaud de "Biron."

[*E*] *He was one of thoſe who were doomed to be murthered on St. Bartholomew's Day.*] Biron had been employed to conduct the Queen of Navarre to the Court of France, with the Prince her ſon who came to marry Charles IXth's ſiſter. Biron conducted the Prince *attended by the flower of the Huguenots, who thinking to defy and to govern all the world, met there with a diſmal fate. They, who eſcaped, condemned Monſieur de Biron and laid the whole blame on him, ſaying, that he went to flatter and coax them, in order to lead them to the ſlaughter-houſe; and thus they began to inveigh bitterly againſt him . . . and notwithſtanding theſe calumnies, ſuſpicions and clamours, he narrowly eſcaped being murthered himſelf in that general maſſacre; it was lucky for him that he was a brave, ſtout, and reſolute man; for he retired immediately into his Arſenal, he levelled a number of cannons before the gate and the other avenues that lead to the Baſtille, and ſhewed ſuch a warlike diſpoſition, that ſome troops of the people of Paris, who were never engaged againſt ſo brave an officer before, coming to the gate, he ſpoke to them with ſo much courage, and threatned to play a good number of guns upon them, if they would not retire, ſo that they marched off immediately, nor durſt they venture any more to come near him, nor to execute their ill deſigns againſt him, as they had been commanded to do: for he was certainly one of thoſe who were doomed to be murthered with the others, as he told me himſelf on his return from Brouage; for he was my very good friend and relation; and often uſed to diſcourſe of this ſlaughter* (21). Mezerai tells us that Biron ſhelter'd ſome of his friends in the Baſtille. Let us quote his own words (22). "The Montmorenci's, "Coſſé, and Biron had been put upon the liſt, but the "abſence of the Marſhal de Montmorenci, who was "at Chantilli, ſaved the lives of his three brothers; "the prayers of the fair Lady de Chaſteauneuf, "§ Monſieur's Miſtreſs, ſaved Coſſé, who was her re-"lation. And Biron, Great-Maſter of the Ordnance, "having levelled ſome cannon on the gate of the "Arſenal, put a ſtop to the fury of the murtherers; "he alſo received ſome of his friends, and amongſt "them James, ſecond ſon of the Lord de la Force, "this boy being then but ten years old, having dex-"terouſly hid himſelf between the corps of his father "and of his eldeſt brother, who had been killed in a "bed, in which they all three lay together."

(21) Brantôme, *Memoires*, tom. 3. pag. 335.

(22) Mezerai, *Abrége Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 157, 158.

§ The King's brother.

[*F*] *The reaſon why he was ſuſpected of favouring the Proteſtants is very much to his honour.*] I ſhall quote the words of one of our beſt Hiſtorians (23). Biron "ſeems to have always had ſome inclination for "the new opinions, ſince he had been in favour with "the King of Navarre. Yet all the reſt of his life "he behaved like a very good Catholic, and when-"ever there happened to be a war with the Hugue-"not, he acted in it with as much courage and fide-"lity as any other. But what gave room to think "that he did not hate them was, that he would ne-"ver conſent to any perfidious dealings with them, "and that when the laſt edict of pacification was "patched up, he gave the Queen-mother ſeveral times "to underſtand, that it had been much more worthy "the King's Majeſty to cruſh them entirely (24), than "to make a treaty, which could not be kept, as it "was obvious to foreſee. For this reaſon, and be-"cauſe he was a man of honeſty and too free and ſincere, "the Queen-mother and the Guiſes had put him in "the catalogue of thoſe that were to be murthered on "St. Bartholomew's day; he did leaſt imagine it, "and had all his life time a very ſtrong reſentment "of it."

(23) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 267, under the year 1572.

(24) It is a matter of ſurpriſe, that none of Lewis XIVth's Miniſters of State dared to repreſent the ſame thing to him, when he was publiſhing ſo many edicts againſt the Proteſtants of his Kingdom. He was obliged at laſt to attack them with his armies. What ſignified then ſo many Law-proceedings? See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for Nov. 1685, concerning Queen Mary of England's method of perſecuting.

[*G*] *Never was a man of his quality a more univerſal ſcholar than he was.*] "When he died there died "a man univerſally ſkilled in all affairs both of the "War and of the State, which he managed and under-"ſtood as well as any Lord in France. Therefore "when the Queen-mother had ſome very conſiderable "buſineſs to tranſact, ſhe ſent for him whether he "was at home or elſewhere, and had her chief re-"courſe to him. He uſed to ſay to himſelf, in a ban-"tering way, that he was a cunning fox, who was "ſet upon all kind of buſineſs; and this was true, "for he underſtood every thing perfectly, and he "was univerſally ſkilled in matters both of peace "and war, capable both to command and to execute. "He had loved reading, and had continued to read "from his younger years. He took a delight to en-"quire after and know every thing; and uſed to "carry a pocket book with him, in which he wrote "down whatever appeared remarkable to him; which "gave riſe to a proverb very much uſed at Court; "when a perſon happened to ſay ſomething uncom-"mon, they told him, *you have found that in Biron's "pocket-book*; and even King Henry's buffoon ſwore "ſometimes by Biron's divine pocket-book . . . . And "I have ſeen ſeveral people wonder that he, who "never tranſacted public affairs abroad, who never "was an Embaſſador, which might have made him "capable of them, yet underſtood them better than "Monſieur de Lanſac, de Rambouillet, and the Mar-"ſhal de Rets, and was capable of giving them good "inſtructions

nagement of public affairs. He loved reading, and liked to converſe with learned men; and he uſed to write down in his pocket-book all that he thought worthy to be obſerved. He was too paſſionate, and a little too much given to drinking [*H*]. He laboured under another defect, much more conſiderable than theſe two, and which is often exceedingly detrimental to Princes; I mean, that he neglected the opportunities of ſtriking a deciſive blow on the enemies [*I*]. He was afraid that this would put an end to the war, and that the Court would then ſend him home without any employment. It is reported that he who uſed always to laugh at the predictions of Aſtrologers, in whoſe favour the Court of France was at that time very much prepoſſeſſed, became entirely credulous with regard to the kind of death which theſe people threatened him with [*K*]. Notwithſtanding the fatigues he underwent, the wounds he received, and his old age, he was yet very vigorous; and they relate a remarkable particular with regard to the ſtrong conſtitution of his ſtomach [*L*]. He left ſeveral children. I ſhall ſpeak of the eldeſt in the following Article.

" inſtructions with regard both to domeſtic and foreign " affairs (25)." Let us add to this paſſage ſome parts of Mezerai's Elogium of Monſieur de Biron. "He had " a quick and penetrating genius, an eaſy, ſtrong and " perſuading way of ſpeaking, an elevated mind, a " great courage, he was briſk and nimble, laborious " and daring; he loved to learn and was very dili- " gent. He was as well ſkilled in the Court-intrigues, " and in thoſe of the Ladies, as he was brave in the " field..... He took a pride in being an univerſal " man, and in underſtanding the art of negotiating " as well as the art of war. He meddled with every " thing; and found employment himſelf if none were " given him. He pretended to a perfect knowledge " of Hiſtory and Geography; he drew plans and " made maps with his own hands, and uſed to ſay, " that a great warrior muſt be capable to ſhew upon " paper what he could execute in the field (26)."

(25) Brantôme, *Mémoires*, tom. 3. pag. 356.

(26) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 1026.

[*H*] *He was a little too much given to drinking.*] Mezerai obſerves only (27), that *he loved witty ſayings, and a good treat*; that *he lay a very little time in bed, but continued long at table, where he uſed to drink till the wine made him merry*. But the thing is carried farther in a repartee, which King Henry IV is ſuppoſed to have made. " The Duke of Savoy " commended once before him the great actions and " ſervices of both the Birons father and ſon: the " King anſwered that they had indeed ſerved him " very well; but that he had much trouble to repreſs " the drunkenneſs of the father, and to keep the ſon's " arrogance within bounds (28)."

(27) Ibid.

(28) Perefixe, *Hiſtoire de Henri le Grand*, under the year 1600, pag. m. 320.

[*I*] *He neglected the opportunities of ſtriking a deciſive blow on the enemies.*] Brantome relates (29), that it was obſerved that if Biron *had had a mind to act with the utmoſt vigour*, he might have reduced the King of Navarre to much greater extremities. I ſpeak of the time when Biron commanded the army in Guienne under Henry III. On another occaſion, that is to ſay, when the Duke of Parma was at Caudebec, the Marſhal de Biron rebuked his ſon ſeverely, becauſe he repreſented to the King that if his Majeſty would give him four thouſand arquebuſiers, and two thouſand horſe, he would ſtop the enemies in their way. Let us quote Brantôme's words. " Hereupon " the Marſhal cenſured his ſon in the King's pre- " ſence, and told him that he was indeed a great man " to perform ſuch a deſign, and he repreſented it ſo " full of difficulties, that he prevented the undertak- " ing. The next evening he told his ſon, that he " was ſenſible he would have ſucceeded in that de- " ſign, or have died in the undertaking; but he re- " preſented to him, that it was not proper to procure " with one ſtroke the ruin of ſuch an enemy of the " French; for, added he, when ſuch enemies are " once entirely vanquiſhed and deſtroyed, Kings " make no longer any account of their Generals and " Officers, they do not care for them when they want " them no more; we ought therefore conſtantly to " continue and prolong the war, as we would till a " fruitful piece of ground; otherwiſe, they who have " once tilled it, will ſtarve if they ſuffer it afterwards " to lie untilled (30)." Here follows a paſſage written in a ſtronger and more polite ſtyle. The Marſhal de Biron *was charged with raiſing ſeveral factions, that he might always have an opportunity to exert his ability and his credit, and with ſpinning out the war, not indeed for the ſake of plunder, but that he might always continue at the head of affairs, and have the managing of them* (31). Such an ambition is ſometimes alſo to be obſerved amongſt Divines. See (32) how theſe maxims of the Marſhal de Biron are applied to a certain Doctor, who ſhall be nameleſs.

(29) *Mémoires*, tom. 3. pag. 350.

(30) Ibid. pag. 368.

(31) Mezerai, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 1026. *See alſo* Davila, lib. 13. pag. m. 806.

[*K*] *He became.... credulous with regard to the kind of death, with which* the Aſtrologers *threatened him.*] We meet with the following paſſage in Mezerai's large hiſtory. " I have heard ſome perſons, " who were very well acquainted with this Marſhal, " relate a remarkable particular of him. He had all " his life time laughed at the art of fortune-tellers, " which Queen Catherine de Medicis's curioſity had " brought into faſhion at Court. But as he happened " once to ſee ſome ſurpriſing effects of it, he became " a little before his death as ſuperſtitious in that re- " ſpect as he had been incredulous before, and began " to conſult the fortune-tellers. One of theſe people " foretold him ſix months before this ſiege, that he " would be killed by a canon ball. This made ſo " deep an impreſſion upon his mind, that whenever " he heard a gun go off, he could not forbear ſtarting " out of fear, and ſtooping his head down, as he con- " feſſed to his friends. It happened at this time (33) " that hearing the whiſtling of a ball, he threw him- " ſelf aſide to eſcape the blow, but he was ſo unfor- " tunate that he met the ball directly, and was kil- " led. Thus he procured himſelf the fulfilling of a " prediction, which perhaps would never have proved " true, if he had laughed at it, and not minded " it (34)." This Hiſtorian takes more care to relate ſuch things than I ſhould have thought.

(32) In the *Entretiens ſur la Cabale chimerique*, pag. 191.

(33) That is to ſay, when he was killed by a canon-ball before Epernai.

(34) *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 1024.

[*L*] *They relate a remarkable particular with regard to the ſtrong conſtitution of his ſtomach.*] Let us hear again Monſieur de Mezerai (35). " He had been at an " infinite number of ſieges of large towns, and in " bloody fights; he had had the chief command in " ſeven battles or conſiderable fights, and had re- " ceived as many wounds. And though he was quite " worn out with labour and blows, and was above " threeſcore and eight years old (36), yet he was of " ſo ſtrong a conſtitution, that when the Surgeons " opened him in order to embalm him, they did not " find the leaſt bit of meat in his ſtomach, though " he had been killed but one hour after his ſupper; " which is a ſign of a great natural heat, that could " complete the digeſtion in ſo ſhort a time (37)."

(35) Ibid.

(36) Davila, lib. 13. pag. 806, ſays, that he entered into his 65th year. D'Aubigné, tom. 3. pag. 368. gives him but 65 years.

(37) Dupleix, *Hiſt. de Henri IV*, pag. 93 ſays it was an hour after he had dined heartily, and that he was 58 years old.

GONTAUT (CHARLES DE) Duke of Biron, the ſon of the preceding, was one of the greateſt Captains of his time; but he laboured under a conſiderable defect, which was, that he uſed to ſpeak of his own feats with an inſufferable pride. He had learned very young the art of war under his father the Marſhal de Biron, who omitted nothing to advance him, and to make him appear worthy to be advanced [*A*]. In the year

[*A*] *His father... omitted nothing to advance him and to make him appear worthy to be advanced.*] In the year 1380 (1) he fell from his horſe and broke his thigh in two places, ſo that being lame he was obliged

(1) He was leading his army towards St. Iſle-en-Jourdain, four

leagues diſtant from Toulouſe. Dupleix, *Hiſt. de Henri III*, pag. 82.

year 1592 he obtained the poſt of Admiral of France, and having reſigned it in the year 1594, he was made a Marſhal of France and Governor of Burgundy. In the year 1598 the King erected the Barony of Biron into a Duchy and Peerdom, and ſent immediately the new Duke to Bruſſels at the head of a ſtately Embaſſy, to make the Archduke to ſwear to the treaty of the peace concluded at Vervins. He was ſent into Switzerland in January 1602 [B] in order to renew the alliance with the Cantons. The year before he had been in England with a compliment from the French King to Queen Elizabeth. This great Princeſs received him in the moſt ſolemn manner. What ſhe did on this occaſion has been related with ſome fabulous circumſtances [C]. The Marſhal-Duke de Biron's tragical end is known to all the world. He was beheaded July the 31ſt 1602, having

obliged to leave to others the command of his army; and as he would not diſoblige any of them that had a right to claim the command, he deſired them that they would themſelves chooſe a commander. They choſe his ſon who was but fifteen years old (2). Other Hiſtorians aſſert (3) that at the age of fourteen this ſame ſon was *Colonel of the Swiſs in Flanders, and ſoon after Camp-Marſhal, and then Marſhal-General.* But this cannot be reconciled with the account of others, who relate that his father, after the death of his eldeſt ſon, *ſtiled our Gontaut Baron of Biron, and brought him to Court, where he had immediately a quarrel with the Sieur de Carenci, the Count de la Vauguion's eldeſt ſon; this quarrel ended in a fight of three againſt three* in the year 1585; *Biron, Loignac, and Janiſſac on one ſide killed Carenci, d'Eſtiſſac, and la Baſtie. . . . The Duke of Epernon procured young Biron's pardon* (4). He had took him to Paris when he went to meet the King of Navarre (5). Young Biron's father *was afterwards Lieutenant General of the army in Poitou at the ſiege of Marans; and he gave* his ſon *the command over all his houſhold, and over his troop of* Gendarmes; *he even called him,* Monſieur le Baron, *who from that time began to be exceedingly proud and haughty* (6). Obſerve, that according to Victor Cayet he was ſixteen years old when his father the Marſhal de Biron took him from under his tutor (7). Obſerve alſo that this Marſhal loſt a ſon at the ſlaughter committed at Antwerp. This was no doubt his eldeſt ſon, ſince he had already ſome children (8), and ſince the Duke of Biron was not yet forty (9) when he was beheaded in the year 1602. It is very probable that Du Pleix and Peter Matthieu aſcribe to Charles de Gontaut what belongs to his brother.

(2) Dupleix, *Hiſt. de Henri III*, pag. 82.

(3) Pierre Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 5. pag. m. 218.

(4) Cayet, *Chronologie Septenaire*, folio 319 *verſo*.

(5) Ibid. folio 320 *verſo*.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. folio 309.

(8) F. Anſelme, pag. 197.

(9) Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 5. pag. m. 218.

The following paſſage will afford us a ſtronger proof ſtill. The Marſhal de Biron having a great authority after Henry IIIs death, *thought of nothing but raiſing the Baron of Biron to the higheſt poſts; tho' he was ſtill very young and had no experience, yet his father picked a quarrel with Monſieur de Dampierre Marſhal de Camp, and obliged him to reſign his place, which he procured to the Baron of Biron with the title of Marſhal de Camp General. And becauſe the young man was not acquainted with the functions of his employment, his father laboured for him night and day, and let him have the honour of it; which gained the Baron of Biron ſuch a reputation and credit in the army, that the Marſhal de Biron, his father, having been killed by a canon ball before Epernai, the King made the ſon Admiral; and Monſieur de Villars coming into the King's ſervice Biron reſigned his poſt of Admiral to him, and was made Marſhal of France* (10). It would be difficult to write a worſe ſtile in French than the Author does from whom I have borrowed theſe words; for we muſt continually gueſs, either by reaſoning, or by the help of hiſtory, to what perſon his *he's* relate. Let us cloſe this remark with a paſſage from Mezerai (11). *The Catholics did not lament* the Marſhal de Biron's *death ſo much as the King did, who grieved more for it than he had done for the loſs of any other perſon; and it would have been ſtill much more difficult for him to comfort himſelf, had he not hoped that the Baron of Biron having been inſtructed by his own father, would be capable to ſerve him as well, ſince he had all his father's ſkill and experience, though he was not yet acquainted with his artifice and dangerous maxims.*

(10) *Diſcours Hiſtorique de la Fortune & diſgrace des Favoris, depuis Francois I juſq' à Louis XIII* inſerted in the *Additions de le Laboureur aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 134. It has been ſince printed apart, under the title of, *Mémoires de M. de Bauvais Nangis.*

(11) *Hiſt. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 1026.

[B] *He was ſent into Switzerland in . . . . 1602.*] De Vic and Silleri had great trouble to ſettle the conditions on which the alliance was to be renewed; and when they imagined that they had overcome all the difficulties, they found that *all their labours were like to prove ineffectual through the practices of the Emiſſaries of Spain and Savoy.* But the Marſhal de Biron, who came to Soluthurn *with a great retinue and a ſtately equipage*, did happily conclude the Treaty. *His noble and generous way of living, his martial ſtyle, and the glory of his great actions, of which the Swiſs had ſo often been eye-witneſſes, had a great influence on that war-like Nation; and then the carts loaded with money, which ſoon followed him, completed the buſineſs, ... He crowned the feaſt with a ſumptuous entertainment, in which he wonderfully extolled the King's power, and the ſtrength of France. This was not one of the leaſt ſervices he did his maſter* (12).

(12) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronologique*, tom. 6. pag. 257, under the year 1602.

[C] *What* Queen Elizabeth *did on this occaſion has been related with ſome fabulous circumſtances.*] There are a thouſand Hiſtorians who aſſert, that ſhe affected to ſhew him the Earl of Eſſex's head, that ſhe might have an opportunity to acquaint him with the reaſons that obliged her to puniſh ſo ſeverely the rebellion of this ungrateful ſubject. They add that ſhe told him, the King of France would do well thus to puniſh all the traitors (13). Some ſay, that ſhe ſhewed him this rebel's head from the windows of her palace, others, that it was as they paſſed over London Bridge. Nothing of all this can be true, ſince the Queen continued at *Vignes* † all the time the Marſhal de Biron was in England. Dupleix (14) has refuted by this obſervation what ſo many Hiſtorians had aſſerted. Monſieur Leti refutes them by the ſame obſervation (15): But he is miſtaken when he ſays that Henry IV did not ſend Biron to London but after his return to Paris (16). He ſent him thither from Calais.

(13) Peter Matthieu, Cayet, &c. Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. 246. ſays, that ſhe ſhewed him the Earl of Eſſex's head, perhaps with ſome deſign. Thuanus, lib. 126. p. 943. ſays, that ſhe ſpoke to him thus as he was conſidering the heads fixed on ſtakes in the Tower of London.

† See below quotation (19).

(14) *Hiſt. de Henri IV*, pag. 300.

(15) *Hiſt. d'Elizabeth*, tom. 2. pag. 495.

(16) Ibid. pag. 485.

I do not pretend to deny, that Queen Elizabeth ſpoke thus with regard to the Earl of Eſſex; but inſtead of ſaying, that ſhe ſpoke thus, ſhewing the Earl's head to the Duke of Biron, we ſhould ſay, as le Grain does (17), that ſhe ſpoke to him in her cloſet pointing to the Earl's picture. It is a ſhame, that the accounts of the French, even thoſe which the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians of thoſe times publiſhed, ſhould abound with ſo many fabulous ſtories. Camden does juſtly laugh at what they ſay, that the Queen ſhewed the Earl of Eſſex's head to the Marſhal de Biron, that head having been buried with the corps. *Quod quidam Gallici Scriptores prodiderunt, eam cranium Eſſexii inter plura damnatorum, in intimo Larario, vel (ut alii ſcribunt) palo affixum Bironio & Gallis oſtentaſſe, ridicule vanum eſt. Illud enim una cum corpore conſepultum* (18). That is, "What ſome French Writers relate, that the Queen "ſhewed to Biron and to the French, the Earl of "Eſſex's head in her cloſet, or (as others pretend) "fixed on a ſtake, is an idle and ridiculous ſtory: "for that head was buried with the corps." He obſerves that the Queen was at that time at a country ſeat, which he calls *Baſingum.* Monſieur de Baſſompierre (19), who accompanied the Marſhal de Biron, calls it *Baſing:* we muſt therefore correct the word *Vignes* in Scipio Dupleix. He has committed a great many other blunders, which Monſieur de Baſſompierre does not forgive him. Here follows one of them: *The Queen*, ſays he, *gave our Frenchmen a royal entertainment; ſhe played upon the Spinet before them, and ſung at the ſame time.* This is refuted in the following words (20). "She gave no royal entertainment to "the French, ſhe only defrayed the expences of Monſ. "de Biron and his retinue, as long as he continued at "Laning (21). And Monſ. de Biron being one day at "Baſing, My Lord Corbain made him enter with five "or ſix of us through a back-door into her chamber, "to ſurprize her whilſt ſhe was ſinging."

(17) Le Grain, *Decade de Henri le Grand*, pag. m. 782.

(18) Camden, *Hiſt. Elizabeth.* Part 4. pag. m. 820. *ad ann.* 1601.

(19) Baſſompierre, *Obſervat. ſur Dupleix*, pag. 82.

(20) Ibid. pag. 83.

(21) A houſe near Baſing; it is called *Lawing* in the foregoing page.

having been engaged with the Duke of Savoy in a terrible conſpiracy againſt the State [D]. He behaved himſelf in the moſt paſſionate manner at the place of execution [E]. He was not yet forty years old (a). He was of an unbounded ambition, and though he had no Religion [F], yet he acted as a bigot in order to revive the Leaguers party [G]. He knew how to make uſe of the inſtruction his father gave him, that a warrior

(a) Matthieu, *Hiſtoire de la Paix*, liv. 4. pag. 218.

[D] *He was beheaded . . . having been engaged with the Duke of Savoy in a . . . conſpiracy againſt the State.*] This was not one of thoſe inconſiderable plots, which ſerve only to keep a Prince buſy at home, that he might not be at liberty to raiſe diſturbances in his neighbour's Dominions. It is pretended that the Duke of Savoye and Biron "agreed together to divide the whole "Kingdom of France, to erect as many different So-"vereignties in it as there are Provinces, and to put "all the petty Princes of them under the protection "of Spain. The Duke of Savoy would have taken "for his ſhare, if it had been in his power, the Lyon-"nois, Dauphiné, and Provence; Biron would have "had the Duchy of Burgundy, to which the Spaniards "would have added the Franche-Comté as a Dowry "for a daughter of their King, or for a daughter of "Savoy, one of whom they promiſed the Duke of "Biron in marriage (22)." This gives me an opportunity to obſerve how much the paſſions of Princes differ from thoſe of private perſons. There is no Nobleman but would think it a ſufficient reaſon for a great quarrel, if any of his neighbours ſhould intice his ſervants away from him, and perſuade them to betray their maſter. He would ſoon ſend a challenge, or at leaſt take the firſt opportunity to decide the quarrel ſword in hand. But Princes are content to puniſh the traytors, and continue to live with the ſeducer as they did before. Henry IV did gently put up this act of hoſtility of the Duke of Savoy; it did not occaſion any rupture between them, nor the leaſt miſunderſtanding as to outward appearances. See below (23) a paſſage from Brantome concerning the quarrels of great men (24).

(22) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. 237.

(23) In the Remark [I] of the article POITIERS.

(24) It is taken from pag. 329. of the 2d vol. of his *Dames Galantes.*

[E] *He behaved himſelf in the moſt paſſionate manner at the place of execution.*] All the Hiſtorians of that time give a full account of what he did and ſaid during his trial, and till the moment he was executed. I ſhall relate only what we read in a Letter from the Sieur Gillot to Scaliger (25). "You have heard of "the death of the Marſhal, who was ſentenced to be "executed publickly, but the King was pleaſed to "mitigate his ſentence ſo far as to order him to be "executed more privately in the Court of the *Baſtille*. "He would never confeſs any thing with regard to "his accomplices, nor more than was proved in his "tryal. He died very ill affected to his King and to "his Country; which he teſtified by praying to God "to have mercy on his ſoul and on the King's; then "he ſaid, *put on, put on, quick*; nor would he ſuffer "himſelf to be bound, ſwearing that with his teeth "he would ſtrangle the Executioner if he offered to "come near him; then he blindfolded himſelf with "his handkerchief, then he took it off again; ſwearing "and curſing all the while, and bidding men take "care not to raiſe his fury, for that he would deſtroy "half of them that were preſent; he deſired the "Muſqueteers, who were drawn up in the Court, to "ſhoot him; ſaying to them, is there not ſome good-"natured fellow amongſt you, who has the heart to "kill the Marſhal Biron, that theſe raſcals may not "put him to death? He complained to the Chancel-"lor himſelf of the ſeverity of his ſentence. In a "word, you may be ſure that it was very neceſſary "for France that he ſhould die, and I can ſafely ſay, "that he died like him of whom the Italian Poet ob-"ſerves,

(25) *Epitres Françoiſes à Scaliger*, pag. 248.

"*Biaſtemando ſe ne fuge l'alma con grand cordoglio,*
"*Come nel mondo viſſe pieno d'ira & d'orgoglio.*"

That is,

"His ſoul flew away with great difficulty, blaſphem-"ing all the time, as if he had lived in this world "full of pride and haughtineſs."

(26) Compare this with the following paſſage in Virgil.
Illi ſolvuntur frigore membra,
Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata ſub umbras.
Æneid. *lib. ultimo*, ver. 951.

Theſe Verſes are very much like thoſe we read at the end of the *Orlando Furioſo*.

Beſtemmiando fuggi l'alma ſdegnoſa
Che fu ſi altera al mondo, e ſi orgoglioſa (26).

That is,

"With blaſphemies did the ſcornful ſoul fly away,
"which had been ſo haughty and proud in this
"world."

When he knew that there was no hopes of pardon left, he fell into ſuch a violent paſſion againſt Henry IV, that the Hiſtorians thought it a crime to relate his words. "The Duke of Biron . . . . intirely over-"whelmed with grief and full of anger, took the op-"portunity of ſpeaking the firſt, and ſaid all that a "tongue governed with anguiſh could expreſs; up-"braiding the Chancellor with his ſeverity, and telling "him that he deſired to condemn rather than to clear "him: here he added ſome words, which it is unlaw-"ful to remember, and to relate them is a crime. But "Princes do not mind thoſe arrows, which being "darted againſt their Majeſty, do always ſtrike back "on thoſe who ſhot them (27)."

(27) Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 5. pag. 340.

[F] *Though he had no Religion . . .*] I ſhall quote upon this the following paſſage from Victor Cayet (28). "He did often ridicule all Religions whatſoever; and "his intimate friend the Baron de Luz telling him "once, that a Capuchin repreſented to his uncle the "Archbiſhop of Lyons, who lay at the point of death, "that when a wicked man could not be reclaimed, and "refuſed the Grace of the Holy Spirit, God uſed to "give him all kind of happineſs, to make him proſ-"per in all his undertakings, and to ſend him all "worldly contentment (29): The Marſhal anſwered, "I wiſh I were thus forſaken. There are a thouſand "ſuch ſtories told concerning his irreligion; but my "deſign is not to blacken his reputation by relating "them here." This Hiſtorian had obſerved in the foregoing page a circumſtance, which deſerves ſo much the more to be mentioned in this place, as it gives us to underſtand that Biron had been brought up in the Proteſtant Religion. Victor Cayet's words are as follow. "He uſed often to turn the Maſs into ridicule "and to laugh at thoſe of the pretended Reformed Re-"ligion, with whom he had been brought up in his "younger days: for when he was but a child of eight "years, Madam de Briſambourg (30), who was his "aunt by his father's ſide, and of the pretended Re-"formed Religion, finding that he was a briſk and "ingenious boy, took ſuch an affection for him, that "ſhe deſired his mother (who was her ſiſter-in-law) to "let him live with her; for they were both of the "ſame Religion. Her requeſt was granted: his mo-"ther ſuffered her to take him in order to bring him "up in that Religion; and from that time his aunt de "Briſambourg declared him her ſole heir. Now, ſhe "was very rich, becauſe ſhe had had three huſbands, "and no children by them; but they had given her "conſiderable dowries, and made her large preſents, "which were made over to young Biron for his own "uſe and diſpoſal." Camden relates that the Marſhal de Biron laughed at the religious ſentiments, with which the Earl of Eſſex died, as though ſuch a reſignation became only a Preacher, but not a ſoldier (31).

(29) There is *contentions* in Cayet, but it ſhould be *contentemens*, as Peter Matthieu has it, who relates the ſame fact in his 110th book, pag. m. 271.

(30) *Briſambourg* is ſituated near *St. Jean d'Angeli.*

(31) *Licet hanc pietatem ut miniſtelle quam viro bellicoſo dignioremBironus & alii prophani ſubſa-narent.* Camden. *in Annal.* Part. 4. pag. 805.

[G] *. . . Yet he acted as a bigot (α) in order to revive the Leaguers Party.*] Mezerai obſerves (32), *That after the loſs of Dourlens and Cambray, the Nobility and the army pitched upon him as the only perſon who could ſave the State: on his return from the ſiege of Amiens he had been intoxicated with the love which the inhabitants of Paris ſhewed for him; and when he went into Flanders to make the Archduke ſwear to the Articles of Peace, the Spaniards who knew how proud and ill-diſpoſed he was, loaded him with ſo many praiſes, that they filled his head with wind, and his heart with very wicked deſigns. From that time, and even before, he courted the favour of the populace, and affected ſuch a zeal for the Roman Catholick Religion, that he even wore a chaplet, and mixed with the Monks at their devout meetings, as tho' he deſigned to reſtore that League, which his own ſword had deſtroyed.* He remembered how much the infatuation of the inhabitants of Paris for

(32) *Abregé Chronolog.* tom. 6. pag. 209. under the year 1599.

warrior ought to prolong the war as long as he can, becauſe the Court has no occaſion for him in time of peace, and leaves him to live upon his own eſtate (*b*). It was from this principle that during the ſiege of Amiens he did not give all the neceſſary orders to prevent the ſupply which the Archduke intended to throw into that City. He would not have been ſorry that it had been relieved, becauſe this would have put off the concluſion of the peace. He could hardly bear that Henry the Great ſhould have any ſhare in the glory of his ſucceſsful undertakings, and he threatened the Hiſtorians who would not humour him in his pride [*H*]. I can hardly believe what ſome relate of his learning [*I*]. What is reported of his memory deſerves to be obſerved [*K*]. He received at firſt a Proteſtant education (*c*). He was a great gameſter (*d*), but he was not inclined to lewdneſs nor to other ſenſual pleaſures (*e*). Henry IV deſigned to make him his ſon-in-law,

(*b*) See a *Diſcours ſur les Favoris*, inſerted in the *Additions de la Laboureur aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 135.

(*c*) See the Remark [*F*].

(*d*) He loſt in one year above 500 thouſand crowns. Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. 270. under the year 1602.

(*e*) Cayet, *Chronol. Septenaire*, fol. 317.

for the Duke of Guiſe had ſupported that Lord's ambition, and how far it carried him. He knew that the chief reaſon of his fondneſs for the Duke was, that he laboured to exterminate the Proteſtants. Biron therefore imagined, that in order to become the darling of the inhabitants of Paris, it was proper for him to ſtrengthen by an affectation of bigotry the impreſſions, which his great courage had made on the minds of the Citizens of that populous city. It was for that reaſon, that he pretended to hate the Huguenots. I ſhall tranſcribe here the following part of the Sieur Gillot's Letter, which I have already quoted (33). *I muſt tell you, that it was the true ſpirit of the Leaguers, and a mere* Catholicon. *He had promiſed upon oath, that he would never ſee an Huguenot, nor ſpeak, nor converſe with any, nor admit any at his houſe: and to keep his word, he refuſed to ſee his own mother, when he went to his native place; and he diſmiſſed all the ancient ſervants of his father and his own,* Sacramento illo obligatus, *having promiſed it upon oath to the Count de Fuentes.*

(33) *Epitres Françoiſes à Scaliger*, pag. 249.

* (α) This would have been a proper place for the comical account concerning *Monſieur de St. Biron*, which we read in the *Confeſſion de Sancy*, B. 2. ch. 8. CRIT. REM.]

[*H*] *He could hardly bear that Henry the Great ſhould have any ſhare in the glory of his ſucceſsful undertakings, and he threatened the Hiſtorians, who would not humour him in his pride.*] There was a jealouſy between this King and the Marſhal de Biron. The King would not always own that the Marſhal deſerved the glory he aſcribed to himſelf, and uſed to ſpeak his mind freely before the Duke of Savoye (34), who by a very malicious artifice uſed to make the converſation run upon thoſe ſubjects, that he might have an opportunity to report things proper to exaſperate the Marſhal (35); who, when he heard them, *uſed to fall into ſuch a violent paſſion as made him utter the moſt diſreſpectful words againſt the duty and ſervice he owed the King . . . he made very rough and inconſiderate anſwers; for nothing vexed him ſo much as the ſtrokes levelled againſt his reputation with regard to courage, which he valued more than any thing in the world; and when he happened to relate the hiſtory of his own life, he uſed to ſlander every one, without ſparing the King himſelf* (36), to whom he ſaid ſometimes (37), that *he would not ſuffer the Hiſtorians of France ſhould ſay any thing, but that he himſelf had done ſuch or ſuch a thing* (38). Having ſeen a Diſcourſe of Peter Matthieu *concerning the cauſes and effects of the long wars between the Houſes of France and Auſtria, and imagining that the Author did not mention him ſo often nor ſo honourably as he wiſhed,* he complained of it *to the Chancellor de Bellievre, and diſcovered his reſentment more openly ſtill to De Vic, who was ſent Embaſſador into Switzerland, adding to his paſſionate complaints the moſt cruel threatnings* againſt the Author (39).

(34) During the time that Duke continued at the Court of France in the year 1600.

(35) Pierre Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 3. pag. m. 449.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Ibid. pag. 452.

(38) Theſe words were ſpoken and heard at the ſiege of Amiens, Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 3. pag. 452.

(39) Ibid. liv. 4. pag. 388.

Obſerve that there was in his character a kind of ambition perfectly like that of Achilles. This Hero of Homer would not ſuffer any other Greek to ſhoot at Hector; he would have alone the glory to kill him.

Λαοῖσιν δ' ἀνέντυε καρήατι δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
Οὐδ' εἴα ἔμμεναι ἐπὶ Ἕκτορι πικρὰ βελέμνα,
Μήτις κῦδος ἄροιτο βαλὼν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔλθοι (40).

(40) Homer, *Iliad.* lib. 22. ver. 205. pag. m. 639.

Notwithſtanding Homer's authority the ancients have been of opinion, that this character of Achilles is to be blamed. Here follows what Plutarch tells us (41). *Even Achilles is juſtly condemned, who acted not as a wiſe man, but as a raſh and hot-headed young fellow, tranſported with ambition, when he made ſigns to the Greeks in the heat of the battle, and bid them not to aim at Hector, leſt another ſhould rob him of that honour, and he ſhould come too late.*

(41) Plutarch. *in Pompeio*, pag. 634. according to Amiot's tranſlation.

[*I*] *I can hardly believe what ſome relate of his learning.*] Balzac tells us a very curious particular (42), which is as follows. " To the two Frenchman, I have " already quoted (43), I ſhall add a third, whom I " forgot to mention; you would never gueſs who he " is: I mean the late Marſhal de Biron, that blood-" thirſty man, of whom Torquato Taſſo ſays, under " the character of Argante,

" *Impatiente, ineſſorabil, fiero,*
" *Ne l'arme infatigabile & invitto, &c.*
That is.
" Impatient, inexorable, proud, in war indefatigable, " and invincible.

(42) Balzac, *Entretien* 4. towards the end, pag. m. 72, 73.

(43) He had mentioned in pag. 71. Monſ. de Givri, and Monſ. d'Urfé, who had been eloquent and learned, and wrote well both in proſe and in verſe.

" One of our friends, who was acquainted with " him, wrote of him in the following words. The " King ſent the Marſhal de Biron Embaſſador to Queen " Elizabeth, and called him in his Credentials, *the* " *ſharpeſt inſtrument of his victories.* The Marſhal ac-" quitted himſelf worthily of his functions, for he had " no leſs wit than courage. It has been obſerved in " another place, that in order to comply with the " ſtupidity of the world, he endeavoured to paſs for " a rude and unpolite man: but it is certain that be-" ſides his natural talents, he had alſo acquired ſome " learning: Which appeared once at Freſne, where " the King walking in a gallery, aſked ſome of the " Maſters of the Requeſts the ſenſe of a Greek Verſe, " which was ingraved on a piece of marble: as they " could not explain it, he gave the ſenſe of it, and " then went out, being aſhamed that he ſhould know " more than the Maſters of the Requeſts at that time." I am almoſt perſuaded that the ſon has been here miſtaken for the father; for as the father loved reading, and delighted to converſe with learned men, and, if he heard any thing remarkable, uſed to ſet it down in his pocket-book, it was he, probably, who found in his pocket-book the ſenſe of the Greek Verſe, and gave it. I will not, however, be poſitive: you will find in the following Remark a circumſtance which makes me doubtful. Monſieur de Perefixe (44) aſſerts, that Biron the ſon *was very ignorant, but exceedingly fond of the Predictions of Aſtrologers, Soothſayers, Geomancers, and other impoſtors.* Let us obſerve by the by, that Monſieur Balzac does not act here with a ſufficient candour; he makes uſe of an artifice which is common with vain-glorious Authors: he dares not to name the Author from whom he tranſcribes, and hopes that this ſilence will make the Reader imagine, that he has borrowed what he ſays from a Book unknown to the reſt of the world: and yet it is taken from a very common Book, I mean, from Aubigné's Hiſtory (45). I have made in another place (46) an obſervation of the ſame kind.

(44) *Hiſtoire de Henri le Grand*, pag. m. 374.

(45) Tom. 3. liv. 5. chap. 12. pag. 668, 669.

[*K*] *What is reported of his memory deſerves to be obſerved.*] I have related above that he was brought up by the Lady de Briſambourg, his aunt by his father's ſide. I ſhall add in this place, that *he had not the leaſt inclination for learning, but always loved arms; wherefore his father the Marſhal de Biron, who was a martial man, and a Roman Catholick, ſent for him from his aunt, and took him for ſome time with him, in his journey through the Provinces of Saintonge, Aulnis, and Angoulmois, and had him brought up in the Roman Catholick*

(46) In the Remark [*C*] of the Article CAVALCANTE towards the end.

in-law [*L*], and boaſted, they ſay, that he had ſaved his life [*M*]. I ſhall take notice only of two blunders of Moreri [*N*].

Catholick Religion. . . . Charles de Biron therefore, who in his youth, and till the age of ſixteen years, had been incapable of learning, acquired ſuch a knowledge in the art of war, that he found nothing impoſſible for him; his father alſo delighted in it: and it has been obſerved as a wonderful thing in Biron the ſon, that having ſtudied Hiſtory at Briſambourg, under one Manduca, a learned man born at Malta, (though at that time he did not in the leaſt improve in it) yet he has afterwards related ſeveral examples, and given an account of all kinds of hiſtories, in an admirable manner, though naturally he was not a great talker (47).

(47) Cayet, *Chronol. Septenaire*, folio 319.

[*L*] *Henry IV deſigned to make him his ſon in-law.*] I have read this in the Additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, and I imagine that my Readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here a conſiderable paſſage from them, which abounds with curious particulars (48). "If "the Duke de Biron did not conſpire againſt his perſon (49), it cannot be denied that he conſpired a- "gainſt the State, and that he had agreed to diſ- "member it, and to make it a prey for the King of "Spain and for the Duke of Savoy his pretended "father-in-law. The King was ſo much the more "exaſperated againſt him for this treaſon, that he "loved him to ſuch a degree, as to chooſe him for his "ſon-in-law, and deſigned to marry him to his "daughter Catherine Henrietta, who was afterwards "Ducheſs of Elbœuf, in order the better to ſecure his "Crown to the Duke of Vendoſme, whom he pre- "tended to legitimate by marrying the Ducheſs of "Beaufort. Soon after the death of this Lady, who "was his miſtreſs, he declared his deſign to the Sieur "du Vair, then Counſellor of State, after he had be- "wailed his loſs to him; and he obliged him freely to "give him his opinion of that deſign. *Sir*, anſwered "du Vair, *if your Majeſty were a Duke of Tuſcany, of "Mantua, or of Urbino* (he ſpoke thus becauſe Italy "abounds with inſtances of cruelty, eſpecially in the "eſtabliſhment of ſovereign Princes, which in the be- "ginning was always tyrannical,) *I ſhould think "that by deſtroying all your relations and their friends, "you might raiſe your baſtard children to the throne. "But as you are King of France, and a mild Prince; "deſirous to live as your predeceſſors have done, you run "the hazard of ruining the whole State, and perhaps of "loſing your life. You are miſtaken, replied the King, "the French uſe themſelves to every thing.* The King, "finding it was now out of his power to make the "Duke of Vendoſme reign, reſolved to make him the "greateſt man in the Kingdom, and perſiſted in the "reſolution to make the Duke of Biron his ſon-in- "law; but whether Biron did not think it an advan- "tage conſiderable enough for him, or was ſorry to "find himſelf obliged by authority to conſent to a "match, by which he could no longer gratify his "ambition, he fooliſhly flattered himſelf with the "hopes of marrying the Duke of Savoy's daughter, "who by her father and mother deſcended from King "Francis I, and Charles V. The ſame Sieur du "Vair, on his return to Court from Provence through "Dijon, had a long converſation with the Duke de "Biron's Secretary, and told him that he was ſurpriz- "ed, a great Lord of his age, and who had ſuch con- "ſiderable employments, ſhould not marry: upon "which Biron's Secretary gave du Vair ſome hints of "his maſter's deſigns by the following anſwer. Theſe "great Lords, ſaid he, aim at ſomething ſo high, "that they come quite to forget themſelves. And in- "deed the Duke of Biron was of a proud and haughty "ſpirit, almoſt intractable, he thought of nothing but "things difficult and hardly poſſible: he was jealous "of the greatneſs of others, and envied the Duke of "Montmorency his office of Conſtable, and his envy "extended even to Louiſa de Budos the Conſtable's "wife; ſo that he made propoſals of marriage to "her, even during her huſband's life, thinking that "he was to ſucceed him in his poſt (50), and every "thing was already ſettled between them, but fate diſ- "appointed them; for they both died in the flower "of their age, amidſt their grand deſigns, and the "Conſtable ſurvived them.

(48) Le Laboureur, *Additions aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 132.

(49) That is to ſay, againſt the perſon of Henry IV.

(50) The Author of the *Diſcours hiſtorique de la fortune & diſgrace des Favoris*, inſerted in the *Additions aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau*, ſpeaks thus in pag. 135. This King in order to reward the ſervices of the ſaid Marſhal, made him a Duke and Peer, and gave him a very large penſion, and waited only for the Conſtable's death, who was very old, to give him his poſt.

[*M*] . . . . *and boaſted that he had ſaved his life.*] I have read this in an Hiſtory of Henry the Great written by G. Soffi. This Author makes him ſay (51): "Though I am a King, yet I ſaved one of my ſol- "diers life: If I had not come to his aſſiſtance, he "had been killed before my eyes: I have ſeen this "brave Warrior turn his back to the enemy. It is "certain, that what the King ſaid was ſufficiently "known. As they were purſuing Farneſe, who made "his retreat, there happened to be a fight of the horſe "on both ſides, upon the borders; the enemy reco- "vering his ſtrength attacked Biron, and ran his horſe "through with a ſpear. At the rencounter near Fon- "taine Françoiſe, Biron already greatly wounded, re- "ceived a terrible blow on his head, ſo that he could "hardly ſee, the blood running over his eyes." The King delivered him on theſe two dangerous occaſions. Peter Matthieu relates this more clearly. "He "has ſerved me well, *ſaid the King*, but he cannot "deny that I ſaved his life three times. I delivered "him out of the enemy's hands at Fontaine Françoiſe; "when he was ſo wounded and ſo ſtunned with the "blow he received, that as I had done the office of a "ſoldier to ſave him, I was alſo obliged to do the office "of a Marſhal in the retreat, for he told me that he "was not in a condition to do it, nor to ſerve me (52)." Here follows what we find in the margin of that Hiſtory. "During the fight at Fontaine Françoiſe, the King "delivered the Marſhal de Biron from the vollies of "muſquet-balls; one of his Majeſty's ſervants told "him upon this, that it was too dangerous for him "thus to venture amongſt the enemies. I know it, "replied the King, but if I do not do it, if I do not "advance, the Marſhal de Biron will reproach me "with it all his life time."

(51) Liv. 4. pag. m. 462.

(52) Matthieu, *Hiſt. de la Paix*, liv. 4, pag. m. 286.

[*N*] *I ſhall take notice only of two blunders of Moreri.*] He aſſerts, that the Barony of Biron was not erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom but after the Marſhal's return from his Embaſſy in England. This is not true (53); for this Barony was erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom about three years before this Embaſſy. He adds that *the Sieur Biron having loſt the poſt of Admiral, and having ſome trifling reaſons of diſcontent*, conſpired againſt the State. This alſo is falſe; for he had voluntarily reſigned his poſt of Admiral in the year 1594, and had been abundantly recompenſed for it.

(53) This blunder is in F. Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, pag. 211.

GONZAGA (CECILIA) muſt be reckoned amongſt the moſt virtuous and moſt learned maidens that lived in the fifteenth Century. She made a wonderful progreſs in the *Belles Lettres* under Victorine de Feltri; for if I am not miſtaken we muſt underſtand of her what we read in one of Ambroſe of Camaldoli's books [*A*]. Her mother Paula

[*A*] *We muſt underſtand of her what we read in one of Ambroſe of Camaldoli's books.*] Read his *Hodœporicon*, you will find there (1), that Victorinus Feltrius taught polite literature at Mantua with great reputation, and inſtructed the children of the Lord of that place. This Lord was John Francis Gonzaga. He had a daughter about eight years old who could read and write, and knew already the declenſions and conjugations of the Greek tongue, as ſhe ſhewed it before the very learned Ambroſe, General of the Camaldoli, when he paſſed through Mantua in the year 1432. *Principis filiam octo ferme annorum ita imbuerat* (Victorinus Feltrius) *ut legeret jam & ſcriberet, Græcaque & nomina & verba inoffenſe declinaret, non ſine admiratione noſtra.* Theſe are Ambroſe's words in the account of his journey, that is to ſay, of the viſitation he made of ſeveral Convents of the Order of which he was General. What I ſhall now relate muſt be referred, I think, to a later voyage. I tranſcribe it from Monſieur Joly (2). *What is obſerv-*

(1) In pag. 34.

(2) Joly, *Avis Chrétiens & moraux pour l'Inſtitution des Enfans*, pag. 347, 348.

ed

Paula Malateſta, a Lady illuſtrious for her virtue, learning, and beauty, inſpired her with a contempt for the world [B], and perſuaded her to be a Nun. She was conſtant in this reſolution, notwithſtanding all that could be urged againſt it. Cecilia made a ſpeech to her father who would not ſuffer her to take the reſolution never to marry, and ſhe proved by very good arguments the reaſonableneſs of that deſign (a). I have obſerved in another place (b) what ſhe was adviſed to read when ſhe was become a Nun. Monſieur Joly has made a few blunders [C].

(a) See the Remark [B] quotation (7).

(b) In the article CONRARUS.

GONZAGA

* *Lib.* 3. *hiſtoriar. Camaldulenſ. cap.* 24. *Autore Auguſtino Florentino Monacho Camaldulenſi, edit. Florentiæ* 1575, in 4to.

† The Author of this Hiſtory obſerves, that Ambroſe had related this in the 35th of his Epiſtles.

‡ Adfuit puella quoque Principis filia, decennis fermè, Græcè adeo ſcribens eleganter, ut tantundem in quolibet à ſe erudito homine Ambroſius deſideravit.

(3) The Lords of Mantua were not yet ſtiled Dukes at that time; they have had that title only ſince the year 1530.

(4) Pag. m. 749.

ed of another maiden, in the Life of Ambroſe * General of the Order of Camaldoli, *is much more remarkable. Ambroſe being ſent by Pope Eugene IV to the Council of Baſil, went to a caſtle named Gorda, ſituated in the territories of Mantua, where he met with two children, the one a boy of fourteen, who repeated before him two hundred verſes, which he had compoſed and delivered them with ſuch a grace* †, *that he did not think Virgil had better delivered the ſixth book of his Æneid before Auguſtus: we are not told who this boy was. But we have the following account of the girl* ‡. The daughter alſo of the Prince (*that is to ſay of the Duke* (3) *of Mantua*) appeared before them, a girl about ten years old, who wrote Greek ſo elegantly, that Ambroſe could not deſire a better ſtyle in any learned man.

I do eaſily believe that the ſame girl is meant in the accounts of theſe two journeys, and that ſhe is the perſon who is the ſubject of this Article.

Obſerve that Victorine of Feltri was a very famous man; ſee what Leander Albertus ſays of him in his Deſcription of Italy (4). *Illuſtrarunt Feltrium ingenia quædam nobilia nominatim Victorinus memoria noſtrorum avorum linguæ Latinæ, quæ tam diu perierat, reductor ac inſtaurator.* i. e. "The illuſtrious city of Feltri has "produced ſome eminent men, and particularly Victo- "rine, who in the time of our grandfathers re- "vived and reſtored the Latin tongue, which was "loſt."

[B] *Paula Malataſta . . . . illuſtrious for her virtue . . . . inſpired her with a contempt for the world.*] Leander Albertus commends her very much, and aſſerts that ſhe was loaded with praiſes by all the Authors that lived in her time. *Paula Franciſci primi Gonzagæ Mantuani Marchionis conjux, non ſolum excellenti formæ pulchritudine (venuſtiſſima quippe totius Italiæ habebatur) ſed etiam multis virtutibus, literis, prudentia, ſanctitateque decorata* (5). i. e. "Paula, the "ſpouſe of Francis Gonzaga the firſt of that name "Marquiſs of Mantua, was not only exceedingly "beautiful (being eſteemed the moſt handſome woman "in all Italy) but alſo adorned with a great many "eminent qualities, with learning, prudence, and "piety." Speaking in another place of the ſame Francis Gonzaga, who had been raiſed to the dignity of Marquiſs of Mantua by the Emperor Sigiſmund September the 22d 1433, he ſays, *Uxorem habuit lectiſſimam fœminam, religione, ſapientia, pudicitia, literiſque decoratam Paulam Malateſtam, ab omnibus illorum temporum ſcriptoribus ob ſingulares virtutes mirificè laudatam* (6). i. e. "He had a very di- "ſtinguiſhed ſpouſe, Paula Malateſta, who was a- "dorned with piety, wiſdom, modeſty, and learn- "ing, and who for her eminent qualities has been ce- "lebrated by all the writers of that time." Who would not have commended ſuch an incomparable woman? ſhe paſſed for the moſt beautiful Lady in all Italy, and yet ſhe deſpiſed all the ornaments of the body; and as ſhe ſpent nothing in jewels or fineries, ſhe knew how to employ her money in building or repairing Churches, in nouriſhing the poor, in giving portions to young maidens to marry them, &c. She inſpired our Cecilia with the ſame ſentiments, as we learn from Matthew Boſſus in the following paſſage (7). *Habuit Mantua Paulam Gonzagam illuſtrem fœminam univerſa Italia celeberrimam, quam ſi dixero corporis cultum contempſiſſe, omnem ſuam rem in ædificandis inſtaurandiſque delubris, in pauperum Chriſti neceſſitatibus, in locandis nuptuique tradendis virginibus, quæ quidem maxima ſunt, erogaſſe, ſi nihil unquam illam omiſiſſe, quod ad veram humilitatem, culmenque virtutis conducat, ſi omnis denique ingenioli mei vires in ejus laudibus expendam, parum dixiſſe me profecto ſemper agnoſcam. Primam Paulam, cujus modo mentionem fecimus* (8), *imitata Cæciliam virginem ſuam filiam literarum peritiſſimam ſuo educatu, ſuaque imitatione ad tantam ſæcularium ornamentorum, ut ita dixerim, nauſeam perduxit, & ad religionem inflammavit, ut apud patrem primum Mantuæ Marchionem vincere ejus propoſitum cupientem, cauſam conſtantiſſimè agere non ſit verita.* i. e. "There was at Mantua Paula Gon- "zaga an illuſtrious Lady, famous over all Italy: if "I ſhould ſay that ſhe deſpiſed all bodily ornaments, "that ſhe ſpent all her income in building or re- "pairing Churches, in providing for Chriſt's poor, "in giving portions to maidens that they might mar- "ry; if I ſhould ſay, that ſhe never omitted any "thing that related to a real humility, or conduced "to the higheſt degree of virtue; if I ſhould exert "the whole power of the little wit I have, to com- "mend her, I ſhould ſtill own that I had not ſaid "enough. She imitated the ancient Paula, whom I "mentioned before, and by her education and her "own example ſhe inſpired her moſt learned daugh- "ter with ſuch a diſguſt, if I may ſay ſo, for all "worldly ornaments, and inflamed her with ſuch a "zeal for a religious life, that ſhe did not ſcruple to "aſſert her cauſe courageouſly againſt her father, the "firſt Marquiſs of Mantua, who would diſſuade her "from her deſign (of being a Nun)." Theſe words are taken from a Diſcourſe which Matthew Boſſus (9) directed to Cardinal Beſſarion, to perſuade him not to ſuffer, that the Ladies of Bologna ſhould uſe their ornaments again.

(5) Leander Albertus, *Deſcriptio Italiæ*, pag. 456.

(6) Idem, ibid. pag. 608.

(7) *Matthæus Boſſus de immoderato Mulierum Cultu*, pag. m. 327.

(8) He had mentioned a little before Paula, the mother of Bleſilla and Euſtochium, who are ſo much celebrated in St. Jerom's works.

[C] *Monſieur Joly has made a few blunders.*] Let us not abridge his diſcourſe; a great number of perſons will be glad to find here what I might otherwiſe omit. *If we duly conſider thoſe times*, ſays he (10), *we ſhall find that they abounded more with learned women than any other times, though ignorance was then very great amongſt the men; for towards the end of the fifteenth Century we meet with Paula Gonzaga daughter of the Marquiſs of Mantua, and a Nun, with Baptiſta, the widow of the Lord of Arimini, with the daughters of John Feruffini a Civilian of Milan; their mother Margaret took as much care to make them learn the Greek and Latin tongues, as Thomas More afterwards did with regard to his daughters; with Iſota Nogarola of Verona, of whom Cardinal Beſſarion, who went on purpoſe to viſit her, ſaid,* that ſhe was a virgin divine rather than human *; *with Volante, the widow of the Prince of Ceſena, and afterwards a Nun of the Order of St. Francis. All theſe are mentioned by Matthew Boſſus* †, *who alſo was of Verona, and a regular Canon of St. Auſtin.* There is more than one error in this aſſertion, that the learned Lady, named Paula, whom Matthew Boſſus mentions, lived *towards the end of the fifteenth Century*, and that ſhe was the Marquiſs of Mantua's daughter and a Nun. She was of the Houſe of Malateſta. And ſince her huſband was the firſt Marquiſs of Mantua (11) ſhe muſt not be placed in the end of the fifteenth Century; for this Marquiſs died in the year 1444 (12), after he had had ſeveral children by her. If it were true that he married her in the year 1410, as Monſieur de Marolles aſſerts (13), Monſieur Joly's blunder would be more viſible ſtill. Add to this, that Matthew Boſſus obſerves, that ſhe perſuaded her daughter Cecilia to be a Nun; he does not ſay, that Paula being a widow, entered into a Nunnery. I have not this Author's letters; I cannot therefore determine whether or not he ſays in them, that Baptiſta had been married to the Lord of Arimini; I only know that he does not ſay it in the other work quoted by Monſieur Joly. I know beſides that ſhe was of the Houſe of Malateſta, who ruled at Arimini (14). However it be, I am very certain that this Lady had a great credit in that City; for her example, her exhortations, and her orders, obliged the women of Arimini to dreſs in a modeſt manner, and to leave off the long trains of their gowns. Such a reformation is not the work of a Lady whoſe authority and merit are but

(9) He was of Verona, and a Regular Canon. I have given an Article of him.

(10) Joly, *Voyage de Hollande*, pag. 163, 164.

* See the *Dames illuſtres de la Coſte*, pag. 721.

† *In* Recuperationib. Fæſulanis, ad Beſſarion. Card. de honeſto Cultu fœminarum. *It. Ep.* 3. & 101.

(11) Boſſus aſſerts it in the words I have cited above, quotation (7).

(12) Volater. lib. 4. pag. 113. Leand. Albertus, *Deſcr. Ital.* pag. 608. There is an error in the account of the latter. He quotes an Inſcription, by which it appears, that this Marquiſs was about 12 years old in March 1407. (Volater. lib. 4. pag. 123. makes him 14 years old) Then he places his death under the year 1444, October the 23d, and makes him live 54 years. The Abbot de Marolles, *Mémoires*, tom. 1. pag. 427. agrees with him in theſe two numbers.

(13) Marolles, *Mémoires*, tom. 1. pag. 427.

(14) *Fuit & Baptiſta ſingularis formæ, ſapientiæ, honeſtatis ac eruditionis mulier.* Leand. Albertus, *Deſcrip. Italiæ*, pag. 456. i. e. "Baptiſta "was alſo a woman of a great "beauty, wiſdom, chaſtity, "and learning."

GONZAGA (ELEONORA) the daughter of Francis II, Marqueſs of Mantua, and wife of Francis-Maria de la Rovere Duke of Urbino [*A*] in the ſixteenth Century, was illuſtrious for her eminent qualities. She ſhewed a great conſtancy in her misfortunes, and a great moderation in her proſperity. She always loved her huſband, and was his faithful companion in his adverſity [*B*]; but *ſhe loved chaſtity above all other virtues*, as appears by her ſeverity againſt lewd women [*C*]. She had five children, two ſons and three daughters. Guy-Ubaldo de la Rovere, her eldeſt ſon, was Duke of Urbino; her ſecond ſon was Duke of Sore and Cardinal. Hippolyta her eldeſt daughter was married to Anthony of Aragon Duke of Montalto; Juſta her ſecond daughter married Alfonſo d'Eſte Marquiſs of Montecchio; Iſabella the youngeſt of all was married to Alberic Cibo Prince of Maleſpina, and Marquiſs of Maſſa (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Hilarion deCoſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 544, &c.

but indifferent: It is one of the greateſt undertakings a perſon can reſolve upon. However it be, let us ſee at length the beautiful Elogium, which Matthew Boſſus wrote on this Chriſtian Heroine. *Baptiſtam inſignem Ariminenſe ſolum habuit, ſingulari humilitate, pariter & literarum ſtudiis præditam, quæ adeo animi ornamenta corporalibus prætulit, ut nihil unquam prætermiſiſſe viſa ſit, quod ad principis aut præſentis aut futuræ decus & ornamentum ullo pacto potuerit attinere. At cæteris ſuis rebus geſtis omiſſis, invenio illam etiam vivente viro nedum humili habitu inceſſiſſe, verùm cætera concives & populares hortatu ſuo imperioque temperatiſſimis ornamentis, breviſſimiſque veſtium caudis uſas fuiſſe* (15). i. e. "At Arimini lived the celebrated Baptiſta, a Lady "diſtinguiſhed both by her ſingular humility, and "by her learning; ſhe did ſo much prefer the ornaments of the mind before thoſe of the body, that "ſhe never omitted any thing that might ſerve to promote the preſent or future glory of a Princeſs. But "paſſing over her other actions, I find that even during the life of her ſpouſe, ſhe not only dreſſed in a "very modeſt manner, but by her example and by "her authority obliged all the other women, who "lived in the ſame city with her, to dreſs modeſtly, "and to wear gowns with very ſhort trains." Volaterranus has (16) mentioned this Lady's learning, and obſerves that Leonard Aretine and ſeveral other learned men dedicated Books to her. Obſerve that I do not pretend to deny that there ever was a Nun called Paula Gonzaga; I only aſſert, that Matthieu Boſſus has not mentioned her. He was dead before ſhe entered into a Nunnery. She lived only in the XVIth Century: I met with no Author that commends her but only as a very religious Nun. See Hilarion de Coſte, in page 707 of the firſt volume of his *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, where he obſerves that there has been ſome deſign to canonize her.

(15) Matthæus Boſſus, *de immoderato Cultu fœminarum*, pag. 327.

(16) Volaterran. *Comment. Urban.* lib. 6. pag. 203.

[*A*] *She was the wife of Francis Maria de la Rovere.*] He was Pope Julius II's nephew, and the ſon of that John de la Rovere, to whom Sixtus IV gave the Principalities of Sore and Sinigaglia, and who married Jane di Monteſeltro the daughter of Frederic di Montefeltro Duke of Urbino. Our Francis Maria, born of this marriage, became Duke of Urbino after the death of Guy-Ubaldo di Montefeltro his uncle by his mother's ſide, who died without iſſue (1).

(1) *See* Leander Albertus, *Deſcript. Ital.* pag. m. 445.

[*B*] . . . *And was his faithful companion in his adverſity.*] Leo X, having made his nephew Laurence de Medicis Duke of Urbino, deprived Francis Maria de la Rovere of this Dutchy. This is the time of adverſity, when *Eleonora ſhewed ſuch a conſtancy under the misfortunes of her huſband, and the heavy ſtrokes of fortune under which he laboured, when he was for ſome time deprived of his dominions. This never made her forſake her uſual generoſity, nor act againſt the duty ſhe owed her huſband: ſhe was his conſtant companion, and comforted him in his adverſity, which like a woman of honour, ſhe would always ſhare with him* (2). He was reſtored to the Dutchy of Urbino after the death of Laurence de Medicis (3). The huſband died in the year 1538 (4). Paul Jovius commends him very much (5).

(2) Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 545.

(3) Leand. Albert. *Deſcript. Ital.* pag. 445.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Paulus Jovius, *Elog. bellic. Virtut. Illuſtr.* lib. 6. pag. m. 497.

[*C*] *Her love for chaſtity appears by her ſeverity againſt lewd women.*] "For ſhe would never receive "at her houſe, nor have the leaſt familiarity with "thoſe Ladies of birth and quality, againſt whom "there had been the leaſt rumour or ſuſpicion, that they "had tainted the honour of their ſex by a diſſolute "life; and ſhe was a mortal enemy to all thoſe, who "had indulged themſelves in the ſhameful pleaſures of "laſciviouſneſs, having baniſhed ſeveral of them from "her territories, and cauſed thoſe old proſtitutes "to be ſeverely puniſhed, who having loſt all ſhame, "modeſty, reputation and conſcience in their youth, "think of nothing elſe night and day, in their old "age, but how they may ruin the young and ſimple "virgins, who have no knowledge of the world yet. "She alſo deſerves an immortal glory for the care ſhe "took to deliver at her own expence all thoſe innocent and deluded doves from the clutches of thoſe "ravenous beaſts, and to conſecrate them to the Altar "(in Nunneries) where they have ſince been virtuous "to a wonder (6)." This was performing effectually the duties of a virtuous Princeſs: ſhe had not performed them well, had ſhe only been faithful to her huſband. This may be ſufficient for a private woman, but not for thoſe that are raiſed to a high ſtation: They are under an unavoidable obligation, to give ſuch glaring proofs of their indignations againſt all diſſolute women, as to caſt a public diſgrace upon them. This diſgrace is a much more powerful motive to a regular life, than all the Sermons of the moſt eloquent Preachers; and it is certain that the diſorders, which are produced by the diſſolute lives of the women is a blemiſh in the character of a ſovereign Princeſs, though ſhe be never ſo virtuous herſelf. For if ſhe would baniſh from her intimacy all the women, who have a bad reputation, if ſhe would refuſe them her palace, if, at leaſt, ſhe would mortify them by a cold reception, and by ſome cenſures, whilſt ſhe ſhewed a great friendſhip and eſteem for the modeſt women, this would infallibly procure a reformation of morals. Whence we may infer, that when diſſoluteneſs appears boldly, it is a ſign that the chief Lady of the place does not make any diſtinction, at leaſt as to outward appearances, between them that give a handle to ſlander, and them that live with modeſty and chaſtity. See what has been obſerved in another place (7). This connivance, you will ſay, is owing, not to a want of zeal for the propagation of chaſtity, but to a certain ſweetneſs of temper, which does not ſuffer a Princeſs, to ſtem the tide with all the ſtrength that is requiſite: I grant it; but though you ſhould never ſo much urge this excuſe, I ſhall always maintain, that this remiſsneſs, or if you will, this ſweetneſs of temper is a very great defect on ſuch occaſions.

(6) Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 546, 547.

(7) In the remark [*M*] of the article LEWIS XII.

GONZAGA (ISABELLA), the wife of Guy-Ubaldo di Montefeltro (*a*) Duke of Urbino, deſerves to be ranked amongſt the moſt illuſtrious Ladies. One of her Panegyriſts ſtiles her a woman, *who for her good nature, uprightneſs, conſtancy, and nobility, was rather divine than human* (*b*). She was of a wonderful chaſtity; but there are ſome particulars related of her in that reſpect, which ſeem to be fabulous; for it is aſſerted, that after ſhe had lain two years with her huſband, who all that while performed nothing of what is called conjugal duty, ſhe was nevertheleſs fully perſuaded that there was nothing

(*a*) And not *de la Rovere*, as Hilarion de Coſte ſays, pag. 691. of the firſt volume of his *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*.
(*b*) Joſeph Betuiſſi, *delle Donne illuſtre*, quoted by Hilarion de Coſte, tom. 1. pag. 697. *See alſo* Chriſtophano Bronzino, *della Dignita & Nobilita delle Donne*, Giornata quinta, pag. 116.

thing wanted her in marriage [*A*], and that all the other huſbands were like her's. She was at laſt undeceived of that miſtake, and her huſband himſelf confeſſed his impotency to her, when he found that ſhe knew of what nature it was [*B*]; notwithſtanding this ſhe continued to be very fond of him; ſhe comforted him, and never complained of her condition, nor declared it to any perſon whatſoever; and yet the public came to know that ſecret [*C*], whereupon ſhe was powerfully entreated to reſolve upon another match: it was repreſented to her that it would not be difficult to have her marriage declared void; ſeveral other arguments were propoſed to her, but nothing could prevail upon her [*D*]; ſhe

[*A*] *After ſhe had lain two years with her huſband, who all that while performed nothing of what is called conjugal duty, ſhe was nevertheleſs fully perſuaded, that there was nothing wanted in her marriage.*] Let us tranſcribe the Minim Hilarion de Coſte's phraſes, leſt the alteration I might make in his ſtyle ſhould give offence to the ſcrupulous Reader. "She was one of thoſe, "of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaks, who are married, as "though they were not. For either through the ten- "derneſs of her age, or through mere innocence, ſhe "paſſed the two firſt years of her marriage in ſuch a "great ignorance of the *Sacrament**, in which ſhe "was engaged, that ſhe imagined all the other married "women were like her; thus of old the wife of Hiero "did not complain of her huſband's ſtinking breath, "thinking that all the other men ſtunk like him. But "whether age taught her in a ſecret but not inſenſible "manner, what is underſtood by the moſt ſavage Na- "tions, and by perſons of the coldeſt conſtitution (our "nature being but too much inclined to ſenſual plea- "ſures) or whether the free converſations, ſhe as a "married woman had with the Ladies who were alſo "married, acquainted her with ſome particulars un- "known to her before, the miſt ſhe had before her "eyes vaniſhed away (1)." It is not probable that ſhe continued ſo long ignorant in an affair of that kind. Moſt of thoſe who read the Minim's Book, have ſaid, that to find ſo innocent a girl with regard to ſpeculation, one muſt chooſe one of the age of four or five years. For indeed there prevails a very bad cuſtom in all families, either becauſe it cannot well be prevented, or people are in hopes that it will be of ſome uſe, or becauſe Providence ſuffers it for the temporal good of the univerſe. However it be, as ſoon as children are come to a certain age, they hear of nothing but miſtreſſes and ſweethearts: if little Miſs is to be corrected for ſome fault, ſhe is told that if ſhe does not leave off ſuch a thing, ſhe will never have a huſband: but if ſhe does it, ſhe will have a ſweetheart (2). There are a thouſand ſuch promiſes and threatnings uſed continually. The ſervants of the family, the laundreſſes, the ſeamſtreſſes, the chamber-maids &c. go much further; they whiſper in Miſs's ear what all this means; a thouſand occaſions offer daily to do it. There is now and then a marriage in the neighbourhood or in the family: Miſs is curious to go to Church to ſee the new couple married; and this affords a fruitful ſubject for converſations not only in public but even in private, by which innocent Miſs receives myſterious inſtructions. This happens chiefly before the Articles are ſigned, or rather from the time they are ſigned to the wedding-day. Thus the theory of marriage is ſoon known before a girl is ripe for it. But ſuppoſe her parents found means to preſerve her from thoſe ſecret converſations, in which chamber-maids and many other women are buſy to ſatisfy and even to prevent that curioſity ſo natural to the ſex; ſuppoſe, I ſay, that a maiden, when ſhe marries, is as ignorant in the theory as in the practice of matrimony, is it poſſible that ſhe ſhould continue ignorant a long while? Is there not another cuſtom that prevails every where? Is not a new married woman aſked a thouſand queſtions the next day after her wedding? If her mother out of decency forbear queſtioning her, does ſhe not employ other women? Can the aunts, couſins, friends, &c. forbear to make her undergo the examination? It cannot therefore be imagined, that our Ducheſs of Urbino continued two years after her wedding-day ſo ignorant as our Minim pretends.

*The Roman Catholics maintain that marriage is a Sacrament.

(1) Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. I. pag. 697, 698.

(2) See the *Nouvelles Lettres contre le Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, pag. 663, 664.

[*B*] *Her huſband himſelf confeſſed his impotency to her, when he found that ſhe knew of what nature it was.*] Let us quote again the Minim's words (3). *The Duke her huſband perceiving that the Ducheſs Iſabella had found out his infirmity, was forced himſelf to declare in modeſt words and expreſſions his impotency to her; teſtifying by his diſcourſes what a grief it was to him, that he could not leave any children to ſucceed him in his dominions, and that if his ſubjects knew it, they would love him the leſs for it. Hereupon the modeſt and virtuous Iſabella began with a ſmiling look and chearful countenance to comfort him, entreating him to bear his misfortune with a perfect reſignation to God's will; ſhe repreſented to him, that ſeveral Kings and great Princes had been and ſtill laboured under the ſame affliction; and that it is often much better to have no children, than to have ſome that are wicked and vicious, ſince it generally happens, according to the ancient Latin Proverb,* Filii Heroum noxæ, *that Heroes beget only monſters, unnatural and ungrateful children, who become the fatal firebrands, that deſtroy their families, States, and Commonwealths, and are a ſcourge to the parents who begot them. That with regard to her, he muſt not be any way concerned; that his impotence would not in the leaſt affect her fondneſs and love for him; that ſhe would carry her virginity with her to the grave, that another might not enjoy her, ſince through a natural defect he could not poſſeſs what was deſigned for him; and that his misfortune ſhould never be known to any perſon in the world.*

(3) Hill. de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. I. pag. 698.

[*C*] *. . . . Yet the publick came to know this ſecret.*] Hilarion de Coſte (4) having made an exclamation againſt *thoſe who pretend that women cannot keep a ſecret*, adds that the Ducheſs of Urbino *kept her ſecret and promiſe more faithfully than her huſband did; having lived with him above fourteen years in ſuch a manner, that ſhe never by her complaints gave the leaſt hints of the defect of her marriage. During the firſt years ſhe hid it through the innocence and ignorance of youth, and afterwards from a principle of honour, thro' the ſtrength of her virtue, and becauſe ſhe had promiſed to keep it ſecret. Not only the people of the Duchy of Urbino, and the inhabitants of the beautiful city of Peſaro, but even their moſt intimate and familiar friends, and the Lords of their Court, did not know that this defect and this ſterilility was owing to the Duke; on the contrary they imagined the Ducheſs was barren. The truth would never have been known, had not the Duke himſelf diſcovered it, when being driven out of his Dominions by Cæſar Borgia Duke of Valentinois, he came to wait upon our King Lewis XII, who was then in his city of Milan and in his Duchy of the Milaneze. The Duke of Urbino applied to him, to be reſtored to his Dominions: but he could not obtain his requeſt, becauſe the King had entered into an alliance with Pope Alexander VI the Duke of Valentinois's father, and dreaded the reſentment of the Houſe of Borgia againſt him and his family; the Duke of Urbino therefore gave them hopes that he would divorce his wife and enter into holy Orders, aſſerting that through his impotence he never conſummated his marriage, and being aſked by the King himſelf whether this was true, he confirmed it to him. The huſband having thus revealed this ſecret, it was ſpread through the whole State of Urbino and over all Italy, ſo that the meaneſt among the people knew that Gui-Ubaldo de la Rovere* (5) *Duke of Urbino was a man only as to outward appearance, or if he was a man, it was not ſo as to have a rank amongſt the huſbands; and all the world admired the conſtancy and modeſty of the virtuous and chaſte Princeſs Iſabella Gonzaga. Her conſtancy, becauſe though it were in her power to have her marriage made void by a declaration, which ſhe might eaſily have obtained, yet ſhe would not petition for it, chooſing rather to be ſilent, than to defile her lips. Her modeſty, which appears in this heroical act of chaſtity, having lived above twenty years without being bare-fac'd enough to bluſh at the diſgrace of him, whom all the world reputed her huſband.*

(4) Hill. de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. I. pag. 699.

(5) He was not of the Houſe of *Rovere*, but of that of *Feltri*, or *Montefeltro*.

[*D*] *She was powerfully intreated to reſolve upon another match. . . . . But nothing could prevail upon her.*] It

ſhe was ſorry that her huſband's impotency was known, and nothing but death could ſeparate her from the Duke. His death made her almoſt deſperate; and her grief was very near being mortal to her, literally ſpeaking [*E*]. Obſerve that ſhe had been married twenty years (*c*). The exclamations of a Minim, who has commended her, are pardonable, conſidering the ſtory is very uncommon; but yet he might have been a little more ſparing of his flouriſhes, without acting againſt the rules which a good Rhetorician ought to follow. Our Iſabella paſſed the reſt of her life in a glorious widowhood. She was aunt to Eleonora Gonzaga, whom ſhe married with a nephew of Pope Julius II; I mean, with Francis-Mary de la Rovere, who ſucceeded her huſband in the Duchy of Urbino. You may know by this at what time ſhe lived; and if you will read Balthazar Caſtiglione's Courtier, you will ſee her very much commended there,

(*c*) *Taken from* Hilarion de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 697, &c.

It is on this occaſion that Hilarion de Coſte cries aloud, and lifts up his voice like a trumpet, "O the wonderful chaſtity of a woman! *cries he* (6)! O incredible conſtancy! oh perfect and unexampled virtue! to live thus twenty years with an huſband in the ſame houſe and in the ſame palace. This is truly a pattern of chaſtity, and a ſtrong proof that a virtuous mind has more power than the fleſh and ſenſuality, and that conjugal fidelity and love are ſtronger than the ſenſitive appetite and luſt. How few women are there, who would have continued, I do not ſay, fourteen years, but even fourteen months without publiſhing a ſecret, which ſhe kept, not twenty months, but twenty years, and even till her huſband's death, without having her marriage declared void; ſince, though ſhe were preſſed, importuned, and almoſt forced by a great many powerful perſons, to conſent to a ſeparation from her huſband, and though a thouſand ſtrong arguments were urged to her, ſhe never would agree to it; on the contrary, ſhe always maintained that the defect did not come from him; ſhe was angry with thoſe who aſſerted it, and was very ſorry when the truth came to be known. O moſt faithful and chaſt Princeſs! Let them caſt an eye upon thee, who from a ſenſual inclination, and without reaſon, or with the leaſt pretence, and for the ſlighteſt reaſons, diſſolve marriages made by the agreement of their relations, and publickly ſolemnized at Church, procuring under a falſe pretence I know not what diſpenſations, which will ſerve them for nothing but to lead them to eternal damnation: ſince thou, that wert noble, and ſtill young and beautiful, thou that couldſt lawfully be ſeparated from thy huſband, yet wouldſt ſhew, that thy mind rather than thy body was married." He takes notice afterwards of four ſubjects of admiration in the victory "ſhe gained over herſelf (7). I. By her great conſtancy and virtue, ſhe did not procure a divorce from her huſband, tho' ſhe could do it lawfully. II. Her love for her huſband made her diveſt herſelf of that reaſonable deſire, common to all thoſe who marry, ... of leaving children behind them ... which deſerves ſo much the more to be admired in this great Princeſs, *that ſhe knew the direct line of a ſovereign Family* would be extinct with her huſband. III. *She was ſo prudent as to accompany her ſpouſe wherever he went*, that this Prince's defect might not be known. IV. The fourth wonder is that notwithſtanding the great liberty ſhe enjoyed in her high ſtation, and amongſt all the men who converſed with her, yet ſhe kept her virginity entire." The particulars of this fourth wonder are confirmed by Balthazar Caſtiglione; for he obſerves that the Court of Urbino abounded with handſome and witty Noblemen, who ſpent the whole day in ſuch exerciſes as ſuited their condition, and who uſed to go after ſupper into the Ducheſs's chamber, whilſt the Duke was aſleep, he going to bed early becauſe of his infirmities. *Erano adunque tutte l'hore del giorno diveſe in honorevoli & piacevoli eſſercitii coſi del corpo, comme dell' animo: ma perche il S. Duca continuamente per la infirmità, dopo cena aſſai per tempo ſe n'andava a dormire, ogn' uno per ordinario, dove era S. Ducheſſa Elizabetta Gonzaga, a quell' hora ſi riduceva* (8). i. e. "All the hours of the day were ſpent in honourable and agreeable exerciſes both of body and of mind. But as the Duke, becauſe of his infirmities, went to ſleep ſoon after ſupper, they all uſed to go then where the Ducheſs Elizabeth Gonzaga was." Let us relate what he obſerves with regard to the Duke's infirmities; it gives us room to think that Hilarion de Coſte has followed ſome Hiſtorians, who have too much exaggerated what they relate. Take particular notice of what I am going to obſerve. The Duke was a very handſome man, ſtrong and nimble (9); but at the age of twenty years (10), he became ſo terribly afflicted with the gout, that he could not ſtir. He married no doubt before he was reduced to this condition, it is therefore very probable, that he conſummated his marriage. It is true that the ſame Author tells us, the Ducheſs was urged to ſeparate from her huſband, ſince her marriage was a ſtate of widowhood. Which is a proof, that ſhe was thought to be ſtill a virgin. For an impotency, under which a man comes to labour after the marriage has been conſummated, is not a lawful cauſe of divorce. *Non poſſo piu tacere una parola della Signora Ducheſſa noſtra, laquale eſſendo vivuta xv anni in compagnia del marito, comme vedoa, non ſolamente è ſtata conſtante di non paleſar mai queſto a perſona del mondo, ma eſſendo da ſuoi proprii ſtimulata da uſcir di queſta viduità, eleſſie piu preſto patir eſſilio, poverta, & ogni altra ſorte d'infelicita, che accetar quello, che a tutti gli altri parea gran gratia, & proſperità di fortuna: & ſeguitando pur Meſſer Ceſare circa queſto, diſſe la Signora Ducheſſa: parlate d'altro, & non intrate piu in tal propoſito, che aſſai d'altre coſe havete che dire* (11). i. e. "I cannot forbear ſaying a word here of our Ducheſs, who having lived fifteen years with her huſband, as a widow, did not only never reveal it to any perſon in the world, but being preſſed by her relations, to go out of that ſtate of widowhood, would rather chooſe to ſuffer baniſhment, poverty, and all other kinds of misfortunes, than accept of a propoſal, which any other woman had thought a great favour, and a gift of fortune. And as Signor Cæſar was going to commend her for it, the Ducheſs ſaid; Speak of ſomething elſe, and do not dwell any longer upon this ſubject, when you have other things enough to ſay." You ſee in theſe Italian words an admirable inſtance of this Lady's modeſty: ſhe could not bear to be praiſed; ſhe turns the converſation another way, when a perſon begins to extol the merit of her continency.

Obſerve that Chriſtoforo Bronzini, who wrote this Lady's Elogium, relates the ſame things, and with the ſame exclamation, as our Minim does. See the *Giornata quinta* (the fifth day) of his Dialogues *della Dignita e Nobilita delle Donne* (12) (of the Dignity and Excellency of Women).

[*E*] *Her grief was very near being mortal to her, literally ſpeaking.*] Father Hilarion de Coſte "is at a loſs how to give proofs of her love and prudence under her affliction for her huſband's death: for ... as long as he was alive, ſhe never ſhed any tears, ... leſt her affliction being thus outwardly expreſſed ſhould grieve him: but the moment he had given up the ghoſt, ſhe gave herſelf entirely over to grief, and fell on her huſband's corps, crying aloud, *Oh, my dear ſpouſe, why do you leave me thus, whither are you going?* Having ſaid this, ſhe ſwooned away, without being able to ſay one word more, and remained thus half dead. Some thought her quite dead, becauſe they could not make her come to her ſenſes again, ſo that they all together lamented the death both of the huſband and of the wife. But God did not deſign to afflict them ſo much at once: ſhe recovered herſelf little by little, opening her eyes, which ſhe lifted up towards heaven, then looking on thoſe that ſtood by, ſhe ſaid to them by way of reproach and complaint; *Why do you vex me ſo? Why are you ſo cruel to me, that you will not let me follow my moſt honoured Lord and huſband?* "*Why*

(6) *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 700.

(7) Ibid. pag. 700.

(8) Count Balt. Caſtiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, lib. 1. pag. m. 10.

(9) *Non eſſendo ancora il Duca Guido giunto alli xx anni, s'infermo di podagre, lequali con atrociſſimi dolori procedendo, in poco ſpatio di tempo talmente tutti i membri gli impedirono, che ne ſtare in piedi ne mover ſi potea: & coſi reſtò un de i piu belli, & diſpoſti corpi del mondo deformato & guaſto nella ſua verde età.* Balt. Caſtiglione, *il Cortegiano*, lib. 1. pag. 8.

(10) Odaxius, in this Prince's *Funeral Oration*, ſays it was at the age of 21.

(11) Balt. Caſtil. *il Cortog.* lib. 3. pag. 460.

(12) This book was printed at Florence in the year 1625, in 4to.

there, and you will find that the Court of Urbino was at that time extremely polite. I ſhall relate what Peter Bembo has ſaid of this Ducheſs [*F*].

" *Why will you not ſuffer me to accompany him in his* " *death with whom I have paſſed the moſt happy part* " *of my life? Oh wretched me, that he ſhould be gone,* " *and I muſt ſtay here! No, no, I cannot endure the* " *thought of ſtaying, I muſt go after him.* As ſoon " as ſhe had thus bewailed her condition, her eyes " burſt out in tears, like two plentiful ſprings, nor " was it poſſible for two days following to bring her " to reaſon; ſhe refuſed all that time to take any " nouriſhment and any reſt, ſaying continually, that " ſhe could not ſurvive her dear ſpouſe (13).

(13) Hilar. de Coſte, *Eloges des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 703, 704.

[*F*] *I ſhall relate what Peter Bembo has ſaid of this Ducheſs.*] The Author of a Treatiſe intitled *De Matrimonio Literati, an cœlibem eſſe an vero nubere conveniat* (14); i. e. " Of the marriage of a man of letters; " whether it be proper for him to live ſingle, or " to marry;" mentions the great merit of ſome women, nor does he omit our Iſabella Gonzaga. *Quid de Elizabetha Gonzaga?* ſays he, *quam Bembus ita laudat, ut lapidem eum eſſe dicat, qui non unam ejus ſeſſiunculam omnibus Philoſophorum ambulationibus & diſputationibus anteponat.* i. e. " What ſhall I ſay of Iſa- " bella Gonzaga? whom Bembo ſo much commends, " that he even aſſerts, a man muſt be as inſenſible as a " ſtone, who does not prefer one ſhort ſitting with her, " before all the walks and diſputes of the Philoſophers."

(14) It has been reprinted ſeveral times, and has been inſerted in a Collection of ſuch other pieces printed at Urſellis, in the year 1609. You will alſo find it in a book, intitled, *Baudii Amores*.

GONZAGA (JULIA), Ducheſs of Trajetto and Counteſs of Fondi, was the wife of Veſpaſian Colonna. After her huſband's death ſhe took for her device " an *Amaranthus*, which the Herbaliſts call *Love-Flower*, with this motto, *non moritura* (it " ſhall never die) hinting thereby, that her firſt love ſhould be immortal. The wonder " is, that her huſband was very old, and ſhe in the prime of her age, and was ſo much " celebrated for her beauty, that Soliman, Emperor of the Turks, longed to ſee her. " He ſent therefore Barbaroſſa (or Red-beard) King of Algiers (*a*), and his Lieute- " nant General, with a powerful army to Fondi, which was the place of her reſidence; " but he did not ſucceed in his deſign, for though Barbaroſſa arrived at night, and " took the City by ſtorm, yet the beautiful and chaſte Julia did not fall into the hands " of this ſavage man. For whether it was that ſhe had notice beforehand of the miſ- " fortune that threatened her, or was ſecretly inſpired by God, ſhe ran away bare-footed " at the firſt noiſe ſhe heard, and to ſecure her honour, expoſed her life to a thouſand " dangers (*b*)." This Lady has been ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm (*c*). *Thuanus, Francis Billon, and other Authors commend her for her learning, for which the moſt able men in Italy eſteemed her very much* (*d*). The reaſon why ſhe would not marry again is remarkable [*A*]. It is very doubtful whether ſhe acted the part of a ſtep-mother without being liable to ſome defects incident to that character [*B*]. We ſhall ſee below how Brantome relates the ſtory of Barbaroſſa [*C*].

(*a*) This ſaves me the trouble of obſerving that ſhe lived in the 15th Century.

(*b*) Taken from the *Entretiens d'Ariſte & d'Eugene*, pag. m. 458, 459. *See alſo* Hilarion de Coſte, tom. 2. of the *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, pag. 96, 97.

(*c*) *Convictuſque quod eum ſectariis in Germania & in Italia cum Victoria Columnæ Marchionis Piſcarii vidua, & Julia Gonzaga, lectiſſimis alioqui feminis, de pravitate ſectaria ſuſpectis, amicitiam coluiſſet.* Thuanus, lib. 39. *circa init.* i. e. " Being convicted " of Peſcara, and of having held a friendly correſpondence with the Sectaries in Germany, and in Italy with Victoria Colonna, the widow of the Marquiſs with Julia Gonzaga, two very eminent women, but ſuſpected of hereſy."

(*d*) Hilar. de Coſte, *Vies des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 2. p. 97.

[*A*] *The reaſon why ſhe would not marry again is remarkable.*] " After her huſband's death ſhe was court- " ed by the greateſt Lords in Italy, who yet could " not perſuade her to marry again; becauſe, ſaid " ſhe, if the huſband ſhe ſhould take, was good, ſhe " would be in a continual dread to loſe him, and if " he were bad, it would be very grievous to her and " difficult to bear; and that ſince ſhe had had a good " huſband, ſhe would never baniſh from her heart the " love ſhe bore him (1)." It was happy for her that ſhe did not meet with ſome object capable to move her heart; in this caſe her dilemma had been ſoon turned the contrary way. In vain did Dido ſay,

(1) Hilarion de Coſte, *Vies des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 97.

Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiſcat:
Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam;
Ante, pudor, quàm te violo, aut tua jura reſolvo.
Ille meos, primus qui me ſibi junxit, amores
Abſtulit; ille habeat ſecum, ſervetque ſepulchro (2).

(2) Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. ver. 24.

" But firſt let yawning earth a paſſage rend;
" And let me to the dark abyſs deſcend;
" Firſt let avenging *Jove* with flames from high
" Drive down this body to the nether ſky,
" Condemn'd with ghoſts in endleſs night to lie
" Before I break the plighted faith I gave:
" No; he who had my vows, ſhall ever have;
" For whom I lov'd on earth, I worſhip in the grave." Dryden.

(3) *Quam ſese ore ferens, quam forti pectore & armis.* Virgil. Æneid. lib. 4. ver. 11. i. e. " What looks, " what greatneſs of mind, " what courage."

The charms (3) and merit of Æneas had already made a deep impreſſion upon her, and renewed the ancient footſteps (4); ſhe was obliged to ſubmit to a ſecond wedding, and to forget all her fine reſolutions. Julia Gonzaga's dilemma is, generally ſpeaking, a medal which may be turned; for one may ſay, *if my ſecond huſband proves bad, I ſhall not fear to loſe him, if he proves good, he will make me very happy.* And beſides, they who have loſt a good huſband, may argue thus. *I was ſo happy with my firſt huſband, that I will enter again into a ſtate, in which I met with ſo much happineſs.* They who loſe a bad huſband may ſay, *It is but juſt that I ſhould try whether I ſhall be more happy the ſecond time than the firſt. I muſt not die without endeavouring to get ſomething to make amends for my former unhappineſs.*

(4) *Agnoſco veteris veſtigia flammæ*, ibid. ver. 23. i. e. " Somewhat " I find within, " if not the " ſame, " For like the " ſparkles of my " former flame." Dryden.

[*B*] *It is doubtful whether ſhe acted the part of a ſtep-mother, without being liable to ſome defects incident to that character.*] It is a very difficult part; the moſt prudent women can hardly act it well; there is a certain fatality annexed to the character of a ſtep-mother, which makes her very ill-humoured. However it be, the Minim, whom I have already quoted, tells us (5), That Veſpaſian Colonna *had by his firſt wife* (6) *a daughter named Iſabella, whom our Julia, her ſtep-mother, reſolved to marry with Lewis Gonzaga her brother; for which reaſon ſhe oppoſed Pope Clement VII's deſign (who would marry her with Don Hippolyto, his nephew, who was afterwards Cardinal) nor would ſhe comply with the Emperor Charles V's intention, who had ſeized upon Iſabella, in order to marry her with Ferdinand Gonzaga; but our Julia, partly by her courage, and partly by her artifice, compleated her deſign.* But did ſhe conſult with the young girl to know her inclination? that is the queſtion. Iſabella Colonna had perhaps better liked the man whom Clement VII offered her, or him, whom the Emperor would have given her, than the perſon whom Julia choſe for her: and is it not acting like a ſtep-mother, thus to force the inclination of a young maiden's heart in an affair of this nature?

(5) Hilarion de Coſte, *Vies des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 96.

(6) Beatrix the daughter of Signior Piompino. Sanſovino, *delle Caſe d'Italia*, fol. 93.

[*C*] *We ſhall ſee below how Brantome relates the ſtory of Barbaroſſa.*] " There is a ſtory like this, " which was told me in the city of Fondi near Na- " ples, and is commonly known in thoſe parts; it is " very true, and ſtill in the memory of man. It re- " lates to Signora Livia (7) Gonzaga, who married " Aſcanio

(7) He ſhould have ſaid *Julia*.

GONZAGA (LUCRETIA) was one of the moſt illuſtrious Ladies that lived in the ſixteenth Century. Her ſhining wit, her learning, and her delicate ſtile added a luſtre to her noble birth [*A*]. The wits of that time could not fail to commend her [*B*]. She wrote ſuch beautiful letters, that they have been collected with the utmoſt care in order to be publiſhed. I have ſeen the Collection of them that was printed at Venice in the year 1552. We find there that her marriage with John Paul Manfrone was unhappy.

" Aſcanio (8) Colonna. She was in her time reckoned the moſt beautiful Lady in all Italy, and " the reputation of her beauty ſpread as far as the " Eaſt; (this is confirmed by her picture which I " have often ſeen, in which ſhe is drawn in a widow's attire) and as far as Conſtantinople; ſo that " Ariadan Barbaroſſa being made General of the " Grand Seignior's naval army, paſſed for the firſt " time, with great pomp (as it is reported) by the " Faro of Meſſina; and coaſting along Calabria, " laying all waſte before him, and near Naples, he " made an attempt on the City of Fondi, where he " arrived in the night-time, ſo unexpectedly, and on " a ſudden, that having landed two thouſand Turks, " they took the City by ſtorm and eſcalade, and fell " upon the caſtle, where Julia Gonzaga was aſleep " in her bed; ſhe hearing the alarm was ſo ſurpriſed " that ſhe roſe on a ſudden, and had but juſt time " to throw herſelf out of a window in her ſhift, and " to make her eſcape over the mountains ſo ſeaſonably, that the Turks entered her room almoſt the " very moment ſhe left it. It is reported, that Barbaroſſa intended to make a preſent of her to the " Grand Signior, and that this was the only deſign " of his undertaking, ſo that he was almoſt raving " mad, when he knew that he was diſappointed. " But the Lady's misfortune was, that to avoid *Scylla* " ſhe fell into *Charybdis*; for in her eſcape ſhe found " herſelf amongſt the vagabonds and banditties of the " Kingdom; ſome of them knew her again, others " did not. You may gueſs whether this nice and " delicate bit, being in the hands and in the power " of thoſe greedy fellows, was not thoroughly handled and taſted by them: ſome perſons do not in " the leaſt queſtion it, though others do. But though " ſhe never ſo much ſwore the contrary, it is impoſ- " ſible to be ieve her: ſuch a beautiful woman could " never eſcape untainted out of the hands of that ſort " of people. Clear ſighted perſons, who have any " ſkill in theſe affairs, and have taſted ſuch morſels, " know what to think of it: and ſome in that country did not ſcruple to ſay it openly. Thus men and " women do eaſily damn themſelves by their oaths; " for the moſt beautiful Queens and Princeſſes would " not be ſpared, no more than other women, if they " happened to be in ſuch a danger, ſince a great " beauty has no defence nor ſafeguard to protect her " in ſuch a caſe; love always exerting its right and " authority without any regard for quality or rank; " yet they, whoſe caſe this has been, think it is e- " nough, if they but declare and ſwear, that their " dignity kept thoſe in awe, who otherwiſe would " have been too free with them: God knows how " true it is (9)." Mr. Varillas (10) has extracted from this book of Brantome all that he relates of Julia Gonzaga's ſtory.

He has been miſtaken with regard to the time; for he places this ſtory under the year 1537, whereas he ſhould have followed Paul Jovius (11), who mentions it under the year 1534.

[*A*] *Her learning . . . . added a luſtre to her noble birth.*] There is no learning in her letters, but yet we find in them that ſhe was learned; for ſhe declares in a letter to Robortel, that his Commentaries led her into the true ſenſe of ſeveral obſcure paſſages in Ariſtotle and in the Poet Æſchylus. *Egli è gran tempo, chè vi ſono affettionata per i beneficii chi mi ſcnto haver ricevuto dai voſtri divini componimenti, i quali m'hanno illuminato l'intelletto in molti oſcuri luoghi, & di Ariſtotele, & di Eſchilo dove il voſtro nobil ingegno s'è molto affaticato* (1). i. e. " I have a long time had " a great affection for you, for the benefit I have received from your divine Commentaries, which have " cleared up my underſtanding with regard to ſeveral " obſcure paſſages in Ariſtotle and in Æſchylus, " which your noble genius has very much laboured to " explain." She had ridiculed Doctor Lewis Picco her couſin becauſe he taught Aſtrology; but when ſhe came to know the great ſervices which Sulpicius Gallus and Pericles had done, the former to the Romans, and the latter to the Greeks by their ſkill in Aſtrology, ſhe would ſtudy that Science, and deſired Lewis Picco to teach it her (2). One of the arts ſhe ſtudied moſt was Rhetoric (3). It appears alſo that ſhe learnt a great deal of Logick from her Maſter Bandel (4), who alſo explained Euripides to her (5).

[*B*] *The Wits of that time could not fail to commend her.*] Hortenſio Lando was the perſon who ſung her praiſes moſt zealouſly. He wrote a beautiful Panegyrick on this Lady: ſee the Letter in which ſhe modeſtly thanks him for it (6), and in which ſhe repreſents to him (7), that he had done better to keep his witty conceits and noble expreſſions for the Panegyrick *della Signora Marcheſana* (8). I obſerve this in order to acquaint the Reader with the name of another very illuſtrious Lady of that age. The ſame Author dedicated to our Lucretia his Dialogue *del temperar gli affetti d'ell' animo* (9); i. e. " of moderating the paſſi- " ons of the ſoul." There was a great literary correſpondence between them; ſhe wrote above thirty letters to him, which have all been printed. Let us ſay a word of that which we meet with in page 215. Hortenſio Lando is a little cenſured there, becauſe he was exceedingly vexed at his being poor. He is blamed for grieving at a condition, the conveniencies of which are here laid before him. *Eſſendo voi perſona dotta, & tanto bene eſperta nei mondani coſi, mi maraviglio che di ſi ſtrana maniera vi attriſtiate per la poverta; quaſi non ſappiate la vita dei poveri eſſer ſimile ad una navigatione preſſo il lito; & quella de ricchi non eſſer differente da coloro, che ſi ritrovano in mare: à gli uni è facile gittar la ſune in terra, & condur la nave à ſicuro luogo, & à gli altri è ſummamente difficile, &c* (10). i. e. " I wonder that you, who are a " learned man, and ſo well acquainted with the affairs " of this world, ſhould yet be ſo ſtrangely vexed at " your being poor: as though you did not know, that " a poor man's life is like ſailing near the coaſt; " whereas that of a rich man does not differ from the " condition of them who are in the main ſea; the " former can eaſily throw a cable on ſhore, and bring " their ſhip ſafe into an harbour, whereas the latter " cannot do it but with great difficulty &c." Jerom Ruſcelli was one of this Lady's Panegyriſts, as appears from a Letter ſhe wrote to him, and which begins thus. *Inſieme col Panegirico fatto da non ſo cui, in mia commendatione, hò anco letto la bella & proliſſa lettera che per voi ſi è aggiunta; nelle quale, m'havete ritratta col penello della voſtra facondia, tale, quale io doveri eſſere per haver quella perfettione che non hò* (11). i. e. " With the Panegyrick written in my commendation " by I do not know whom, I have alſo read the beau- " tiful and long letter, which you had added to it; " and in which you have drawn me with the pencil " of your eloquence ſuch as I ſhould be, if I had the " accompliſhments which I want." See alſo the other Letter ſhe wrote to him (12). Some Memoirs which come from very good hands, give me to underſtand, that " Bandel dedicated one of his Novels to her, it is " the 21ſt of the 2d part; it is there he tells her to- " wards the end, *Spero ben toſto darvi del mio il libro " de le mie Stanze tutto compoſto in voſtra lode, ove ve- " derete come io mi ſforzo à farvi immortale.* i. e. " I hope to give you very ſoon my Book of Stanza's " all written in your commendation, in which you " ſhall ſee how much I labour to make you immortal." " It is upon thoſe Stanza's that Julius Cæſar Scaliger, " who was Bandel's intimate friend, wrote an " Epigram intitled, *De Bandelli amoribus Thuſca " lingua decantatis*; i. e. " On Bandel's amours ſung " in the Italian Tongue (13)." The Reader will perhaps be glad to find that Epigram here.

Maxime Phœbigenum, cui Thuſco æqualis Homero
Lydia Mæonio nectare vena fluit:

(8) I have called him *Veſpaſian* in the text of this Article, and that was his true name.

(9) Brantome, *Vies des Dames Illuſtres*, p. 282.

(10) Varill. *Hiſt. de François I.* lib. 8. pag. m. 247, under the year 1537.

(11) Paul. Jovius, *Hiſt.* lib. 33. fol. m. 255.

(1) *Lettre della Signora Lucretia Gonzaga da Gazuolo*, pag. 78.

(2) The letter ſhe wrote to him is in pag. 50.

(3) *Lettre di Lucretia Gonzaga*, pag. 53.

(4) Ibid. pag. 52.

(5) Ibid. pag. 61.

(6) It is in page 30. See alſo, pag. 161.

(7) *Molto meglio havreſto voi fatto trapportando nel Panegirico della Sig. Marcheſana tutti i bel concetti, & tutte le ſcelte parole che deſtinaſto al Panegirico compoſto per illuſtrare il mio nome oſcuro.* Lettere di L. Gonzaga, pag. 30. i. e. " You had done " much better to " keep for the " Panegyric of " the Seignora " Marcheſana " all your witty " conceits, and " choice expreſ- " ſions, which " you have de- " ſigned to ren- " der my ob- " ſcure name fa- " mous."

(8) It was the Marchioneſs of Padula, of the Houſe of Cordonna. Ib. p. 31.

(9) Ibid. p. 140.

(10) Ibid. p. 215.

(11) Ibid. p. 76.

(12) Ibid. p. 131.

(13) Memoirs communicated by Monſieur de la Monoie.

unhappy. He was a man who was not rich enough to deſerve a woman like her, and ſhe married him with reluctancy when ſhe was not yet fourteen years old (*a*). Though ſhe did not live with him in all the ſplendor that her quality required, yet ſhe was very eaſy. One cannot meet with more noble maxims of morality, than thoſe which ſhe expreſſed in a letter to a Monk (*b*), who pitied her for being married to ſo inconſiderable a countryman [*C*]. Her huſband's conduct grieved and vexed her extremely. He was a brave but haughty man (*c*), and committed ſome actions for which he did not go unpuniſhed. The Duke of Ferrara had him carried off, and kept him ſeveral years in priſon, where he ſuffered very much (*d*). He cauſed him to be tried, and it was found that he deſerved to be capitally puniſhed. But yet the Duke was ſo merciful that he would not have him put to death (*e*). Our Lucretia did all that lay in her power to procure his liberty. She endeavoured to raiſe the Duke of Ferrara's compaſſion by a very moving letter (*f*): ſhe implored the interceſſion of Paul III (*g*), of Julius III (*h*), of the Sacred College, of the Emperor, of the King of France, and of all the other Princes in Chriſtendom. She applied for aſſiſtance to the Celeſtial Court by her prayers, and by thoſe which ſhe cauſed to be offered in all the Convents, and in the other Churches; and when ſhe found that all this was ineffectual, ſhe reſolved to have recourſe to the Grand Signior (*i*): ſhe wrote him a flattering but ſubmiſſive letter (*k*), deſiring him to make himſelf maſter of the Caſtle in which her huſband was kept priſoner, without attacking any other Chriſtian country. She had given her moſt humble thanks (*l*) to the Duke of Ferrara, for his mercy in ſparing the life of a priſoner [*D*], whom the Judges had ſentenced to death: but ſhe wiſhed that the Duke's mercy had been carried farther ſtill.

(*a*) See her *Letters*, pag. 191, and 214.

(*b*) It was written to F. Bandel, and is in pag. 61.

(*c*) See *Lucretia Gonzaga's Letters*, p. 57, 105.

(*d*) See ibid. pag. 59.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 158.

(*f*) It is in pag. 16.

(*g*) Pag. 99.

(*h*) Pag. 101.

(*i*) See her *Letters*, pag. 104.

(*k*) In pag. 257. of her *Letters*.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 158, 159.

Unde tibi æthereos immenſi numinis hauſtus
Largus opum pleno pectore ſpirat amor?
Tantus eras vates, tanta eſt Lucretia. An ipſum
Hoc illi dederas: an dedit illa tibi?
Dum cælo imponis, tranſcendes ſidera. Sic te
Dat Dea, tam rari carminis eſſe Deum (14).

That is,

" O you, the greateſt of Phœbus's ſons, whoſe Ly-
" dian vein, equal to that of the Homer of Italy, runs
" with Mæonian Nectar: Whence does plentiful love
" blow to you with a full breath thoſe ætherial
" draughts of the immenſe Deity? You were ſo great
" a Poet; Lucretia is ſo great. Did you make her
" ſo, or did ſhe make you ſo? Whilſt you place her
" in heaven, you will yourſelf riſe above the ſkies.
" Thus this Goddeſs makes you the God of ſo rare a
" Poem."

(14) Jul. Cæſar Scaliger, *in Farragine*, pag. 174 *primæ partis* Poematum, edit. 1591.

See in the Nymphs of the ſame Author the piece intitled, *Pro Diva Lucretia Gonzaga Pyrrhi filia canit Talariſca* (15); and in the Heroines the Epigram intitled *Lucretia Pyrrhi Gonzagæ F.* (16). But above all ſee the *Rime di diverſi Autori in lode di donna Lucretia Gonzaga*, i. e. " Poems of ſeveral Authors in praiſe of Lu-
" cretia Gonzaga;" printed at Bologna in the year 1565 in 4to. Let us tranſcribe here another paſſage from Bandel (17); it acquaints us with the name of our Lucretia's mother, and with ſome other particulars. He dedicates the LVIIth Novel of the firſt part to her, and ſpeaks thus. *A la molto illuſt. e vertuoſa Heroina la S. Iſabella Gonzaga di Poccino.* i. e. " To the moſt
" illuſtrious and virtuous Lady Iſabella Gonzaga of
" Poccino." *Eſſendo troppo al mondo manifeſto il debito e obligo che io ho a la felice e honorata memoria del valoroſo S. Pirro Gonzaga, e de la gentiliſſima S. Camilla Bentivoglia, voſtri honoratiſſimi Padre e madre che tanto m'amavano, e tutto il di con nuovi beneficii m'obligavano, e mentre viſſero, furono da me (ſecondo le deboliſſime forze mie) ſempre tenuti ni quella riverenza che io ſeppi la maggiore, come ne le Stanze mie ſi vederà che io in lode ho compoſte de la voſtra nobiliſſima Sorella dal mondo riverita, e da me ſanctiſſimamente amata, la Signora Lucretia, le quali in breve ſaranno publicate, ove ancora vederete il nome voſtro eſſere celebrato.* i. e. " The
" world knows perfectly well how much I am indebt-
" ed and obliged to the happy and honourable me-
" mory of the valiant Signor Peter Gonzaga, and of
" the noble Signora Camilla Bentivoglio, your moſt ho-
" noured father and mother, who loved me ſo much,
" and daily loaded me with new favours, for whom
" as long as they lived I had the greateſt reſpect,
" according to my little power, as may be ſeen in
" my Stanzas, which I have compoſed in praiſe of
" your ſiſter, who is reſpected by the world, and was
" always moſt ſacredly beloved by me; I mean Lu-
" cretia Gonzaga. Theſe Stanza's will ſoon be publiſh-
" ed, where you will again ſee your name celebrated."

(15) It is in pag. 278. of the 1ſt Part.

(16) It is in pag. 377 of the ſame Part.

(17) It has been communicated to me by Monſieur de la Monoie.

[*C*] *She was pitied for being married to ſo inconſiderable a countryman.*] Thus, I think, I may tranſlate the following Italian words: *Ho inteſo che la riverenza voſtra molto ſie maravigliata che i miei maggiori mi maritaſſero mai in huomo di ſi poche facultà, il quale, m'haveſſe à condurre in una poco amena villuccia, & farmi habitare in una torre poco degli Avoli onde ne ſono ſecondo la carne diſceſa; & per quanto appare dalle voſtre ſcritte à mia Sorella, aſſai ve ne doleſte* (18). i. e. " I underſtand that you wonder my relations ſhould
" have married me to a man, who has ſuch a ſmall
" eſtate, and who was to conduct me into a little and
" unpleaſant town, and to make me live in a Tower
" unworthy of the anceſtors, from whom I am deſ-
" cended according to the fleſh; and it appears by
" your Letter to my ſiſter, that you very much grieve
" at it." But that the Reader may not have falſe notions, I muſt obſerve that John Paul Manfrone was a much more conſiderable man, than this Monk imagined. We find in one of his wife's Letters, that he had been raiſed to honourable poſts in the Venetian Army, and had built ſtately palaces. Read what follows, you will find there ſome other particulars of his Life. *Ve ne ſupplica tutto il territorio Vicentino, donde egli ne trahe l'origine; ve ne priega la Citta di Padoua, dove egli fanciullo eſſendo diligentemente ſtudio; ve ne priega il Poleſino, dove molti anni pratticò, & palazzi, & giardini con grande arte edificò; ve ne priega tutte il diſtretto Mantouano, dove ſpoeſandomi ben fanciulla, ſi imparentò: ve ne priega finalmente tutto il Senato Vinitiano, il qual hà ſin dalle faſcie per condottiere & fedelmente & honoratamente ſempre ſervito* (19). i. e. " The whole Territory of the
" Vicentine whence he originally came, humbly
" ſupplicates you; the city of Padua, where he ſtudied
" diligently in his younger years, prays you; the
" Poleſine, where he lived many years, and where he
" built ſtately palaces, and made noble gardens, prays
" you; the whole diſtrict of the Mantuano, where by
" marrying me when I was very young, he became
" my relation, prays you; laſtly the whole Senate of
" Venice, which he ſerved at the head of their ar-
" mies from his cradle, very faithfully and honoura-
" bly, prays you." Theſe are the arguments, which his wife urges to perſuade Pope Paul III to intercede for him.

(18) *Lettere di L. Gonzaga*, pag. 61.

(19) Ibid. pag. 100, 101.

[*D*] *She gave thanks to the Duke of Ferrara for his mercy in ſparing the life of a priſoner, whom the Judges had ſentenced to death.*] In order to be well acquainted with all the particulars of this trial, you muſt ſee the Hiſtory which Anthony Braſavolus (20) publiſh'd of it. We find in the Epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque, that the three firſt Books of a volume written on phyſical ſubjects by Braſavolus, contained, *Hiſtoriam capti & ſupplicio afficiendi Pauli Manfroni propter inſidias adverſus Ducem, & quomodo Dux ei vitam donaverit, ſed in carcere retinuerit* (21). i. e. " The Hiſtory of Paul Man-
" frone's being taken and ſentenc'd to death, for a con-
" ſpiracy againſt the Duke; giving an account how
" the Duke ſaved his life, but kept him in priſon."

(20) An illuſtrious Phyſician of Ferrara.

(21) *Epitome Bibliotb. Geſneri*, pag. 65.

ſtill. Her huſband was not ſet at liberty; ſhe was not permitted to viſit him; they could only write to each other (*m*); and this was not enough for her; that is the reaſon why ſhe left no ſtone unturned to have him releaſed; all the pains ſhe took proved unſucceſsful; he died in priſon (*n*), having ſhewed ſuch an impatience under his misfortunes, as made people judge he had loſt his ſenſes (*o*). The anſwer his widow made to thoſe, who propoſed her to marry again, deſerves to be admired [*E*]. Of the four children ſhe had had (*p*), there were but two daughters left (*q*), whom ſhe put in Nunneries (*r*). All that came

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 156.

(*n*) Ibid. pag. 221, &c.

(*o*) Ibid. pag. 208.

(*p*) Ibid. pag. 100, 155.

(*q*) Ibid. pag. 151.

(*r*) Ibid. pag. 141.

[*E*] *The anſwer ſhe made to thoſe, who propoſed to her to marry again, deſerves to be admired.*] I own that they did not obſerve the *Decorum*; they were too much in haſte; they made the propoſal to her before her huſband had been buried one month. The moſt wanton widows, the moſt eager after marriage would ſhew ſome indignation to thoſe, who would ſo ſoon mention a ſecond huſband to them. Decency, cuſtom, and the uſual ſtyle of converſation require, that a widow ſhould ſeem for ſome time to be very much afflicted, and averſe from a ſecond wedding; and as they, who would think to make themſelves agreeable by too haſtily propoſing a new match, would thereby betray an ill opinion of a widow's continence, it is fit that ſhe ſhould anſwer them with ſome marks of anger. I confeſs therefore, that the perſons who were ſo forward to propoſe a ſecond huſband to our Lucretia Gonzaga, did not well obſerve the uſual formalities. But I find ſomething in her anſwer, which is very much to her honour, and which is not in the leaſt like the artful language of la Fontaine's *young widow* (22). *Appena hò raſciutto le lagrime che giorno è notte mi ſono con larghiſſima vena piovute da gli occhi: à fatica hò poſto termine ai ſinghiozzi & ai ſoſpiri: ne anche è compiuto il menſe che l'infelice mio conſorte è ſtato ſepolto, & voi gia mi parlate di rimaritare? Non ſapete voi caſta non eſſer mai ſtata iſtimata, chi due fiate ſi è maritata? Didone anchora preſſo di Virgilio, chiama ſotto nome di colpa le ſeconde nozze, & voi con tanta inſtanza mi ci invitate? nò nò, io non voglio piu ſentire de ſi fatti cordogli; ne altro marito intendo piu di volere che* GIESU CHRISTO (23). i. e. "I have hardly dried up the tears, "which day and night run from my eyes in large "ſtreams: hardly have I put an end to my ſobs and "ſighs; it is not yet a month ſince my poor huſband "is buried; and you propoſe to me already to marry a-"gain? Do not you know that a woman was never "reckoned chaſte who was twice married? Even Dido "in Virgil calls a ſecond wedding a crime, and you "would ſo earneſtly perſuade me to it? No, no; I "will not expoſe myſelf to ſuch vexation again; I "deſign to have no other huſband but JESUS CHRIST." The reſt of the Letter treats only of the Reſolution ſhe had taken, to dedicate herſelf for the future entirely to Jeſus Chriſt as to her only huſband. There is ſome exaggeration in our Lucretia's aſſertion that a woman who marries again was never reckoned chaſte; but yet it is certain that they who would not take a ſecond huſband, and led a blameleſs life in a ſtate of widowhood, have always been more admired. We have ſeen juſt now what our widow anſwered to Signor Orſola Pellegrini who adviſed her to marry again; who I ſay, gave her that advice before her huſband had been one month in his grave. Let us ſee now, what anſwer ſhe made to Adriano Trivulzo, who had obſerved the *Decorum* much better: for his advice was not given till towards the end of the firſt year of her widowhood. Lucretia declares to him, that ſhe had been ſo unhappy with her firſt huſband, that ſhe found it very ſtrange that people would perſuade her to put herſelf again under the conjugal yoke, from which God had delivered her. I would have you to know, ſays he, that I would not put my ſelf under it again, though I were ſure to meet with an huſband wiſer than Lælius, handſomer than Nireus, and as rich as Craſſus. But it will be better to tranſcribe her own words (24). *Non mi poſſo veramente penſare che fantaſia vi ſia venuta in capo, di procacciarmi marito, non eſſendo anchora conſunto il cadavero di chi già prima à ſe di legitimo nodo me legò, il quale mi hà fatto ſentire tanti affanni, che ſe divina forza non mi haveſſe aitata, non haurei potuto mai reſiſtere à tanti guai;* IDDIO *finalmante mi hà reſtituito quella libertà, che m'era ſtata occupata della fraterna voluntà, dandomi marito contra mia voglia: & voi, non ſo da qual ſpirito guidata, cercate di condurmi un' altra fiata ſotto 'l marital giogo: ponete pur il voſtro core in pace, & penſate ad altro; che non ritoglierei marito s'egli fuſſe piu ſavio di quel Lelio, che hebbe el titulo del ſavio, s'egli fuſſe piu bello di Nireo, & s'egli poſſedeſſe le facultà di Craſſo.* i. e. "I cannot imagine what fancy "came into your head, to look for an huſband for me, "when the corps of him is not yet reduced to duſt, "who was formerly united to me by a lawful tie, and "who made me undergo ſo many vexations, that if "God had not aſſiſted me with his grace, I ſhould "never have been able to go through ſuch afflictions. "At laſt God reſtored me that liberty which was "taken from me by my brother's will, when he gave "me an huſband againſt my conſent: and you, actuated "by I know not what manner of ſpirit, endeavour "to put me a ſecond time under the conjugal "yoke: Reſt ſatisfied as to that; and be perſuaded "that I would not take a ſecond huſband, though "he were wiſer than Lelius, who was ſurnamed the "wiſe; though he were handſomer than Nireus; and "had all the eſtate of Craſſus." We have here a widow very different from la Fontaine's. She ſpeaks at the year's end as ſhe did the firſt day; we cannot therefore apply to her theſe four lines.

Entre la veuve d'une année
Et la veuve d'une journée
La difference eſt grande. On ne croiroit jamais
Que ce fut la même perſonne (25).

That is,

"A year after her huſband's death a widow differs "very much from what ſhe was the firſt day: one "would never think her to be the ſame perſon."

(22) Thus Monſ. de la Fontaine has intitled the 21ſt Fable of his 6th book, page 226. of the 2d vol. of the Paris edition 1678.

(23) Lucretia Gonzaga, *Letters*, pag. 214.

(24) Ibid. pag. 213.

(25) La Fontaine, Fable 21. of the 6th book.

I think my ſelf under an obligation to ſoften a little the cenſure I have paſſed on this Lady's thought, when I obſerved that there was ſome exaggeration in her expreſſions. This exaggeration may be excuſed if we ſuppoſe that our Lucretia admitted St. Jerom's maxims with a little too much veneration for him. The moſt moderate Criticks obſerve, that this great Saint has run upon extremes with regard to this ſubject. Here follows a paſſage from Monſieur Daillé (26). *I omit what he ſcornfully obſerves at every turn both againſt marriage in general, and particularly againſt ſecond marriages: he uſes ſometimes ſuch hard expreſſions, that after we have endeavoured to ſoften and explain them by all the obſervations, which he himſelf hints to us in the Epiſtle he wrote to Pammachius upon this ſubject, it ſeems yet impoſſible not to take his words in Tertullian's ſenſe, which has been condemned by the Church, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of marriage, and with the authority of the holy Scripture. For inſtance with what honey or ſugar could we ſweeten what he aſſerts in his Letter to a Lady named Furia*? that* ſhe will not be ſo much tormented for continuing a widow, as ſhe will be deteſted if ſhe marries again; not being able though a Chriſtian to practice what even heathen women have obſerved: *a notion which he repeats again in the next Epiſtle, where he endeavours to perſuade Ageruchia to the ſame deſign†, making uſe on this ſubject of merry indecent compariſons, applying to thoſe who marry again, the proverb, which St. Peter quotes on another occaſion:* The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the ſow that was waſhed, to her wallowing in the mire. *Is not this placing expreſly ſecond marriages in the ſame rank with lewd and polluted actions?* If you have a mind to know more exactly what regards the chaſtity which St. Jerom aſcribes to Furia's female-anceſtors, read the article of CAMILLUS (27). Let us add, that the virtuous Lucretia Gonzaga had been dazzled by the brightneſs of the glory, which even amongſt the Heathens thoſe women acquired, who did not marry a ſecond time. Being thus dazzled, ſhe imagined that they who took a ſecond huſband were not eſteemed very chaſte. She had read no doubt the words which I ſhall quote by and by from an heathen Author,

COLLECTIONS concerning ſecond weddings.

(26) Daillé, *de l'Emploi des Peres*, lib. 2. ch. 4. pag. m. 381.

* Hieron. *Ep.* 10. *ad Furiam T.* 1. *p.* 89. *D. &c.* 101. *C.* 3. non tam laudanda ſi vidua perſeveres, quam execranda, ſi id Chriſtiana non ſerves, quod per tanta ſæcula Gentiles fœminæ cuſtodierunt. *& mox. p.* 90. Canis reverſus ad vomitum, & ſus lota ad volutabrum luti.

† *Id. Ep.* 11. *ad Ageruch. tom.* 1. *p.* 101. *C.* 101. Hæc brevi ſermone perſtrinxi, ut oſtendam adoleſcentulam meam non præſtare monogamiam generi ſuo, ſed reddere, nec tam laudandam eſſe ſi tribuat, quam omnibus execrandam ſi negare tentaverit.

(27) Remark [*F*].

came from her pen was ſo much eſteemed, that a collection was made even of the notes ſhe wrote to her ſervants [F]; you will meet with ſeveral of thoſe notes in the edition of

Author, who tells us that a crown of chaſtity was decreed to the women who had had but one huſband, whence it appears, that a ſecond marriage was looked upon as a kind of diſſoluteneſs. *Quæ uno contentæ matrimonio fuerant, corona pudicitiæ honorabantur. Exiſtimabant enim eum præcipuè matronæ ſincera fide incorruptum eſſe animum, qui poſt depoſitæ virginitatis cubile in publicum egredi neſciret: multorum matrimoniorum experientiam, quaſi illegitimæ* (28) *cujuſdam intemperantiæ ſignum eſſe credentes* (29). i. e. "They who "were ſatisfied with one huſband only, were honour- "ed with the crown of chaſtity. For it was thought "a true ſign of an uncorrupt heart and true fidelity, "when a matron would not change that chaſte § "bed, in which ſhe loſt her virginity: whereas to "marry ſeveral times was looked upon as a proof "of an unlawful intemperance." I imagine alſo that ſhe had read in Tertullian the privileges which the Heathens granted to the women who had been married but once. *Monogamia apud Ethnicos in ſummo honore eſt; ut & virginibus nubentibus, univira pronuba adhibeatur, & ſic auſpicii initium eſt. Item in quibuſdam ſolemnibus & auſpiciis, ut prior ſit univiræ locus. Certe Flaminia non niſi univira eſt.* i. e. "The "Heathens have had a great reſpect for thoſe who "married but once: ſo that when virgins married, "none but a woman who had had but one huſband "could preſide over the nuptials. And in ſome ſo- "lemn feſtivals and in the *Auſpicia*, a woman who was "but once married was preferred before any other: and "indeed none but ſuch a woman was ſuffered to aſſiſt the "Flamen's wife in the ſacerdotal functions." Lipſius quotes this paſſage of Tertullian in his Commentary on that place of Tacitus, where he obſerves that Pollio's daughter was preferred before Fonteius Agrippa's to be a veſtal, for this reaſon only that her mother had had but one huſband. *Prælata eſt Pollionis filia non ob aliud quam quod mater ejus in eodem conjugio manebat. Nam Agrippa diſcidio domum imminuerat* (30). Lipſius does not relate all the privileges which Tertullian mentions. He does not obſerve that none but *monogam* (31) women could put the Crown on the head of the goddeſs Fortune (32). I do not mention the epitaphs, in which the epithet *univira* was carefully ſet down in thoſe womens honour who did not marry again. It is a proof that their conduct was thought worthy to be immortalized. Libanius's exclamation hints to us that this conduct was admired amongſt other reaſons, becauſe there were but few inſtances of it. This Sophiſt hearing that St. Chryſoſtom's mother was forty years old, and had been twenty years a widow, cried out, Good Lord! what women do we meet with amongſt the Chriſtians (33)!

The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* has obſerved ſomewhere, that a certain commendation which had been made of marriage, was grounded on ſuch arguments as proved too much, and *were inconſiſtent with a notion that has been very common even amongſt thoſe, who for political reaſons made celibacy in a manner diſgraceful. This notion is, that a widow who does not marry again, is more eſteemed, all the other circumſtances being alike on both ſides, than a widow who marries again. Though we had not an infinite number of proofs of this, the words which Virgil makes Dido ſay would alone be ſufficient to acquaint us with the opinion of the Ancients in this reſpect.* Æneid. 4. 28.)

Ille meos primus qui me ſibi junxit, amores
Abſtulit. Ille habeat ſecum ſervetque ſepulcro.

"He who had my vows, ſhall ever have;
"For whom I lov'd on earth, I worſhip in the grave."
Dryden.

The mens ſecond marriages are not attended with ſuch diſgraceful notions; I confeſs it; but yet it is certain, that the widowers who married again were formerly and are ſtill liable to eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and if we may believe the learned Civilian, who wrote the Rights of the Queen, *the* Devolution, *which is in uſe in ſome countries, has been eſtabliſhed for no other reaſon but to reſtrain the incontinency of widowers, and to prevent their marrying again, to the great prejudice of the children they had by their firſt wife* (34). What he obſerves of Dido was not unknown to the illuſtrious Lady, who is the ſubject of this Article. I do not know whether ſhe had read the paſſage from Pauſanias, which I have quoted in the article GORGOPHONE, or the reaſons, which Plutarch mentions, why a virgin's wedding was never celebrated at Rome on a holiday, nor a widow's on a working-day. According to Varro the foundation of this cuſtom was, that we muſt never do any thing againſt our will on a holiday (35): now, adds he, a widow is pleaſed when ſhe marries, but a maiden grieves (36). This thought would be unworthy of that learned man, if we were to take it literally; we muſt therefore ſuppoſe that he ſpeaks only of outward appearances. His meaning is, no doubt, that as holidays are deſigned for public rejoicings, every one muſt appear with a joyful and pleaſed countenance during thoſe ſolemn feſtivals. Since therefore decency requires that maidens ſhould appear ſad and dull on their wedding day (37), and ſince the widows are not obliged to this diſſimulation, maidens are not married on holydays, &c. Let us mention another reaſon, alledged by Plutarch. He obſerves, that marriage being honourable to virgins, but a diſgrace to widows, the nuptials of the former ought to be celebrated before a great many perſons: this is glorious to the bride: on the contrary widows ought to wiſh, that their nuptials might be celebrated only before a few perſons; thisis the reaſon why they chooſe a day when people are drawn off to other public ſights. Ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι ταῖς μὲν παρθένοις, καλὸν μὴ ὀλίγων, ταῖς δὲ χήραις αἰσχρὸν πολλῶν ὄντων γαμεῖσθαι; ζηλωτὸς γὰρ ὁ πρώτῳ γάμῳ, ὁ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἀπευκταῖος· αἰσχύνονται γὰρ ἂν ζώντων τῶν προτέρων ἑτέρους λαμβάνουσι, δύρονται δὲ ἂν ἀποθανόντων· ὅθεν ἡσυχίᾳ χαίρουσι μᾶλλον ἢ θορύβοις καὶ προπομπαῖς· αἱ δὲ ἑορταὶ πιέζουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὥστε τοῖς τοιούτοις μὴ σχολάζειν. i. e. "Or rather becauſe it is glorious "for maidens but ſhameful for widows to marry in the "preſence of a great many perſons; for the nuptials of "the former are deſirable; but thoſe of the latter are to "be avoided. For a woman is aſhamed to marry again, "if her firſt husband be ſtill alive; or ſhe marries with "grief, if he be dead. Therefore widows chooſe to "marry with ſecrecy, rather than with pomp, and be- "fore a crowd of people: now ſolemn feſtivals call "the multitude to other places, ſo that they cannot "aſſiſt at weddings (38)." I thought it neceſſary to tranſcribe all Plutarch's words, becauſe as I gave only the ſubſtance of them in French, I did not well repreſent the whole ſtrength of his expreſſions, nor did I relate all the circumſtances he mentions, by which it appears how little a woman was eſteemed, when ſhe married a ſecond time. If you add to this the anſwers which ſome illuſtrious ladies made, when it was propoſed to them to take a ſecond husband (39), you will eaſily excuſe the exaggeration which ſeems to be in our Lucretia's words.

Remember the anſwer of another lady of the houſe of Gonzaga (40)

[F] *A collection was made even of the notes ſhe wrote to her Servants.*] They did not omit even what ſhe wrote to her footman to chide him becauſe he did not readily obey dame Lucy, who was her houſe-keeper (41). They did not omit even what ſhe wrote to this ſame Lucy to forbid her to be ſo ſaving, and to command her to whip an undutiful ſervant maid till the blood run. *Se Livia non vi è obediente alzatele in capo i drappi & datelene tante che le carni ſi facciano livide & il ſangue le ſcorra fino alle calcagna* (42). i. e. "If Livia will not be o- "bedient, turn up her coats, and whip her till her fleſh "be black and blew, and the blood run down to her "heels." I do not know whether Monſieur Montrueil pretended to follow this example when he put into the collection of his letters what he wrote to his butcher (43); but I am of opinion that this kind of our Lucretia's notes might very well have been ſuppreſſed without any injury to her reputation. But I think quite otherwiſe of thoſe notes, by which it appears that ſhe took great care to provide husbands for her maid ſervants.

(28) The beſt manuſcripts have *legitimæ*.

(29) Valerius Maximus, lib. 2. cap. 1. num. 3.

§ In our edition of Valerius Maximus, which is of Francfort with the Notes of Stephen Pighius and Chriſtopher Colerus, we read *Qui depoſitæ virginitatis cubile pudicum &c.* which reading appearing to us the moſt probable we have followed it in our tranſlation.

(30) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 2. cap. 86.

(31) That is to ſay who had had but one huſband.

(32) *Fortunæ muliebri coronam non imponebat niſi univira.* Tertullian.

(33) Βαΐαι, ἔφη, ἵνα παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς γυναῖκες ἦσι. Chryſoſt. *Orat. ad viduam juniorem.*

(34) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for Sept. 1685, Art. 3. pag. 968, 969.

(35) Ἑορτὴ μηθὲν λυπουμένους ποιεῖν μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην. i. e. "We muſt not "do any thing "with grief, or "againſt our "will on an "holiday." Plut. *in Quæſt. Roman.* pag. 289. A.

(36) Λυπουμένας μὲν αἱ παρθένοι γαμοῦνται, χαίρουσαι δὲ γυναῖκες. i. e. "Virgins marry "with grief, "widows with "pleaſure." Idem, ibid.

(37) This was no doubt the cuſtom at Rome, as it is ſtill in ſeveral countries.

(38) Plut. *in Quæſt. Roman.* pag. 289. A.

(39) See the Remark [F] of the article PORCIA.

(40) See the article GONZAGA (Julia) quotation (1).

(41) This Letter is in pag. 226. See alſo what ſhe wrote to her Butler, pag. 222.

(42) Ibid. pag. 227.

(43) See the article PAYS. remark [B].

of her Letters: you will alſo meet there with a great many proofs of her virtue and piety. The reproofs ſhe made to ſome lewd, covetous, or haughty perſons, abound with good ſenſe [G], and do not leſs deſerve to be read, than thoſe ſhe addreſſed to a Prieſt, who indulged himſelf in the pleaſures of love [H]. One may alſo be very much edified by reading what ſhe wrote to a mother, who wanted to be comforted becauſe ſhe could not perſuade her daughter to chooſe rather to be a Nun than to marry (5): ſhe repreſented

(5) Ibid. pag. 34, 35.

vants. This is a circumſtance very honourable to her: It is one of the good Qualities which a great lady ought to have; and at the ſame time it is a virtue rarely to be met with amongſt perſons of a high rank; for if a lady is not well waited upon, ſhe diſmiſſes her ſervants, chamber maids, &c. without any reward. And if they ſerve her well, ſhe keeps them as long as ſhe can, without minding to get them married, which would deprive her of their good and faithful ſervices. There are no perſons more inexcuſable in this reſpect than ladies of a high rank, who have a great number of attendants; for they can know very eaſily by the great familiarity there is between their man and maid ſervants, that they could not do them a greater kindneſs than to marry them together. The greateſt carefulneſs of the miſtreſſes, their ſeverity, their exhortations, their reproofs, can never prevent the familiarity and private meetings of their Servants, nor another more free communication between them, the conſequences of which often break out in a very ſcandalous manner. This ſhews us moſt evidently what a perſon ought to do in order to reward the ſervices of his ſervants. Let us therefore blame thoſe Ladies, who do not follow our Lucretias's example, and let us commend her for her affection and kindneſs towards the perſons of her ſex, who waited upon her. She was ſo kind as to write with her own hand to Cornelia Giannoti that ſhe had found a young, rich, and handſom husband for her: She gave her an exact account of all his good qualities; ſhe told her that he was very modeſt in his diſcourſes (44), had a great deal of wit, was polite in his manners, induſtrious, grave, civil, &c. Thus much with regard to his mind; ſhe did not omit what related to the body: She even entered into a very particular account in that reſpect. *Vengo hora alle qualità corporali*, ſaid ſhe, *lequai ſonomi parute degne di contemplatione percioche egli è piu toſto robuſto, che dilicato, non molto grande, ma thoroſo, d'occhio vivaciſſimo; di largo petto; di fianco rotundo; di gamba ſuelta, di fronte ampia; di capo tondo, & ricciuto, ne aggiugne al ventеſimo anno* (*per quanto ſi dice*) (45). i. e. "I come "now to the qualities of his body, which appeared to "me worthy to be obſerved. He is rather ſtrong than "weak, not very tall but well ſhaped; he has a very "briſk eye, a wide breaſt, a round waſte, a ſtrait leg, "a broad forehead, a round head, a curled hair; and "he is not yet twenty, (according to what is ſaid)." All this ſhews, that ſhe had choſen like a good miſtreſs and a good friend. At another time having met with a very good match for one of her women, ſhe wrote the good news immediately to her, and exhorted her on the one hand to give thanks to God, and on the other, to keep herſelf clean and neat, that her gallant, who was to come and ſee her, might not take her for the Cook-maid. *Rallegrati Giulia; & alza le mani al cielo, poi che mentre ſon ſtata alla fera di Rovigo; ti hò trovato un marito di tal qualita che ogn'uno che lo conoſce lo giudica laborioſo . . . . ponti adunque in ordine, percioche io penſo ch' egli ſe ne verra con noi alla Fratta; fache non ti retrovi con i capelli ſcarmigliati; col viſo tinto; ò con le mani impaſtricciate come ſe tu fuſſi la cuoca* (46). i. e. "Rejoice, Julia, and lift up your hands "to heaven: whilſt I was at the fair of Rovigo *, "I met with ſuch an huſband for you, that all they, "who know him, judge him to be a very laborious "man, . . . dreſs yourſelf therefore neatly, for I imagine that he will come with us to Fratta †: take "care that he do not find you with your hair looſe "about your head, with a dirty face, and with clammy hands, as though you were the Cook." She did the ſame kindneſs to one of her ſiſter's women (47).

(44) *Dalla ſua bucca non uſci mai parola (non dico vergognoſa) ma ne pur leggiera ò licentioſa.* i. e. "He never dropt "a word (I do "not ſay ob- "ſcene) but even "indiſcreet or "too free. *Lettere di Gonzaga*, pag. 221.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid. pag. 143.

* A City in the Commonwealth of Venice.

† A town in the State of the Church in Italy.

(47) *Lettere di Gonzaga*, pag. 143.

[G] *The reproofs ſhe gave to ſome lewd, covetous or haughty perſons, abound with good ſenſe.*] It is worth while reading what ſhe wrote to a perſon of her ſex, who pretended to excuſe her diſſoluteneſs by alledging that it was in vain to reſiſt (48). Our Lucretia adviſed her amongſt other things, to eat but little, not to ſleep long, to avoid idleneſs, to fly from all too frree converſations, to forbear lawful pleaſures, to ſtudy the holy Scripture, and to apply herſelf to prayers. I do not wonder, ſays ſhe to her, that you have not the ſtrength to deprive yourſelf of ſenſual pleaſures: for I do not find that you take any care to avoid thoſe things, which may prompt you to laſciviouſneſs. The temptations of the fleſh are like Sirens; to be free from them we muſt not come near them (49). *Non ti vego porre alcuna diligenza per ſchivar quelle coſe che alla libidine incitar ti poſſono, & e bon raggione che* CHI AMA IL PERICOLO PERISCA NEL PERICOLO. *Sono le tentationi carnali ſimili alle Sirene, delli quali pochi ne ſcampano ſe non ſi allontanana* (50). i. e. "I do not ſee that you take the leaſt "care to avoid thoſe things, which may prompt you "to laſciviouſneſs: and it is very truly ſaid, that *who "loves danger periſhes in the danger.* The temptations "of the fleſh are like Sirens, &c." We muſt here obſerve by the by, a very common miſtake: men complain that they are not able to reſiſt ſome temptations, though they ſtrive againſt them, they ſay, as much as lies in their power. But is it ſtriving againſt them with all one's power, to feed upon the moſt delicate meet, to viſit all ſorts of people, to hunt after the moſt agreeable companies &c. It is ſo eaſy to go beyond the bounds that ſeparate lawful pleaſures? from thoſe that are forbidden, that one cannot believe a perſon labours ſincerely to lead a virtuous life, who does not deprive himſelf of ſeveral innocent conveniencies. *Raffrenati etiandio dai liciti piaceri* (51), wean yourſelf alſo from lawful pleaſures, muſt we ſay to voluptuous men, as it was ſaid to the diſſolute woman whom I mention here. This lewd woman had a ſiſter who led the ſame life; our Lucretia wrote to her a long Letter (52), in which ſhe urged the ſtrongeſt reaſons to reclaim this creature. It is impoſſible to write with more ſtrength and eloquence againſt this brutiſh vice than ſhe does. She is not leſs eloquent when ſhe reproves an old ſinner, and turns him into ridicule. *Oh bella coſa, che per tutta la città voſtra ſi dica, che non vi poſſitate per vechiezza che vi habbia ſovragiunto diſtogliere dallo libidinoſe ſchifezze, ... Fra tutti i moſtri, niuna coſa è piu monſtruoſa di un vecchio libidinoſo. Contemplate almeno allo ſpecchio i canuti capegli, la canuta barba, la fronte rugoſa, & la faccia ſimigliante ad un cadavero* (53). i. e. "O the fine thing that is repeated all "over your City, that you, though you be very old, "cannot yet renounce your lewdneſs. Of all the "monſters none is more monſtrous than an old lecher. "Pray behold in the looking-glaſs thoſe grey hairs, "that grey beard, that wrinkled fore-head, and that "face which looks like a dead corps." What ſhe wrote to a man who far from meeting in the married ſtate with a cure of his diſſoluteneſs, was become more laſcivious ſtill, is not leſs ſtrong (54). If ſhe had a mind to reprove all the perſons, who neither by old age nor by marriage can be cured of their intemperance, ſhe muſt have written more Letters than could be contained in two volumes in folio. As for the covetous or haughty perſons, whom ſhe endeavoured to reclaim, ſee the pages I quote in the margin (55).

(49) Compare this with what is obſerved in the article FONTEVRAUD, remark [M] and [N].

(50) *Lettere di L. Gonzaga*, pag. 293.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Ibid. pag. 294, &c. See what ſhe wrote to other lewd women, p. 128, 166.

(53) *Lettere di L. Gonzaga*, pag. 298.

(54) *Io mi credevo, che voi vi foſte maritato, perche il matrimonio vi haveſſe ad eſſere il rifuggio della voſtra incontinenza: ma per quanto s'intende, gli vi è piu toſto ſtato un ſprone, & uno incitamento alla luſſuria.* Ibid. pag. 299.

(55) Ibid. pag. 29, 129, 174, 232, 304.

(56) Ibid. pag. 297.

[H] *And do not leſs deſerve to be read than thoſe ſhe addreſſed to a prieſt, who indulged himſelf in the pleaſures of love.*] She ſpeaks to him after this manner (56). *Egli è pur forza che pospoſto ogni rispetto, io vi ammoniſca, & vi faccia rauvedere dei voſtri ſporchi falli, voi ſacerdote d'* IDDIO, *tutto conſacrato alle coſe divine, non vi vergognerete toccare la putrida carne di una meretrice, con quella bocca, con laquale ricevete il corpo del noſtro Signore; & non vi vergognerete trattare ſi odioſe brutture con quelle iſteſſe mani, con lequali, celebrate quello ineffabile miſterio miniſtrandovi gli agnoli? Oh come non ſi patono inſieme, farſi quel medeſimo corpo, & ſpirito con* IDDIO, *& un medeſimo corpo con la malvagia femina.* i. e. "It is againſt my inclination that breaking in upon "the reſpect I owe you, I venture to give you ſome "advice, and to put you in mind of your filth[illegible]in. Are

preſented to her in a few words the beſt arguments which the Proteſtants made uſe of to prove the excellency and holineſs of a married life. Let us not forget to obſerve, that ſhe was the daughter of Pyrrhus Gonzaga, and that ſhe had ſome brothers and ſiſters (*t*).

(*t*) Ibid. pag. 87.

" Are you not aſhamed, you that are a prieſt of God " entirely conſecrated to divine things, to touch the " rotten fleſh of a proſtitute with the ſame mouth in " which you receive the Body of our Lord? Are you " not aſhamed to handle ſuch odious filth with the " ſame hands with which you celebrate the unſpeak- " able myſtery, which the Angels adminiſter with you? " Oh, how impoſſible it is to be at the ſame time one " body and ſpirit with God, and one body with a " wicked woman!"

GORGOPHONE, the daughter of Perſeus and Andromeda, was the wife of Perieres the ſon of Æolus and King of the Meſſenians in the Peloponneſus. Having ſurvived her huſband ſhe married again with Oebalus, and is the firſt woman, that was twice married. For before her time the perſons of her ſex had made it a matter of conſcience never to marry again (*a*). This innovation cannot be ſo great a diſgrace to her as Lamech's was to him; when he introduced an innovation by marrying two wives who lived at the ſame time with him. But yet it is a diſgrace when it is obſerved by the Hiſtorians, that a perſon has been the firſt who was remiſs in the practice of ſtrict morality. The remiſſneſs of Gorgophone's children was infinitely more to be blamed; for they were guilty of inceſt. She had two ſons by her firſt huſband, namely, Aphareus and Leucippus. By her ſecond huſband ſhe had a daughter named Arene, who married Amphareus. This Amphareus ſuffered indeed his ſon to reign with him at Meſſenia, but he kept the chief authority in his own hands. He built a City, which for his wife's ſake he called Arene (*b*). Gorgophone was buried at Argos her native place (*c*). By her ſecond huſband ſhe had a ſon named Tyndarus, who was Helena's father (*d*). I imagine that Plautus took Gorgophone to be Amphytrion's grandmother [*A*], and not his aunt.

(*a*) Πρότερον δὲ καθεσθῆναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀποθανόντι χηρεύειν. Pauſanias, *ex Verſione* Romuli Amaſæi, lib. 2. pag. 64.

(*b*) Pauſanias, lib. 4. pag. 112.

(*c*) Idem, lib. 2. pag. 64.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. pag. 81.

[*A*] *Plautus took Gorgophone for Amphitryon's grandmother.*] His words are (1); *Ego idem ille ſum Amphitruo, Gorgophones Nepos, Imperator Thebanorum.* i. e. " I am that Amphitryon, Gorgophone's grand-ſon, " and General of the Thebans." Madam le Fevre makes the following note upon this. " I never met in " the ancients with the word *Nepos* for what we call a " *Nephew*; it always ſignifies a *Grandſon*. However " I think that Ovid took it in the ſame ſenſe as Plau- " tus does here: for Gorgophone was the daughter of " Perſeus, and the ſiſter of Alceus, and conſequently " Amphitryon's aunt." For my part I cannot believe that Plautus took the word *Nepos* in any other ſenſe but that of *Grandſon*. We do not find with certainty that this word had any other meaning before the Latin Tongue began to be corrupted; ſo that all they, that read the Play of Amphitryon or ſaw it acted, could not but underſtand directly a *Grandſon* by the word *Nepos*. Is it probable, that the Poet would have thus impoſed upon them, by ſtyling the grandſon of Gorgophone a perſon who had been only her nephew? I know that according to the Genealogy related by Apollodorus (2), Amphitryon was only Gorgophone's nephew; but I know alſo, that all the Genealogies of thoſe fabulous times have been differently related, and Plautus had very probably read ſome Authors, according to whom Amphitryon was Gorgophone's grandſon. Let us remember that ſhe was twice married, and had children by both her huſbands. It has perhaps been ſuppoſed that ſhe had a daughter who was Alceus's wife and Amphitryon's mother. This would not be more ſtrange than what we read in Apollodorus (3), namely that Electryon married his niece Anaxo, the daughter of Alceus. If Electryon married the daughter of his brother Alceus, the latter may very well have married the daughter of his ſiſter Gorgophone. Add to this, that the Authors that are extant, differ about Alceus's wife, who was Amphitryon's mother. Some (4) pretend, that ſhe was the daughter of Menœceus, and that her name was Hipponome. Others (5) aſſert, that ſhe was called Lyſidice, and was Pelops's daughter. Laſtly, others (6) make her the daughter of Guneus, who was of Pheneum in Arcadia, and call her Laonome. Why might there not have been ſome Authors ſtill extant in Plautus's time, who aſſerted that ſhe was Gorgophone's daughter (7)? Let us obſerve, that we ought not to wonder that Amphitryon would boaſt of his Genealogy upon the Stage. The very name of Gorgophone put the Audience in mind of Perſeus the Conqueror of the Gorgons. This action occaſioned the name his daughter bore (8).

(1) Amphitr. Act. 4. Scen. 4. ver. 49.

(2) Lib. 2. pag. m. 97.

(3) Apollodor. lib. 2. pag. m. 97.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 248.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Compare this with what I obſerved below in the Remark [*F*] of the Article TELEBOES.

(8) Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 64.

GORLÆUS (ABRAHAM) born at Antwerp in the year 1549, gained a reputation by his care in collecting a great number of medals, and other antiques of that kind. He was chiefly fond of the rings and ſeals of the Ancients. He collected a prodigious number of them, as appears by the Work he publiſhed in the year 1601 [*A*]. Seven years after he publiſhed a Collection of ſeveral Medals. He had pitched upon the City of Delft for the place of his reſidence, and died there April the 15th, 1609. It

[*A*] *The Work he publiſhed in the year* 1601.] The title is this: *Dactyliotheca, ſive Annulorum ſigillarium quorum apud priſcos tam Græcos quam Romanos uſus ex ferro, ære, argento, & auro, Promptuarium.* i. e. " The " Ring-caſe, containing the ſeal-rings of the ancients " both Greek and Roman, made of iron, braſs, ſilver " or gold." This was the firſt part of the Work: The ſecond was intitled, *Variarum Gemmarum, quibus Antiquitas in ſignando uti ſolita, ſculpturæ.* i. e. " The " ſtamps of ſeveral gems, which the ancients uſed for " ſeals." The Date of the Dedication makes me ſay that this Work was printed in the year 1601, though Swertius (1) and Valerius Andreas (2) aſſert, that it was printed at Nuremberg in the year 1600. The Author dedicated his Book to the Elector of Cologne October the firſt 1601. Beſides the Author's picture prefixed to his Work is of the ſame year (3). Laſtly, Gronovius, who has publiſhed a new Edition of this Work (4), obſerves (5) that it was printed the firſt year of this Century (*the ſeventeenth*). The Edition of this Work in Thuanus's Library is of Leiden 1605; and in Monſieur le Tellier's, Archbiſhop of Rheims, it is of Antwerp 1609. Father Labbe mentions (6) an Edition of Leiden 1650; but the Printers have perhaps put 1650 inſtead of 1605 by the tranſpoſition of one figure only. However it be, the Edition of Leiden 1695 is infinitely better than any of the others; for it not only contains a vaſt number of Cuts, but alſo a ſhort but learned explication of them, made by Gronovius.

(1) Swert. *Ath. Belgic.* pag. 87.

(2) Val. Andreas, *Bibliothec. Belgic.* pag. 1.

(3) It ſhews, that he was then in the 52d year of his age.

(4) At Leyden for Vander Aa, 1695.

(5) In Præfat.

(6) *Biblioth. Bibliothec. in Manuſſa Antiquariæ Supellectilis*, pag. m. 341.

It is not true that he had a place in the mint there [*B*]. Some Authors assert that he never studied the Latin tongue [*C*], and that the learned Preface, which is prefixed to his *Dactyliotheca* was written by another [*D*]. His heirs sold his Collections of Antiques to the Prince of Wales (*a*). It is not always safe to trust to his Medals, if we may depend on the *Scaligerana* [*E*].

(*a*) *See* Swertius, *Athen. Belgic.* pag. 87.

[*B*] *It is not true that he had a place in the mint, at Delft.*] Valerius Andreas has made a very gross blunder. *Abrahamus Gorlæus*, says he, *Antverpiæ natus celebri Emporio, Delphis Batavorum vixit in Collegio III Virorum Monetalium.* i. e. "Abraham Gor-"læus, born at Antwerp a famous trading city, lived "at Delft in Holland in the College of the three Di-"rectors of the Mint." We have here two assertions; the first is, that there is at Delft a College of three Directors of the Mint; the second, that Gorlæus was one of these three Directors. Now both these assertions are false. This blunder was occasioned by these words of Gorlæus (8). *Nescio quo fato in antiquorum numismatum* Σκωρίαν *delapsus, reique dulcedine allectus, totum me trado huic contemplationi, & tanquam in Collegium III Virorum Monetalium cooptatus, nihil præter nummos veteres somnio.* i. e. "I do not know by what fa-"tality I happen to study the ancient coins; and allured "by the agreeableness of the subject, I apply myself "entirely to it, and as tho' I were one of the Trium-"virs of the Mint, I dream of nothing but of anci-"ent medals." Swertius (9) has very well understood the sense of these words: but Valerius Andreas has entirely mistaken the meaning of them; he does not say, that Gorlæus applied himself to the study of ancient coins, as though he had been one of the Triumvirs of the Mint, but he represents him as one that really was one of them. Gronovius has enquired into the reasons, which obliged this Antiquary to leave his native country and to retire into Holland for the rest of his life, and what employment the Magistrates of Delft gave him: but he could not discover any thing. *Ipsum Gorlæum cognoscere familiarius cupivi, & quæ causa illum induxisset patriam Batavia mutare, præsertim cum dissona de eo memorentur, sic ut ibi quoque mori & sepeliri novem annis post voluerit. Ipse in præfatione postrema videtur se describere eum qui publicis quotidie distringeretur muneribus, & qualia ista fuerint rescíscere non magis potui, quam id ipsum quod modo dixi* (10). i. e. "I desired to know more particulars of Gorlæus's life, "and what reason obliged him to leave his native "country and to settle in Holland, especially since "different reports are spread concerning him, so that "he would after nine years be buried there. He seems "in his last Preface to represent himself as a man "who by his publick employments is daily divert-"ed from his studies; but what these employ-"ments were I could no more learn than what I have "just now mentioned." It is certain that Gorlæus speaks of himself as of a man, whose public employments did not suffer him to study so much as he could have wished. *Cæterum*, says he (11), *cum illud præstare quod a nobis ipsi exigimus, ejus sit verius, qui in umbratica rerum contemplatione & desidia literarum torpescit, quam qui publicis quotidie distringitur muneribus, aliis relinquemus quod optari possit, nobis quod ad nominis nostri existimationem publicamque utilitatem sufficiet reservabimus.* i. e. "But as those things, which I had imposed "upon my self as a task, belong rather to them who "have leisure to study quietly in their closet, than to "them who are daily diverted from their studies by "publick employments, I shall leave to others what I "wished might be done, and keep for my self only "what may be sufficient for my own reputation, and "for the good of the Publick."

(7) *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 1.

(8) *In* Alloquio ad Lectorem.

(9) *Athen. Belgic.* pag. 87.

(10) Gronovius, *in Præfat.*

(11) *In 2 Monito ad Lectorem.*

[*C*] *Some Authors assert that he never studied the Latin Tongue.*] Peireskius related this, when he mentioned the conversations he had had with Gorlæus at Delft. The words of this Historian deserve to be transcribed. *Quo loco narrare solebat rem memoratu non indignam; nempe Gorlæum, cum alias Latinæ Linguæ non studuisset, intellexisse tamen Libros omnes circa rem nummariam Latinè conscriptos, eodem modo quo Forcatulus omnes circa rem mathematicam: tantum valet improbus labor ex desiderio quidpiam noscendi vehementissimo profectus* (12). i. e. "On which occasion he used to relate a circum-"stance not unworthy to be remembered; namely that "though Gorlæus never studied the Latin Tongue, "yet he understood all the Books written in Latin "concerning Medals and Coins, just as Forcatulus un-"derstood the mathematical Books; such is the effect "of an unwearied labour, when it proceeds from a "very earnest desire of knowing some things." This would be extraordinary enough, and more perhaps to Gorlæus's honour, than it would be disgraceful to him not to have studied. Is it not a sign of a great genius, to understand a Latin Book only by the knowledge one has of the subject it treats of? Plutarch observes somewhere, that his studying the Roman History in Greek Books was the reason why he understood the Language of the Latin Historians. Gorlæus might have said, that his skill in Medals made him understand the meaning of the Latin Authors, who wrote upon that science. But this story of Peireskius cannot be reconciled with what we read in Swertius, who had been familiarly acquainted with Gorlæus (13). A school-fellow of Andrew Schottus used no doubt to go to the Latin School. Gronovius (14) makes use of this argument against Gassendi's assertion.

(12) Gassendus, *in Vita Peireskii*, lib. 2. *ad ann.* 1606, pag. m. 265.

[*D*] . . . *And that the learned Preface, which is prefixed to his* Dactyliotheca *was written by another.*] Cunæus asserts that Ælius Everhard Vorstius was the Author of it; he asserts it, I say, in Vorstius's funeral Oration. A learned German (15), who wrote concerning Rings, asserts the same.

(13) *Mihi familiaris; liberalibus studiis à primis adolescentiæ annis delectatus, condiscipulum habuit Andream Schottum Soc. Jesu Presbyt.* Swertius, *Athen. Belgic.* pag. 87.

(14) *In Præfatione.*

(15) Kirchmannus, cap. 3. *de Annulis*, pag. 13. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1672.

[*E*] *It would not . . . be safe to trust to his Medals, if we may depend on the* Scaligerana,] We meet there with the following words (16). *Gorlæus casts medals; he shewed me some, but I found that they were not ancient; since that time he shewed me none but genuine ones: he is a good man.* This and the following part of the passage shews that Scaliger ranked Gorlæus amongst the Coiners of false medals.

(16) In pag. 97.

GORLÆUS (DAVID) a native of Utrecht lived in the seventeenth Century. He published some Philosophical Works (*a*), in which he did not follow the common opinions of the schools. Regius one of Des Cartes's disciples, suffering great vexations on account of a Thesis concerning the union of the soul with the body, said in his defence, that he had made use of Gorlæus's own words. But this availed him nothing, and engaged Voetius Professor of Divinity, to represent Gorlæus's opinions in the worst light he could [*A*].

(*a*) *Exercitationes Philosophicæ, anno* 1620, in 8vo. *Item Idea Physices.* Konig, *Biblioth. Vet. & Nov.* p. 355. *See* Sorel, p. 248. of the *Perfection humaine.*

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[*A*] *Vossius . . . . represented Gorlæus's opinions in the worse light he could.*] You will find an account of all this in Monsieur Baillet (1). He tells us, that Regius had asserted amongst other things *, that "the union "of the soul and body did not constitute a being by "itself, but only accidentally. . . . . As this did not a-"gree with the usual language of the School, Voetius "thought it a sufficient reason to declare Regius an "heretick, and to proceed to his deprivation. In vain "did Regius endeavour to defend himself by alledg-"ing, that this manner of speaking was not peculiar "to him, but that he had borrowed it from Gorlæ-"us's Writings, such as it was inserted in his Theses. "Voetius procured an order in the name of the Fa-"culty of Divinity . . . whereby the Students in Divi-"nity were forbidden to assist at Regius's Lectures, they "containing doctrines destructive to Religion. Some "days after, Voetius published some Theses, to which "he added three positions: *The first was this*; The "opinion of the Atheist Taurellus, and of David "Gorlæus, who assert that man composed of a soul "and a body is a being by accident, and not by it-"self

(1) *Vie de Des Cartes*, tom. 2. pag. 145, 146. under the year 1641.

* Ex mente & corpore non fit unum per se, sed per accidens.

GOSELINI (JULIAN) born at Rome in the year 1525, was at the age of ſeventeen Secretary to Ferdinand Gonzaga Viceroy of Sicily. He continued in the ſame employment when this Viceroy was made Governor of Milan. He enjoyed that poſt alſo under the Duke of Alba, and the Duke of Sueſſa, who were ſucceſſively Governors of that State after Gonzaga's death. The Duke of Sueſſa took him with him to the Court of Spain, where Goſelini made himſelf ſo acceptable by his ability and prudence, that the Duke was given to underſtand, he would do well to employ only this Negotiator in the affairs he had to manage with the King. Goſelini was at the ſame time favoured with a yearly penſion of two hundred crowns for life. The Marquiſs of Peſcara, the Duke of Sueſſa's ſucceſſor, had the ſame regard for Goſelini, and repoſed the ſame truſt in him, as his predeceſſors had done. But things underwent a ſtrange alteration under the perſon that ſucceeded this Marquiſs. It was the Duke of Albuquerque. He treated Goſelini in ſuch a fantaſtical and ſavage manner, that he was like to make him loſe both his life and his reputation at once. Yet the iſſue of this perſecution turned to the Secretary's honour. He evaded the ſtroke artfully, and behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence during this heavy ſtorm, that he got honourably off. He was not reſtored to his poſt, but under the Marquiſs d'Aimonte, and under the Duke of Terranova, who were Governors of Milan; he ſerved them as Secretary, and they were very well pleaſed with his conduct. Amongſt the good qualities that are aſcribed to him, he is called the Pacifier of Diſputes; it is reported that he was extremely proper for it; this circumſtance deſerved to be taken notice of in his epitaph; *titulo res digna ſepulcri*; nor has it been omitted (*a*). The buſineſs of his employment, which he enjoyed above forty years, did not prevent him from publiſhing ſeveral works [*A*]. He died at Milan February the 12th 1587, aged near threeſcore and two years (*b*).

(*a*) *Componendis diſcordiis nato.*

(*b*) *Taken from* Ghilini, *Teatro d'huomini letterato*, Part. 1. pag. 134. *See alſo* Mandoſio, *Biblioth. Roman.* pag. 26.

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" ſelf, is abſurd and erroneous. *The third was this*; " That Philoſophy which explodes the ſubſtantial forms " of things with their proper and ſpecifick faculties, " or their active qualities, and conſequently the diſtinct " and ſpecifick natures of things, ſuch a Philoſophy, " as Taurellus, Gorlæus and Baſſon endeavoured to introduce amongſt us, is inconſiſtent with the Natural " Philoſophy taught by Moſes, and with all that the " Scripture teaches us. This Philoſophy is dangerous, " favouring Scepticiſm, capable to overthrow our belief concerning the reaſonable Soul, the Proceſſion " of the divine Perſons in the Trinity, the Incarnation " of JESUS CHRIST, original Sin, the Miracles, the " Prophecies, the Grace of our Regeneration, and the " being actually poſſeſſed with the Devil."

We ſee here evidently what effects the impreſſions of cuſtom and prejudice are capable to produce; they are a weight that carries us againſt the intereſt of the very cauſe we labour to aſſert. For can there be any thing more inconſiſtent with thoſe fundamental articles of religion (2), than to ſay, that they cannot be maintained but by the help of the Schoolmen's Doctrine concerning the diſtinction of the *ens per ſe*, and the *ens per accidens*, and concerning the Forms which make up the ſpecies of bodies? *Ens per ſe*, *ens per accidens* are unintelligible phraſes, a mere jargon of the Spaniſh logicians, which have no meaning at all. And as for the *ſubſtantial forms*, what is aſſerted of their nature, and of the manner in which they are produced or deſtroyed, is ſo abſurd and inconceivable, that one cannot make it paſs for a doctrine neceſſary to religion, without expoſing moſt dangerouſly the ſublimeſt truths of the Goſpel, and without filling the general courſe of nature with ſo many myſteries, that Religion will no longer have the leaſt advantage over nature. It is certain that the greateſt myſteries of the goſpel are at leaſt as eaſily underſtood, as the doctrine of the forms, and the nature of the *ens per ſe* of the ſchoolmen.

(2) I mean thoſe mentioned in the third Poſition.

Voſſius is not concerned in this reflection but after a very remote and indirect manner; for when we conſult his whole poſition, we find that the reaſon, why he thinks it ſo dangerous for the doctrines of the goſpel, to explode the *forms*, is not the very exploding of thoſe *forms*, but the motive for which they are exploded. *Quidquid ſit de ſumma rei, quam Philoſophorum diſquiſitioni relinquimus, hoc unum ſaltem hyponema ſtudioſis noſtris ſubjicimus: Achillei argumenti iſtius, quo formas explodere conantur, conſequentiam ſuſpectam habeant; quæ eſt hæc, negatur eſſentia & exiſtentia formarum, quia earum origo ſeu modus originis incertus eſt, aut explicari non poteſt, ſic ut patroni formarum & ſibi & aliis in eo ſatisfaciant. Hoc periculoſo axiomate ſemel hauſto proclive erit vanitati, ſcepticiſmo & petulantiæ humani ingenii diſputare, non dari animam rationalem, &c.* i. e. " As " for the ſubject it ſelf, I leave it to the Philoſophers " examination, I ſhall only obſerve this for the information of my Diſciples. Let them ſuſpect the conſequences of that ſtrong argument, by which ſome " perſons endeavour to confute the ſubſtantial forms: " The exiſtence and reality of thoſe forms is denied, " becauſe their origin, or the manner of their origin " is uncertain, and cannot be explained ſo as to ſatisfy both the aſſertors of the forms, and others. But " if this dangerous axiom be once admitted, the " vanity, ſcepticiſm, and petulance of the genius " of men, will ſoon make them queſtion, whether " there be ſuch a thing as a rational ſoul &c." He obſerves that the chief argument of thoſe who will not admit them is, that it is impoſſible to explain how they are produced; he ſhews afterwards, that it is to be feared leſt by ſuch an argument men come at laſt to deny the myſteries &c. This alters the ſtate of the queſtion, and brings the controverſy to a more eaſy concluſion. It is only explaining the equivocations, and ſhewing where the difference lyes. But as to thoſe who condemn the exploding of the forms, as though in it ſelf it was dangerous to religion, I ſay it again, they deſerve that one ſhould repreſent to them what I have obſerved above.

In the remark [*E*] of the article HEIDANUS you will meet with ſomething concerning the unanſwerable difficulties to which the doctrine of the peripateticks about ſubſtantial forms is liable. But if you have a mind to ſee this at length, you muſt conſult the firſt volume of Hadrian Hereboord's Theſes, from page 125, to page 148, where he urges the learned and ſubtle arguments of William Pemble, who wrote in Engliſh upon this ſubject.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral works*] Here follow the titles of ſome. *Rime: Diſcorſi: Lettere; Ragionamento ſopra i Componimenti del Borgheſi: Dichiarazione di alcuni Componimenti: Vita di Don Ferdinando Gonzaga: Trè Congiure, cioè de Pazzi e Salviati contra i Medici, del Conte Giovan Luigi de' Fieſchi contra la Republica de Genova, & d'alcuni Piacentini contra il loro Duca Pietro Luigi Farneſe.* i. e. " Poems; " Diſcourſes; Letters; Dialogues concerning the Diſpoſitions of the Citizens; An Explication of ſome " other Diſpoſitions: The Life of Don Ferdinand " Gonzaga. Three Conſpiracies; that of the Pazzi " and Salviati againſt the Medicis; of Count John " Lewis de Fieſchi againſt the Republick of Genoa; " and that of ſome Citizens of Piacenza againſt their " Duke Peter Lewis Farneſe." He alſo wrote ſome Verſes and Letters in Latin; and he has tranſlated into Italian a French book intitled, *Recit veritable des choſes qui ſe ſont paſſées au Pais-Bas depuis l'arrivée de Don Juan d'Autriche.* i. e. " A true account of what " has happened in the Low-Countries ſince Don John " of Auſtria's arrival." Monſieur Varillas did not know

GOSSELIN. I know three Norman Authors of that name. WILLIAM GOSSELIN, a native of Caen, lived in the ſixteenth Century, and applied himſelf to the Mathematics [*A*]. JOHN GOSSELIN lived in the ſame Century. He was born at Vire, and was the King's Library-keeper. He applied himſelf very much to Aſtrology [*B*]. He died very old, and in a ſurpriſing manner. We ſhall ſee what Scaliger has ſaid of him [*C*]. ANTHONY GOSSELIN was of Caen, and Regius-Profeſſor of Hiſtory and Eloquence in that City, and Principal of the College called *Du Bois*. In the year 1636 he publiſhed in Latin the Hiſtory of the ancient Gauls. He committed a great many blunders in it, as Bochart ſhewed in ſome obſervations which he made upon that work, and which he would not publiſh, leſt he ſhould thereby diſpleaſe the Author's friends and relations. Theſe obſervations have been inſerted into the laſt edition of his works.

know that Goſſelini wrote an account of Count Fieſchi's conſpiracy; for when he tells us why he gives an account of that conſpiracy, he mentions (1) but four Authors who publiſhed hiſtories of it: Hubertus Folietta, Agoſtino Maſcardi, Madam de Scuderi, and Cardinal de Rets. He owns that *they are all incomparable in their kind*; but that the two firſt give France too great a ſhare in that plot, and the two laſt give her too little a ſhare in it.

(1) Preface to his *Hiſtory of Francis I.*

[*A*] WILLIAM GOSSELIN .... *applied himſelf to the Mathematics.*] This appears by the work which he publiſhed at Paris in the year 1577, with this title. *De Arte magna, ſeu de occulta parte numerorum, quæ & Algebra & Almucabala vulgo dicitur, libri quatuor, in quibus explicantur æquationes Diophantis, & regulæ quantitatis ſimplicis, & quantitatis ſurdæ.* i. e. "Of "the great Art, or of the hidden part of Numbers, "which is commonly called Algebra, and Almucabala; "in four Books; in which the Equations of Diophan- "tus are explained, and the rules given with regard "to ſimple, and ſurd quantities." He added Demonſtrations and Inventions to the French Tranſlation he made of Nicholas Tartaglia, an Italian Author's Arithmetick. This Tranſlation was printed at Paris in the year 1577 (1), and the next year at Antwerp by Plantin (2).

(1) *Taken from* Du Verdier Vau Privas, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 478.

(2) La Croix du Maine, pag. 147.

[*B*] JOHN GOSSELIN ... *applied himſelf very much to Aſtrology.*] Witneſs the Book he publiſhed at Paris in the year 1577, which he intitled, *Hiſtoria Imaginum cæleſtium noſtro ſæculo accommodata, in qua earum viciſſitudines ſeu habitudines inter ſe, atque ſtellarum fixarum ſitus & magnitudines explicantur.* i. e. "An Account "of the celeſtial appearances, ſuited to the preſent "age, containing an explication of their changings or "of the relations between them, and of the ſituation "and bigneſs of the fixed Stars." He had publiſhed ſix years before this, *La main harmonique, ou les principes de la Muſique antique & moderne, & les proprietez que la moderne reçois des ſept Planétes, comme auſſi Ephemerides ou Almanach du jour & de la nuit, pour cent ans, commençant en l'an* 1571 (3). i. e. "The "harmonick hand, or the firſt Principles of ancient "and modern Muſick, and the qualities which the "modern receives from the ſeven Planets; *as alſo*, E- "phemerides, or an Almanack for the day and the "night, calculated for an hundred years, beginning "with the year 1571." He publiſhed at Paris in the year 1582 a Table for the Reformation of the year; and a French Tranſlation of the Gregorian Calendar (4). Obſerve that Voſſius (5) does not in the leaſt mention theſe two Authors; which ſhews that he knew nothing of them.

(3) *Taken from* Du Verdier Vau Privas, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 708.

(4) La Croix du Maine, pag. 230.

[*C*] ...*He died very old ... we ſhall ſee what Scaliger has ſaid of him.*] "*Goſſelin*, the King's Library "Keeper, was burnt to death; he fell into the fire, "and being alone and very old, he could not get up "again; which happens generally to old people. "Caſaubon will have his place. This late Library "Keeper Goſſelin would not ſuffer any perſon to enter "into the Library: ſo that Caſaubon meets with trea- "ſures, which were not known to be there (6)."

(5) In his book *De Scientiis Mathematicis.*

(6) *Scaligerana*, pag. m. 97.

We may draw two inferences from this paſſage, the one is, that John Goſſelin died towards the beginning of the XVIIth Century; the other, that his place was given to Caſaubon.

GOUDIMEL (CLAUDIUS) one of the moſt excellent Muſicians in the ſixteenth Century was barbarouſly murthered at Lyons in the year 1572, becauſe he was of the Reformed Religion. The Martyrology of the Proteſtants mentions him [*A*]. D'Aubigné is miſtaken, who reckons him amongſt thoſe that was murthered at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day [*B*]. Monſieur Varillas has not committed this blunder; but he was in the wrong to imagiue that Goudimel and Claudin the younger were one and the ſame perſon [*C*]. He makes a curious obſervation againſt thoſe that did not ſave ſo able a Muſician's

[*A*] *The martyrology of the Proteſtants mentions him*]. In theſe words (1) "Claudius Goudimel, an excel- "lent muſician, whoſe reputation will be immortal, "by his ſucceſsful labours on the Pſalms of David, "moſt of whom he has ſet to muſick in the form "of motetto's for four, five, ſix or eight voices; and "he would ſoon after have compleated that work, "had he not been prevented by death: but the e- "nemies of God's Glory, and ſome wicked perſons, "who envied the reputation which this man had "gained, have deprived thoſe, that love chriſtian "muſick, of that advantage".

(1) Book 10. folio 727, under the year 1572.

[*B*] *D' Aubigne is miſtaken, who reckons him amongſt thoſe that were murthered at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day.*] After he has mentioned ſeveral perſons of note, whom the maſſacrers at Paris murthered, he adds, *Goudimel, an excellent Muſician, and Perrot a Civilian; all theſe were thrown out of the windows, dragged along the ſtreets, and carried to the river, at the Duke of Montpenſier's inſtigation, who joined with thoſe, who, as we have obſerved, cried, kill them, for they have made an attempt on the King's life* (2). If he had conſulted Thuanus, as he has done on other occaſions, he would not have committed that blunder. For here follows what we read in Thuanus in the paſſage concerning the ſlaughter committed at Lyons. *Eandem fortunam expertus eſt Claudius Gaudimelus excellens noſtræ ætate Muſicus; qui Pſalmos Davidicos vernaculos Verſibus a Clemente Maroto & Theodore Beza expreſſos, ad varios & jucundiſſimos modulationum numeros aptavit, quibus & hodie publicè in concionibus Proteſtantium ac privatim decantantur* (3). i. e. "Claudius Goudimel "an excellent Muſician of this age met with the "ſame fate; he had ſet to muſic in a moſt agreeable "manner the Pſalms of David written in French "verſe by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, which "are ſtill ſung to his tunes publickly by the Prote- "ſtants in their Churches, and privately at home."

(2) *Hiſtoire Univerſelle*, tom. 2. liv. 1. chap. 4. under the year 1572.

(3) Thuanus, *Hiſtor.* lib. 52. pag. m. 1084.

[*C*] *Monſieur Varillas ....was in the wrong to imagine that Goudimel and Claudin the younger were one and the ſame perſon*]. We ſhall ſee in the following remark that he makes but one perſon of theſe two. In order to refute him, I muſt relate here a remarkable circumſtance concerning this Claudin, by which it appears that he was ſtill alive nine years after the ſlaughter committed on St. Bartholomew's day. I have read that circumſtance in the Commentary which has been printed with the Life of Apollonius of Tyana tranſlated into French. I ſhall quote the Commentator's words, though they be not very elegant (4). "It was alſo by thoſe two tunes the Phrygian and "the Sub-Phrygian, that Timothy gave proofs of his

(4) *Artu Thomas* Sieur d'Embry, *Comment. ſur la vie d'Apollo.* liv. 1. chap. 16. pag. 92.

Muſician's life in the general ſlaughter [*D*]. If the Authors who mention Goudimel had taken notice how he uſed to write his name, they would not have altered it as they have done [*E*]. There are ſome of his Letters (*a*) printed amongſt the Poems of Meliſſus his intimate friend. He always ſigns there *Goudimel*. Meliſſus did not fail to exert his poetical talent on the ſad fate of his friend. I ſhall tranſcribe the Epigram in which it is obſerved that Goudimel would have met with a leſs barbarous treatment in the waves of the Ægean Sea, as Arion formerly, than he did in his native country [*F*]. I believe that this Muſician was a native of the Franche-Compté [*G*].

(*a*) They are in Latin, and well written.

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" ſkil on the perſon of Alexander: By the Phrygian " he rouſed his ſpirit ſo, that he made him run " from the table to arms; and immediately he reſ- " tored him to his former tranquillity by the Sub- " Phrygian tune. I have often heard Claudin the " younger (5) who, without diſparagement to any " perſon, excelled all the ancient Muſicians in the " knowledge of thoſe different meaſures ſay, that " a certain air, which he had compoſed with all its " parts, was performed at the entertainments that " were made for the wedding of the late Duke of " Joyeuſe (6) in the time of Henry III of bleſſed " memory King of France and Poland on whom " God have mercy; this air being rehearſed in a " private conſort, had ſuch an effect on a gentleman " who was preſent, that he roſe up on a ſudden, " drew his ſword, and ſwore aloud that it was im- " poſſible for him, not to go and fight ſome body " immediately. They began then to play another " air of the Sub-Phrygian Mood, which made him " again as calm as he was before; this has ſince " been confirmed to me by ſome perſons, who were " preſent; ſuch a power has modulation with a good " motion and conduct of the voice, on the minds " of men.... (7) To cloſe this long note, if you " are willing to ſee thoſe twelve moods admirably " well contrived, you muſt ſing or hear the *Dodeca-* " *chordium* of the Sieur Claudin the younger, whom " I have mentioned above. And I am perſuaded that " they will find all theſe moods and variations hand- " led with ſo much art, harmony and ſkill, that " nothing can be added to this Maſter-piece, which " deſerves to be admired by all the lovers of mu- " ſick, who ought to have the greateſt eſteem for " that wonderful and excellent man, who was ca- " pable to carry his art to the higheſt degree of " perfection, had not death prevented him from ex- " ecuting the great and learned deſigns he had for- " med upon that ſubject."

(5) The Author puts here this Summary, or Title, *A Commendation of the Sieur Claudin the younger, the honour of all the Muſicians.*

(6) He married in the year 1581.

(7) *Comment. ſur la Vie d'Apollonius*, pag. 286.

[*D*].... *He makes a curious obſervation againſt them that did not ſave ſo able a Muſician's life in the general ſlaughter.*] His words are, " In vain did " Mandelot (8) endeavour to prevent the ſlaughter " of thirteen hundred Calviniſts at Lyons, and par- " ticularly of that incomparable Muſician Gaudinel " (9), who is ſo well known under the name of " Claudin the younger. His greateſt crime was " that he had compoſed the moſt beautiful airs for the " Pſalms of Marot and Beza, which are ſung at " Church by the reformed; and to puniſh him they " had no regard for the Roman Law, which is fa- " vourable to perſons who excel in their profeſſion; " becauſe their death would be infinitely more pre- " judicial to the publick, than their puniſhment, " though exemplary, would be uſeful(10)."

(8) He was Governor of Lyons. *See* Thuanus, l. 52. p. 5. 1083, who charges Mandelot with a ſhameful diſſimulation, for pretending to diſapprove the ſlaughter, and to deſign to puniſh the Authors of it.

(9) We challenge Monſ. Varillas to quote one ſingle Author who has aſſerted that Mandelot deſired chiefly to ſave this Muſician's life.

(10) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, liv. 9. pag. 471, 472. of the Paris edition in 12mo, 1684.

The Roman Law, mentioned here by Monſieur Varillas, will raiſe the curioſity of a great many readers; they will think it a very remarkable particular. But as they know, that he has very much impoſed upon the publick, even with regard to hiſtory, which he made his chief ſtudy, they will not think him worthy to be believed in matters of Law, which were not within his province. In order therefore to ſatisfy them, I ſhall afford them a better authority: it is that of a man much more learned than Varillas, and who has quoted two very grave Authors. See what Girac obſerved againſt Coſtar (11). " Our " Doctor, who pretends ſometimes to meddle with " ſubjects relating to the Law, does again treſpaſs " here againſt the rules of juriſprudence; it is abſo- " lutely falſe, that a workman deſerves ſo much the " more to be puniſhed, *as his work is more admirable,* " *and ſtrikes the beholder's imagination.* All the Com- " mentators on the Law aſſert the contrary; and it " is a practice which has been often obſerved by " Princes, and Sovereign Courts of Judicature, to " grant a pardon to thoſe that excelled in ſome art, " though they deſerved to be capitally puniſhed for " the crimes they had committed." *Hinc apparet ratio ejus quod paſſim juris utriuſque Interpretes adnotarunt, ſcilicet, pœnam eſſe vel remittendam vel minuendam delinquenti ob inſignem ejus peritiam, ſeu ex eo quod artifex ſit celebris magnique nominis &c.* i. e. " This " ſhews the reaſon of what the Commentators on the " Civil and Canon Law obſerve in ſeveral places; " namely, that when a man excels in any art, or has " gained a great reputation, the puniſhment he de- " ſerves ought to be remitted to him, or at leaſt " ſoftened*."

(11) Girac, *Replique à Coſtar*, Sect. 26. pag. m. 235.

[*E*] *If the Authors, who mention Goudimel, had taken notice how he uſed to write his name, they would not have altered it as they have done.*] Thuanus calls him *Gaudimelus*; Giſbert Voetius (12) *Gaudimellus*; Monſieur Varillas *Gaudinel*; Jeremiah de Pours *Guidomel*. " The ſame Guidomel, ſays he, compoſed " the Pſalms of David, printed at Paris by Hadrian " Le Roy and Robert Balaard in the year 1565. " He had alſo compoſed nineteen ſpiritual ſongs " printed at Paris by Nicholas du Chemin in the year " 1555 (13)."

* Covar. lib. 2. *Var. Reſol.* cap. 9. num. 6. *See* Juli. Clar. Sent. lib. 5. § fin. qu. 60. num. 26, & *alios.*

(12) *Polit. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 1. pag. 534.

(13) Jeremie de Pours, *Divine Melodie du Saint Pſalmiſte*, liv. 2. chap. 41. pag. 581.

[*F*] *I ſhall tranſcribe the Epigram in which it is obſerved, that he would have met with a leſs barbarous treatment in the waves... than in his native country.*] It is in page 79 of a book intitled, *Meliſſi Schediaſmatum Reliquiæ*, i. e. " The Remains of Meliſſus's " Writings," which was printed in the year 1575 in 8vo. It contains ſeveral Poems on Goudimel, which were not written by Meliſſus.

Prenſus ab externo ſi Goudimel hoſte fuiſſes
Victor in Ionio Muſice clare mari;
Ille tibi vitam vel non voluiſſet ademtam,
Lenitus cithara carminibuſque tuis;
In tutos aliquis vel, ſicut Ariona, Delphin
Tergore portaſſet te quaſi nave locos.
Audivere tuos Galli moduloſque probarunt
Indigenæ, decori queis tua Muſa fuit:
At datus es letho, licet inſons, inque cruenti
Stagnanteis Araris præcipitatus aquas.
Prob ſcelus indigenûm! nam barbarus hoſtis in hoſtem
Barbaricum LANIIS *mitior eſſe ſolet.*

" Goudimel, if you had been taken by a foreign " enemy, on the Ionian Sea, you that were ſo famous " a Muſician, would have been the conqueror; for " either the enemy being moved by your love and " your ſongs, had ſaved your life; or ſome kind " dolphin would have carried you on his back, as in " a boat, to ſome ſecure place, as Arion was of old. " The French, your own countrymen, have heard " and liked your tuneful notes; your Muſe was an " honour to them; and yet you have been murther- " ed, though innocent, and you have been thrown " into the River Saone. O abominable crime of " your countrymen! The moſt ſavage enemy is more " merciful to his moſt barbarous adverſaries, than " theſe *Butchers* have been to you."

I would forgive the Latin Poets what cannot be forgiven to Hiſtorians, namely, to have omitted, altered, or added ſome letters in Goudimel's name; for it is a very harſh word for Latin Poems.

[*G*] *I believe that this Muſician was a native of the Franche-Compté.*] I imagine it, becauſe his native place was ſituated on the River Doux †, which runs by Bezançon.

† In Latin *Dubis*, or *Alduadubus.*

GOVEA (ANDREW) (*a*) in Latin *Goveanus*, a native of Beja in Portugal, was Principal of the College of St. Barbara [*A*] at Paris in the ſixteenth Century, where he educated three of his nephews, who became famous by their learning. The King of Portugal furniſhed them wherewithal to maintain themſelves at Paris. MARTIAL GOVEA, the eldeſt of the three brothers, became a good Latin Poet, and publiſhed a Latin Grammar at Paris. ANDREW GOVEA, the next after him, taught firſt Grammar, and then Philoſophy in the College of St. Barbara at Paris, and was afterwards made Principal of that College in his uncle's room. And as he acquitted himſelf very well of that function, he was choſen for the ſame employment in the College of Guienne at Bourdeaux, whither he went in the year 1534, and diſcharged his duty there with ſo much care and diligence, that he was very uſeful to the youth [*B*]; for which reaſon John III King of Portugal made him return into his dominions to eſtabliſh a College at Conimbra, that might be like the College of Guienne. Govea left Bourdeaux in the year 1547, and took with him ſome learned men capable to inſtruct the youth [*C*]. He enjoyed at Conimbra the ſame poſt he had filled at Bourdeaux (*b*). He deſigned to return to this laſt City after he ſhould have ſpent two years in ſettling the College of Conimbra, but he died before that time was expired (*c*), namely, in June 1548, being at moſt fifty years old (*d*). He was a Prieſt and a Preacher [*D*], but he publiſhed nothing (*e*). ANTHONY GOVEA the youngeſt of the three brothers has been the moſt illuſtrious. See in Moreri what Thuanus has ſaid of him (*f*): it would be needleſs to repeat it here. I ſhall only obſerve, that if it be true, as Thuanus obſerves, that Govea taught the Law at Grenoble (*g*) [*E*], before a very numerous audience, the Author of the *Bibliotheque de Dauphiné* was very much in the wrong to ſay that *he was a Chamber Counſellor*

(*a*) Thus Thuanus calls him, lib. 38. pag. 769. But And. Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſp.* pag. 300; *and* Ribadeneira, *Vita Ignatii*, lib. 1. cap. 3. call him *James*. It was he that would whip *Ignatius Loyola*.

(*b*) *Ex* Eliæ Vineti *Epiſt. ad Schottum*, in *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 475.

(*c*) Schottus, *in Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 618. *See alſo* Thuanus, lib. 17, *ſub fin.*

(*d*) Vinetus, *Ep. ad Schottum*, in *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 475.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Lib. 38. pag. 769, 770, *ad ann.* 1565.

(*g*) *Gratianopoli jus civile magna auditorum frequentia profeſſus eſt.*

Goudimel ille meus, meus (heu!) Goudimel ille eſt
Occiſus. Teſtes vos Arar & Rhodane,
Semineces vivoſque ſimul violenter utriſque
Abſorptos viſi plangere gurgitibus,
Sequana cum Ligeri flevit, flevitque Garumna;
Præcipuè patrius flevit amara Dubis.

"Goudimel, alas! my dear Goudimel has been murthered: Witneſs the rivers Saone and Rhoſne. I have ſeen their ſtreams carry bodies half dead and half alive, and violently lament their fate: the Seyne, the Loyre, the Garonne ſhed tears, but eſpecially the Doux, near which he was born, cried moſt bitterly."

I have tranſcribed thoſe verſes from page 79. of the *Meliſſi Schediaſmatum Reliquiæ*.

[*A*] *He was Principal of the College of St. Barbara.*] Thus we ought to tranſlate theſe words of Andrew Schottus (1) *Collegii Barberini Præfectus*, and not *Principal of the College Barbarini*, as Monſieur Teiffier has done (2).

(1) *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 300.

(2) Teiſſier, *Eloges*, tom. 1. pag. 291.

[*B*] ANDREW GOVEA .... *diſcharged his duty with ſo much care and diligence, that he was very uſeful to the youth.*] You may ſee this in Buſinus's Preface, which is prefixed to Gelida's Letters, printed at Rochelle in the year 1571. *Ubi quamdiu egerit, quem ſe geſſerit* (Andreas Goveanus) *& quomodo ab rege ſuo in patriam ſit revocatus, Conimbricenſis Scholæ inſtituendæ gratia, quæ ſimilis eſſet Burdigalenſi in Præfatione Buſini in Epiſtolas Gelidæ cognoſci poteſt* (3).

(3) Elias Vinetus, *Epiſt. ad Schottum, in Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 475.

[*C*] *He took with him ſome learned men capable to inſtruct the youth.*] George Buchanan, and his brother Patrick Buchanan were of that number, as alſo Nicholas Grouchi, William Guerente, Elias Vinet, Arnold Fabricius, John la Coſte, James Tevius, and Anthony Mendez (4).

(4) Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 617.

[*D*] *He was a Prieſt and a Preacher.*] I do not know whether Beza, who makes him a Doctor of the Sorbonne, deſerves to be credited. I do not believe it; however it is proper to tranſcribe what he obſerves of him. "It came at laſt to nothing, *ſays he* (5), except only that a poor ſervitor was put into the hands of the Principal of the College, Andrew Govea a Portugueze and Doctor of the Sorbonne (commonly ſurnamed *Sinapivorus*, that is to ſay a ſwallower of muſtard) to be chaſtiſed and whipped in the common hall." He had juſt before been mentioning Aymon de la Voye a Proteſtant Martyr burnt at Bourdeaux in the year 1541, and ſome ſchool-boys who were taken up the next day, *being ſuſpected of writing a Libel that was found poſted up.*

(5) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. des Egliſes*, liv. 1. pag. 28.

[*E*] *If it be true ... that* ANTHONY GOVEA *taught ... at Grenoble.*] I muſt leave a thouſand particulars uncertain for want of books. They that left them ſo firſt, though they had Libraries of all ſorts at hand, are much more to blame than I. However my doubts will engage ſome Readers to endeavour to clear them up (α). I give this hint again in this place with ſo much the leſs ſcruple, that I am perſuaded that this Dictionary will not be read but by peace-meals. So that a hint given but once would run the hazard of being never obſerved.

Andrew Schottus would be proper to perſuade me of what I read in Thuanus concerning Govea's being Profeſſor at Grenoble, if I did not obſerve that in the very ſame paſſage, in which Schottus declares that Govea read Lectures in that city, he writes with the utmoſt inaccuracy. Here follows the whole paſſage (6). *Cadurci jus annos aliquot magno concurſu docuit, & Valentiæ Delphinatus anno a Chriſto nato* 1555. *ad tit.* de vulgari & pupillari Subſtitutione *dictabat. Toloſæ* 6 *antea anno Andreæ natura atque animo fratri, beneficiis vero parenti* librum de Jure accreſcendi *inſcripſit. Gratianopoli* ad Legem Falcidiam, *quæ perdifficilis eſt, dictabat anno* 1566 (7). *Quarto poſt anno uxorem ibi domum duxit, ex eaque liberos ſuſtulit Petrum & Manfredum, quorum illum Petrus Bertrandus Cadurcorum Epiſcopus in baptiſmi fonte ſuſceperat.* i. e. "He had read Lectures "at Cahors for ſome years to a very numerous audi- "ence, and he read on the *Law concerning Intail either* "*common or relating to pupils* at Valence in Dauphiné "in the year 1555. Six years before he had dedicat- "ed his Book concerning the Improvement of the "Law, to Andrew Govea, by nature and inclination "his brother, but a father by his favours. He explain- "ed the Law *Falcidia*, which is very difficult, at "Grenoble in the year 1566. Four years after, he "married there, and had two children by his wife, "Peter and Manfred, to the former of whom Peter "Bertrand, Biſhop of Cahors, ſtood God-father." The natural meaning of this account is; 1. That Govea taught the Law at Cahors before he taught it at Valence, that is to ſay, before the year 1555. 2. Secondly, that he taught it at Grenoble in the year 1566, and married there in the year 1570. 3. Thirdly, that the Biſhop of Cahors ſtood God-father to his eldeſt ſon. Theſe three particulars are ſo prepoſterouſly related, that they cannot but greatly diſpleaſe the Reader. Good ſenſe will tell you, that Govea was Profeſſor at Cahors, when he deſired the Biſhop of that place to do him the honour to be God-father to his ſon. Now, according to the account I have tranſcribed, he was Profeſſor at Cahors before the year 1555. What then does Schottus mean, when he aſſerts that Govea read Lectures at Grenoble in the year 1566, that he married there in the year 1570, and that the Biſhop of Cahors was God-father to his eldeſt ſon? Is it not with a great deal of reaſon, that I miſtruſt Father Schottus's account. A Civilian of Germany, who reprinted at Leipſic the Lives of ſome Lawyers, encreaſes my doubts; for this

(6) Andr. Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 401.

(7) Paul Freherus, who tranſlates this in his *Theatro*, pag. 849. puts *anno* 1555, and even begins a new paragraph with it; in which he commits two egregious blunders.

Counſellor at Grenoble, and read Lectures in the Univerſity of Valence. There is another obſervation to be made with regard to Thuanus's account [*F*]. I ſhall obſerve, by way of Supplement to Moreri, that Govea was ſtudying the Law at Toulouſe in the year 1539; that he had already taught at Bourdeaux in the ſame College, of which his brother was Principal; that in the year 1542 he read Lectures at Paris under his uncle [*G*]; that ſome

Jeſuit makes a very ſtrong objection with regard to thoſe words, *Gratianopoli ad* Legem Falcidiam.... *dictabat* 1566. i. e. "He explained the Law *Falci-* " *dia* at Grenoble in the year 1566." The objection is as follows. *Videtur hic Schottus temporis rationem minus recte obſervaſſe; fieri enim non potuit ut prælectiones ſuas ad L. Falcidiam anno demum* 1566 *habuerit Govianus Gratianopoli, qui eaſdem jam anno* 1560 Michaeli Hoſpitalio *Franciæ Cancellario inſcripſerat* (8). i. e. "Schottus does not ſeem to have been accurate " here in his Chronology: For how is it poſſible, that " Govea ſhould not have read his Lectures on the Law " *Falcidia* at Grenoble till in the year 1566, ſince he " had already dedicated them in the year 1560 to Mi- " chael de l'Hoſpital Chancellor of France."

(8) Frider. Jac. Leickherus, *In not. ad Vitas Clariſſ. Juriſconſultorum*, p. 202, 203, edit. Lipſ. 1686.

Obſerve, that Stephen Paſquier aſſerts (9), that *Antonius Goveanus* taught the Law at Grenoble, and died there. He is miſtaken at leaſt in the laſt particular. I have juſt now read in the XIIth Letter of Languet's IId Book, dated February the 13th 1560, that Govea was Profeſſor at Grenoble. *Ei* (Cujacio) *Valentiæ ſuccedet Gribaldus, pulchrum ſane par, ubi ipſe & Loriotus conjuncti fuerint, & habuerint Gratianopoli vicinum Goveanum, qui utroque eſt longe ſceleratior.* i. e. "Gribal- " dus will ſucceed him (Cujacius) at Valence; this will " make a noble pair indeed, when he and Loriot ſhall " be united, and ſhall have for their neighbour at " Grenoble, Govea, who is much more wicked than " them both."

(9) Paſquier, *Recherches*, liv. 9. chap. 38. pag. m. 898.

* (α) *My doubts will engage ſome Readers to . . clear them up.*] This has been done in the Paris Edition of Monſieur Bayle's Dictionary, where we meet with the following account. "Govea had a Profeſſor's Chair " at Toulouſe in the year 1549. The next year he " dedicated his Book *de Jure accreſcendi* to his bro- " ther Andrew, whom he thought ſtill alive. The " Dedication is dated, *Toloſæ. Id. Auguſti MDXLIX.* " (From Toulouſe, Auguſt the 15th, 1549). From " this date I infer that Mr. Bayle is miſtaken, who " places Andrew's death in June 1548; I place it one " year later. Towards the end of Auguſt 1549 An- " thony Govea went to Cahors, where he married in " September following, and read Lectures there for " five years. In 1554 he accepted a Profeſſor's Chair " at Valence, and kept it but one year. In his Trea- " tiſe *de vulgari & pupillari Subſtitutione* it is ſaid, *Dic-* " *tabat Anton. Goveanus Valentiæ Delphinatus anno* " MDLV. (He dictated it at Valence in Dauphiné " in the year 1555.) Towards the end of the ſame " year, that is to ſay of the Academical year, which " ends towards the month of Auguſt, he removed to " Grenoble. Schottus ſays, *Gratianopoli ad* Legem " Falcidiam *dictabat anno* 1566. This is what raiſed " Mr. Bayle's doubts; but it is probable only an er- " ror of the preſs, inſtead of 1556, which is the true " date... He dedicated thoſe Lectures to the Chancel- " lor de l'Hoſpital by a Dedication dated, *Gratiano-* " *poli Id. Martii* MDLX. That is to ſay, March " the 15th, 1560, or 1561, if the year be ſuppoſed " to begin with January §." CRIT. REM.]

§ From the Critical Remarks, printed at the end of Mr. Bayle's Diction. of the Paris edition.

[*F*] *There is another obſervation to be made with regard to Thuanus's account.*] His words are (10), *Ab Æmilio Ferreto qui Avenione jus civile docebat, cum Lugduni privatis ſtudiis intentus deſideret* (Antonius Goveanus) *ad illius perplexæ ſcientiæ profeſſionem evocatus eſt.* The whole connection of the Diſcourſe ſhews, that Ferret did not exhort Govea to ſtudy the Law, but to teach that ſcience: this is even plain enough by the very words I have tranſcribed, and which Du Rier has tranſlated thus. "Æmilius Ferret, who taught " the Civil Law at Avignon, invited Govea to go " thither, to profeſs that laborious and difficult ſci- " ence there, ſeeing that he ſpent his time in private " ſtudies at Lyons." Let us aſſert therefore that Thuanus declares in thoſe words that Govea was prevailed upon by Ferret to go and teach the Law at Avignon. Two objections may be urged againſt this; the firſt is taken from Thuanus himſelf, who having obſerved that Govea ſoon found the true method of teaching the Law, and was ſo much admired, that Cujacius was jealous of him, adds, *Igitur Goveanus Toloſæ primum, dein Divione Cadurcorum, poſt Valentiæ & Gratianopoli jus civile magna auditorum frequentia profeſſus eſt.* This whole account is then as follows. Govea invited by Ferret to go and teach the Law at Avignon, ſoon became an excellent interpreter of the Civil Law, ſo that he even raiſed Cujacius's jealouſy. He taught therefore the Law firſt at Toulouſe, then at Cahors, and afterwards at Valence and Grenoble before a very numerous Audience. May we not aſk this great Hiſtorian, how he came to omit Avignon here? Does he not plainly contradict himſelf (β)? Ought he not to have ſaid that Govea taught firſt in that city? The ſecond objection is grounded on the account that is given in the *Bibliotheca Hiſpana*; in which there is a ſhort life of Govea extracted from his own works. It is indeed obſerved there, that he taught the Law at Cahors, at Valence, and at Grenoble, but as for Avignon and Toulouſe it is only obſerved that he ſtudied the Law in thoſe cities with the utmoſt application. *Juvenis natu grandior tres fere annos in juris civilis ſtudio operam dedit Æmilio Ferretto Avenione profitenti, ſuæ memoriæ facile principi; quemque parentem alterum appellare Lib. 2. de Juriſdictione non dubitat; neque ex eo tempore a Juriſconſultorum libris longius unquam oculos dimovit, Toloſæ mox tanta in ſtudio aſſiduitate tantaque eſt uſus contentione ut majore non poſſet* (11). i. e. "Being grown up a youth he employed almoſt " three years in the ſtudy of the Civil Law under Æ- " milius Ferret Profeſſor at Avignon, the moſt eminent " man of his time, and whom he ſtiles a Father, in " his ſecond Book of *Juriſdiction*; from that time he " never left off reading Law-Books, and ſoon after " applied himſelf to that ſtudy at Toulouſe, with the " utmoſt diligence and aſſiduity." A famous Hiſtoriographer of Savoy (12) would perplex the accounts of a great many Authors, if he were in the right to aſſert, that the Duke of Savoy founded an Univerſity at Mondevis in the year 1559, and choſe amongſt other learned men Anthony Govea to be one of the Profeſſors there.

(10) Thuanus, lib. 38. pag. 769.

(11) *Bibliosh. Hiſpan. Schotti*, pag. 300.

(12) Guichenon, *Hiſt. de Savoy*, tom. 1. pag. 678.

* (β) *Does he not contradict himſelf?*] The Author of the Critical Remarks, printed at the end of the Paris Edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, pretends, that theſe words of Thuanus *ad illius Scientiæ profeſſionem evocatus*, do not ſignify that Govea was Profeſſor at Avignon, but only that he ſtudied there. Let the Reader judge whether Thuanus's words can be thus tranſlated. But here follows a more conſiderable miſtake of that noble Hiſtorian, which Mr. Bayle has alſo followed. Thuanus imagined that Ferret was at Avignon when he exhorted Govea to ſtudy the Law; whereas the truth of the matter is that Ferret was then at Lyons with Govea; and ſeeing that this learned man ſpent his time in Poetry, and in trifles, he adviſed him ſeriouſly to the Law: and offered to direct him in that ſtudy, and to be in a manner his Profeſſor. Govea himſelf tells us all this at the end of his Treatiſe *de Jure accreſcendi*. His words are: *Operam tamen annos ferme tres* Lugduni *dedi Æmilio Ferreto .... cum ille & reſpondendo & monendo, & interdum aliquid veluti prælegendo, ſatisfaceret ſtudio noſtro civilis diſciplinæ.* CRIT. REM.]

† From the *Critical Remarks*, printed at the end of the Paris edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary.

[*G*] *In the year* 1542 *he read Lectures at Paris under his uncle.*] When Anthony Govea the nephew went to Bourdeaux in the year 1534, he had already been ſome years Principal of the College of St. Barbara in the room of Andrew Govea (γ) his uncle (13). Since therefore Andrew Govea was Principal at Paris in the year 1542 (14), he muſt have taken his office again when his nephew went to Bourdeaux. This is what Elias Vinet ſhould have obſerved expreſly to make his account more clear and intelligible.

(13) *Andreas apud Patruum Grammaticam primum, mox Philoſophiam profeſſus, ab eodem ſcholæ illi tandem præfectus fuit.* Vinet. *in Bibliotheca Hiſpan.* pag. 475.

(14) *Illic* (Lutetiæ) *Antonium Goveanum vidi primum an. à Chriſto nato* 1542, *quum docceret apud Patruum.* Idem, ibid.

* (γ) *In the room of Andrew Govea.*] It is obſerved in the Critical Remarks mentioned above, that Anthony Govea was not made Principal of the College

ſome time after he returned to his brother at Bourdeaux; that he continued in that City after his brother was gone to Conimbra (*h*); that he paſſed for an Atheiſt in ſome people's opinion [*H*]; and that it is not at all probable that he died in the year 1565, as Thuanus aſſerts (*i*), nor in the year 1595, as Nicholas Antonio ſays. This laſt Author has not been here very accurate [*I*]. It is impoſſible to ſay any thing more to Anthony Govea's honour, than what Ronſard ſaid of him (*k*). The public has ſeen ſeveral of Govea's

(*h*) *Ex Epiſt.* Eliæ Veneti, *apud* Schottum, *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 475.

(*i*) See the remark [*I*].

(*k*) See below, quotation (26).

lege of St. Barbara in his uncle's ſtead, but only with him as his aſſiſtant and coadjutor, and that the uncle never reſigned his place. It is alſo aſſerted that the uncle, whom Mr. Bayle calls *Andrew*, ſhould be called *James*, which was his true name. CRIT. REM.]

[*H*] *He paſſed for an Atheiſt in ſome people's opinion.*] "He practiſed the Law at Grenoble, read Lectures "in the Univerſity of Valence, and compoſed ſome "Works in theſe two cities. He was even charged "there (15) with reflecting upon the Deity, and was "obliged to clear himſelf of that charge, which he "did in an excellent diſcourſe, which has been ſeen "formerly in the Library of Ennemond de Rabot "d'Ilins, firſt Preſident in that Parliament. This "diſcourſe engaged de Gordes, the King's Lieutenant in that Province, to declare himſelf Govea's "protector. It is for his freedom in ſpeaking that "Calvin called him an Atheiſt in one of his Works "(16)." If the Work from which I have extracted this paſſage contained two or three large volumes in folio, we might forgive the Author ſuch a general quotation: but it is only a Book in 12mo of 224 pages. The Author might very well have given himſelf the trouble to look for the paſſage in which Calvin ſpoke ſo ill of Govea: he would have obliged his Readers very much had he quoted the place; this would have ſaved them the trouble of turning over eight or nine volumes in folio. I ſhall not commit the ſame fault though my work be never ſo large. I ſhall tranſcribe Calvin's words, and ſet down the page where they are to be found. *Agrippam, Villanovanum, Doletum & ſimiles vulgo notum eſt tanquam Cyclopas quoſpiam Evangelium ſemper faſtuoſe ſpreviſſe. Tandem eo prolapſi ſunt amentiæ & furoris, ut non modo in Filium Dei execrabiles blaſphemias evomerent, ſed quantum ad animæ vitam attinet, nihil a canibus & porcis putarent ſe differre. Alii (ut Rabelæſus, Deperius, & Goveanus) guſtato Evangelio eadem cæcitate ſunt percuſſi. Cur iſtud? Niſi quia ſacrum illud vitæ æternæ pignus, ſacrilega ludendi aut ridendi audacia ante profanârunt* (17). i. e. "It is commonly "known that Agrippa, Villanovanus (*that is* Servet) "Dolet, and ſuch other men, have always like ſome "Cyclops proudly deſpiſed the Goſpel. They are "come at laſt to ſuch a degree of madneſs and folly, "as not only to belch out the moſt abominable blaſphemies againſt the Son of God, but alſo to imagine, "that with regard to their ſouls they did not differ in the "leaſt from dogs or hogs. Others (as Rabelais, Deperius, and Govea) having once had a taſte for the "Goſpel, have been ſtruck with the ſame blindneſs. "For what reaſon? Becauſe they had before profaned "that holy pledge of eternal life by their impious au"dacioufneſs in laughing and bantering at all that is "ſacred." We find by theſe words that Govea was a banterer, and that at firſt he approved the Proteſtant party. This particular is not much known. Here follow two Verſes againſt Govea relating to his infidelity.

Antoni Goveane, tua hæc Marrana propago,
In cælo & cellis non putat eſſe Deum.

That is, "Anthony Govea, your Lawyers imagine "that God is neither in heaven nor in the cellar."

Theſe Verſes were made in anſwer to the following diſtich, which had been wrote againſt a Counſellor (18).

Dum tonat, in cellas propero pede Vallius imas
Confugit: in cellis non putat eſſe Deum.

That is, "When it thunders, de Vallée makes all the "haſte he can into the deepeſt cellar; he thinks that "God is not in the cellars."

You will find theſe four verſes in the firſt *Scaligerana*, with ſome other obſervations to Govea's honour. *Goveanus doctus erat vir, & valens Dialecticus, optimus poeta Gallicus, nec enim Hiſpanum judicaveris, adeo bene Gallice loquebatur.* i. e. "Govea was a learned man, "a powerful Logician, and a very good French Poet: "For he ſpoke ſuch good French, that you would "never have taken him for a Spaniard." In the ſecond *Scaligerana* Calvin's charge of Atheiſm againſt Govea is ſaid to be ſlanderous. *Goveanus fuit doctus Luſitanus. Calvinus vocat illum Atheum, cum non fuerit: debebat illum melius noſſe.* i. e. "Govea was a "learned Portugueze; Calvin calls him an Atheiſt, "which he was not; he ought to have known him "better."

[*I*] *Nicholas Antonio has not been here very accurate.*] He aſſerts (19), that Anthony Govea taught the Law at Toulouſe about the year 1539. But Elias Vinet deſerves more credit, ſince he had been particularly acquainted with Andrew and Anthony Govea, and was deſired by Andrew Schottus to write their Lives and ſend them to him. Now he only ſays that in the year 1539 Anthony Govea was already ſtudying the Law at Toulouſe (20). The difference there is between teaching the Law and ſtudying it is obvious to every Reader. Nicholas Antonio adds, that Govea was ſoon after Profeſſor at Paris and at Bourdeaux, and that at laſt he ſettled at Cahors, where he read Lectures on the Law with very great reputation, which flying as far as Turin, determined the Duke of Savoy to keep him in his ſervice, by making him his Maſter of Requeſts, and his Counſellor. *Cadurci demum ſubſtitit Juris civilis anteceſſor in ſummo laudis atque exiſtimationis loco poſitus. Quod cum proſpexiſſet ab ipſa Auguſta Taurinorum Sabaudiæ Dux, &c.* (11). All this is very inaccurate. Govea had been much nearer to Savoy ſince he left Cahors; he had read Lectures in the Duke of Savoy's neighbourhood, namely at Valence in Dauphiné. The Prince's offers did not go to him in the Province of Quercy, he made himſelf above two thirds of the way to meet them. Beſides this, the Princeſs Margaret (22) Henry IId's ſiſter, and the Duke of Savoy's conſort, recommended him to her huſband. Now, as ſhe was learned, ſhe always took care to enquire who were thoſe that diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their wit and learning. Nicholas Antonio pretends, that Govea was ſtill living in the year 1595; for, ſays he, Teſauro the younger mentions him honourably under that year in his XIXth *Queſtion forenſe* or Law-Queſtion. If I had that Book, I could diſcover perhaps, that it is not the Govea we ſpeak of, but his ſon, that is thus commended: and though I could not diſcover this, I would ſtill believe that Govea did not live till the year 1595; for Vinet ſpeaks of him as a man who was dead (23). Now Vinet died in the year 1587 (24). Nicholas Antonio ſuppoſing erroneouſly that Govea was living in the year 1595, cenſures Elias Vinet (25), who thought that Govea died at the age of ſixty years. This cenſure is grounded on Govea's teaching the Law at Toulouſe in the year 1539. He is in the right to infer from thence, that if Govea was ſtill alive, as he ſuppoſes, in the year 1595, he died older than Elias Vinet imagined. This conſequence is not ſo evident, if it be ſuppoſed that Govea ſtudied the Law in the year 1539; but yet it will have a great weight, becauſe Vinet obſerves that Govea had taught a Form at Bourdeaux before he ſtudied the Law at Toulouſe. Now the Teacher of a Form is generally above twenty years old; ſo that Govea muſt have been at leaſt three ſcore and ſeventeen years old in 1595. What have you then to ſay againſt Nicholas Antonio, will ſome Reader aſk? Is not Vinet vanquiſhed with his own arms? I anſwer, not at all; for ſince he died in the year 1587, he could not ſuppoſe that Govea was ſtill living in the year 1595, and it is only upon this ſuppoſition that Nicholas Antonio's cenſure can be well grounded. It is very certain that he did not know when Vinet died, his cenſure is an unqueſtionable proof of this inconſiderable ignorance. He did not know alſo that Thua-

(19) Nicol. Anton. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 97.

(20) *Literas ante profeſſus eſt, quam ego qui veni an. Chriſt.* 1539. *quo tempore Toloſæ jam operam juri dabat.* Vinetus, *in Epiſt. ad Schott.* in *Bibl. Hiſpan.* pag. 475.

(21) Nicol. Anton. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 97.

(22) Thuanus, lib. 38. pag. 770.

(23) *Qui Taurinis deceſſiſſe fertur Libellorum ſupplicum Magiſter.* i. e. "Who, as "it is reported, "died at Turin, "where he was "Maſter of the "Requeſts." Vinetus, *apud* Schott. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* pag. 475.

(24) Thuanus, lib. 88. pag. 137.

(25) He calls him erroneouſly *Elias Venetus.* The ſame blunder is in Schottus's *Bibliotheca Hiſpanicar.*

(15) This ſignifies very plainly that he was charged both at Grenoble and at Valence; but it is not at all probable that the ſame charge was twice brought againſt him. In all likelihood the Author did not expreſs himſelf accurately. He meant that Govea was accuſed in one of thoſe two Cities. But he had done well to expreſs his meaning without equivocation, and to tell us whether it was at Valence or at Grenoble that Govea was accuſed.

(16) Allard, *Bibliotheque de Dauphiné*, pag. 118, 119.

(17) Calvinus, *in Tractatu de Scandalis*, in Volumine *Tractatuum Theologicorum*, pag. 90. col. 1. edit. Gen. 1611.

(18) In the Parliament of Bordeaux and not of Toulouſe, as it is aſſerted in the *Prima Scaligerana*, pag. 86. See Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 1. pag. 262. where he ſhews, that this Counſellor's name was *Briand de Vallée.*

Govea's works both upon Philological ſubjects and upon the Law. Some perſons mention that he had a greater genius than the famous Cujacius [*K*]. I ſhall give ſome account of his ſon MANFRED GOVEA [*L*].

(26) I confeſs, that he gives him much greater praiſes there, tho' he mentions him but occaſionally, than where he ſpeaks of him *ex profeſſo*, that is, purpoſely. He places him in the number of thoſe few learned ſchool-maſters, who by an uncommon happineſs were abſolutely free from all pedantic manners. Buchanan, Turnebus, and Muret are the three others whom he places in the ſame rank, according to Ronſard's taſte. See the Article BUCHANAN, quotation (29).

§ See the end of the remark (*a*).

(27) Antonius Faber, *in Præfat. lib.* 7, & *ſeq.* Conjectur. ad Petrum Fabrum. *apud* Leickherum, *in Not. ad Vitas Clariſſ. Juriſconſultorum.* pag. 200.

nus made Govea's Elogy; for if he had known it, he would have quoted it, and would not have been contented with another paſſage, in which that great Hiſtorian mentions Govea only occaſionally (26). Further, ſince Thuanus places Govea's death under the year 1565, Nicholas Antonio would certainly have taken notice of that miſtake, which according to his account is very great. Several Authors follow Thuanus in this, eſpecially Monſieur Allard in page 119 of his *Bibliotheque de Dauphiné*, and Konig in page 356 of his *Bibliotheca vetus & nova*. But Andrew Schottus is not of that number, ſince he affirms in page 301 of his *Bibliotheca Hiſpanica*, that Govea read Lectures in the year 1566, and got children even ſince the year 1570 §.

[*K*] *Some perſons maintain that he had a greater genius than the famous Cujacius.*] Anthony Faure pretends, that Govea and Cujacius have been the moſt eminent Civilians of their time; but with this difference, that Govea having a more happy genius, and truſting too much to his natural parts, thought it was neither neceſſary nor honourable for him to labour much. Whereas Cujacius, who had a leſs penetrating genius, laboured like a man who was ſenſible that by a cloſe application we may even come at thoſe things, which cannot be acquired but by the dint of wit. They who underſtand Latin will perhaps be pleaſed to ſee how Anthony Faure delivered this judgment. *Talis ætas noſtra maximos in Juriſprudentia viros non paucos, ſed præcipuos, ſi quid mei ingenii eſt, (cæterorum pace dixerim) Anton. Goveanum & Jac. Cujacium. Illum, ut mihi quidem videtur, multo feliciore ingenio ad Juriſprudentiam natum; ſed qui naturæ viribus tam confideret, ut diligentiæ laudem ſibi non neceſſariam, minus etiam fortaſſe honorificam putare videretur. Hunc contra minus lucido præſtantique ingenii acumine, ſed qui aſſiduo labore ea quoque ſe aſſequi poſſe crederet, quæ ſolis ingenii nervis parari queunt* (27). Cujacius himſelf had almoſt the ſame opinion of Govea; he would have yielded the palm to him without diſpute, had he thought him as laborious as he was ingenious. *Adoleſcens* (Cujacius) *Antonii Goveani Juriſconſulti ingenium admirabatur, ſed indiligentia hominis notata, nihil deterritus eſt, deterritum iri ſe dicens a jure tractando, ſi homo Luſitanus tanto ingenio tamque ſubtili, labores civilium ſtudiorum ſerio ſuſcipere ac ſubire voluiſſet* (28). i. e. "Cujacius being ſtill young, admired the great genius of the Civilian Anthony Govea; but taking notice of this man's inapplication, he was not diſcouraged from purſuing the ſtudy of the Law, as he would have been, ſaid he, if this Portugueze, who had ſo great and ſo ſubtle a genius, had applied himſelf ſeriouſly and with care to the ſame ſtudy."

(28) Pap. Maſſo, *in Vita Cujacii*, pag. 300, 301.

Paſquier ſets Cujacius above Anthony Govea. *Let us again*, ſays he (29), *take a view of the three claſſes of thoſe that wrote upon the Law. In the firſt, I have a great value for Accurſius amongſt the Gloſſographers. In the ſecond, Bartolus. . . . Amongſt thoſe of the third, whom I chooſe to ſtyle Literati, I give the firſt rank to our Cujas, who in my opinion, has not, and perhaps will never have his equal: and amongſt the latter I know none that wrote a more elegant ſtyle than Govea and Duaren, conſidering how little they both wrote; and of them two I give the firſt rank to Govea.* I do not underſtand how it can be ſaid that Duaren wrote but little; for his works make up a large volume in folio (*d*).

(29) Paſq. Recherch. liv. 9. ch. 10. pag. 902.

* (*d*) Duaren has wrote a great deal leſs than Cujacius. And this is what Paſquier meant, not L. 9, ch. 10, p. 902, but l. 9, ch. 39, p. 902, according to the Edition of 1643. CRIT. REM.]

[*L*] *I ſhall give ſome account of his ſon* MANFRED GOVEA.] He was born at Turin, and became a very good Writer both in verſe and proſe. He underſtood the Belles-Lettres, and the Civil and Canon Laws very well, and was much eſteemed by his maſter the Duke of Savoy, who honoured him with the Employment of Counſellor in the Senate of Turin, and in the Council of State. He died in the year 1613. He publiſhed *Conſilia*, (Advices). *Notæ & Animadverſiones in Opera Julii Clari.* i. e. "Notes and Obſervations on the Works of Julius Clarus." *Carmina*, (Poems). *Orazione funebre nella morte di Filippo II, Re di Spagna* (30). i. e. "A funeral Oration on the Death of Philip II, King of Spain."

(30) *Taken from* Ghilini, *Teatro*, Part. 2. pag. 189.

GOULART (SIMON) a native of Senlis, and Miniſter of Geneva, was one of the moſt indefatigable Writers of theſe latter times [*A*]. When he did not put his name to his books, he uſed to mark it by theſe three initial letters S. G. S. which ſignified *Simon Goulart of Senlis* (*a*). It is by this mark that F. Labbe (*b*) thought, and not without reaſon, he had diſcovered him to be Author of the marginal notes and heads, which are printed with the Annals of Nicetas Choniates in the Geneva edition of 1593. Goulart died very old at Geneva in the year 1628 [*B*]. He uſed to date his Dedications *from St. Gervais*, which is the name of a part of the City of Geneva. If it

(*a*) They call him in the Oxford Catalogue, *Simon Goulartius Senliſienſis Sylvanectinus*: they ſhould have put *five* between the two laſt words.

(*b*) *De Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 2. pag. 765.

[*A*] *He was one of the moſt indefatigable Writers of thoſe latter times.*] This appears by the great number of Works, on which he wrote Notes or Summaries (1), or which he commented upon, or tranſlated into French, or compoſed himſelf. Du Bartas's *Semaines* or Weeks is one of the Books on which he wrote Commentaries. He did not only tranſlate into French Camerarius's *Hiſtorical Meditations*, he alſo made a great many additions to them. He has made a large Collection of wonderful and remarkable Hiſtories. You will find in La Croix du Maine the titles of ſeveral Works tranſlated into French by Simon Goulart; as the Hiſtory of Portugal (2), Carion's Chronicle; ſome Treatiſes of Theodoret, the Books of John Wier concerning the impoſtures of the Devils: add to them all the Works of Seneca publiſhed at Paris in two volumes in 4to in the year 1590. This ſame Author wrote alſo ſeveral Treatiſes of Devotion, and upon moral ſubjects, as alſo upon the occurrences of his time. D'Aubigné commends theſe laſt Works; for having mentioned the titles of ſome Books of that kind, he continues thus: "To which I ſhall add the learned, "pathetick writings, abounding with ſtrong argu- "ments, which Simon Goulart of Senlis publiſhed on "ſeveral occaſions, a man worthy to write Hiſtory, "if his character would ſuffer him to write without "partiality (3)."

(1) He has done this upon all *Plutarch's Works*, tranſlated by *Amiot*.

(2) Written by Oſorius.

(3) D'Aubigné, *Hiſt. Univerſ.* tom. 3. liv. 3. chap. 23. pag. m. 401.

I have obſerved in the margin that Simon Goulart added Notes and Summaries to Amiot's Tranſlation of Plutarch. We muſt alſo obſerve that he added ſome *Parallels* to it, on which Monſieur Varillas does not paſs a favourable judgment. "How learned ſoever, "*ſays he* (4), Simon Goulart of Senlis Miniſter of "Geneva, might have been in our Fathers time, and "what care ſoever he took to add to the French Tranſ- "lation of Plutarch the Parallels that are wanting in "the Greek original, there is yet but one of them "good for any thing; it is that between Alexander "the Great and Julius Cæſar."

(4) Varillas, *Hiſtoire de Louis XI*, liv. 9. in the beginning, pag. m. 358, 359.

[*B*] *He died very old . . . in the year* 1628 (*a*).] We find in a Letter he wrote to Scaliger October the 17th 1606 (5), that he had then almoſt completed his ſixty third year. There are but few perſons who continued their paſtoral functions as long as he has done; for he ſucceeded Calvin in the year 1564 (6).

(5) It is the 52d of the 3d book, in *James de Reves's Collection.*

* (*a*) Simon Goulart died aged 86 years, and had preached but ſeven days before his death, as D'Aubigné obſerves in the laſt page of his little miſcellaneous Works, where we find this Miniſter's Elogium. CRIT. REM.]

(6) Spon, *Hiſt. de Geneve*, pag. m. 263.

it were not known that he did the ſame in thoſe letters, which were not deſigned to be publiſhed (c), one might imagine that he made uſe of this manner of dating, becauſe it could not raiſe ſuch ſuſpicions againſt his works in the minds of the Roman Catholics, as the name of Geneva would have done. He was very well acquainted with all the particulars relating to Authors and Books; and it was for this reaſon that Henry III ſent a man on purpoſe to Geneva, in order to know from Goulart, who the Author was that concealed his name under that of *Stephanus Junius Brutus* to publiſh ſome very republican maxims. But Goulart, who knew the whole ſecret, would never reveal it, leſt he ſhould thereby expoſe thoſe that were concerned in it (d). Scaliger had a great eſteem for him [C]. One of Simon Goulart's ſons was a Miniſter of the Walloon Church at Amſterdam, and a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the Arminian party [D].

(c) See his *Letters* to Scaliger, in the *Collection* publiſhed by James de Reves, at Harderwick 1624.

(d) See his *Funeral Oration*, delivered by Monſ. Tronchin, Profeſſor of Divinity.

[C] *Scaliger had a great eſteem for him.*] "Monſieur Goulart's.... Lucubrations on St. Cyprian's "works are very uſeful. He was an ingenious man, "who learnt all that he knew without the aſſiſtance "of a maſter. He applied himſelf but late to the "Latin tongue, when I was at Geneva. I have "heard that his ſon's flock is very well pleaſed "with him. Monſieur Goulard has laboured ſo "well and ſo prettily on his St. Cyprian, that I "have read it from the beginning to the end. His "ſermons were very plain. He cauſed Montagne's "works to be caſtrated. *Quæ audacia in ſcripta "aliena! Non putaſſem Goulartium, quod ſerius in-"cepit, tam bene poſſe ſcribere, ut fecit* (7) i. e. What "a boldneſs with regard to other people's writings! "I ſhould never have thought that Goulart, who "began but late to ſtudy, could have wrote ſo "well as he has done." I ſhall juſt now mention this ſon of Goulart.

(7) In *Scaligeranis*, pag. m. 97, 98.

[D] *One of his ſons.... was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the Arminian Party.*] Being challenged by a young miniſter, who was his collegue, he ventured to preach once againſt thoſe who aſſert that ſome children who die at the breaſt, or in their mother's womb, are damned for ever by the decrees of reprobation. He was for this ſuſpended in the year 1615 (1). He was one of thoſe remonſtrant Miniſters who were depoſed from their offices, and baniſhed the country, becauſe they refuſed to ſubſcribe the articles of the ſynod of Dort. He retired to Antwerp, whence he wrote ſome letters, which have been inſerted in the collection I quote in the margin. In March 1620 he wrote a letter (9) to his Father, in which he mentions a book he had publiſhed two years before with this title: *Examen des Opinions de M. F. Baſſecourt* (10) *contenues en ſon Livre de diſputes, intitulé, Election éternelle & ſes dependances.* i. e. "An examination of M. F. Baſſecourt's opinions, "contained in his book of diſſertations, intitled, "eternal election, with the doctrines relating to it." He retired into France after the truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards was expired, and ſtaid ſome time at Calais, whence he went into the Dutchy of Holſtein. There is one of his letters (11) in which he does not give a good character of the miniſters, with regard to the religious war, which raged then in France. According to Monſieur Witte, he was born at Senlis (12) and died at Fredericſtad in the year 1628, aged fifty two years. Monſieur Mollerus, who thought him a native of Geneva before he read the ſecond volume of the *Diarium Biographicum*, changed his opinion, when he knew that Monſieur Witte aſſerted that he was born at Senlis. *Senliſienſem Silvanectinum eſſe rectius forte tradit vir Clariſſimus Henn. Wittenius* (13). Mollerus's firſt opinion ſeems more probable to me than the laſt; and as he obſerves, that Witte aſcribes to Goulart the ſon ſome works, which ſhould be aſcribed to Goulart the Father, he might have obſerved alſo, that in all likelihood the time of the Father's death has been miſtaken for that of the ſon's death (14). See what he has obſerved ſince in his book *de Scriptoribus homonymis*, i. e. of writers who have the ſame name, in page 678, and 679.

(8) See the *Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, pag. 414. edit. in folio.

(9) It is the 374th of the ſame *Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, &c.

(10) He was a Miniſter who had been a Monk.

(11) It is the 424th. See pag. 696.

(12) *Senliſienſis, Silvanectinus.* Witte, *Diar. Biograph.* tom. 2. pag. 35. He ſhould have put *five*, between theſe two words. Mr. Mollerus, *ubi infra*, tranſcribes them without a comma.

(13) Mollerus, *Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſ. Cimbr.* Part. 2. pag. 223.

(14) Witte puts Goulart the ſon's death on the 19th of March 1628.

☞GOULSTON, GOULSON, or GULSON (THEODORE), an eminent Engliſh Phyſician in the ſeventeenth Century, was born in Northamptonſhire (a), and was ſon of Mr. William Goulſton, Rector of Wymoundham in Leiceſterſhire (b). He became Probationer Fellow of Merton College in the Univerſity of Oxford in 1596, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, which he practiſed firſt in Oxford, and afterwards at Wymoundham, where he was greatly reſorted to for his advice. April the 30th 1610, he took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, and became Candidate of the College of Phyſicians at London, being well approved by the Preſident, Cenſors, and Fellows; and the year following he was made a Fellow of the ſame, and Cenſor thereof. He was ſoon introduced into a very large practice in the City of London, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage by his ſkill in the Latin and Greek Languages, and Divinity, and by his Writings [A]. His affection to the public good and to the advancement of the Faculty of Phyſic was ſuch, that by his laſt will and teſtament he gave two hundred pounds to purchaſe a rent-charge for the maintenance of an annual Lecture within the College of Phyſicians of London. This Lecture was to be performed from time to time by one of the four youngeſt Doctors in Phyſic of the ſaid College, and to be upon two, or three, or more diſeaſes, as the Cenſors ſhould direct; and this Pathological Lecture to be read yearly in ſome moſt convenient ſeaſon betwixt Michaelmas and Eaſter upon ſome dead body (if poſſibly by any means ſuch a body could be procured) on three days ſucceſſively, in the forenoon and afternoon of each of the ſaid days (c). He left likewiſe ſeveral books to Merton College, beſides ſeveral other donations, which were performed by his widow *Ellen*, who being poſſeſſed of the impropriate Parſonage of Bardwell in Suffolk, procured leave from the King to annex the ſame to the Vicarage, and gave them both to the College of St. John's in Oxford. Our Author died at his houſe within the pariſh of St. Martin Ludgate May the 4th 1632, and was interred with great ſolemnity in the Church of that pariſh.

(a) Dr. Charles Goodall's Epiſtle Dedicatory to his *Hiſtorical Account of the College of Phyſicians Proceedings againſt Empirics and unlicenſed Practiſers &c.* edit. London 1684 in 4to.

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 569. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) Dr. Goodall, *ubi ſupra.*

GOULU

[A] *His Writings.*] They are as follow: I. *Verſio Latina & Paraphraſis in Ariſtotelis Rhetoricam* London 1619, 1623, &c. in 4to. II. *Ariſtotelis de Poeticâ Liber Latinè converſus, & Analyticâ Methodo illuſtratus.* London 1623 in 4to. III. *Verſio, variæ Lectiones, & Annotationes criticæ in opuſcula varia Galeni.* London 1640 in 4to, publiſhed by his friend Mr. Thomas Gataker, B. D. and Rector of Rotherith in Surrey.

H

GOULU (NICHOLAS) in Latin *Gulonius*, the ſon of a vine-dreſſer near Chartres [*A*], was made Regius-Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue in the Univerſity of Paris in the year 1567 (*a*), in the room of John Daurat, one of whoſe daughters he had married. He has tranſlated out of Greek into Latin Gregentius's diſpute with the Jew Herbanus (*b*), which Giles de Noailles, the French King's Embaſſador to the Grand Signior, had brought with him from Conſtantinople. This Tranſlation, to which Nicholas Goulu added ſome Notes, was printed with the Greek Text at Paris in the year 1586. They had already printed in the ſame City in the year 1580 a Collection of ſeveral of this Profeſſor's works [*B*]. He had two ſons, John and Jerom, of whom we ſhall give ſome account hereafter. Magdalen Daurat his wife was a learned woman. We find in her epitaph that ſhe underſtood the Greek, Latin, Italian and Spaniſh tongues. I borrow all theſe particulars from Monſieur Menage (*c*). The reader will find in the Articles of Nicholas Goulu's ſons, or in the Remarks below, what I have ſtill to obſerve concerning his works. It is ſomewhat probable, that d'Aubigné had him in view in the eighth chapter of the firſt book of his *Baron de Fæneſte*. That paſſage is very ſmart and ſatyrical [*C*]. Some perſons wonder that Daurat did not oblige his ſon-in-law to change his name of Goulu [*D*].

(*a*) Du Breul, *Antiq. de Paris*, pag. 365.

(*b*) Menage, *Rem. ſur la Vie d'Ayraut*, pag. 232, & 501.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of a Vine-Dreſſer near Chartres.*] William Du-Val, who in his catalogue of the Regius-Profeſſors writes, that Goulu was a native of the province of Limouſin, is miſtaken; and he fell perhaps into that miſtake by conſidering that Daurat, who gave Goulu one of his daughters, and reſigned his Profeſſorſhip to him, was of that province. Goulu himſelf declares at the head of ſome Latin Poems, which he publiſhed, that he was a native of the Dioceſe of Chartres (1).

(1) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie d'Ayrault*, pag. 251, 252.

[*B*] *They have printed a collection of ſeveral of this Profeſſor's works.*] Namely his tranſlation of Apollinarius's Greek Paraphraſe on the Pſalms; a Paraphraſe in Greek verſe of the *Magnificat*, of the *Nunc dimittis*, of Zacharias's Song; an hymn to Jeſus Chriſt; and a preface in Greek verſe to Apollinarius's Paraphraſe. This book was unknown to the laſt continuator of Geſner's Epitome, and to Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who wrote ſupplements to that Epitome: nor is it to be found in the catalogues of Draudius, of Oxford, of Thuanus, nor in that of the Archbiſhop of Rheims.

[*C*] *That paſſage is very ſmart and ſatyrical.*] I could wiſh, for the learned Magdalen Daurat's honour, either that Nicholas Goulu had been twice married, and that the Quatrain I ſhall tranſcribe related to his other wife; or that d' Aubigné had not been miſtaken with regard to the native Country of the perſon he mentions, in which caſe his ſatyre would not relate to Nicholas Goulu. However it be, he ſpeaks thus. *There was at Paris a learned man named le Goulu, who was a native of the Loudunois. He was angry, when his wife took in thoſe that ſtudied the law to board at his houſe; he would not ſuffer any other boarders but ſchool-boys, which occaſioned the following Quatrain or Stanza.*

Du Goulu ſavant ne prend gueres
Les barbus pour penſionnaires;
Il choiſit les petits enfans,
Mais la Goulue les veut grands.

* *Goulu* ſignifies *Greedy.*

" The learned Greedy * never car'd
" To take in boarders with a beard;
" He chooſes only little boys;
" But miſtreſs Greedy loves great toys.

What might make us ſuſpect that this does not relate to John Daurat's ſon-in-law, is, that he is not called Profeſſor nor Reader of the Greek tongue, of which, probably, d'Aubigné was not ignorant; and he was not the man, who on ſuch occaſions would omit any thing that could ſerve to make the perſons, he mentioned, known. Let this particular therefore remain undetermined, if you will have it ſo. Du Verdier Vau-Privas did not know our Goulu's Chriſtian name. *Daurat*, ſays he (2), *had a daughter whom he married to G. Goulu public Reader of the Greek Tongue, with whom he had had ſome diſputes, and ſpeaking of him he uſed to call him* mon Goulu; i. e. *my greedy man.*

(2) *Proſopogra-phie*, tom. 3. pag. 576.

[*D*] *Some perſons wonder that Daurat did not oblige his ſon-in-law to change his name of Goulu.*] I borrow this Remark from Monſieur Baillet. " This ſame " Daurat, *ſays he* (3), who ſeemed to be aſhamed of " and quite diſguſted with his name of *Diſnemandi* *, " did not ſcruple to give his daughter . . . to another " learned man, named *Goulu*, which ſignifies ſome- " thing meaner ſtill than the word *Diſnemandi*, and is " not much better than the *Lurco* † of the Latins. " After what he did with regard to his own name, " it is a wonder that he did not inſert in his daugh- " ter's marriage-articles, that the name of *Goulu* ſhould " be altered, and it is ſurpriſing, that he ſuffered not " only his daughter but even his grand children to " go under that name, and ſhould even make it fa- " mous and immortal, without taking any other li- " berty but that of turning it very indifferently into " Latin, by the word *Gulonius*." This is indeed ſurpriſing; for on the one hand it was a common thing at that time amongſt the Learned to alter their names; and on the other it is ſomewhat vexing to have a name, which raiſes ſome diſagreeable notions, and gives a handle to make a thouſand ſilly alluſions. It is very probable, that when the ſeveral families began to be diſtinguiſhed by proper names, ſome perſons received the name that fitted them on account of ſome defect under which they laboured; hence it happened very probably that in all countries ſome families are called by the name of *Le Aveugle* (the Blind) *Le Boſſu* (the Crooked) *Le Noir* (the Black). Upon this ſuppoſition Daurat ought to have diſliked a name, which hinted that he was deſcended from an hungry perſon; and that his ſon-in-law had not a better origin. I omit the ſilly jokes, which the Poets of Balzac's party grounded on the name of Father Goulu, his adverſary. See the *Vaticinium Galateæ de exitio Pantophagi*, prefixed to the Sieur de la Motte-Aigron's anſwer (4).

(3) *Auteurs déguiſez*, pag. 156.

* See the Remark [*B*] in the article DAURAT.

† A greedy man, a glutton.

(4) Compare this with what you will find above in the remark [*A*] of the article FEUARDENT.

GOULU (JOHN) the ſon of the preceding, was not perhaps a more eminent man than his father, but he made a greater noiſe in the world. He was born at Paris Auguſt the 25th 1576 (*a*); and being admitted an Advocate, he deſigned to follow that profeſſion at the Bar of the Parliament of that City, but he had the misfortune to be at a ſtand in the firſt cauſe he pleaded [*A*]; and it is thought that this diſgrace determined him

(*a*) S. Romuald, *Thréſor. Chron.* under the year 1629.

[*A*] *He had the misfortune to be at a ſtand in the firſt cauſe he pleaded.*] I quote for my voucher one of Father Goulu's enemies; namely, the Sieur de la Motte-Aigron (1), who relates the ſtory in ſuch a manner, that it appears evidently from a great number of circumſtances, which he mentions, that the firſt time the Lawyer John Goulu pleaded, he was ſo unhappy as not to know how to continue his diſcourſe.

(1) *Réponſe à Phyllarque*, pag. 74, &c.

him to leave the world, and retire into a Convent. He chose the Order of the *Feuillans*, and entered amongst them 1604. He was so much esteemed in his Order that he always enjoyed some office in it, and was at last made General of the Order [*B*]. The name he took, when he became a Monk was Dom John of St. Francis. As he understood the Greek tongue, he translated into French Epictetus's Manual, Arrian's Dissertations, some of St. Basil's Treatises, and the Works of Dionysius Areopagita [*C*]. To this last Translation he added a Vindication of this St. Dionysius's Works. He also revised his father's Latin Translation of St. Gregory Nyssen against Eunomius, and published it. It is inserted into the edition of St. Gregory Nyssenus (*b*), which Fronto Ducæus procured (*c*). Father Goulu would not confine himself to Translations only; he also meddled with controversy, and wrote a book against Du Moulin's Treatise of the Calling of Pastors [*D*]; *De la Vocation des Pasteurs*. We have also the Life of Francis de Sales Bishop of Geneva, written by Father Goulu, and his Funeral Oration on Nicholas le Fevre Preceptor to Lewis XIII; but it is pretended that he never delivered it [*E*]. To tell the truth, he did not gain a great reputation by all those writings. But there happened an affair to him in the year 1627, for which he was very much talked of [*F*]. A Feuillant who

(*b*) Labbe, *de Script. Eccles.* tom. 1. pag. 382.

(*c*) At Paris in the year 1615.

The Author dares not to assert, that he ventured a second time to plead at the Bar, and had the same misfortune again. But he asserts (2) that some persons have said it, and he hints (3) that John Goulu never ventured to preach after he entered amongst the *Feuillans*. But Balzac declares the contrary in the following words. "His picture, *says he* (4), is shewn as a "piece of curiosity in a house in the galleries of the "Louvre; it is made by the Painter of the Heroes and "Heroines; and so well drawn, that you would think "it alive if it did but speak. Nay, some persons "will tell you, that this silence is not so much a want "of art in the Painter, as a natural propriety of my "adversary, and that when he pleaded at the Bar of "the Parliament, or when he PREACHED in the Chapter-house (for he has been both a Lawyer and a "PREACHER) he was used to keep thus his gravity, "and to conclude his discourse before he had said any "thing. Some wicked persons are pleased to ridicule "him on that account, and quote amongst other instances that of the dumb Rhetorician, whom the "Poet Ausonius (5) so egregiously banters, and on "whose picture he jokes thus at the end of an Epigram, *What does Rufus in his pulpit? The same he "does in his picture.*"

(2) Ibid. pag. 75.

(3) Ibid. pag. 80, 83.

(4) *Relation à Menandre*, Part. 1. pag. m. 309.

(5) In the 47th Epigram.

A REFLECTION on the crime of quoting falsly.

I shall quote another passage, not because the same story is mentioned in it, but because it may be of use, to undeceive those that imagine, it is not a great crime, to quote an Author's words unfairly, in order to render him odious. I maintain that this wickedness is the same with that of those Notaries, who falsify a deed. But let us hear upon this subject a man, whose eloquence is very noble. *Confess to me*, says he (6), *that it is a remarkable effect of God's Providence, that he so visibly prevented that man from following the course of living, to which he was determined, and banished him from the Bar by that famous disgrace that happened to him in a full Court. The fatal blow, with which his tongue was struck, has been the preservation of a thousand families, and was a great happiness for all the widows and orphans, that would have fallen into his hands; and on that day God did visibly preserve this Kingdom from several false Contracts and forged Testaments, with which his great wit threatned it* (7). Let us observe that Father Goulu's Elogium, which I shall quote in the following Remark, mentions him as a man, who might have distinguished himself amongst the most famous Lawyers. *Foro jam assuetus, ubi celeberrimus inter Jurisconsultos tunc temporis eminere possit.* One ought not to dispute in an Elogium the privilege of being *surreptitious*, but it should not enjoy that of being *obreptitious*.

(6) Balzac, *Oeuvres diverses*, Disc. 14. pag. m. 377.

(7) The foundation of all this is, that it was pretended Goulu had falsified and altered the passages he quoted from Balzac. See concerning this crime the *Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets*, i. e. "Advices "to the little "Author of lit-"tle Pamphlets," which were published during the Controversy concerning the imaginary cabal of Rotterdam, in the years 1691, and 1692.

(8) Menage is one of them, *Remarques sur la Vie d'Ayrault*, pag. 252.

(9) It was printed in the year 1629; F. de Visch has inserted that Elogy into his *Biblioth. Script. sacri Ordinis Cisterciensium*, pag. 220.

(10) Pag. 72.

[*B*] *He chose the Order of the* Feuillans . . . *and was made General of that Order.*] They who have asserted that he was twice General of his Order (8) did not consult his Elogium, in the second Edition of his *Dionysius Areopagita* (9). We read in that Elogium, that after his noviciate he always enjoyed some office in his Order, and that at last he was raised to the highest post, in which he continued six years, after which he was made Counsellor and Assistant to the person who succeeded him in it. Whence it appears that La Motte-Aigron is mistaken, who asserts (10) that *Dom John Goulu was three years General of his Order.* He wrote that in the year 1627 or 1628; and Father Goulu died in the beginning of the year 1629, being then no more General of the Order, which post he had filled six years: the consequence of all this is obvious to every Reader. An Author of Livonia asserts (11), that *this Father was General of the Congregation of the Cistercians*; he should have said *of the Congregation of the Feuillans, which is a branch of the Cistercian Order.*

(11) Witte. *Diar. Biographic.* in *Append.*

[*C*] *He translated into French Epictetus's Manual . . . and the Works of Dionysius Areopagita.*] I have not mentioned every one of these Translations in a Chronological Order. But I shall give a more accurate account of them here. The first was that of St. Dionysius Areopagita, which was printed in the year 1608, and reprinted in the year 1629, and in the year 1642. His second Translation was that of Epictetus; it was published in the year 1609; and it appears by the Licence for printing it, that he had undertook it for the use of Queen Mary de Medicis. The third was that of St. Basil's Homilies on the Hexameron or six days work of Creation; it was printed in the year 1616 (12).

(12) Ex *Biblioth. Cisterciens. Caroli de Visch.*

[*D*] *He wrote a Book against Du Moulin . . . . of the Calling of Pastors.*] I find a great difference between the Monk St. Romuald, and the Sieur de la Motte-Aigron, not only with regard to the merit of this Answer, which the latter despises as much as the former commends it; but also with regard to the time when this Answer was made. It was during Francis de Sales's life, if we may believe the Monk, who tells us (13), that this Prelate having read the Book of the Calling of Pastors in answer to Du Moulin, judged that Father Goulu was the only person worthy to succeed Cardinal du Perron in his labour against Heresy. But la Motte-Aigron pretends (14), that this Father took it into his head to write this Answer *after Coëffeteau's death*, and he wonders, that *he dared to presume he was capable to succeed* Coeffeteau *in the great controversies he had carried on with Du Moulin.* Francis de Sales died some months before Coeffeteau; he could not therefore see F. Goulu's Answer, if it was not undertook but at the time set down by la Motte-Aigron. But that the Reader may know where the error lies, I must observe that Father Goulu's Work against Du Moulin was printed in the year 1620, and that Coeffeteau did not die before the year 1623.

(13) *Thresor. Chronol.* under the year 1627.

(14) Pag. 91, 92.

[*E*] *We have . . his funeral Oration on N. le Fevre . . but it is pretended that he never delivered it.*] La Motte-Aigron asserts it positively; we ought therefore to read with some consideration what Moreri observes, in the Article of Nicholas le Fevre, namely that *John de Saint François, a Feuillant made his funeral Oration.* Monsieur de Balzac (15) quotes a passage of it, which is written in a very bombast and harsh style. It was printed the first time in the year 1612: the Author did not put his name but to the second Edition of it, which was published in the year 1616. To the third Edition were added two Treatises (16).

(15) *Relat. à Menandr.* Part. 3.

(16) *Biblioth. Cisterciens. Caroli de Visch.*

[*F*] *There happened to him an affair in the year* 1627, *for which he was very much talk'd of.*] This is the true Æra of Balzac's controversy with Father Goulu: For it was the Apology published for the former, and printed off April the 8th 1627, which exasperated the latter. I own that Balzac is chiefly attacked in the first volume of Phyllarque's Letters, which was published the same year; but Balzac's Apologist is also attacked now and then in those Letters. This shews that

who went only by the name of *Frere André* (*d*), i. e. *Brother Andrew*, had made a ſmall collection of ſuch thoughts, which he imagined Balzac had only borrowed or imitated from others. They who envied Balzac's reputation, cried up that piece ſo much, though it was only handed about in manuſcript, that it gave riſe to the apology of Balzac, which his good friend Ogier publiſhed, and in which Brother Andrew was very ſeverely treated. The copy of it which was ſent to F. Goulu, who was then General of the Order, was taken for a challenge, and exaſperated him to the utmoſt degree. He publiſhed two volumes of Letters againſt Balzac, which are written in the moſt paſſionate manner. He ſtiled himſelf there *Phyllarque*, that is to ſay, the *Prince of the Leaves*, as his adverſaries have explained it; and we may be certain that he hinted at his title of General of the *Feuillans* *, when he diſguiſed himſelf under that fictitious name. In order to have a true notion of his animoſity, you need only obſerve, that, as much as lay in his power, he would perſuade all the world to procure Balzac's deſtruction, and gave him up to the whole ſeverity of the temporal power. He even endeavoured to perſuade the Ladies to puniſh this adverſary. He courted their favour by the flattering elogium of *beautiful Ladies* (*e*), and declared to them, *that if they had the leaſt courage in the world, they were under an obligation to put Balzac's eyes out with the points of their needles*, or in caſe they would have ſome mercy *upon him, to make him ſuffer at leaſt the ſame puniſhment, which the Court-Ladies deſigned to make John de Meun undergo.* It was whipping. Father Goulu's zeal, who thus in a book exaſperated all the world againſt an Author, whoſe only crime was that he had employed ſome thoughts either dull, too free, or too immodeſt, and that he did not keep within bounds the heat and hyperboles of his riſing imagination, that zeal, I ſay, which he exerted in printed books, was not the moſt miſchievous. That of his emiſſaries, who as far as their authority reached, and wherever they could be admitted, publiſhed in converſation a thouſand things againſt Balzac's reputation [*G*], as is cuſtomary with bigots [*H*], was much more dangerous. It was then that Father Goulu became very famous [*I*]. He had on his ſide firſt almoſt all

(*d*) It is him, whom Balzac calls *Dom André de St. Denys*, in the *Letters* he wrote to him after their reconciliation. See the remark [*C*] of the article BALZAC (John &c.)

* *Feuille* in French ſignifies a *Leaf*.

(*e*) Letter 15 of the 1ſt vol.

Monſieur Menage and the Sieur Peter Borel are miſtaken, who aſſert, the one (17), that *the Prior Ogier anſwered Father Goulu's Books againſt Balzac, in a Work which he intitled*, Apologie de Monſieur de Balzac; *An Apology for Monſieur de Balzac*; the other (18) that Des Cartes interceded very ſeaſonably in the year 1625 for Balzac againſt Father Goulu, with Cardinal Barberini the Pope's Legate in France. It is certain that Prior Ogier's Book was publiſhd before Phyllarque's Letters, and that Balzac had no quarrel with F. Goulu in the year 1625.

(17) *Remarques ſur la Vie d'Ayraut*, pag. 252.

(18) *Vitæ Carteſii Compendium.*

The Sieur Richelet has committed the ſame blunder as Monſieur Menage. *Father Goulu*, ſays he (19), *inveighed more bitterly againſt Balzac; for he wrote a very outrageous cenſure againſt his works; and this might have given ſome uneaſineſs to that eloquent man, had not Monſieur Ogier, a young Clergyman, ſhewed in an Apology, that the good Father was in the wrong.* It would be in ſome meaſure neceſſary, to follow in matters of fact the ſame advice which Des Cartes gives with regard to philoſophical ſpeculations; that is to ſay, to examine every thing anew, without minding what other perſons have wrote of them. But there is infinitely leſs trouble in truſting to the teſtimony of others; and this is what prodigiouſly multiplies the witneſſes of falſe accounts.

(19) Richelet, *Vies des Auteurs François*, prefixed to a Collection of *Letters*, pag. xlii.

[*G*] *His Emiſſaries . . . . publiſhed in converſation a thouſand things againſt Balzac's reputation.*] The proof of this is to be found in the *Relations à Menandre*, (Accounts given to Menander). You will find there (20), that Monſieur Balzac was never called otherwiſe than a Monſter in all the places that were under the Juriſdiction of the General of the Feuillans, and that he was known under no other name by the Novices and Lay-brethren. You may ſee there Monſieur de Balzac's complaints againſt the devices and artifices of the ſlanderers. "Nothing has been omitted, *ſays he* (21), "that could raiſe my adverſary's fame and ruin my "reputation. A controverſy of the School has been "turned into an affair of the State, and a little diſpute "concerning ſyllables and words, has been raiſed to a "general war between the men of wit. A great many "falſe ſtories have been related to my prejudice, and a "great many more to my adverſary's honour. All the "votes have been ſued for, all the Corporations have been "petitioned, all France has been moved in his favour. "Neither Orators, nor Poets, nor Paraſites have been "wanting to cry him up, to ſing his praiſes, and to drink "his victory in all good companies . . . . (22). Not to "mention the ſecret practices that are carried on out of "the Kingdom, nor the monſtrous character that has "been publickly given me in all the Courts in Chriſtendom, it will be ſufficient to acquaint you with "what paſſed at Paris during the firſt heat of the controverſy. For three months, a certain number "of his party were ſeen every morning to leave their "habitation, and to go two and two to take their "quarters, being ordered to do me ill offices in every "part of the little world, and to ſpread their ſlanders "every where, with an intent to raiſe the mob againſt "me, and oblige them to treat me as their Superior had "done my Book. . . . To increaſe their number, they "have courted ſome men, who are already condemned "by the voice of the people; men noted for their diſſolute and ſcandalous life; famous thro' all France "for their wicked opinions in matters of Faith, and "by their contempt for our holy myſteries. They "have offered to thoſe men, who would imagine it? "and yet it is true; they have offered to them their protection againſt the Jeſuits. They have encouraged "them under the ſtings of conſcience, and againſt the "threatnings of the Law: it is certain that they have "promiſed them their favour, and that they would "give them a character, in caſe they were ever charged with profanation and impiety, or with any other "capital crime, if they would but join with them on "this occaſion, and declare war againſt me under the "banner of my adverſary."

(20) Balzac, *Oeuvres diverſes*, pag. 310. edit. of Roan, 1658, in 8vo.

(21) Ibid. pag. 336.

(22) Ibid. pag. 339.

[*H*] . . . *As is cuſtomary with bigots.*] This is their practice. Some of them write Libels, which others cry up in all companies; and there are no cavils but by this means paſs for ſtrong arguments upon an infinite number of perſons. This is a Play that is acted in every Country. Theſe men give ſuch glaring proofs of what they are, that it is not a difficult taſk to draw their character to the life. This has lately been done by ſome Wits at Paris (23). But what avails it to draw their character? Their artifices and underhand dealings are not the leſs dreadful for it.

(23) Madam des Houliéres, Monſ. de la Bruyére, the Abbé de Villiers, &c.

[*I*] . . . . *It was then that Father Goulu became very famous*] Beſides what I have juſt now quoted from the account to Menander, here follows another paſſage from it, which proves admirably well that this quarrel ſpread Father Goulu's name far and near (24). *Some of his party have aſſerted, that he has received a Brief from our holy Father the Pope. . . Others have aſſerted, that the Convocation of the Clergy ſent him a Deputation to congratulate him upon the good ſucceſs of his arms. . . . There is never a Prince nor a Princeſs, a Lord nor a Lady of Quality, but he ſent them his Books in pomp, moſt of*

(24) Balzac, *Oeuvres diverſes*, pag. 337, 338.

all the Monks [*K*], becauſe Balzac had mentioned their learning with a little too much contempt; ſecondly all thoſe that envied this young Author's great reputation. A great many writings were publiſhed on both ſides (*f*); they came even to make uſe of ſword and piſtol, which in all likelihood ſilenced ſome Writers, who did not care to come to blows. Father Goulu did not long enjoy the pleaſure of having raiſed ſuch a great diſturbance in the Republic of Letters; for he died January the 5th 1629 (*g*) [*L*], and was buried in the Choir of the Feuillans at Paris. It was obſerved in his epitaph amongſt other things, that by his writings he had reſtored the French tongue to its exactneſs (*h*). Monſieur de Balzac complained loudly of this [*M*]. One of his champions, named La Motte-Aigron, publiſhed ſome particulars relating to Father Goulu, which are remarkable [*N*].

(*f*) *See* Sorel, *Biblioth. Franç.* chap. vii.

(*g*) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie d'Ayraut*, pag. 252. Saint Romuald, *Journal Chronol.* tom. 1. pag. 24.

(*h*) *Scriptis ſuis mirum quantum adulteratam eloquentiæ puritatem revocaverit, conſervaverit, illuſtraverit.* i. e. "By his writings "he has wonderfully reſtored, preſerved, "and illuſtrated "the pureneſs of "Eloquence, "which was "corrupted."

GOULU

of them bound like Primers or Prayer-Books. They have croſſed the Rhine, the Danube, the Ocean; they have flown over the Alps and Pyrenean hills; they are the ſubject of every converſation, and find a place in every Library: Whole cart-loads of them have been ſent to the Siege la Rochelle . . . (25). *His picture is ſhewn as a piece of curioſity in a houſe in the galleries of the Louvre* . . . *A man muſt not belong to the Court, and not be curious in the leaſt, who has not ſeen the figure of that dreadful Prince.*

(25) Balzac, *Oeuvres diverſes*, pag. 309.

[*K*] *He had on his ſide* . . . *almoſt all the Monks.*] It is for very good reaſons that I made uſe of a limitation, ſince Monſieur de Balzac declares (26), that *a great many honeſt Monks had publickly blamed* Father Goulu's *conduct. Whole Orders*, continues he, that is to ſay, as he himſelf tells us a little lower, *the chief perſons of their Societies bore witneſs to my innocency, and proteſted againſt my enemy's diſhoneſty. . . . . There have been ſome, even of his own Order, who have not been very well pleaſed with his action. . . . He has not received from the ancient and the grave, thoſe elogies, which the young and the gay have beſtowed on him. . . And beſides, all is not ſo well joined and united in his own party, but ſome parts ſuffer or make others ſuffer. That venerable Body has its wounds and hidden infirmities: and if I had a mind to make an advantage of the diviſions I have obſerved in it, and to improve the ill will of thoſe that are diſcontented, I might make a conſiderable diverſion. And it is certain that offers have been made to me even from Italy, and that ſome perſons would furniſh me with memoirs, of which I refuſed to make any uſe.* He hints in another place (27), that if he did not exert his whole ſtrength againſt a Monk, it was becauſe he would not give the Huguenots the pleaſure to banter the Monks. It was perhaps for the ſame reaſon that the Sieur de la Motte-Aigron never publiſhed the Latin Book with which he had threatened (28) Father Goulu, and in which he would have diſcovered a great many myſteries. Such is the advantage of being liſted in the ſervice of the Church; a man dares not to preſs his adverſary too cloſe, and whether he will or not, he muſt let him go unpuniſhed, leſt he ſhould afford thoſe of other Religions an opportunity to banter. I have mentioned (29) a man, who diſſuaded his ſon from being a Lawyer, and to perſuade him to enter into holy Orders, urged a very good argument to him; but he omitted another which is ſtronger ſtill; I mean that very impunity which I have juſt hinted at.

(26) Ibid. pag. 342, 343.

(27) Ibid. pag. 316.

(28) *Reponſe à Philarque*, pag. 71, 322.

(29) Above, remark [*L*] of the article ACCIUS.

[*L*] *He died January the 5th, 1629.*] The Author of Father Goulu's Elogium, and Peter de Saint Romuald, from whom I borrow this date, add that Father Goulu died aged fifty four years. I could not admit this, after I had read the date of his birth, which I found in St. Romuald, namely Auguſt the 25th 1576. I do not know whether I have followed a good guide. For though one would think that St. Romuald ought to have been well acquainted with this particular, conſidering he was a Feuillant, yet it cannot be denied that he has refuted himſelf, ſince he has aſſerted in the Abridgment of his *Theſaurus*, and in his *Chronological Journal*, that Father Goulu died aged fifty four years. It is a ſad thing that we ſhould be obliged to make uſe of ſuch inaccurate Writers; it would be much better if we had to do with Authors whoſe blunders are in ſome meaſure conſiſtent together. A Writer who follows now one account, and then another, ſhould at leaſt give us notice in which of them he was miſtaken. However it be, the Sieur de la Motte-Aigron is guilty of a very great negligence; for when he wrote againſt F. Goulu in the year 1628, he gave him *ſixty odd years* (30), and made him about twenty years older *than the Samaritan woman is* (31).

(30) Pag. 101.

[*M*] *Monſieur de Balzac complained loudly of this.*] See his Latin Poem intitled *Crudelis Umbra*, i. e. "the "cruel Shadow; and the Letter (32) in which he ſo wittily applies to his adverſary theſe two lines of Ovid:

(31) Pag. 72.

(32) It is in pag. 243. of the Paris edition 1651, in 12mo.

Ergone & adhuc metuendus erat? Cinis ipſe ſepulti
In caput hoc ſævit: tumulo quoque ſenſimus hoſtem (33).

(33) Ovid. Met. 13. ver. 503. makes Hecuba ſay this of Achilles, who required that Polixena ſhould be ſacrificed.

That is,

"What! Is he ſtill to dread? Can he do more?
"But ſee, he ſtill purſues me as before.
"With rage rekindled his dead aſhes burn,
"And from his grave I feel my foe return."

Peter de St. Romuald aſſerts in his *Chronological Treaſure* (34), that Monſieur Corneille made Father Goulu's Epitaph. Obſerve that the Duke of Vendôme natural ſon of Henry IV, and his ſpouſe Frances de Lorraine cauſed Father Goulu's Epitaph, which is upon his tomb, to be put there. Monſieur Menage aſſerts it in page 252 of his Remarks on Peter Ayrault's Life.

(34) Under the year 1629.

[*N*] *La Motte-Aigron publiſhed ſome particulars relating to Father Goulu, which are remarkable.*] Father Goulu (35), being ſtill but a Tutor at a Gentleman's houſe who lived at Paris, went with him into the Province of Angoumois, and lodged at the houſe of Monſieur de la Motte-Aigron's father. He was afflicted there with ſuch a violent thirſt, that they were obliged to give him drink in all ſorts of companies, and even in the night-time he was forced to get up to drink. He was happily in a country which abounds with wine. But in all this plenty the ſmallneſs of the glaſſes ſerved only the more to provoke his thirſt. They ſearch for the biggeſt in the houſe, and amongſt all their friends; but as none could be found that were large enough for him, they had one made on purpoſe, which is ſtill kept in the family, in memory of Phyllarque, whoſe name it bears. *It was large indeed, but not to be compared with Neſtor's cup*; for three men were not wanted to lift it up from the table; *any perſon might have taken it up with both hands.* This diſtemper of F. Goulu (36) is more extraordinary, than that which obliged him to eat nothing but fleſh, when he lodged again in the ſame houſe a great many years after, being then General of his Order; though (37) *he had ſuch a freſh complexion, and ſeemed ſo well in health, that it could not be believed* he wanted to be excuſed from ſubmitting to the rules of a monaſtick life.

(35) *Reponſe à Philarque*, pag. 318.

(36) Ibid. pag. 322, 324.

(37) *Reponſe à Philarque*, pag. 330.

I do not know where la Motte-Aigron found that Neſtor's Cup could not be carried but by three men; Homer does not ſay this; he only obſerves, that when it was full any other perſon but Neſtor could hardly lift it up; but that Neſtor did it with eaſe.

Ἄλλος μὲν μογέων ἀποκινήσασκε τράπεζης
Πλεῖον ἐών· Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν.

Alius quidem non ſine labore ſubmoviſſet e menſa
Plenum exiſtens: Neſtor vero ſenex ſine labore tollebat (38).

(38) Homer. Iliad. lib. 11. ver. 635.

In the eleventh Book of Athenæus we meet with a long explication of all Homer's Verſes, which relate to this Cup; but far from finding any thing there, proper to ſupport the Sieur de la Motte-Aigron's opinion, I read there, that we muſt not underſtand Homer, as though he had ſaid that none of the Greeks could have lifted that Cup, but only that no old man, ſuch as Neſtor was, could have done it. Hercules, who was a hard drinker

GOULU (JEROM) younger brother of the preceding, was Regius Profeſſor of the Greek tongue in his father's ſtead, to whom he ſucceeded at the age of eighteen (a) in the year 1595 (b). He has been afterwards a Phyſician of the Faculty of Paris. I mention his children in a remark [A]. It has been aſſerted in the Elogium of the General of the Feuillans, that he reſigned to his younger brother his right to ſucceed his father in the Profeſſorſhip of the Greek tongue [B].

(a) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie d'Ayraut*, pag. 254.

(b) Du Breul, *Antiquit. de Paris*, pag. 565.

(39) Macrobius, *Saturn.* lib. 5. cap. 21.

(39), had a large Cup, but I do not find that three men were wanted to carry it; Statius ſuppoſes but two:

Huic pretium palmæ gemini cratera ferebant
Herculeum juvenes. Illum Tyrinthius Heros
Ferre manu ſola, ſpumantemque ore ſupino
Vertere ſeu monſtri victor, ſeu Marte, ſolebat (40).

(40) Stat. Theb. lib. 6.

We might relate a great many particulars concerning Hercules's Cup, which, according to ſome Authors, was ſo prodigiouſly large, that it ſerved him for a ſhip at ſea (41); but all this would not be here in its proper place (42).

(41) Macrobius, *Saturn.* lib. 5. cap. 21.

(42) I mention all that in the remark [D] of the article HERCULES.

[A] *I mention his children in a Remark.*] He was married with Charlotte de Monantheuil, the daughter of Henry de Monanthueil, Dean of the Faculty of Phyſick at Paris, and Regius Profeſſor of Mathematicks. From this marriage came amongſt other children NICHOLAS GOULU who wrote a Book containing the Elogiums of the Goulu's. JAMES, Steward to the King under the name of Monſieur de Monanthueil; and Martha, wife of Renatus Labitte Advocate in the Parliament, grand-nephew to that James Labitte, Judge of Maienne who made the Index to the Books of the Civilians, and whom Cujacius has honourably quoted in the IIt Chapter of the IVth Book, and in the XVth Chapter of the Vth Book of his Obſervations (1).

(1) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie d'Ayrault*, pag. 254.

[B] *The General of the* Feuillans . . . *reſigned to his younger brother his right to ſucceed his father in the Profeſſorſhip of the Greek Tongue.*] Here is the beginning of that Elogium (2). *Inter Gallos doctrina illuſtres Joannes Gulonius annumerari meretur, quem Nicolaus Pater (Joannis aurati Gener, ac in regia Græcæ Linguæ Profeſſione ſucceſſor) ſingulari naturæ bonitate præditum adoleſcentem non vulgariter & adeo felici ſucceſſu inſtituit, ut ab Academiæ Pariſienſis Curatoribus digniſſimus ſit judicatus, qui ſublato è vivis parente literariam ejus profeſſionem ſuſciperet: ſed in fratrem ſe minorem muneris iſtius functionem paterna pietate tranſmiſit.* i. e. "John "Goulu is uſually reckoned amongſt the Frenchmen "eminent for their learning. His Father Nicholas "Goulu, John Daurat's ſon-in-law, and his ſucceſſor "in the Profeſſorſhip of the Greek Tongue, gave his "ſon ſo good an education, and had beſides ſuch happy "natural talents, that the Directors of the Univerſity "of Paris judged him worthy to ſucceed his father. "But he reſigned that office with a fatherly kindneſs to "his younger brother."

(2) *Apud* Carol. de Viſch, *Bibliotheca Ciſterc.* pag. 220.

GOURNAI (MARY DE JARS Lady of) Montagne's daughter by alliance [A], and famous for her learning. See in Moreri of what family ſhe was, and ſome other circumſtances of her life. I have not a great many things to add to his account of her. We find in the *Perroniana* a very diſobliging ſtroke againſt this Lady [B], it is with regard to a Satyr in which ſhe was concerned, and which was a conſequence of the Anti-Coton [C]. There was alſo a Libel publiſhed, intitled the *Anti-Gournai* (a). Cardinal du

(a) See the remark [C], towards the end.

[A] *She was Mortagne's daughter by alliance.*] She ſhewed no leſs reſpect or zeal for this father by alliance, than for her true father. You will eaſily grant it, if you will conſider what ſhe obſerves in her Preface to Montagne's Eſſays. She cauſed that Book to be printed in the year 1635, and dedicated it to Cardinal de Richelieu. The Preface which ſhe added to it deſerves to be read, and cannot but be particularly acceptable to thoſe that love the Hiſtory of Books and Editions. *The judgment ſhe paſſed on* Montagne's *firſt Eſſays, and the kindneſs ſhe expreſſed, grounded only on the eſteem ſhe had for him a great while before ſhe had ſeen him*, gave this Author an occaſion to make a great many reflections, and gave riſe to the alliance. He eſteemed her from that time, and foretold that *ſhe would be capable of the greateſt performances* (1).

(1) *See* Montagne's *Eſſays*, B. 2. ch. 17. towards the end. pag. m. 606.

Paſquier acquaints us with ſome circumſtances of this kind of adoption. Michael de Montagne, ſays he (2), "left two daughters: the one born of his marriage, "who inherited his whole eſtate, and is honourably "married; the other his daughter by alliance, who "was heir to his learning: both of them very "virtuous Ladies. But above all things, I cannot "cloſe my Letter without giving you ſome account of "the latter. I mean the Lady de Jars, who is related "to ſeveral eminent and noble Families in Paris; ſhe "deſigns never to have any other huſband but her own "honour improved by the reading of the beſt Books, "and amongſt others, of Montagne's Eſſays; as he "continued a great while at Paris in the year 1588, "ſhe went on purpoſe to viſit him, that ſhe might "know his face. The Lady de Gournay her mother "and ſhe took him with them to their houſe of Gour-"ney, where he ſtaid with them three months in two "or three journeys he made thither, being always en-"tertained as civilly and kindly as he could wiſh. "Laſtly, this virtuous Lady hearing of his death; "croſſed almoſt all France, by the help of a "paſs-port, both of her own accord and at the deſire "of Montagne's widow and daughter, who had in-"vited her to come and mix her tears and lamentati-"ons, which were exceſſive, with theirs. This is in-"deed a remarkable circumſtance."

(2) Paſq. in the 2d vol. of his *Letters*, liv. 18. p. m. 384, 385.

[B] *We find in the* Perroniana *a very diſobliging ſtroke againſt this Lady.*] I ſhall tranſcribe the whole paſſage. *As Monſieur Pelletier told him* (3) *one day, that he had met with Mademoiſelle de Gournay, who was going to preſent a Petition to the Lieutenant criminal* (4), *to obtain a prohibition of the* Defence of the Butter-women, *becauſe in that pamphlet ſhe was called a proſtitute, who had ſerved the publick, he told me, I believe the Lieutenant will not order her perſon to be taken, for few perſons would care for the trouble; and as for what is aſſerted, that ſhe ſerved the publick, it was ſo privately, that it is only affirmed by gueſs; and to perſuade us of the contrary, let her but prefix her picture to her Book. This is what I once told Mademoiſelle de Surgeres, who deſired me at Monſieur de Rets's houſe, to write an Epiſtle to be prefixed to Ronſard's Works, in order to ſhew, that there was not the leaſt diſhoneſty in his love for her. I anſwered, inſtead of that Epiſtle you need only prefix your picture to the Work.* I am perſuaded, that the Lady de Gournai would have taken his raillery for a deadly affront, tho' nature had abundantly made her amends for the defects of her face by the perfections of her mind, ſo that though ſhe were deſpiſed with regard to her body, ſhe had matter of comfort ready at hand, and even a powerful motive to boaſt. It is not at all probable that ſhe ever was humble enough, to diſclaim all eſteem for her bodily charms, as much as right reaſon required ſhe ſhould. I doubt whether the virtue of the greateſt women-ſaints would be proof againſt ſo great an affront as the following would be. To put an end to the ſlanders of all thoſe ſatyrical Wits, who publiſh abroad that you have not been ſo ſtrictly continent as you ought, you need only to ſhew either your face or your picture. It is certain that Cardinal du Perron carried the injury beyond all bounds, and I imagine that the Lady de Gournai would rather have choſen to be ignorant, and to have but little wit, than to paſs for a perſon ſo deſtitute of all charms, as a maiden would be who had kept her maidenhead only becauſe nobody cared to take it.

(3) That is to ſay, to Cardinal du Perron.

(4) I think that the prohibiting of books belongs to the Lieutenant-Civil.

[C] *On account of a Satyr in which ſhe was concern-*

ed,

du Perron eſteemed this learned Lady, notwithſtanding his bitter raillery againſt her: he is in the catalogue of thoſe that commended her [C]. The little penſion which ſhe had from the Court was punctually paid (b); ſhe lived in a conſtant celibacy. She was very welcome to the Princeſſes [E]. It had been better for her not to write againſt thoſe that ſupported the Anti-Coton. A perſon of her ſex ought carefully to avoid that kind of controverſies. The ſatyrical writers are ruſtical fellows, they have no regard for their adverſaries (c); they attack the women in the moſt ſenſible part. This Lady was repreſented not only older than ſhe really was [F], but alſo as a diſſolute woman (d). They have publiſhed almoſt at the ſame time two different ſtories concerning Monſieur de Racan, and Mademoiſelle de Gournai [G]. I think it ſtrange that Moreri ſhould aſſert, that this Lady's Works were not publiſhed but after her death (e).

(b) See the remark [D].

(c) *Ruſtica progenies neſcit habere modum.*

(d) See the remark [C].

(e) See the remark [D].

Monſieur

ed, and which was a conſequence of the Anti-Coton.] This Satyr is called in the *Perroniana la Defenſe des Beurrieres*, the Vindication of the Butter-women, I am apt to believe that this is not the true title, and that it ſhould have been called *le Remerciment des Beurrieres*, i. e. "The Thanks of the Butter-women." For I have read a Satyr (5) which is intitled, *Le Remerciment des Beurrieres de Paris au Sieur de Courbouzon Montgommery* i. e. "The Thanks of the Butter-women at Paris to "the Sieur de Courbouzon Montgommery;" in which we meet immediately (6) with theſe words: *And particularly by the noble vindication of the Fathers Jeſuits, who follow the example and directions of the Lady de Gournai, who has always ſerved the publick well; you have cauſed to be publiſhed a week ago &c.* Some pages lower we find this (7). *There have been ſome unſkilful perſons of late*, ſays a Butter-woman to the Sieur de Courbouzon, *who pretended to incroach upon you, and to intice your cuſtomers away, as, for inſtance, one Pelletier, and the Lady Gournay, that young virgin of fifty five years, who took upon them to publiſh vindications of the Jeſuits, as though they were concerned with them, becauſe they have been called back and reſtored at the ſuit, requeſt (α), and ſollicitation of Venus's Poſt-boy general.* If we add to this the paſſage I quote in the margin (8), I am perſuaded that it will be evident, that all the complaints, which the Lady de Gournai deſigned to lay before the Judges, related to the Butter-women's Thanks. Let us obſerve, that it appears by the paſſage I have quoted from that Satyr, that the Lady de Gournai (9) had publiſhed ſome Books in favour of the Jeſuits, and againſt the Anti-Coton. Here follows the title of the Pamphlet, which is ridiculed in the Butter-women's Thanks. *Le Fleau d'Ariſtogiton, ou contre le Calomniateur des Peres Jeſuites, ſous le Titre d'*ANTICOTON, *par Louis de Montgommery Sieur de Courbouzon.* i. e. "A Scourge for Ariſtogiton, or "for the ſlanderer of the Jeſuits under the name of *Anticoton:* By Lewis of Montgommery, Sieur of Courbouzon." We may aſſert a particular, which Mr. Baillet does not aſſert (10), namely, that the Author of the *Fleau d'Ariſtogiton* appeared under his true name. Monſr. Baillet imagines, that Courbouzon's book was publiſhed after the *Fleau d'Ariſtogiton* (11); whereas it is the ſame Book. It was not enough for the adverſaries of the Jeſuits, to have abaſed our virgin the Butter-women's thanks, they alſo publiſhed a Book againſt her, which they intitled *Anti-Gournai*. Monſieur Baillet mentions it; but not in the place where he gives us a catalogue of the pieces that were occaſioned by the Anti Coton (12). It ſeems even that he did not know the Lady Gournai was concerned in that Anti.

(5) Printed at Niort in the year 1610.

(6) Page 3.

(7) Page 8.

(8) F. Coton addreſſed himſelf firſt to a Lady Carabiner, who had ſoon ſpent all her powder and ſhot in the defence of that venerable man; and having afterwards directed the Sieur the Courbouzon to the ſhop where this ammunition is ſold, they made him act the part of a deſperate ſoldier, like the forlorn hope of an army. Ibid. pag. 11, 12.

(9) It is her, Father Richeome calls an Amazon. *See* Baillet's *Anti*, tom. 1. pag. 146.

(10) Tom. 1. of the *Anti*, pag. 146.

(11) Ibid. pag. 145.

(12) See tom. 1. of the *Anti*, pag. 176.

* (α) Inſtead of *priére* (prayer or ſuit) there is *brieve* (ſhort) in the paſſage of that Satyr, which abounds with errors of the preſs. CRIT. REM.

[D] *Cardinal du Perron . . . . is in the catalogue of thoſe that commended her.*] In order to prove this, I ſhall tranſcribe a long paſſage which relates to her, in the Abbé de Villeloin's Memoirs. They that ſhall think I ought to have tranſcribed but part of it, are perſons that do not much care to know a great many particulars of the Lives of illuſtrious perſons. It is not for men of that taſte, I write; let this be obſerved once for all. *This good Lady*, thus ſpeaks the good Abbot de Marolles concerning the Demoiſelle de Gournai, *whom I always eſteemed very much, and whom I uſed to viſit often privately, had an upright and generous ſoul. Her beauty was of the mind rather than of the body: ſhe knew a great many things, which perſons of her ſex ſeldom know. We have ſeveral works of hers both in verſe and proſe, which have been collected in one volume, and publiſhed by her ſelf with this title.* Preſens de la Demoiſelle de Gournay (The Lady de Gournai's giſts.) *Thoſe who pretended to turn her into ridicule, had no reaſon to boaſt of it, and ſeveral eminent men have commended her both during her life time and after her death; as for inſtance, Michael de Montagne, Juſtus Lipſius, the Cardinals Du Perron and de Richelieu, Monſieur Coſpean Biſhop of Nants, Monſieur de Rochepoſai Biſhop of Poitiers, Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France, and the Superintendants, who always took care to pay her the very ſmall penſion which the King had granted her; nor would ſhe ever have a larger penſion upon condition to keep a coach, which I know was offered her by Cardinal de Richelieu's order. Several learned men viſited her often, and the good Lady reckoned amongſt her friends Monſieur de La Mothe le Vayer, the Prior Ogier and his brother; Meſſieurs le Habert, Ceriſai, Leſtoile, Boiſrobert, de Revol, Colletet, Malleville, all perſons well known in the Republic of Letters, and if I am not miſtaken ſhe did me the honour to place me amongſt them* (13).

(13) *Mémoires de l'Abbé de Marolles*, pag. 58. under the year 1623. See alſo what he ſays in page 105. under the year 1636. He ſays, that he went to live in the ſtreet of St. Honoré, in this Lady's neighbourhood, *who was then publiſhing the 1ſt edition of her Works.*

[E] *She was very welcome to the Princeſſes.*] The ſame Abbé de Marolles tells us this, ſpeaking of the Duke of Retelois the Duke of Nevers's eldeſt ſon. *The Lady de Gournai*, ſays he (14), *was one of his greateſt diverſions; and though he was of a very courtly and galant temper, yet he would leave any other Lady, to converſe with this, whether he ſaw her at his ſiſter's, or met her at his aunt's Madam de Longueville, or at the Counteſs of Soiſſons's, where ſhe went ſometimes.*

(14) Ibid. pag. 58.

[F] *She was repreſented older than ſhe really was.*] See in the remark [C] the paſſage from the butter-women's thanks, in which ſhe is ſuppoſed to be fifty five years old, when ſhe really was but forty five. She died in the year 1645, at the age of fourſcore; ſhe could not therefore be above forty five years old in the year 1610.

[G] *They have publiſhed . . . two different ſtories concerning Monſieur de Racan, and Mademoiſelle de Gournai.*] The firſt is inſerted in the *Menagiana* (15), and the ſecond in the *Recueil des bons mots* (16), or Collection of witty Sayings. Monſieur de Racan and Mademoiſelle de Gournai are repreſented in the firſt, as two perſons, who uſed to ſee one another very often, and who diſcovered their minds very freely to each other when they diſliked one another's verſes. This is the higheſt degree of familiarity between Authors who are friends. On the contrary, the ſecond ſtory is entirely proper to perſuade us that theſe two perſons were at variance. This ſecond ſtory is given us as one of Boiſrobert's pretty tales, and is intitled, *The three Racans.* It is ſuppoſed that the Lady de Gournai longed to be acquainted with the Marquiſs de Racan; whereupon a man of wit perſuaded him to make her a viſit; but having known the day and hour appointed for it, *he was ſo wicked* as to ſend to the Lady *a little before a Gentleman of the Court, who pretended he was the Marquiſs de Racan.* This viſit being made, he went himſelf to the Lady de Gournai, and ſaid he was the Marquiſs de Racan: he was admitted, and pretended to wonder how another could be ſo bold as to borrow his name and perſonate him, in order to make this Lady a viſit. He was no ſooner gone, but the true Racan came. "The Lady de Gournai was "immediately acquainted with it; ſhe was of Gaſ-"cony (17), and conſequently ſomewhat haſty; ſhe "fell into a paſſion at the ſight of this third Racan, "and without giving him time to ſpeak, ſhe cried "out in a fury, *Shall I never ſee but Racans all my "life time?* and arming herſelf with her ſlipper, ſhe

(15) Printed at Paris in the year 1697.

(16) Printed at Paris in the year 1693.

(17) I do not believe that to be true. I wonder that Hilarion de Coſte, who ſpeaks ſo much of her, *Vies des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 2. pag. 668, &c. does not ſay where ſhe was born. The paſſage quoted from Paſquier in the remark [A] proves, methinks, that ſhe was not of Gaſcony.

Monſieur Menage's ſuppoſition in his petition of the Dictionaries, namely, that the Lady de Gournai was very much concerned for the misfortune of the obſolete words, is no fiction: for it is very true that ſhe was very angry at this alteration of the language [*H*]. I cannot tell whether her cat was celebrated in verſe; but I am ſure that the wits in her time would have made ſeveral Poems upon that ſubject, if ſhe had been young and

" beat him ſoundly with it, and thruſt him out " of doors, without hearkning to what he could ſay, " and giving him all the opprobrious language " her anger could ſuggeſt to her. The poor Marquiſs " was ſo amazed, that he did not know what to an- " ſwer, and went away immediately, thinking with " himſelf, that this learned Lady was grown mad (18)." I am apt to think that this is a mere ſtory; I judge it chiefly with regard to the blows given with the ſlipper. This was probably either a mere invention, or at leaſt a ſtory canvaſſed by Boiſrobert, to banter both Monſieur de Racan and this learned Lady at once. However it be, this ſtory renders the friendly correſpondence which Mr. Menage ſuppoſes between this Lady and the Marquiſs de Racan, abſolutely improbable. Here follows what we read in the *Menagiana* (19). " Monſieur de Racan went one day to viſit " Mademoiſelle de Gournai, who ſhewed him ſome " Epigrams ſhe had made, and aſked him his opi- " nion of them. Monſieur de Racan told her, that " they were good for nothing, and that they had no " edge. The Lady de Gournai replied, he muſt not " mind that, that they were Epigrams after the " Greek faſhion. They went afterwards to dine to- " gether at Monſieur de Lorme's, a Phyſician at the " Wells of Bourbon. Monſieur de Lorme entertain- " ed them with a ſoup which was not very good; " whereupon Mademoiſelle de Gournai turning her " ſelf towards Monſieur de Racan, ſaid to him, Sir, " here is a very indifferent ſoup. Madam, replied " the Marquiſs, it is a ſoup after the Greek faſhion." I ſhall obſerve by the by, that this little ſtory met with the ſame fate as almoſt all the ſtories of the ſame kind; the circumſtances of them are prodigiouſly altered as they are related by different perſons. Read the following paſſage from Voiture's Apology (20). " *Some Epigrams of the Anthologia* being once tranſ- " lated for one of our Poets (21) . . . who did not " underſtand Greek . . . he found them ſo dull and " ſo inſipid, that dining the next day at a Prince's " table, where they ſerved him with a ſoup that taſted " of nothing but water, he turned to one of his " friends, who had ſeen thoſe Epigrams with him, " and ſaid, *Here is indeed a ſoup after the Greek* " *faſhion, if ever there was any.*" Obſerve that the ſtory of the three Racans has been inſerted into the ſecond part of the *Menagiana* (22), whereby it is ſuppoſed that Monſieur Menage's converſations were ſometimes inconſiſtent.

[*H*] *She was very angry at the alteration of the language.*] Let us quote a paſſage in which Sorel cenſures an omiſſion of Father Bouhours. " To " ſpeak of a perſon who fell into a violent paſſion in " thoſe times, againſt the ſuppreſſion of words, he " ſhould have mentioned the good Lady de Gournai, " whom Ariſte, one of the perſonages in the Dia- " logue before us, places amongſt the illuſtrious and " ingenious maidens. She has really well deſerved it: " I value her ſtill more for her generoſity, good na- " ture, and other incomparable virtues, than for her " learning. But yet it muſt be confeſſed, that ſhe " had always ſome reſentment againſt the new Au- " thors of her time; nor was it without reaſon, for " they took a delight in playing her always ſome " trick or another. They that have been acquainted " with her formerly, know that ſhe was in a terrible " paſſion, when ſhe mentioned perſons of the new " party or of the new cabal; this was her blind ſide. " She might afford us a copious ſubject to diſcourſe " upon the language, both by what ſhe has been heard " to ſay of it, and by what ſhe wrote of it. They " who are not old enough to have converſed with " her, muſt conſult her book intitled, *Les Avis &* " *les Preſens de la Demoiſelle de Gournai*; i. e. " The Advices and Preſents of the Lady de Gournai." " They will find there ſeveral chapters concerning the " French language, and particularly a chapter con- " cerning *Diminutives*, and ſome relating to Poetry, " in all which ſhe would bring into uſe compoſed " words after the manner of the Greek tongue, and " would have Ronſard's language to continue for " ever, without the leaſt exception (23)." Let us ſee how Monſieur Menage has turned into ridicule this paſſion of the Lady de Gournai. He firſt ſhews how ſome perſons would baniſh from the French language the following noble words,

Ces nobles mots, *moult, ains, jaçoit*
Ores, adonc, maint, ainſi-ſoit,
A-tant, ſi que, piteux, icelle,
Trop plus, trop mieux, blandice, iſnelle,
Pieça, toilir, illec, ainçois.
Comme étant de mauvais François,

as being bad French. Then he ſuppoſes that the Petition of the Dictionaries ſheweth, that

. . . Bien que telle outrecuidance
(Soit dit ſauf vôtre reverence)
Fiſt préjudice aux Suppliants
Vos bons & fideles Clients;
Et que de GOURNAY *la Pucelle,*
Cette ſavance Demoiſelle,
En faveur de l'Antiquité
Euſt notre Corps ſollicité
De faire ſes plaintes publiques
Du décri de ces mots antiques:
Toutefois, &c.

" Though ſuch a preſumption (with ſubmiſſion to " your Reverence be it ſaid) be very prejudicial to " the petitioners your good and faithful clients; and " though the Virgin de Gournai that learned Lady, " importuned our Corporation in favour of Antiqui- " ty, and would perſuade us to complain publickly " of the diſcredit, under which theſe old words la- " bour, yet, &c."

Several perſons, no doubt, will ſay, that the Lady de Gournai labouring under the dotage of people, condemned the reformation of the language, only becauſe it was the work of young Authors, or becauſe ſhe could not approve it, without confeſſing at the ſame time that in her old age ſhe wanted to go to ſchool again. They applied probably to her what Horace ſo ingeniouſly obſerves of certain perſons, who imagine that their own taſte is the only rule of what is good, or that it would be a ſhame for them to yield the firſt rank to new comers, and to own in their old age that all they ſtudied in their youth is vain and uſeleſs (24).

Vel quia nil rectum, niſi quod placuit ſibi, ducunt:
Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ
Imberbes didicére, ſenes perdenda fateri.

" They think nought ſweet, but what their taſte
delights.
" Or to ſtoop to their *juniors* rules diſdain,
" Or elſe to think, what once they learnt was vain,
" And only fit to be forgot again.

Creech.

But all things being duly conſidered, this Lady was not ſo much in the wrong, as ſome perſons imagine; and it were to be wiſhed, that the moſt illuſtrious Authors of that time had vigorouſly oppoſed the proſcription of ſeveral words, which have nothing harſh, and which would ſerve to diverſify our expreſſions, to avoid the return of the ſame ſound, the verſes in a diſcourſe in proſe, and an ambiguous ſtyle. The exceſſive nicety which was then too much indulged, has made the language extremely barren. The beſt Writers complain of it: I mean thoſe Writers who ſuffer the

(18) *Recueil des bons Contes & des bons Mots*, pag. 158. of the Dutch edition.

(19) Pag. 138. of the 1ſt Dutch edition.

(20) Coſtar, *Défenſe de Voiture*, pag. 274.

(21) It was Racan.

(22) Printed at Paris in the year 1695.

(23) Sorel, *de la Connoiſſance des bons Livres*, pag. m. 418, 419.

(24) Horat. Epſ. 4. ver. 83. lib. 2.

and beautiful. It was a cat whoſe fidelity has been immortalized by the Abbot de Marolles [*I*].

the leaſt from this barrenneſs, and find means to ſupply it by the fruitfulneſs of their genius. See Monſieur de la Bruyére's Reflections (25). Some of them give a thouſand thanks to the Biſhop of Meaux, to the Biſhop of Nimes, and to ſome other Writers of the firſt rank, when they ſee that they employ ſome word that begins to grow obſolete. This rehabilitates it, and makes it grow new again; it is at leaſt a Barrier, that prevents a preſcription againſt it, and which may be oppoſed to the cavils of the *Puriſts*. *Our language is very much indebted to thoſe Writers, who ſay* certes (indeed) *in proſe, and who for the ſake of that word expoſe themſelves in their Works* (26). The ſame obſervation might be made with regard to other words, which are very convenient, but of which the too great nicety of ſome Criticks, or the oddneſs of uſe have deprived us, and ſtill deprive us daily. But this evil is not owing only to the inconſtancy of the living languages, which the ancients have alſo obſerved, and very well deſcribed.

(25) La Bruyére, *Caracteres de ce Siécle*, in the chapter intitled, *de quelques Uſages*, pag. 635. of the 8th edition of Paris.

(26) La Bruyére, ibid.

—— *Mortalia facta peribunt:*
Ne dum ſermonum ſtet honos & gratia vivax.
Multa renaſcentur, quæ jam cecidere, cadentque,
Quæ nunc ſunt in honore vocabula, ſi volet uſus,
Quem penes arbitrium eſt & jus & norma loquendi (27).

(27) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 68.

That is,

" —— E'en theſe muſt waſte.
" Then how can *feeble words* pretend to laſt?
" Some words that have or elſe will feel decay,
" Shall be reſtor'd, and come again in Play.
" And words now fam'd ſhall not be fancied long,
" They ſhall not pleaſe the ear or move the tongue.
" As *uſe* ſhall theſe approve, or thoſe condemn,
" Uſe the ſole rule of ſpeech, and judge ſupreme."

Creech.

There is in this I know not what plot, which is carried on, not ſo much by thoſe Readers, who are alſo Authors, as by thoſe who do not write. I except however two kinds of Authors; the young Authors, and thoſe that publiſh but one ſmall Work in two or three years time. A young Author, who ſeldom reads any but the moſt modern Books calls nothing fine language, but the words and expreſſions he meets with in them. Woe to any other words or phraſe he meets with elſewhere; this is old faſhioned, ſays he, it begins to be obſolete. As for a Writer who compoſes but half a page a day, he has not time to perceive the trouble that is occaſioned by the proſcription of an infinite number of expreſſions, which were good under the reigns of Henry IV and Lewis the Juſt: He therefore values himſelf on account of his diſguſt with regard to every word, which is in the leaſt ſuſpected of being obſolete. But if he was obliged to write a large and conſiderable Work, which required ſome expedition, he would not affect ſuch a nicety: the difficulty of the undertaking, the trouble of repetitions, the neceſſity almoſt unavoidable to rhime in proſe, &c. would ſoon make him ſenſible of the injury that is done to Authors, by thus rendering that language barren, which they are obliged to uſe.

[*I*] *She had a Cat, whoſe fidelity has been immortalized by the Abbot de Marolles.*] He has done the ſame ſervice to his Landlady's Linnet. " A Linnet, " *ſays he* (28), which I have ſeen, and which belonged " to the moſt honeſt and moſt virtuous Lady de Belle- " ville, at whoſe houſe I lodge at Paris, lived above " forty years with her. And though the weather were " never ſo fair, this little bird would never take its " flight, when its good miſtreſs put it out of its cage " in the window of her room. Mademoiſelle de Gour- " nay's Piaillon (it was her cat) in ten years time that " it lived with her, would never leave her room for " one night to go and ramble on the tiles or in the gut- " ters, as other cats uſe to do." If this Lady had had ſuch lovers, as Catullus was, her cat would have been as famous as Leſbia's ſparrow. Obſerve that Monſieur de Marolles does not omit this ſparrow, nor Melior's parrot (29), nor Stella's dove (30). To theſe inſtances you may add, if you pleaſe, Madam des Houlieres's ſpaniel (31).

(28) Marolles, *Suite des Mémoires*, pag. 98, 99.

(29) *See* Stat. *Sylv.* 4. lib. 2.

(30) *See* Martial. Epigr. 8. lib. 1.

(31) See the 1ſt vol. of the *Mercure Galant*, 1672, pag. m. 8; and 103.

(*a*) Joannis Lelandi, *Commentar. de Scriptor. Britannic.* tom. 2. cap. 493. pag. 414. edit. Oxon. 1709, in 8vo. (*b*) Idem, ibid. *and* Baleus, *Scriptor. illuſtr. majoris Brytanniæ Catal.* Cent. 7. c. 23. p. 524. edit. Baſil. 1557. *and* Pitſeus, *de illuſtrib. Angliæ Script.* num. 731. pag. 576.

☞GOWER (JOHN), an eminent Engliſh Poet in the fourteenth Century, was born of a noble family ſettled at Stitenham in Yorkſhire (*a*). He ſtudied and practiſed the Law; but his inclination led him principally to polite learning, in which he made a prodigious progreſs, and was a great maſter of the Latin tongue, and an eminent refiner of the Engliſh language (*b*). He flouriſhed in the time of King Richard II [*A*], to whom he dedicated his books (*c*), and was contemporary with Chaucer; and is ſaid to have been his ſcholar and ſucceſſor in the laurel (*d*). Leland, Bale, and Pits aſſert, that he was a Knight; but Mr. Strype (*e*) affirms, that he was only an Eſquire. He wrote ſeveral works, in Latin, French, and Engliſh [*B*]. He was blind ſome time before his death, and lived to an advanced age, dying at London in 1402. He was interred in the Church of St. Mary Overies in Southwark (*f*), to which he had been a benefactor

(*c*) Leland, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 415. (*d*) Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum, Modern Poets*, (*e*) Strype's edition of Stowe's *Survey of London and Weſtminſter*, vol. 2. B. 4. pag. 8. edit. London 1721. (*f*) Leland, Baleus, *and* Pitſeus, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *Flouriſhed in the time of King Richard II.*] In his Book *de Confeſſione Amantis* he tells us, that this King taking his diverſion on the Thames, ſent for our Poet, who was in a boat near him, into his barge, and commanded him to write upon ſome ſubject.

" As it befylle upon a tyde,
" As thynge whych ſhuide tho' betyde,
" Under the town of Newe *Troy*,
" Whyche toke of *Brute* his fyrſte Joye;
" On *Themſe* whan it was flowende,
" As I by Bote came roende,
" So as fortune his Tyme ſette,
" My Liege Lorde perchaunce I mette,
" And ſo befelle, as I came nygh,
" Out of my Bote when he me ſygh,
" He bade me come into hys Barge,
" And whan I was with hym at large,
" Amonges other thynges ſeyd,
" He hath ſuch charge upon me leyd, &c."

(*c*) *Scriptor. illuſtrium Majoris Brytann. Catalog.* Cent. 7. cap. 23. pag. 524.

[*B*] *He wrote ſeveral Works in Latin, French, and Engliſh.*] Bale tells us (1) that beſides his Engliſh Works in proſe and verſe he wrote a great many in Latin and French. *Patrio multa ſcripſit ſermone, non ſolum rythmis, verum etiam ſolutâ Oratione, quæ vel hoc noſtro florentiſſimo tempore a doctis ſtudioſe leguntur. Scripſit & plura Latinè & Gallicè.* Pits obſerves (2), that he wrote well in French, not inelegantly in Latin, but with the greateſt beauty in Engliſh. *Scripſit autem* Gouerus *multa, & quidem Gallicè laudabiliter, Latinè non ineleganter, ſed Anglicè longè elegantiſſimè.* Leland informs us (3), that he wrote a great many Poems in Latin, imitating Ovid with more labour than ſucceſs; which is no wonder, if we conſider, that the age, in which he lived, was half barbarous. *Hoc ejus teſtantur Carmina, quæ multa Latinè ſcripſit, ſtudioſiùs quam feliciùs P. Ovidium imitatus. Nec mirum illud videri debet, præſertim in ſemi-harbaro ſæculo.* Bale and Pits give us a Catalogue of his Writings, which are as follow: I. *Chronicon*, intitled, *Vox Clamantis in Deſerto*, in ſeven Books. This is extant in the *Cotton-Library* (4), under this title: *Johannis Gouer Chronica, quæ* Vox Clamantis *dicitur; ſive Poema de Inſurrectione Ruſticorum contra ingenuos & nobiles tempore Regis Ricardi II, & de Cauſis, ex quibus talia contingunt enormia: libris ſeptem.* II. *Confeſſio Amantis*, in eight Books in Engliſh Verſe. This was printed at London in 1532, under the following title: *Jo. Gower de Confeſſione Amantis. Imprinted at London in Fleteſtrete by Thomas Barthelette, Printer to the King's Grace. Ann.*

(2) *De illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptoribus*, num. 731. pag. 576.

(3) *Commentar. de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, Part 2. cap. 493. pag. 414, 415.

(4) Tiberius, A. IV.

(g) Leland, *ubi ſupra.*

benefactor, where his wife is interred (*g*), and where he founded a Chauntry, and endowed it with an yearly income for a maſs to be daily ſung for him, as alſo an *Obit* within the ſaid Church, to be performed on the Friday after the Feaſt of St. Gregory. Over his tomb is a ſtatue of him in a habit of purple damaſk down to his feet, a collar of S. S. about his neck, and on his head a chaplet like a coronet of four roſes. Under his feet are repreſented three of his principal works, the firſt *Speculum Meditantis*, the ſecond *Vox Clamantis*, the third *Confeſſio Amantis*. On the wall over him were painted three, *Charity*, *Mercy*, and *Pity*, with devices; and near theſe hung formerly a table, in which was written that "whoſo prayed for the ſoul of JOHN GOWER, ſo oft as he did it, "ſhould have MD days of pardon."

1532. *Cum Privilegio.* On the reverſe of the title-page are the following Verſes:

Epigramma Autoris in ſuum Librum.
Torpor, hebes ſenſus, ſchola parva, labor minimuſque
Cauſant quo minus ipſe minora canam.
Qua tum Engiſti lingua canit Inſula Bruti
Anglica Carmente metra juvante loquar.
Oſſibus ergo carens, quæ conterit oſſa loquelis,
Abſit, & interpres ſtet procul, oro, malus.

This Edition is dedicated to King Henry VIII by the Printer, who in the Dedication has the following paſſage. "And who ſo ever in redynge this Wurke dothe "conſyder it well ſhal finde that it is plentifully ſtuf-"fed and fournyſhed with manyfolde eloquent reaſons, "ſharpe and quicke argumentes, and examples of great "Auctoritie perſwadynge unto Vertue, not only taken "out of the Poetes, Oratours, Hiſtory-Wryters, and "Philoſophers, but alſo out of the holy Scripture. "There is to my Dome no man but that he may bi "reding of this Wurke get right great knowlege as "wel for the underſtanding of many and divers Au-"tors, whoſe reſons, ſayenges, and hiſtories are tranſ-"lated into this Wurke, as for the plenty of Englyſhe "Wordes and Vulgars, beſyde the furtheraunce of the "Lyfe to Vertue. Whiche olde Englyſhe Wordes "and Vulgars no wyſe man becauſe of their Antiqui-"tie wyll throwe aſyde. For the Writers of later "dayes, the whiche beganne to loth and hate thoſe "olde Vulgars, whan they themſelfe wolde wryte in "our Englyſhe tonge, were conſtrayned to brynge in "their Wrytinges newe termes (as ſome calle them) "whiche they borowed out of the Latyne, Frenche, "and other Languages, from whens theſe new Vul-"gars are fette, could not perceyue theyr Wrytynges. "And though our moſt allowed olde Autors dydde "otherwhile uſe to borowe of the Languages eyther "bycauſe of their Metre, or elles for lacke of a feete "Englyſhe Worde, yet that ought not to be a preſi-"dent to us to heape them in, whereas nedeth not, "and whereas we have all redy wordes approved and "received of the ſame effecte and ſtrength: The "whiche if any man wante, let him reſorte to this "worthy olde Wryter, *John Gower*, that ſhal as a "Lanterne gyve him Lyght to wryte coynningly, and "to garniſhe his ſentences in our vulgar tongue." III. *Speculum Meditantis*, in ten Books, in French. There is a Manuſcript of this in the *Bodleian Library* (5). IV. *De Compunctione Cordis*, in Latin, in one Book. V. *Chronicon Richardi ſecundi*, in three Books. It begins thus; *Opus eſt humanum inquirere.* VI. *Chronicon tripartitum*, in three Books. It begins thus; *Tolle caput mundi &c.* VII. *Ad Henricum Quartum*, in one Book. It begins thus; *O recolende, bone, pie Rex, Henrice.* VIII. *Ad eundem de Laude Pacis*, in one Book, which begins; *Nobilis ac digne Rex Henrice.* IX. *De Rege Henrico quarto*, in one Book; which begins, *Rex Cæli Deus & Dominus.* X. *De Peſte Vitiorum*, in one Book. It begins thus; "Non excuſatur qui non verum fatea-"tur." XI. *Scrutinium Lucis*, in one Book, which begins; "Heu quia per crebras humus eſt." XII. *De Conjugii Dignitate*, in one Book. It begins; "Qualiter Creator omnium rerum Deus." XIII. *De Regimine Principum*, in one Book, which begins; "O Deus immenſe, ſub quo dominatur." XIV. *Epigrams*, in one Book, beginning; "Alta petens Aquila "volat alitque." XV. *De Amoris Varietate*, in one Book, which begins; "Eſt amor in gloſa, pax bel-"lica." XVI. *Divers Poems*, in one Book. Pits obſerves, that a great many other of his Writings are extant in ſeveral Libraries. T.

(5) Num. 2375.

☞GRABE (JOHN ERNEST), a very learned Writer in the beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Koningſberg in Pruſſia, July the 10th 1666, and was ſon of Martin Sylveſter Grabe, Profeſſor of Divinity and Hiſtory in the Univerſity of that City [*A*], who died at Stutgard in 1686. Our Author proſecuted his ſtudies at Koningſberg, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. He was educated in the Lutheran Religion; but by his application to the reading of the Fathers, he became convinced, that it was neceſſary that there ſhould be in the Church an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of the Miniſtry. Upon this he reſolved to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion; for which purpoſe in 1695 he preſented to the Electoral Conſiſtory at Sambia in Pruſſia a memorial containing his doubts with regard to the Lutheran Religion [*B*]. The Elector of Brandenbourg

[*A*] Sylveſter Grabe *Profeſſor of Divinity and Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Koningſberg.*] The Writer of a Letter to Dr. Hickes, dated May 26th 1712, and publiſh'd by the Doctor in his *Account of Dr.* Grabe *and of his Manuſcripts*, prefixed to Dr. Grabe's *Some Inſtances of the Defects and Omiſſions in Mr.* Whiſton's *Collection of Teſtimonies &c* (1), informs us (2), that when this Profeſſor was Rector of the Univerſity, he read Lectures againſt Chriſtopher Sanden or Sandius, that great reviver of Arianiſm, "in which he clearly demonſtrat-"ed the groſs miſtakes and miſrepreſentations of that "Author; ſome of which [Lectures] he printed, par-"ticularly thoſe which relate to the controverſy about "the paſſage in St. *John* concerning the three Wit-"neſſes in Heaven, whether genuine or interpolated; "whence Dr. Milles ſeems to have had no ſmall aſſiſtance "in his writing that learned Diſſertation on that Text, "and which are now found among the manuſcripts of "the ſon with large Notes and Additions both of the "father and ſon, in order to another more complete "Edition, as it ſeems."

(1) Printed at London 1712, in 8vo.

(2) *Some Account of Dr. Grabe*, Pag. 72.

[*B*] *A Memorial containing his doubts with regard to the Lutheran Religion.*] This piece was printed in High-Dutch at the end of the Anſwers, which were written to it by Philip James Spener, and Bernard Van Sanden in the ſame language; the former of which was publiſhed at Francfort upon the Mein in 1695 in 4to under this title; *A Defence of the Evangelic Church againſt the Accuſation of Schiſm and Communion with the antient Heretics, falſely charged upon it; in anſwer to the Doubts propoſed by* John Erneſt Grabe. *By* Philip James Spener, *Eccleſiaſtical Counſellor to the Elector of Brandenbourg, and principal Miniſter of Berlin.* The latter was printed at Koningſberg in 1695 in 4to under this title: *An Anſwer to the Doubts of* John Erneſt Grabe. *By* Bernard Von Sanden, *principal Profeſſor at Koningſberg.* Mr. Baier's Anſwer to Mr. Grabe was publiſhed at Jena 1695 in 8vo under this title: *A ſolid demonſtration of the groundleſs accuſation of Schiſm and Hereſy charged upon Luther and his diſciples; in oppoſition to the doubts preſented to the Conſiſtory of Sambia.* By John William Baier.

Brandenbourg immediately gave orders to three Lutheran Divines, Philip James Spener, Bernard Von Sanden, and John William Baier, to anſwer his doubts, which each of them did; and the Tracts which they wrote were ſent to Mr. Grabe, who had then left Koningſberg, and was going to Erford, in order to abjure the Lutheran Faith in ſome Catholic City. Mr. Grabe having read theſe pieces, was a little ſhaken in his reſolution, and wrote to Spener, that he would return to Berlin, to confer with him, if he would procure him a ſafe conduct; which being granted, he went thither, and diſcourſed with Spener. But not being able to overcome his prejudice with reſpect to the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of the miniſtry, Spener adviſed him to go to England, aſſuring him that he would there meet with the outward ſucceſſion, which he wanted (*a*). Mr. Grabe upon this went to England, where he was received with great civility, and recommended to the favour of King William, who gave him a penſion, which was afterwards continued to him by Queen Anne. Here he ſpent the reſt of his life in publiſhing ſeveral valuable Works [C], and was ordained Prieſt of the Church of England, and honoured with the

(*a*) *See* Menckens *German Dictionary*; *and* Chriſtophori Matthæi Pfaff *Notæ in Liturgiam Græcam Grabii.*

[C] *Here he ſpent the remainder of his Life in publiſhing ſeveral valuable Works.*] We ſhall give the Reader a Catalogue of them. I. *Spicilegium S. S. Patrum, ut & Hæreticorum Sæculi poſt Chriſtum natum* I. II. & III. *Quorum vel integra Monumenta, vel Fragmenta, partim ex aliorum Patrum libris jam impreſſis collegit, & cum codicibus manuſcriptis contulit, partim ex MSS. nunc primum edidit, ac ſingula tam præfatione, quam notis ſubjunctis illuſtravit Joannes Erneſtus Grabe.* The firſt volume was printed at Oxford 1698 in 8vo, and the ſecond in the ſame city 1699 in 8vo. They were both reprinted at Oxford 1700 in 8°. In the Preface to the firſt volume he informs us of the motives of his publiſhing theſe pieces, being induced to it by the conſideration of the many Sects and Parties, which divide the Chriſtian Church, and imagining, that no better expedient can heal theſe diviſions and diſſentions, than to reflect on the practice and opinions of the primitive Fathers. The *firſt volume* contains the Writings of the Catholic Fathers and the Heretics of the firſt Century; wherein he obſerves this general method. Firſt, he uſhers in each Writing with a Diſſertation; then he gives us the whole copy of the Work, or Fragments of it extracted out of the writings of other Fathers, with the various readings to be met with either in printed copies or manuſcripts; and the whole he illuſtrates with curious remarks annexed to the end of his Book. He begins with a Diſſertation concerning the Epiſtle of *Agbarus* or *Abgarus*, King of Edeſſa, to Jeſus Chriſt, and our Saviour's Anſwer to that King. Theſe Epiſtles, tho' ſaid to be taken from the Archives of Edeſſa, and recorded by Euſebius, yet are look'd upon as ſpurious by many of the Roman as well as the Reformed Church (3); but Mr. Grabe urges ſeveral arguments for their authority, and endeavours to anſwer all the objections againſt them; though after all he owns them to be doubtful and apocryphal. He then gives us a copy of both theſe ſame Epiſtles and the Hiſtory of them taken from the Archives in Greek and Latin, as they are in a manuſcript in the *Bodleian* Library. To theſe he ſubjoins ſeveral ſayings of our Saviour not mentioned by the four Evangeliſts, but by others, as by St. *Paul*, *Acts* xx. 25. by St. *Barnabas* in his *Epiſtle*, Num. 4 and 5. by *Clemens Romanus* in his *Epiſtle to the Corinthians*, Num. 4, 5, 8. by *Juſtin Martyr* in his *Dialogue* with *Trypho* the Jew, p. 267. by *Clemens Alexandrinus* in the firſt Book of his *Stromata*, p. 346. and by *Origen* in his *Commentary* on St. Matthew p. 308. He proceeds next to *the Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles*, or *the Goſpel according to the Hebrews*; upon which he beſtows a large preface; and tho' it be a dubious piece, and eſteemed apocryphal by the primitive Chriſtians, yet it was accounted orthodox by them, who frequently cited paſſages out of it. For St. *Ignatius* in his Epiſtle to the Smyrneans, *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his *Stromata L. II. p.* 380. *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, and St. *Jerom* in ſeveral places of their Works have cited this Goſpel; and the laſt of theſe Fathers took the pains to tranſlate it into Greek and Latin; "which, *ſays Mr. Grabe*, he would never have "done, if it had been only a forged piece of the He"retics; *ſi purum putum Hæreticorum fuiſſet Commen*"*tum.*" *The Goſpel according to the Egyptians* was compiled by the Chriſtians of that Country, as appears from the very ſtyle of it, which is myſterious and allegorical. However tho' it was reckoned among the apocryphal Writings, yet it was cited by *Clemens Romanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Epiphanius* as orthodox. But ſome Heretics took the advantage of the obſcurity of its ſtyle to pervert it, in order to ſupport their own opinions; and it is probable, foiſted ſeveral interpolations into the Text. After this Mr. Grabe proceeds to give an account of *the Acts of the Apoſtles*, cited by Iſodorus Peluſiota; for the *Conſtitutions and Canons of the Apoſtles*; for St. Peter's *Apocrypha*, *Apocalypſe* and *Acts*; and for *the Acts of Paul and Thecla*. To each of theſe he has prefixed a prefatory Diſcourſe, in order to prove theſe pieces to be ancient, tho' corrupted by Heretics, and perhaps not belonging to the perſons, whoſe names they bear. The *Acts of Paul and Thecla* he has ſet down at large, the Greek being taken out of an ancient copy in the *Bodleian* Library, and the Latin Verſion he has corrected from the old Tranſlation, and ſupplied from the Greek Commentary of Baſil of Seleucia; and at the end has ſubjoined the old Verſion entire. Mr. Grabe looks upon theſe *Acts* "as true and "genuine, written in the apoſtolic Age, and contain"ing nothing in them, which is ſuperſtitious or diſ"agreeable to that time (4)." But Mr. Jeremiah Jones (5) obſerves, that *ſeveral of the Tenets of Popery are by the Advocates of that party confirmed out of this Book, as being authentic, genuine, and apoſtolic. So, for inſtance, the ſtory, ch.* xx. *of* Falconilla (Trifina's *daughter*) *coming after death from the other world, and deſiring her to aſk* Thecla *to pray for her, that ſhe might be tranſlated from her ſtate of miſery to a ſtate of happineſs; which requeſt* Trifina *made to* Thecla, *and* Thecla *accordingly prayed for her. This paſſage is brought by* Damaſcenus (*o*) *to ſupport the* Doctrine of praying for the dead, and helping the miſerable in the other world by our prayers and alms. *Again, the Popiſh Doctrine of* Celibacy *is frequently contended for, and confirmed out of this Book; as perhaps the firſt prevalence and progreſs of that Doctrine owed its original to it* (*p*). But to return to Mr. Grabe, he next gives us *the Teſtament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which had been publiſhed at firſt by itſelf, and afterwards in the firſt volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Who was the writer of this piece, is uncertain. Dr. Cave and Mr. Dodwell ſuppoſe it to be written by a converted Jew; the former thinks about the latter end of the ſecond Century; but the latter believes it to have been compoſed in the firſt Century, becauſe, as he ſays, the ſtyle is *Helleniſtical*. Mr. Grabe advances a conjecture of his own; for he imagines it to have been written at firſt by a Jew, and afterwards interpolated by a Chriſtian. Mr. Grabe has given it us intire in Greek and Latin, and illuſtrated it with Notes and Chronological Tables at the end of the Volume; which Tables were communicated by Mr. Dodwell. He concludes his accounts of the Eccleſiaſtical Writings of the firſt Century with the genuine and ſuppoſititious Works of St. Clement the Roman; and obſerves, that his *firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians* was never called in queſtion; but the exact time of his writing it has afforded matter of diſpute among the learned, whoſe arguments Mr. Grabe has given us at large in his Diſſertation. As to the *ſecond Epiſtle of St. Clement to the Corinthians*, a fragment of which is ſtill extant; our Author believes it to be ſpurious, and written about the middle of the third Century. He has given us likewiſe ſome brief Remarks upon the Writings aſcribed to *Simon Magus*, *Cerinthus*, and other Heretics of the firſt Century. In the *ſecond Volume* of the *Spicilegium* Mr. Grabe obſerves the ſame

(3) See the Article of ABGARUS, note [B], vol. 1. pag. 70.

(4) *Spicileg.* tom. 1. pag. 90 94.

(5) *New and full Method of ſettling the Canonical Authority of the New Teſtament*, vol. 2. Part 3. cap. 34. pag. 476. edit. London 1726, in 8vo.

(*o*) *In Serm. de Mortuis adjuvandis apud Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl. Sanct.* lib. 6. pag. 450.

(*p*) Vide *Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident.* Part. 3. pag. 89, 90.

the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Univerſity of Oxford, on the 26th of April 1706, upon which occaſion Dr. George Smalridge pronounced two Latin Orations, which were afterwards printed (*b*). Dr. Hickes informs us (*c*), that our Author had a ſingular

(*b*) Under this title: *Orationes duæ in Theatro Sheldoniano VI Kal. Maii MDCCVI. (quo die Academiæ Francofurtanæ Encœnia ſæcularia ibidem celebrata ſunt) habitæ a Rev. Viro Geo. Smalridge S. T. P. altera cum V. C. J. E. Grabe Boruſſum ad Doctoratum in S. Theol. Univerſitati Oxon. commendaret, altera cum eundem Inſignibus Academicis ornaret.* (*c*) *Some Account of Dr. Grabe and of his Manuſcripts*, pag. viii. prefixed *to Dr. Grabe's Some Inſtances of the Defects and Omiſſions in Mr. Whiſton's Collection of Teſtimonies*, edit. London 1713 in 8vo.

method as in the former. He begins with an Account of St. *Ignatius* and his Writings; and in his Preliminary Diſſertation takes notice of the diſputes, which have aroſe concerning the place of his birth, and relates the opinions of ſeveral learned men about it, particularly of Dr. Thomas Hyde, whoſe judgment determined our Author in that point. He next informs us of the ſeveral acceptations of the word *Theophorus*, the ſurname of St. Ignatius; and remarks, that Dr. Cave explains it two ways, viz. Θεόφορον, i. e. *Hominem, qui Deum pectore geſtat*; and Θεοφόρον, i. e. *Hominem à Deo geſtatum*. After this he acquaints us with the fictions of the Latins concerning the Surnames of St. Ignatius, as taken in the firſt ſenſe; and ſets down what *Vincentius* Biſhop of *Beauvais*, *L. X. C.* 7. ſays concerning it, whoſe words are as follow: *Hujus cor, cum minutatim diviſum eſſet, nomen Domini Jeſu Chriſti literis aureis inſcriptum, (ut legitur,) in ſingulis partibus inventum eſt. Dixerat enim ſe habere Chriſtum in corde.* That this account is a mere fiction and fable, Mr. Grabe proves from the teſtimony of Evagrius, Simeon Metaphraſtes, and an unpubliſh'd Manuſcript; which all agree, that St. Ignatius was torn in pieces by wild beaſts, which devoured all his bones, not leaving his heart to make ſuch obſervations upon, as Vincentius ſays is ſomewhere related, tho' he neither names the Author nor place, where ſuch an account may be found. Mr. Grabe proceeds next to the *Acts* or *Martyrdom of Iguatius*. Here he takes notice of the ſeveral manuſcripts of that piece, and where they are to be found, with the reaſon, which induced him to inſert it in Greek and Latin in this *Spicilegium*. He likewiſe aſſigns his reaſons why he waves the proving of the ſeven Epiſtles of St. Ignatius to be genuine, and returns an anſwer to that objection ſo often ſtarted by the oppoſers of the Chriſtian Faith, "Why the Epiſtles of St. *Ig-*" *natius*, St. *Barnabas*, St. *Clement*, St. *Polycarp*, and "other Apoſtolical Writers, were not admitted into "the Canon of the New Teſtament, if they were ge-"nuine, and really written by thoſe, whoſe names "they bear?" After this he inſerts at large the *Acts* or *Martyrdom of Ignatius*, under this title; Μαρτύριον τῦ ἁγίυ ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίυ τῦ Θεοφόρυ. He gives us his judgment of this piece, and annexes ſome Fragments of the ſame Father taken out of *Damaſcenus L. III. Parall. C.* 27. *Anton. Meliſſ. L.* 1. *Serm.* 14. and St. Chryſoſtom's Homily XI. *in Epiſt. ad Epheſios*. The next Author, of whoſe Fragments Mr. Grabe gives us an account, is *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*. In his Preliminary Diſſertation he enters into the diſpute; whether this Papias was the diſciple of *John* the *Apoſtle*, or *John* the *Preſbyter* or *Elder*; and having given us the opinions of ſeveral learned men on both ſides, he declares, that he believes, that he might be the diſciple both of St. *John* the *Apoſtle*, and *John* the *Elder*. He then takes notice of the character, which Euſebius (6) gives of Papias, whom he there acknowledges to be Ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα λογιώτατος, καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδήμων, i. e. "A very eloquent and "learned man, and well ſkilled in the Scriptures." This character, tho' it be not in the Verſion of Ruffinus, nor in three Greek copies of Euſebius, which Valeſius made uſe of, nor in another manuſcript given by Sir Henry Savil to the *Bodleian* Library, yet our Author juſtifies, and ſhews that Papias might well enough deſerve it. He diſſents from Valeſius, who thinks that the Scholiaſt foiſted this paſſage into Euſebius's Hiſtory; and ſuppoſes, that it was rather ſtruck out of thoſe copies abovementioned for ſome particular reaſons, of which he afterwards takes notice. Mr. Grabe likewiſe reconciles this Encomium given to Papias with what Euſebius ſays of him in the 39th chapter of the ſame Book, where he is ſtiled σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὃν τὸν νοῦν, *valde exilis ingenii*. He obſerves further, that this Biſhop was a great favourer of the notion of the *Mil-*

(6) *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 36.

lenaries, which occaſioned his falling into diſrepute among the learned of the ſucceeding Ages; and takes notice of his death and martyrdom. He then ſets down the Fragments of Papias. The firſt is in Latin, and taken out of *Irenæus L. V. adverſus Hæreſes*, *c.* 33. and is intitled, *Fragmenta Librorum Papiæ de Expoſitione Oraculorum Dominicorum*. The next is in Greek and Latin, taken out of the Preface to the Works of *Papias*, and cited by *Euſebius*, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. III. C.* 29. Another Fragment in Greek and Latin is extracted from *Andreas Cæſarienſis in Apocalypſin*, *C.* 34. *Serm.* 12. The fourth is cited by *Oecumenius*, *Comment. in Act. Apoſtol. C.* 2. The laſt is in Latin, *ex Cod.* 2397. *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ*, *Ann.* 1302 & 1303 *in Abbatia Oſneyenſi prope Oxonium ſcripto. fol.* 286. *p.* 2. Mr. Grabe next proceeds to an account of *Baſilides* and *Valentinus*, two Hereſiarchs: of *Epiphanes*, *Iſidorus*, *Ptolomæus*, *Heracleon*, and other Heretics; in all which he obſerves the ſame method: viz. Firſt he treats by way of diſſertation on each Writer, and then ſets down the fragments of their Works, with the places where they are to be found. He afterwards gives an account of *Matthias* and his Traditions, of *Quadratus* and his Apology, *Agrippa*, *Caſtor*, and *Ariſto Pellæus*; and treats at large of *Juſtin Martyr* and his writings. Throughout this whole Diſſertation upon *Juſtin Martyr* he ſets down the ſeveral opinions and judgments of learned men concerning his Works, with his own ſentiments thereupon. He then gives us the fragments of that Father; and afterwards proceeds to the remains of *Hegiſippus*, *Dionyſius Corinthius*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*. II. *S. Juſtini, Philoſophi & Martyris, Apologia prima pro Chriſtianis ad Antoninum Pium; cum Latinâ Joannis Langi Verſione, quam plurimis in locis correcta, ſubjunctis Emendationibus & Notis Roberti ac Henrici Stephanorum, Perionii, Billii, Sylburgii, Scaligeri, Halloixii, Caſauboni, Montacutii, Grotii, Salmaſii, Valeſii, Cotelerii, pluribuſque novis additis: adnexis inſuper ad calcem adnotationibus Langi & Kortholti, præmiſſâ vero Langi Præfatione, quâ ſummam ejus Apologiæ enarravit. Edita a Joanne Erneſto Grabe.* Oxford 1700 in 8vo.. The Greek Text is taken from Robert Stephen's Edition, which Mr. Grabe would have collated with manuſcripts, if they could have been procured. With regard to the Latin Verſion, he preferred that of *Langius* before thoſe of *Gelenius* and *Perionius*; but he has corrected it in many places, retrenching what was redundant, and rendering what was obſcure more clear and plain. Beſides the Notes of *Robert*, and *Henry Stephens*, *Perionius*, *Billius*, *Sylburgius*, *Scaliger*, *Halloix*, *Caſaubon*, *Montague*, *Grotius*, *Salmaſius*, *Valeſius*, *Cotelerius*, and other learned men, he has added a great many new remarks of his own, whereby he ſometimes corrects the reading of the Text, and at other times explains the difficult and obſcure places of it. He has likewiſe in the margin of this Edition on the Greek ſide marked the pages as they ſtand in the Paris Edition. Monſ. le Clerc in his *Bibliotheque choiſie* (7) has made ſome critical Remarks upon Langius's Verſion and the Notes inſerted in this Edition. Mr. Hutchins reprinted all that is contained in this Edition, with ſome other Works of Juſtin Martyr, at Oxford 1703 in 8vo. III. *S. Irenæi, Epiſcopi Lugdunenſis, contra omnes Hæreſes Libri quinque. Textus Græci partem haud exiguam reſtituit, Latinam Verſionem è quatuor MSS. Codicibus emendavit; fragmenta aliorum Tractatuum deperditorum ſubjunxit; omnia Notis variorum & ſuis illuſtravit Joannes Erneſtus Grabe.* Oxford 1702 in fol. Mr. Grabe has prefixed the Teſtimonies of the Antients concerning *Irenæus* and his Works, and the Life of that Martyr, collected out of his own and other Fathers Writings, by Francis Feuardentius, Doctor of Sorbonne. In the *Prolegomena*, which is divided into three Sections, Mr. Grabe treats of the Life and Works of *Irenæus*, of the various

(7) Tom. 2. pag. 328.

ſingular eſteem for the Church of England above all other reformed Churches; and upon his death-bed deſired it might be known that he died in her faith and communion, which he thought a pure and ſound part of the Catholic Church. But he "never made "any

various Editions of them, and the Method obſerved in this Edition. With reſpect to the time of the Birth and Death of *Irenæus*, treated of in the *firſt Section*, Authors are much divided in their opinions, ſome fixing the time of both higher, others lower. And tho' Mr. *Dodwell* in his Diſſertations on that Father's Life and Writings has offered many conjectures, in order to ſettle the time of his birth and the exact year of his death, yet Mr. Grabe cannot agree with him in every point. The truth of it is, that Chronology being little regarded, and conſequently very obſcure in thoſe times, nothing can be eſtabliſhed as certain about the Birth and Death of *Irenæus*; and all that has been advanced on that head, is collected out of ſome expreſſions in his own and other Fathers Writings, which at moſt amounts only to probable conjectures, but not to any direct certainty. However it is acknowledged by all, that Irenæus was a diſciple of Polycarp; and that he flouriſhed in the middle, and ſuffered martyrdom about the end of the ſecond Century. In the *ſecond Section* of the *Prolegomena*, Mr. Grabe treats of the *five Books of Irenæus againſt all Hereſies*, and the Latin Verſion of them, with others of his Writings, which are now loſt. That the whole five Books were not publiſhed together, but that the two firſt by themſelves were ſent to a friend, Mr. *Dodwell* ſhews from the Proem or Preface to the third Book; and that the three others came out ſingly, appears likewiſe from the Prefaces to the fourth and fifth Books. As to the time when theſe Books were written, Mr. Grabe tells us, that it is a very difficult matter to fix it. Mr. Dodwell in his fourth Diſſertation maintains, that they were written about the year of Chriſt 177 in the 80th year of *Irenæus*, and the ninth or tenth of his Epiſcopate. However there are ſome arguments alledged to ſhew, that this Treatiſe againſt Hereſies was penned either after or before that period of time. In defence of the former opinion is commonly urged the mention, which is made in *Book III. C.* 24. of *Theodotion's* Verſion, which *Epiphanius* brings down to the times of *Commodus*; wherein he is followed by the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, who fixes the time in the ſixth year of that Emperor's reign. To this Mr. Dodwell, in his Diſſertation *de Pontificum Romanorum Succeſſione C.* 14. §. 17, replies, that perhaps theſe words concerning *Theodotion* were not in the firſt copy of *Irenæus*, but inſerted by him afterwards. But Mr. Grabe is better pleaſed with another Anſwer, which Mr. Dodwell gives in his fourth Diſſertation on *Irenæus* §. 39 &c. where he maintains, in oppoſition to the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, that the Verſion of Theodotion was publiſh'd even in the time of *Marcus Antonnius*. And indeed, adds Mr. Grabe, the ſkill of that Author or of Epiphanius is not ſo great in Chronology, that we ought to depend upon the authority of their Æra, when we can have a more certain account from other hands. The argument brought on the other ſide, which proves that *Irenæus* publiſhed his whole Refutation of Heretics, whilſt he was a Preſbyter and before the year 177, almoſt perſuades Mr. Grabe to be of the ſame mind. This argument is deduced from the riſe of the Sect of the *Cataphryges*, which diſturbed the Churches of Phrygia and Aſia, and which Euſebius in his *Chronicon* places in the 17th year of Marcus Antoninus. Now in what period of time ſoever this Sect ſprang up, Mr. Grabe infers that the two firſt Books of *Irenæus* were at leaſt written before it, ſince in them no mention is made of that Sect, which he would never have omitted, had it already begun to give a diſturbance to the Aſiatics, to whom he ſent thoſe books. On the contrary, in the third and fourth books, he gives but a very ſlight rebuke to thoſe falſe Teachers; from whence it follows, that the troubles, which they raiſed, were a little after he had finiſhed his Treatiſe; and that Irenæus was not ſo old, nor a Biſhop, but only a Preſbyter, when he publiſhed his Writings between the years 171 and 174; eſpecially if the Sect of the *Cataphryges* aroſe in that interval of time, and if the other Æra of the perſecution raiſed by Marcus Antoninus fixed by Euſebius in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, be valid. But, continues Mr. Grabe, if Mr. Dodwell's reaſons be to be relied on, who carries the abovementioned perſecution back to the year 167; then it would follow that the Books of Irenæus are of an older date; which yet the mentioning the Hereſy of Tatian, and other things, do not admit of. That theſe books were written in Greek, is ſufficiently evinced by Mr. Dodwell in his *fifth Diſſertation, Sect.* 1 &c. ſo that Mr. Grabe does not think proper to add any thing farther to what he has ſaid. But then he cannot agree with the learned Diſſertator in his opinion about the Latin Verſion, viz. that it is more modern than *Tertullian*, and was made about the latter end of the fourth Century. The reaſon why Mr. Grabe diſſents from Mr. Dodwell in this point, is, becauſe there are ſeveral paſſages in the tenth chapter of Tertullian's Treatiſe againſt the *Valentinians*, in which he ſeems to imitate the Latin Interpreter of *Irenæus*. Thus Tertullian ſays of *Sophia*, *eam primo quidem contriſtari propter inconſummationem generationis, metuere poſtremo, ne finis quoque inſiſteret*: which agrees exactly with what the Latin Interpreter ſays, *Contriſtatam propter inconſummationem generationis, poſt deinde timuiſſe, ne hoc ipſum finem habeat.* Again, Tertullian goes on in his relation, *confirmatam Sophiam & conjugio reſtitutam & ipſam quidem in Pleromatis cenſu remanſiſſe; Enthymeſin vero ejus, & illam quidem Appendicem paſſionem ab Horo relegatam & crucifixam, & extra ævum factam, &c.* which likewiſe is very conſonant to what the Latin Interpreter ſays in theſe words, *Confirmatam Sophiam & reſtitutam conjugi; ſeparatâ enim intentione ab eâ, cum appendice paſſione, ipſam quidem infra (intra) Pleroma perſeverâſſe; Concupiſcentiam vero ejus cum paſſione ab Horo ſeparatam & crucifixam, & extra eum factam eſſe.* Mr. Grabe therefore is of opinion, that the Verſion of *Irenæus's* Works into this barbarous Latin, as he terms it, was made towards the end of the ſecond Century, whilſt *Irenæus* was ſtill living, or but lately dead; and that it was done by ſome Miniſter at Lyons or ſome other Church in Gaul, ſince there are ſeveral words in this Verſion, ſcarcely made uſe of by any of the Writers of that Country. Mr. Grabe next conſiders the general title of thoſe Books, and why he has rendered the Greek, Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, by theſe words, *Contra omnes Hæreſes.* As to the titles of each chapter, and the diviſion of this volume into diſtinct books, and each book into diſtinct chapters, he obſerves, that he ſhall add nothing to what Mr. Dodwell has ſaid in his *fifth Diſſertation, Sect.* 12. and only tells us, that he has divided the Greek Text into chapters, and thoſe ſhorter than they were divided before in the Latin Verſion. He then remarks after Mr. Dodwell, that there is no Greek manuſcript of this work in the whole world, but what is mutilated. And though *Feuardentius* ſays, that there were ſome, who atteſted, that they had read an intire copy of it in the Library of Venice, and others, that they had ſeen one in the Vatican Library; yet *Feuardentius* could not meet with any in either place, nor is there any at preſent in the Vatican Library, as Laurentius Alexander Zacignius, the Library-Keeper, aſſured the Editor, tho' he had not the opportunity of enquiring about that pretended to be at Venice. With reſpect to the Latin copies, Mr. Grabe obſerves, that that which is preſerved among the manuſcripts of Iſaac Voſſius, and which is reported to be the ſame with the antient manuſcript of Feuardentius, he thinks to be a quite different copy, upon the account of ſome various readings in it. And tho' Mr. Dodwell looks upon it to be a very perfect copy, yet Mr. Grabe remarks, that it is mutilated very much in the latter end of the fifth Book. He concludes this Section with an account of thoſe Writings aſcribed to Irenæus, which are now loſt. In the *third Section* Mr. Grabe treats of the ſeveral Editions of Irenæus's Works, which were formerly publiſh'd, and of the Method obſerved in this. The firſt, who publiſhed the antient Latin Verſion of Irenæus was Eraſmus, under this title, *Opus eruditiſſimum divi Irenæi Epiſcopi Lugdunenſis in quinque libros digeſtum, in quibus mire retegit & confutat veterum Hæreſeon impias & portentoſas opiniones, ex vetuſtiſſimorum codicum collatione, quantum licuit, emendatum, operâ Deſ. Eraſmi Roterodami, ac nunc primum*

* Ibid. pag. ix, x.

" any difficulty, ſays Dr. Hickes *, of telling his mind with a truly Chriſtian Parrheſia " of the oblation of bread and wine, and the prayer of invocation to God the Father in " the conſecration, to ſend down his holy Spirit upon them, that they might be unto " the

in lucem editum operâ Johan. Frobenii. Additus eſt Index rerum ſcitu dignarum. Apud inclytam Baſileam Ann. M. D. XXVI. cum Gratia & Privilegio Cæſareo. This Work Eraſmus dedicated to Bernard, then Biſhop of Tours; and in this edition he prefixed to the four firſt books the antient titles of each chapter, and before the four latter proper prefaces and arguments, which Mr. Grabe gives us in the *Prolegomena*, thinking it not convenient to inſert them in the body of the work. There were two other impreſſions of Eraſmus's edition printed in 1528 and 1534. Monſieur Du Pin in his *Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiques* mentions an edition of Irenæus at Paris in 1534; but Mr. Grabe tells us, that he never ſaw it, tho' he had ſeen another printed in 8vo in 1545. As for thoſe Baſil editions of 1545, 1548, and 1554, mentioned likewiſe by Du Pin, he owns that he had not a ſight of them, though he had ſeen the later Baſil edition of 1560, which differs in nothing from the Paris ones in 1563 and 1567. After this Dr. Nicholas Gallaſius publiſhed an edition of Irenæus's works at Geneva 1570, dedicated to Dr. Edmund Grindal, Biſhop of London. The next year came out another edition at Baſil by John James Grynæus. Laſtly, Francis Feuardentius, Doctor of Sorbonne, publiſhed in the year 1575 and 1576 the five books of Irenæus, corrected in a great many places from a Manuſcript of Joannes San-Andreanus, Canon of the Church of Paris, with the addition of five chapters to the end of the fifth book. Du Pin mentions this edition, though Mr. Grabe could not meet with it either at Oxford or at London; but that was of no importance, ſince there are two other impreſſions of Feuardentius's edition printed at Cologne in 1596 and 1625, and at Paris in 1639. With reſpect to Mr. Grabe's edition, Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, was the chief promoter and encourager of it. In this edition we have the antient Latin verſion, printed from the copy of Feuardentius, but corrected in almoſt two hundred places by the aſſiſtance of four manuſcripts, and of the editions of Eraſmus and Gallaſius, and of the Greek copies; beſides the conjectures of the editor and ſome others. It is likewiſe diſtinguiſhed more exactly than any of the former, by comma's, colons, parentheſes, periods, and chapters. We find almoſt half of the Greek text reſtored, with the fragments collected by Feuardentius, Halloix, and Mr. Grabe, inſerted in their proper places. It contains likewiſe the choiceſt notes of Gallaſius, Feuardentius, Billius, Fronto Ducæus, Leopardus, Scaliger, Petavius, Halloix, Valeſius, Iſaac Voſſius, Cotelerius, and others, with Mr. Grabe's own Annotations under the text; and at the bottom of the page are the various readings of ſeveral copies. To the whole are added two very large indexes, one of the texts of Scripture, the other of the principal matters contained in the works of Irenæus. Next to the indexes follows a threefold Gloſſary, a Latin-Greek one, which ſets down in order the Greek words, which anſwer to thoſe of the antient Interpreter; a Greek-Latin one, which exhibits the Greek words and phraſes, which are of uncommon uſe; and laſtly, a Latin one, in which the unuſual and more obſcure terms of the Latin Interpreter are explained by thoſe which are more common and clear light. Laſt of all is John Croius's *Specimen Conjecturarum & Obſervationum in Irenæum, Epiphanium, &c.* reprinted upon the account of its ſcarceneſs. Mr. Grabe concludes his *Prolegomena* with his acknowledgments to thoſe learned perſons, who aſſiſted him in rendering this edition as compleat as poſſible. René Maſſuet, a Benedictine Monk, who publiſhed an edition of *Irenæus* at Paris 1710 in fol. objects to Dr. Grabe theſe five particulars. 1. That he has thrown ſeveral good readings in the margin, and ſubſtituted worſe in the text. 2. That in his notes he has endeavoured too much to draw Irenæus to favour the Church of England; which renders his remarks too prolix, and full of forced explication. 3. That he has ſaid nothing upon ſeveral paſſages, but only inſerted the notes of others without choice, or conſideration, whether they illuſtrate Irenæus, or not. 4. That he has retrenched, mutilated, or miſplaced the titles of the chapters. 5. That he has not properly placed the fragments of the Greek text, ſince it is frequently very difficult to find what they relate to. Father Remy Ceillier informs us (8), that Mr. Grabe " being diſpleaſed, that Father Maſſuet ſhould have " ſucceeded better than he, wrote againſt the edition " of Maſſuet, to ſhew that this learned Benedictine " had altered the text and doctrine of St. Irenæus in " a great number of places. Grabe's piece was in- " titled, *Irenæus ad novam editionem inſtructus, ac ad* " *Defenſionem contra Maſſuetum paratus.* But death " prevented him from publiſhing it. It is ſaid like- " wiſe, that he deſigned to reprint the works of St. " Irenæus with notes." IV. *Georgii Bulli, S. Theologiæ Profeſſoris, & Preſbyteri Anglicani, Opera omnia. Cum Præfatione & Annotatis Joannis Erneſti Grabe.* London 1703 in fol. V. He had likewiſe an hand in publiſhing, *Teſtamentum novum, Græcè, cum ſcholiis Græcis Opera ac ſtudio Joannis Gregorii.* Oxford 1703 in fol. He reviſed the Scholia, which Gregory, who was then dead, had collected from various Authors, and marked the places whence they were taken. VI. *Joannis Erneſti Grabii Epiſtola ad clariſſimum Virum Dn Joannem Millium, S. T. P. Aulæ S. Edmundi apud Oxonienſes Principalem, & Eccleſiæ Cantuarienſis Canonicum digniſſimum; qua oſtenditur Liber Judicum genuini LXX. Interpretum Verſionem eam eſſe, quam MS. Codex Alexandrinus exhibet; Romanam autem editionem, quod ad dictum Librum, ab illâ prorſus diverſam, atque eandem cum Heſychiana eſſe. Subnexa ſunt tria novæ τῶν ὁ. Editionis Specimina, cum variis Annotationibus.* Oxford 1705 in 4°. The *Imprimatur* by Dr. Will. Delaune the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford is dated July 31, 1704. The deſign of this Epiſtle is, Firſt, To ſhew why Mr. Grabe, in his intended edition of the Septuagint, choſe for his text the very antient *Alexandrian* Manuſcript in the Royal Library at St. James's, rather than the Vatican Copy, from which the Roman edition was publiſhed, and afterwards reprinted at London and Cambridge, in Holland and at Leipſic, though in all of them many alterations had been made, as Mr. Grabe obſerves, who has particularly remarked, that a negative particle has been inſerted in Hoſea ch. iv. ver. 14. ὁ λαὸς ὁ μὴ συνιὼν συνεπλέκετο μετὰ πόρνης, inſtead of ὁ λαὸς ὁ συνιὼν &c. He hath ſhewn likewiſe, that the Roman edition is incorrect, and not exactly printed from the Vatican Manuſcript; of which he brings ſeveral inſtances in the ſaid prophecy of Hoſea. But even the Vatican Manuſcript itſelf Mr. Grabe thinks not fit to make his text, becauſe the whole book of Judges in the ſaid manuſcript is not the uncorrupt verſion of the Septuagint, but a quite different and almoſt a new one, made by Heſychius at the end of the third Century after Chriſt, or rather engrafted upon the former; whereas the *Alexandrian* Manuſcript contains the old verſion of the ſaid book of Judges; which had been inſerted in the *Hexapla* of Origen, as Mr. Grabe proves from two Manuſcripts out of Mr. Colbert's and Iſaac Voſſius's Libraries; and had been made uſe of by Philo Judæus and all the Chriſtian Fathers through the whole world, except thoſe of Alexandria and Egypt, and been read in the Eaſtern Churches. To evince this, Mr. Grabe hath gone through the whole book of Judges from chapter to chapter, and ſet down ſeveral places according to the Roman and Alexandrian copy, oppoſite to each other; and at the bottom ſubjoined the paſſages of the Fathers, as alſo other manuſcripts, which agree with the Alexandrian Manuſcript; whereas the Vatican Copy hath been uſed by none but two Patriarchs of Alexandria, St. Athanaſius and Cyrill, becauſe thoſe of Alexandria and Egypt had received Heſychius's verſion of the Septuagint. The ſecond deſign of Mr. Grabe's Epiſtle was to let the world ſee two or three methods, in which the Septuagint might be printed, that the Learned might chooſe which they like beſt. For this purpoſe Mr. Grabe gives a large and diſtinct account how accurately in the edition of the Alexandrian Copy he intended to proceed, and in what manner he thought to amend the

(8) *Hiſtoire des Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiques*, tom. 2. pag. 196.

" the communicants [in the myſtical ſenſe] the body and blood of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, " not in *Subſtance*, but in *Grace and Virtue*, as in the antient Liturgies, for the remiſſion " of their ſins; for their confirmation in godlineſs; for the benefit of their " ſouls

the faults, and ſupply the defects; as alſo to mark the additions or interpolations; and yet in ſuch a manner, that every body may eaſily and plainly diſtinguiſh his emendations and ſupplements from the Alexandrian copy itſelf, this being printed in a large character, and the former in a ſmaller; and beſides the additions being marked with ſtars after Origen's way, or with croſſes. He has likewiſe corrected ſeveral errors in our editions of the Septuagint. He hath filled up in his *third Specimen* out of the Prophecy of Jeremiah ſeveral *Lacuna's*, and particularly in the 33d chapter a remarkable one from the 14th verſe to the end of the chapter, in which the moſt eminent prophecy and promiſe concerning the Meſſiah and the Jewiſh Nation is contained, which in the Alexandrian as well as the Roman copy, and the editions from the latter, is wanting. As for the two firſt *Specimens*, which chiefly contain the three firſt chapters of Geneſis, he hath added to each chapter four ſorts of notes in four ſections, of which the firſt gives us emendations and other readings different from the Alexandrian copy, but more agreeable to the Hebrew text, taken from other copies and writings of the Fathers. The ſecond ſhews wherein the Alexandrian Manuſcript is to be preferred to the editions of the Septuagint printed before. The third gives ſeveral various readings and emendations of learned men, which are not true or neceſſary. The fourth ſection contains the fragments of *Aquila's*, *Theodotion's*, and *Symmachus's* verſions, collected from ſeveral printed and manuſcript treatiſes of the Fathers. VII. *Caroli Daubuz, Preſbyteri & A. M. pro teſtimonio Flavii Joſephi de Jeſu Chriſto Libri duo; cum Præfatione Joannis Erneſti Grabe.* London 1706 in 8vo. VIII. *Vetus Teſtamentum juxta Septuaginta Interpretes. Tomus I. Continens Octateuchum, quem ex antiquiſſimo Codice Alexandrino accurate deſcriptum, & ope aliorum Exemplarium ac Scriptorum veterum, præſertim vero Hexaplaris editionis Origenianæ emendatum & ſuppletum, additis ſæpiſſimè Obeliſcorum & Aſteriſcorum ſignis edidit J. Ern. Grabe.* Oxford 1707 in fol. and 8vo. *Tomus II. continens Veteris Teſtamenti Libros Hiſtoricos omnes, ſive Canonicos, ſive Apocryphos.* Oxford 1719 in fol. and 8vo. *Tomus III. continens Libros Prophetico omnes.* Oxford 1720 in fol. and 8vo. *Tomus IV. continens Pſalmorum, Jobi, ac tres Salomonis Libros, cum Apocrypha ejuſdem, necnon Siracidæ Sapientiâ.* Oxford 1709 in fol. and 8vo. Dr. Grabe deſigned to have publiſhed this work in the order abovementioned; but an accident obliged him to change his ſcheme, and to publiſh the laſt volume before the *ſecond* and *third*. This was occaſioned by his deſire to render his edition as compleat as poſſible. He ſearched out himſelf, and engaged all his friends every where to procure thoſe antient manuſcripts, which have preſerved the different marks made uſe of by Origen in his *Hexapla*, in order to point out what he thought there was more or leſs in the Greek Tranſlation of the Septuagint than in the Hebrew Original. Dr. Grabe found great aſſiſtance in this point: but he deſired nothing ſo importunately as to know what was become of the Syriac manuſcript, from which Maſius had printed the book of Joſhua, and which contains ſeveral other hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament. He requeſted therefore all the learned men of Europe, who had a regard for Antiquity, to ſearch immediately all the Libraries for this treaſure (9). For two years he had no account of it; ſo that deſpairing to hear any thing of it; he had already begun to print the *ſecond volume* (10), when Mr. *Daniel Erneſt Jablonſky*, Chaplain to the King of Pruſſia, wrote to him, that the valuable manuſcript, which he wanted, was at Herborn among the books of Mr. *Lentius*, who had been Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages in that Univerſity. The difficulty was to procure it from thence. It required time to write and receive an anſwer. The letters might miſcarry. The moments were on one hand too precious to be loſt; and on the other it was improper to undertake an Edition of the hiſtorical Books without the help of the only manuſcript, which had Origen's marks upon thoſe Books. The beſt and indeed only method was to paſs over to another volume, till he ſhould receive the aſſiſtance neceſſary for the former. The third volume ought naturally to have followed; but he ſtill wanted for this ſome lights, which he expected from two manuſcripts, one belonging to Cardinal Chigi, and the other to the College of Lewis the Great. Except this, Dr. Grabe had collected all the materials neceſſary to execute his deſign. He had even prepared the Notes upon the whole Work, tho' none of them are publiſhed in the three volumes, which were firſt publiſhed. He had reaſons to reſerve them till the whole ſhould be printed (11). He was apprehenſive, that the Dutch Bookſellers would publiſh an Edition from his more beautiful and cheap than that of Oxford. And one of his friends had written to him, that they had ſuch a deſign. This edition is a very noble one, and coſt the Editor a prodigious deal of pains. John James Breitinger has copied it in the edition, which he publiſhed of the Septuagint at Zurich 1730, 1731, 1732, in four volumes in 4to, under the following title: *Vetus Teſtamentum ex verſione Septuaginta Interpretum, olim ad fidem Codicis Alexandrini ſummo ſtudio & incredibili diligentiâ expreſſum, emendatum, ac ſuppletum à J. Ern. Grabe. Nunc verò Exemplaris Vaticani aliorumque MSS. Codicum Lectionibus variis, necnon Criticis Diſſertationibus illuſtratum, inſigniterque locupletatum ſummâ curâ edidit Joannes Jacobus Breitengerus.* There is a very ſevere critique upon this new Edition publiſhed in the ſecond Tome of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée* (12). The preference which Dr. Grabe gave to the Alexandrian Manuſcript of the Septuagint, diſpleaſed ſome perſons, who thought it inferiour to that of the Vatican. The Reader may ſee their reaſons in a *Lettre de Th. de Sal. à M. l'Abbé B.* inſerted in the *Supplement* to the *Journal des Savans* for December 1709. IX. *Jo. Erneſti Grabii Diſſertatio de variis Vitiis LXX Interpretum Verſioni ante B. Origenis ævum illatis, & Remediis ab ipſo Hexaplari ejuſdem Verſionis Editione adhibitis, deque hujus Editionis Reliquiis tam manuſcriptis quam prælo excuſis.* Oxford 1710 in 4to. X. *An Eſſay upon two Arabic Manuſcripts of the Bodleian Library, and that antient Book, called,* The Doctrine of the Apoſtles, *which is ſaid to be extant in them; wherein Mr.* Whiſton's *miſtakes about both are plainly proved. By* John Erneſt Grabe, *D. D.* Oxford 1711 in 8vo. It is dedicated to Dr. William Lloyd, Lord Biſhop of Worceſter, and in the Dedication he obſerves, that this was *the firſt Treatiſe, which he publiſhed in the Engliſh Tongue for the ſervice of the Church.* In the *Preface* he tells us (13), that he wrote his *Eſſay* againſt Mr. Whiſton for two reaſons relating to himſelf and his own affairs, and two relating to Mr. Whiſton. The firſt reaſon relating to himſelf was, that he was neceſſitated to publiſh at leaſt ſomething againſt him about the *Doctrine* or *Conſtitutions* of the *Apoſtles*, becauſe Mr. Whiſton had not only in private diſcourſes, but alſo in public Writings plainly intimated, and made ſeveral people, unacquainted with Dr. Grabe, believe, that the latter was *nearly of his mind about the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles* (14), written by St. Clemens, and that he owned in general *the genuine Truth and Apoſtolical Antiquity of this Collection* (15); " not to mention, " ſays Dr. Grabe, ſeveral other expreſſions of this " kind up and down in his Books lately publiſhed. " Which as I utterly deny, ſo I thought it neceſſary " after ſo long, and perhaps too long a ſilence, " to let the world know by a public Writing of my " own, that my opinion of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* is quite different from, yea oppoſite to Mr. Whiſton's ſentiments about them. And this will be clearly enough perceived by any one, who reads over " this *Eſſay* upon the *Arabic Doctrine of the Apoſtles.*" In this *Eſſay* he tells us, that he has proved, that the ſaid *Doctrine* conſiſting of the firſt ſix Books of the *Clementine Conſtitutions*, is not the ſame with that ancient ſmall Book called the *Doctrine of the Apoſtles* or the *Conſtitutions* of them; and that as it is very doubtful, whether even the latter was a genuine piece, ſo it is moſt certain, that the former with its pompous preface, upon which Mr. Whiſton lays ſo great a ſtreſs, is a counterfeited and falſified writing,

(9) Grabe, *Prolegom. in Octateuch.* cap. 3. §. 5.

(10) *Idem Prolog. in Tom.* 4. *cap.* 4. §. 9.

(11) *Idem Prolegom. in Octateuch.* c. 3. §. 9.

(12) Pag. 222.

(13) §. 1. pag. 1.

(14) See Mr. Whiſton's *Reply to Dr. Allix's Remarks*, pag. 3.

(15) See Mr. Whiſton's *Hiſt. Preface*, pag. 54.

" ſouls and bodies; for the communication of the Holy Ghoſt; for ſure truſt " and confidence in God; and for the reſurrection unto life eternal. For the " ſame reaſon he never was afraid to declare his mind freely for the practice of " chriſm in confirmation; for anointing the ſick with oil; for confeſſion and ſacerdotal " abſolution,

and by no means to be called by, or publiſhed under the title of a *ſacred Book of the New Teſtament*. He afterwards (16) acknowledges the aſſiſtance, which he had received from the Reverend Mr. *Gagnier*, who about ten years before had come over to the Church of England from that of France, and then taught the Hebrew tongue at Oxford, and who being well ſkilled in moſt of the Oriental Languages had been appointed the year before by Dr. John Sharp, Archbiſhop of York, to aſſiſt Dr. Grabe in the peruſal of the *Arabic Manuſcripts* in the *Bodleian* Library, relating to the *Clementine Conſtitutions*; of which the Archbiſhop had engaged the Doctor to write a Treatiſe againſt Mr. Whiſton's notion concerning them. Accordingly when the Doctor came in May to Oxford to ſearch in the ſaid Library all the Oriental Books, which contain any *Conſtitutions* or *Canons* of the Apoſtles, to ſee what light they might afford him in that matter, Mr. *Gagnier* very diligently read and interpreted to him all that might be ſerviceable to him in any of them, but eſpecially the *Arabic Didaſcalia* contained in the abovementioned two manuſcripts, for which he chiefly went thither, hoping to find the ſaid *Didaſcalia* to be really that which Mr. Whiſton ſo poſitively had affirmed it to be, namely that antient Writing, which went under the name of the *Doctrine of the Apoſtles*; and to be thereby enabled to ſhew how much the ſame was interpolated and altered in the firſt ſix Books of the *Clementine Conſtitutions*. And altho', as the Doctor obſerves, he quickly perceived this aſſertion of Mr. Whiſton's to be falſe, when he conſidered the bulk of the *Arabic Didaſcalia*, concluding from thence, that it could not be that antient *ſmall* Book, called the *Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, which conſiſted but of 200 *ſtichs* or *commas*; yet being deſirous to know what then this *Arabic Doctrine* was, he reſolved to employ himſelf and Mr. *Gagnier* for ſeveral days together in this inquiry; in which he ſucceeded as follows. When Mr. *Gagnier* had interpreted to the Doctor the firſt four or five chapters of the *Arabic Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, the Doctor found them agree *verbatim* with the firſt and ſecond Books of the *Clementine Conſtitutions*; and thereupon ſuſpected preſently the whole Book to be nothing elſe but an *Arabic* Tranſlation of them. However he began to be doubtful of this, when he obſerved the firſt chapter of the ſaid *Didaſcalia* to begin from the middle of the fourth chapter of the firſt Book of the *Conſtitutions*; ſo that what goeth before ſeemed to be wanting, and left out. But this doubt was ſoon removed, after he had deſired Mr. *Gagnier* to interpret to him that Prologue, which follows after the Preface to this *Arabic Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, (publiſhed by Mr. *Whiſton* in his firſt *Reply* to Dr. *Allix's Remarks* upon his Book, *pag.* 25 *and* 26.) and perceived by the interpretation, that the ſaid Prologue contained not only the ſhort Procœmium of the *Clementine Conſtitutions*; but alſo the firſt three chapters with the beginning of the fourth. The Doctor therefore went on to compare the Arabic Text with the Greek, and found them exactly correſponding, and going together in order one with the other, to the end of the ſecond Book of the *Conſtitutions*; except that now and then he met with a various reading, or deſigned alteration, made by the Arabic Interpreter. But he was ſtartled again, when he obſerved, that the fourth Book of the *Conſtitutions* immediately followed the ſecond, without a word of the third; as alſo that ſome chapters of the fourth Book were left out in their proper place. However thinking that theſe chapters with the whole third Book might perhaps be tranſpoſed and follow afterwards, he reſolved to run even thro' the whole, to ſee if he did not gueſs right, and to get a compleat knowledge of the *Arabic Didaſcalia* from the beginning to the end. And when he had done this, he found it even ſo as he thought, and that none of the chapters of the firſt five Books of the *Clementine Conſtitutions* were wanting, altho' they are ſtrangely tranſpoſed; but that in the ſixth Book only one great chaſm appeared, of which he has given an account in §. 10. of his *Eſſay*; and that five or ſix chapters were added in this *Arabic* copy, of which nothing occurs in the Greek; ſo that bating theſe new chapters, of which he gives the titles §. 9. in his Table, and excepting the ſaid chaſm, the *Arabic Didaſcalia* proved to be nothing elſe but a Tranſlation of the firſt ſix intire Books of the *Clementine Conſtitutions*. The Doctor remarks afterwards (17), that " Mr. Whiſton is found apparently guilty of ſo " great a raſhneſs as can hardly be parallel'd, by pro- " miſing to publiſh a ſacred Writing or Book of the " New Teſtament, which yet he never read once over; " and he will appear likewiſe plainly convicted in this " *Eſſay* of four groſs miſtakes or errors in one point. " Firſt, by calling that a *loſt Book*, which has been " extant theſe 150 years every where. Secondly, by " taking that Book to be the antient Διδαχη or *Doc- " trine of the Apoſtles*, which by all circumſtances re- " corded of the ſaid Διδαχη muſt needs be quite diffe- " rent from it. Thirdly, by not only taking the " Book called *the Doctrine of the Apoſtles* to be un- " doubtedly a ſacred Book of the New Teſtament, of " which yet all the Authors, who have mentioned " the ſame, have ſpoken very doubtfully, and moſt of " them very ſlightly; but miſtaking moreover, fourthly, " the counterfeited or groſly interpolated *Doctrine of the* " *Apoſtles*, and its *Preface* written in their name, for " their genuine work; whereas the ſame carries in " almoſt every line or comma evident marks of ſpuri- " ouſneſs, and in one place directly contradicts the Book " itſelf." The Doctor towards the cloſe of his Preface (18) tells us, that he does not blame Mr. Whiſton *for having freely and yet modeſtly enough in ſome of his writings*, ſays he, *declared himſelf againſt ſome abuſes or defects of particular Churches and Chriſtians in theſe latter times, either Roman Catholics or Proteſtants, or both; where he has evidently on his ſide not only the conſent of many other Chriſtian Nations in our days, but alſo of the antient Church over all the world, beſides the plain teſtimonies of Scripture; as in the three caſes, mentioned in his* Advice for the Study of Divinity, pag. 287. *namely Baptiſm by bare ſprinkling, and the not mixing water with the wine in the cup of the Lord's Supper; as alſo the eating of blood and things ſtrangled, of which, and the like, any Chriſtian Divine may, nay ought to ſpeak or write his mind freely, as occaſion offers, or neceſſity requires.* In the Eſſay the Doctor endeavours to ſhew, I, That the *Arabic Doctrine*, except the Preface and five or ſix leaves, is not an extract from the ſix Books of the *Clementine Conſtitutions*, but the very firſt five intire Books of them, and part of the ſixth; (which by what accident it came to be left out, he gives an account of;) and that therefore Mr. Whiſton has been greatly miſtaken in eſteeming it as a loſt Book, and made a vain promiſe to publiſh it as ſuch, together with the Conſtitutions, when it is the very ſame with theſe, altho' the order of ſome parts be tranſpoſed. II. That this *Arabic Doctrine* is not the ſame with that ancient Book called, *the Doctrine of the Apoſtles*; but that, altho' the latter has been the foundation of the former, yet it has been ſo much altered, and ſo many things have been added to it, as have made it a quite different and a much larger Book. III, That it appears from the very Preface of this Book and the laſt chapters, that it is not an Apoſtolical Writing, and ought not to be called a ſacred Book of the New Teſtament, nor to be publiſhed as ſuch. Mr. Whiſton publiſhed in anſwer to this *Eſſay* a piece, intitled, *Remarks upon Dr. Grabe's Eſſay upon two Arabick Manuſcripts of the Bodleian Library, &c. By* William Whiſton, *M. A.* London 1711 in 8vo. It is dated Sept. 24th 1711. In this piece he obſerves (19), that before he ſaw Dr. *Grabe's Eſſay* his thoughts were contained in this propoſition: " That the *Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, which the Churches " of Ethiopia and Egypt received, and that we have " in Arabic at Oxford, ſo far as it is the ſame, is " genuine, and a ſacred Book of the New Teſtament. " I mean this, in caſe theſe copies of the former were " not an Athanaſian Abridgment of the genuine Book " only.

(16) Sect. 3. pag. 4, & *ſeqq.*

(17) Preface, §. 6.

(18) Ibid. pag. 11.

(19) Pag. 3, and 18.

" abſolution, as judicial; for prayer for the ſouls of the dead, who died in the faith and " fear of God; for the antient commemoration of Saints in the holy Euchariſt... As " he uſed to ſpeak of the want of theſe things as defects in the Reformed Churches; ſo " it was not without ſorrow and ſome indignation that he uſed to lament the corruption " and depravation of them in the Church of Rome." The writer of a letter to Dr. Hickes, publiſhed by that Divine (*d*), and dated May the 26th 1712, obſerves, that Dr. Grabe was " deſirous, that after his death ſomewhat might be made public, to declare " his dying *in the Communion of the Church of England*, notwithſtanding ſome defects " (as he apprehended) in its reformation, and his moſt hearty wiſhes for the reunion of " all Chriſtians, according to the moſt primitive and perfect model. That he had " ſome ſcruples about communicating publickly in our Churches, at leaſt without he " could have an intire confidence in the Prieſt that was to officiate (as in his own coun- " try I know he had,) or except in the caſe of neceſſity, he was very ſincere in own- " ing. Notwithſtanding this, he had not near that eſteem for any other part of the Ca- " tholic Church, as for the Church of England. And as he counted himſelf under an " indiſpenſable obligation of duty to teſtify his Catholic Communion with all Saints in " the holy Euchariſt, he declared with a great deal of ſenſible ſatisfaction, that ever " ſince his coming into our Iſle, it had pleaſed God to grant him an opportunity of re- " ceiving the Sacrament, according to his heart's deſire, in its moſt antient purity and " perfection; and that he had conſtantly all this while received it from ſuch only as " were in holy Orders, according to the Reformed Church of England, for the autho- " rity of whoſe Prieſts and Biſhops, and the validity of their Orders againſt the Church " of Rome, he gave all poſſible teſtimonies to the very laſt." The ſame Writer re- marks (*e*), that *however ſome might accuſe the Doctor of too much credulity, there was no man in reality further than he from ſuffering himſelf to be determined by the opinions and dictates of any Church, becauſe* eſtabliſhed by Law, *or from being dazzled with worldly ſplendor and power. And though he was not indeed for an unbounded liberty of thinking, yet moſt certain it is from the whole proceſs of his life and ſtudies, that he was not for taking up*

(*d*) In his *Account of Dr. Grabe &c.* pag. lxviii, *& ſeq.*

(*e*) Ibid. pag. lxix, lxx.

" only." His thoughts after reading the Doctor's *Eſſay* were contained in the following propoſition (20): *The Preface to this* Arabic Doctrine *is the real Preface to the original* Doctrine of the Apoſtles; *but the Book itſelf is a corrupt Edition of the* Catholic Doctrine, *or former ſix Books of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, made by the Athanaſians in the fourth Century of the Church.* Mr. Whiſton concludes with theſe words (21): " Up- " on the whole I think Dr. Grabe could not have " been doing a thing ſo uſeful to true Chriſtianity, " and ſo fatal to the Athanaſian Herely; I may add, " ſo much for the credit and eſtabliſhment of the Apo- " ſtolical Conſtitutions themſelves, even as they are " for the main in our preſent copies, and ſo much for " the diſcovery of the true origin of thoſe orthodox " interpolations, which are ſtill continued in them, as " by employing himſelf about theſe Arabic Manuſcripts " as he has done. Nor has almoſt any diſcovery, I " think, happened ſo fortunate to me and to that ſacred " cauſe I am engaged in from the beginning, as this " *Eſſay* of his before us; the ſerious review and recon- " ſideration of which therefore I do heartily recom- " mend to him and the reſt of the learned upon this " occaſion; that, if poſſible, ſuch honeſt, pious, and indu- " ſtrious men, as he, may no longer be made the unhap- " py inſtruments of ſupporting the *Athanaſian Hereſy* a- " *mong us, and of the continued rejection of the moſt* ſacred " *of the* Canonical Books *of the* New Teſtament." The year following there was publiſhed *An Account of the Authority of the Arabic Manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library controverted between Dr.* Grabe *and Mr.* Whiſton. *In a Letter to Mr.* Thirlby. *By* Simon Ockley, *B. D. Profeſſor of Arabic in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and Chaplain to the moſt honourable Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treaſurer of Great Britain.* London 1712, in 8vo. This Letter is dated October 15th 1712. In this piece Mr. Ockley obſerves (22), with regard to Mr. Whiſton's firſt propoſition, that " it is ſo folded together, that any Reader almoſt " might very well be excuſed, that could not under- " ſtand it..... The meaning I take to be this. *Our* " *Arabic copy at Oxford, ſo far as it agrees with the* " *copy uſed in the Ethiopic Church* [which we have not " yet ſeen] *is a ſacred Book of the New Teſtament.* Pro- " vided the Ethiopic copy was not a forgery of Atha- " naſius. So far then as theſe two copies agree, they " are genuine: [which remains ſtill to be proved.] " *Provided the Ethiopic copy was not an Athanaſian* " *Abridgment:* which has no conſequence at all. Beſides " there is this included in it, that it neceſſarily ſuppoſes " the Arabic Verſion to have been made from the E- " thiopic; which is the very reverſe of the truth. His " imagination that the Ethiopic Verſion is better, is " falſe; for he miſtakes if he ſuppoſes, that the E- " thiopians have any copy of that kind tranſlated from " any antient Greek copy. It is moſt certain, that " what they have, is from the Egyptian Arabic copy." Mr. Ockley afterwards remarks (23), that Mr. Whiſton's *manner of maintaining his propoſition ſeems no leſs ſtrange than the propoſition itſelf.* XI. *Some inſtances of the defect and omiſſions in Mr.* Whiſton's *Collection of Teſtimonies from the Scriptures and the Fathers againſt the true Deity of the Holy Ghoſt, and of miſapplying and miſinterpreting divers of them. By Dr.* Grabe. *To which is premiſed a diſcourſe, wherein ſome account is given of the learned Doctor and of his MSS. and of this ſhort Treatiſe found among his Engliſh MSS. By* George Hickes, *D. D.* London 1712 in 8vo. Dr. Hickes tells us (24), that this Tract of Dr. Grabe was written at the requeſt of Dr. *John Sharp*, Archbiſhop of York; and that it was apparently finiſhed before his *Eſſay upon two Arabic Manuſcripts &c.* and that the reaſon why he did not publiſh it with that diſcourſe, was very probably becauſe he intended to write more obſervations upon that *Account of the Faith of the two firſt Centuries*, as he ſeems to intimate in the ſecond page of this Tract, wherein he declares, that he had obſerved *many things in it defective, more ſuperfluous, little or nothing at all to the purpoſe, and moſt of them wrong or miſapplied*; but that the *circumſtances*, in which he then was, *would by no means permit him to ſet down all his obſervations.* XII. *Liturgia Græca Joannis Erneſti Grabii.* This Greek Liturgy, which was drawn up by our Author for his own private uſe, was publiſhed by Chriſtopher Matthew Pfaff at the end of *Irenæi Fragmenta anecdota*, printed at the Hague 1715 in 8vo. The Editor has given us a Latin Verſion of it and Notes upon it. XIII. *De formâ Conſecrationis Euchariſtiæ; hoc eſt, Defenſio Eccleſiæ Græcæ contra Romanam in articulo de Conſecratione Elementorum Euchariſticorum, Latinè ſcripta; Autore D. Joanne Erneſto Grabio, & nunc primum publicata, unà cum Verſione in uſum Lectoris Anglicani. Accedunt ex iiſdem MSS. annotata quædam de oblatione Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti, formâ & effectu Conſecrationis Euchariſticæ, & duo fragmenta Præfationis deſtinatæ novæ Editioni primæ Liturgiæ Regis Eduardi VI. Cum Præfatione Editoris; quâ oſtenditur quænam ſententia ſit Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ de uſu Patrum & maximorum ejus Membrorum de Rebus, quas Autor hujus Libri defendit.* London 1721 in 8vo.

(20) Pag. 41.

(21) Pag. 47, 48.

(22) Pag. 14, 15.

(23) Pag. 17.

(24) *Some Account of Dr. Grabe, &c.* pag. xxxii.

up any thing in matters of Religion upon truſt, or upon an implicite faith, but was for bringing them all to the teſt, and comparing them with the originals. This was the occaſion to him for a good while of a great many doubts and ſcruples concerning that communion of Chriſtians, wherein he was born and educated, as alſo concerning the ſeveral other communions of them both in the Eaſt and Weſt; with all of which he laboured to acquaint himſelf by the exacteſt information that could poſſibly be got, before he could arrive at any ſettlement, or be able to fix his notion of the Catholic Church, *and of the true* Communion *therein by* Apoſtolical Faith *and* Charity. *This coſt him very dear, as I have heard him complain... He was tempted at ſundry times, and after ſundry manners, but could by no means be prevailed on to part with the purchaſe, which he had made, or to let go the peace of his conſcience.* Mr. Nelſon tells us (*f*), that "all the Learned, who could beſt judge of the "Doctor's great talents, readily offer him that incenſe of praiſe, which is juſtly due to "his profound erudition; whereby he was qualified to enlighten the dark and obſcure "parts of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, to trace the original frame and ſtate of the Chriſtian "Church, and to reſtore the ſacred volumes, the pillars of our faith, to their primitive "perfection." He had ſo great a zeal for promoting the antient government and diſcipline of the Church, among all thoſe who had ſeparated themſelves from the corruptions and ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome, that he formed a plan, and made ſome advances in it, for reſtoring the Epiſcopal Order and Office in the territories of the King of Pruſſia his Sovereign; and propoſed moreover to introduce a Liturgy, much after the model of the Engliſh Service, into that King's dominions; and recommended likewiſe the uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy itſelf, by the means of ſome of his friends, to a certain neighbouring Court (*g*). "By which means, adds Mr. Nelſon, he would have united "the two main bodies of Proteſtants in a more perfect and Apoſtolical Reformation, "than that upon which either of them did yet ſtand, and would therefore have fortified "the common cauſe of their *Proteſtation* againſt the errors of Popery. But yet his "learned ſtudies did not ſo engroſs his mind, as to prevent his daily attending the hours "of public prayer, to which purpoſe he always choſe his lodgings near a Church. Nei-"ther did the applauſe he received from the greateſt men of the age ſo exalt him, but "that he readily condeſcended to converſe with thoſe of the loweſt underſtanding, when "he could be any ways ſerviceable to them in their ſpiritual concerns. He was juſtly "eſteemed one of the greateſt Divines of the age; yet the great modeſty of his tem-"per, and the profound humility of his mind, made him prefer others before himſelf. "He laid the chiefeſt ſtreſs upon the conſtant practice of the virtues of the Chriſtian "life; and was alſo a ſtrict obſerver of all the rules of the Apoſtolical times, and of "the Catholic uſages of the firſt Chriſtians." He left a great number of manuſcripts behind him [*D*] to Dr. Hickes for his life, and at his deceaſe to Dr. George Smalridge, afterwards Biſhop of Briſtol, who attended him in his laſt moments; and laſtly to the Bodleian Library, to which he finally bequeathed them. He died at London November the 13th 1711, aged forty five years, and was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument was erected for him by the late Earl of Oxford. Magnus Cruſius had a deſign a few years ago to publiſh the letters of ſeveral learned men to our Author, with a life of him (*b*). Dr. Styan Thirlby in the Dedication of his edition of *Juſtini Philoſophi*

(*f*) *Life of Dr. George Bull, Lord Biſhop of St. David's. By Robert Nelſon Eſq;* pag. 403. 2d edit. London 1714, in 8vo.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*b*) *See* Magni Cruſii Heſvicenſis Diſſertatio Epiſtolica ad eminentiſſ. atque reverendiſſ. Dom. Chriſtianum Wormium, Diœceſeos Sidlanciæ in Daniâ Epiſcopum, &c. de Scriptis quibuſdam integris Fragmentiſque hactenus inéditis, quæ in Itinere Galliæ, Angliæ atque Germaniæ reperire contigit, & nunc in lucem edenda parat, Viroſque eruditos inſimul ad conferendas Symbolas humaniſſimè invitat. Leipſic 1728 in 4to, pagg. 12.

[*D*] *He left a great number of Manuſcripts behind him.*] Dr. Hickes in his *Account of Dr. Grabe and of his Manuſcripts*, prefixed to Dr. Grabe's *Some Inſtances of the Defects and Omiſſions in Mr. Whiſton's Collection of Teſtimonies*, informs us, that our Author left the following Manuſcripts. I. The two remaining volumes of the Alexandrian Text of the Septuagint complete, containing the hiſtorical and prophetical books, with very large Collections for a volume of Annotations, as alſo for ſome curious Diſſertations, Prolegomena, &c. upon the four volumes; and the collations out of ſome foreign MSS. with the marks of the Origenian Aſteriſks and Obeliſks. II. The Alexandrian Texts of the New Teſtament and of St. Clement's Epiſtles, firſt publiſhed by Junius, with notes. He never diſcovered his deſign of printing this work, which would perfect the whole Alexandrian Manuſcript, leſt he ſhould prejudice the ſale of his friend Dr. Mill's New Teſtament. III. The two volumes of his *Spicilegium* reviſed and corrected in many places, with large additions and collections for continuing the ſame; which he deſigned to do in a third volume, wherein, as he tells us himſelf (25), he intended to publiſh a fragment of one of St. Clement's loſt books, in which he calls the Holy Ghoſt Θεὸν, God. IV. His *Irenæus* reviſed and corrected, with collections and references for a new edition, in which he deſigned to animadvert upon Renatus Maſſuet, the Editor of the Paris edition of that Father in 1710, in his own defence. V. Many Greek Fragments of Origen, particularly out of his Commentaries, containing an hundred and twenty ſheets in 4to, and five in folio. There are likewiſe among his manuſcripts a numerous collection of other Greek Fragments of Fathers, and ſome of Heretics, which would make ſeveral volumes in print. Among his plans, there is one in Latin, intitled, ANGLICANÆ ECCLESIÆ *prærogativæ præ aliis Proteſtantium cœtibus in Praxi & Doctrinâ ſpeciatim.* The titles of the chapters of this intended treatiſe, are theſe which follow in his own words. *In Hierarchiâ Eccleſiaſticâ & Epiſcoporum continuâ ab Apoſtolis ſucceſſione, & legitimâ ſacerdotum Ordinatione, cap. I. In Celebratione Euchariſtiæ: ubi de oblatione panis & vini, illiuſque fermentati, de benedictione, de gratiarum actione atque precibus, de fractione panis, necnon de ipſo Sacerdote primam Oblatorum partem ſumente agitur, cap. II. In Adminiſtratione Confirmationis per manuum impoſitionem, quam Apoſtolus in Epiſtolâ ad Hebræos, c. 6. v. 2. inter fundamenta Chriſtianæ Religionis refert, de quo hoc loco prolixe agitur, cap. III. In Ritibus quibuſdam communiter obſervatis, ut ſunt memoriæ Apoſtolorum, Evangeliſtarum, omniumque Sanctorum, Signum Crucis, Genuflexio in Precibus, Recitatio Pſalmorum Davidis, & Lectio Bibliorum in matutino & veſpertino cultu, cap. IV. In Ritibus quibuſdam haud ſemper quidem & ubique in Eccleſiâ Anglicanâ obſervatis, attamen bene commendatis in Liturgiâ Anglicanâ, ut ſunt immerſio baptizandorum in aquam, Jejunium Quadrageſimale, aliaque ſtata Jejunia, cap. V. In moderatione, quæ in formandis Articulis Fidei ſive Doctrinæ Anglicanæ eſt adhibita, indeque pendente majori Conſcientiæ libertate,*

(25) *Some Inſtances of the Defects and Omiſſions in Mr. Whiſton's Collection of Teſtimonies*, pag. 17.

phi & Martyris Apologiæ duæ & Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo. Cum Notis & Emendationibus Styani Thirlbii (*i*) to the Lord Craven, tells us, that Dr. Grabe "was a good man "and not unlearned, and well verſed in the writings of the Fathers. But he was no "Critic, nor could be one, ſince he was not furniſhed with genius, or judgment, or, to "ſpeak the truth, with learning, ſufficient for that purpoſe (*k*)." Monſieur Le Clerc (*l*) approves of this judgment paſſed on Dr. Grabe, and adds, that his books gained him the character of a laborious perſon, rather than of a great Critic. But the Authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* in their account of Dr. Thirlby's edition of Juſtin Martyr have animadverted upon him with great ſeverity on account of his Dedication of it, in which he has cenſured Dr. Grabe. Caſimir Oudin had charged our Author with impiety and drunkenneſs; but Dr. John Keil (*m*) vindicates him from that accuſation, and obſerves, that he was temperate even to an exceſs, and that Dr. G. Smalridge, who attended him in his laſt ſickneſs, gave an ample teſtimony of his ſincere piety and religion.

(*i*) London 1722, fol.

(*k*) *Grabius vir bonus nec indoctus, & in ſcriptis patrum apprimè verſatus. Criticus non fuit, neque eſſe potuit, utpote neque ingenio, neque judicio, neque ſi verum dicere licet, doctrinâ, ſatis ad eam rem inſtructus; id quod Juſtinum poſt illum edenti neceſſe erat ſæpe demonſtrare.*

(*l*) *Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne*, tom. 23. pag. 11.

(*m*) *Epiſtola ad Vir. Clariſſ. Joannem Bernoulli in Academia Baſilienſi Mathematum Profeſſorem*, pag. 8, 9. edit. Londini 1720, in 8vo.

cap. VI. In Catechiſmo, ſpeciatim in reſtitutione ſecundi Præcepti Divini de Imaginibus Dei haud formandis atque adorandis, quod in Lutheri perinde ut in Romano Catechiſmo, eſt omiſſum, cap. VII. Speciatim in Articulo de Juſtificatione & Prædeſtinatione, ubi obſcurior Pauli Diſputatio de Juſtificatione declaratur, & clara Jacobi in hoc Articulo Doctrina ex aliis Scripturæ locis confirmatur, ac oſtenditur quam malè Jacobus a Luthero Delirii accuſatus, ejuſque Epiſtola ſtraminea vocata fuerit, & quam miſerè ab aliis planus ejus ſenſus pervertatur, cap. VIII. In aliis quibuſdam punctis, veluti de Poteſtate Eccleſiæ circa Leges in adiaphoris ferendas, cap. IX. In veneratione erga univerſalem Patrum conſenſum & Catholicam Eccleſiæ traditionem, quodque nec Lutheri nec Calvini Placitis ita ſtrictè adhæreat, multo minus more Hæreticorum & Schiſmaticorum ſe à quoquam ſingulari homine denominet, uti Lutherani ſemetipſos ita a Luthero vocant, planè contra Apoſtoli Pauli & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ doctrinam atque praxin. After theſe heads he hath written in capitals DESIDERATA; "for it cannot be denied, *ſays Dr. Hickes* "(26), but that he was for reſtoring the pure primi- "tive practices and diſcipline of the Catholic Churches, "which continued more or leſs corrected in all "Churches till the Reformation." Among his manuſcripts there were ſeveral finiſhed or unfiniſhed, written againſt the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, the titles of which are as follow. 1. *De Articulis Fidei non multiplicandis, ſive de Fidei ſymbolo perfecto contra Pontificios.* 2. *Schiſmatis inter Græcos & Latinos cauſa, pro Græcis contra Latinos.* 3. *De Cathedrâ S. Petri, ſive de verâ Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Unitate, contra Pontificios.* 4. *Petrus non Monarcha, ſive Diſcurſus de Quæſtione, utrum Petrus Monarchicum Eccleſiæ caput fuerit, in quo Pontificiorum argumenta pro affirmativâ parte hujus quæſtionis diſſolvuntur.* 5. Petrus *non* Petra *ſive* Petrus *à* Petra, *non* Petra *à* Petro. 6. *Romanæ Eccleſiæ & Ethnicæ Religionis ſimilitudo & convenientia.* 7. *De Idololatriâ Tractatus. In ſpecie de crimine Idololatriæ, cujus Romanam Eccleſiam Proteſtantes accuſant, eamque hoc reſpectu* Babylonicam Meretricem *S. Johanni divinitus oſtenſam eſſe dicunt, diſſeritur.* 8. *Nova Babylon, ſivè de corrupto Eccleſiæ ſtatu: in ſpecie de Romanæ Eccleſiæ adulterio.* 9. *Teſtimonia de Corruptione Eccleſiæ Romanæ quoad Dogmatica.* 10. *Diſſertatio contra Communionem Euchariſticam ſub una Panis ſpecie in Romanâ Eccleſiâ uſitatam.* 11. *De Communione ſub utraque Panis & Vini ſpecie, contra Pontificios.* 12. *Roma* Meretrix: *ſive Teſtimonia, quod ſub finem Mundi à verâ fide in Chriſtum deficiens magnam in Religione corruptionem ſit admiſſura, quodque ſedes Antichriſti tandem Roma futura ſit.* 13. *Argumenta quod Eccleſiæ Romanæ Fornicatio ſpiritualis non ſit propriè cultus Antichriſtianus, ſed præcedens Apoſtaſia tantum.* There were found alſo among his papers ſeveral of his Letters, which he wrote with ſucceſs to ſeveral perſons, to prevent their apoſtaſy to the Church of Rome, when they were ready to be reconciled to it. In theſe Letters he challenged the Prieſts to meet him at conferences before the perſons whom they had led aſtray; "but they knowing, ſays "Dr. Hickes (27), the Hercules with whom they "muſt have conflicted, wiſely declined the challenge; "for they could not but be ſenſible, that he was pre- "pared to demonſtrate all the errors and corruptions "of their Church, both in doctrine and practice, "from the pure doctrines and practices of the antient "Catholic Church, which, as it is the moſt effectual "and unanſwerable way of managing the controverſy "with the Popiſh emiſſaries and writers, ſo it is "that which they moſt fear." There was among his manuſcripts a copy of the *Didaſcalia* of *Clemens Romanus* and of *Hippolytus*, with copies of other manuſcripts, which he had tranſcribed and collected towards a third volume of his *Spicilegium*; and to ſhew, that the Clementine Conſtitutions were not written by the Apoſtles, but was a patched work out of the *Didaſcaliæ* or Doctrines, which went under the names of the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors. Dr. Hickes gives a particular account of theſe manuſcripts (28); and obſerves (29), that he found among our Author's papers and in his printed books, ſome things, which ſhew his free and communicable temper without reſerve, in imparting every thing he knew to any other perſon, for the good of the Church, and the benefit of the learned world. Among his Engliſh manuſcripts there is one containing Remarks upon the Epiſtles of *Clemens Romanus*, *Polycarp*, *Ignatius*, and upon the *Shepherd* of *Hermas*, which he communicated to Dr. Wake, now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who not only in the Preface to the ſecond edition of his Tranſlation of thoſe Apoſtolical Fathers, but in a letter which he wrote for that purpoſe to the Doctor, gratefully acknowledges the great obligation which he had to him for them. In his laſt will Dr. Grabe ordered ſome few notes, which he had written upon Clemens Alexandrinus, to be ſent to Dr. Potter, the preſent Biſhop of Oxford. He began alſo to write notes on Dr. Wells's Paraphraſe on the Epiſtles. He made likewiſe ſome Remarks on *The propitiatory oblation in the holy Euchariſt*, which he undoubtedly intended to communicate to the Author. He left ſome *Emendanda* and *Addenda* to Dr. Cave's *Hiſtoria Literaria*. "And had "Dr. Mill ſurvived him, *ſays Dr. Hickes* (30), he "would have acknowledged to the world, as he did "to me and others, the many ready and generous "aſſiſtances he received from him in his great work. "The learned Biſhop Bull, as long as he lived, on "all occaſions acknowledged his ſingular generoſity, "as well as learning, in publiſhing his works with "ſo much improvement and advantage to the great "truths he had defended, and to the learned world."

(26) *Some Account*, pag. viii.

(27) *Some Account*, pag. xi. xii.

(28) Ibid. pag. xviii, & *ſeqq.*

(29) Ibid. pag. xxiii, xxiv.

(30) Ibid. pag. xxiv, xxv.

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☞GRÆVIUS (JOHN GEORGE), one of the moſt learned Writers in the ſeventeenth Century, was born of a good family at Naumbourg in Germany (*a*) January the 29th 1632 (*b*). After he had paſſed thro' his firſt courſe of ſtudies in his own country [*A*], he was ſent in 1650 to Leipſic (*c*), where he maintained under John Stauchius, a relation

(*a*) Petri Burmanni Oratio Funebris in Obitum Viri Clariſſ. Joannis Georgii Grævii, dicta XI Kal. Martii CIↃ IↃ CCIL. pag. 9. *edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum* 1703 in 4to. (*b*) *Acta Eruditor. Anni* 1703. pag. 187. (*c*) Ibid.

[*A*] *One of the moſt learned Writers in the XVIIth Century.*] This ſufficiently appears from his Works, a Catalogue of which is as follows: I. *Iſaaci Caſauboni Epiſtolæ. Editio ſecunda* 82 *Epiſtolis auctior, & juxta ſeriem*

relation of his mother's, a Theſis *de Moribus Germanorum* [*B*]. He applied himſelf at firſt to the ſtudy of the Law in obedience to his father; but his inclination ſoon diverted his application entirely to polite Literature. A converſation, which he occaſionally had at Deventer with John Frederick Gronovius, who was Profeſſor there, confirmed him in his inclination; and he ſtaid in that City in order to proſecute his ſtudies under the direction of that Profeſſor (*d*). Having continued there two years he went to Leyden, and afterwards to Amſterdam, where David Blondel perſuaded him to abandon the Lutheran Religion, in which he was born, and to which he had adhered till then, and to embrace that of the Calviniſts (*e*). In 1656 the Elector of Brandenburg nominated him, upon the death of John Schulting, to the Profeſſorſhip at Duiſbourg, though he was then but in the 24th year of his age (*f*). But before he entered upon his place, he took a journey to Antwerp, Bruſſels, Louvain, and the adjacent countries. He held this poſt but

(*d*) Burmannus, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 16-20.

(*e*) Idem, ibid. pag. 21, 22.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. pag. 22, 23.

ſeriem temporum digeſta. Curante Johanne Georgio Grævio. Magdeburgi & Helmſtadii 1656 in 4to. The Dedication of this Edition to Thomas Reineſius is dated at Amſterdam Auguſt 31ſt 1655. The firſt Edition of theſe Letters was publiſhed at the Hague in 1638 by John Frederic Gronovius. But Græviuſ's Edition is much preferable to that, though this was afterwards eclipſed by Theodore Janſon ab Almeloveen's Edition at Rotterdam 1709 in fol. II. *Joannis Meurſii Ceramicus geminus, ſive de Ceramici Athenienſium utriuſque Antiquitatibus Liber ſingularis.* Utrecht 1662 in 4to. This Treatiſe, which was publiſhed by Grævius, was afterwards inſerted in the fourth volume of Gronovius's *Antiquities.* III. *Alberti Rubenii de re Veſtiariâ, præcipuè de Latoclavo Libri II, cum aliis ejuſdem opuſculis poſthumis.* Antwerp 1665 in 4to. Rubenius dying while he was engaged in preparing theſe pieces for the preſs, Grævius undertook the digeſting them into order, and publiſhing them. They are inſerted in the ſixth volume of the *Greek Antiquities.* IV. *Heſiodi Aſcræi, quæ extant, Opera, ex recenſione J. G. Grævii; cum ejuſdem animadverſionibus & notis. Accedunt Notæ ineditæ Joſ. Scaligeri & Franc. Guieti.* Amſterdam 1667 in 8vo. Grævius's Notes are printed together at the end of the volume, and illuſtrate not only Heſiod, but likewiſe a great many other paſſages of the Greek and Latin Writers. V. *Luciani Solæciſta cum Notis J. G. Grævii.* Amſterdam 1668 in 8vo. VI. *Suetonius Tranquillus ex recenſione J. G. Grævii, cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, & Commentariis integris Læv. Torrentii, Iſ. Caſauboni, Theodori item Marcilii, necnon ſelectis aliorum Notis.* Utrecht 1672 in 4to. *Secunda Editio auctior & emendatior.* Hague 1690 in 4to. Our Author's method in publiſhing the intire Commentaries of thoſe, who had laboured before him upon the Writer, which he propoſed to explain, has theſe advantages, that tho' it renders the volume larger, it ſatisfies thoſe, who love to trace things to their ſource, and to read the very words of the Commentators, eſpecially of thoſe, who are moſt eminent. VII. *Johannis Meurſii Libri poſthumi de Cypro, Rhodo, & Cretâ, &c.* Amſterdam 1675 in 4to. VIII. *In Obitum Johannis de Bruyn Oratio.* Amſterdam 1675 in 4to. IX. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epiſtolarum Libri XVI ad Familiares, ut vulgo vocantur, ex recenſione J. G. Grævii, cum ejuſdem animadverſionibus & notis integris Petri Victorii, P. Manutii, Henr. Ragazonii, D. Lambini, Fulvii Urſini, necnon ſelectis Jo. Fr. Gronovii & aliorum.* Amſterdam and Leyden 1676 two volumes in 8vo. The ſecond Edition was publiſhed in 1693. Theſe Letters were reprinted at Amſterdam in 1689 in 12mo, with the Notes of Grævius alone, whoſe admirable talent in criticiſm has explained a great number of places in them. X. *L. Annæi Flori Epitome rerum Romanarum, ex recenſione & cum Annotationibus J. G. Grævii. In fine additus eſt L. Ampelius ex Bibliothecâ Cl. Salmaſii.* Utrecht 1680 in 8vo. Item, *Cum Annotationibus longè auctioribus & correctioribus, & cum notis integris Cl. Salmaſii, & ſelectis variorum.* Amſterdam 1692 in 8vo. This Edition is preferable to all that preceded it. It is illuſtrated with medals. Grævius's Preface is an admirable one. He frankly acknowledges the faults of his Author, contrary to the general cuſtom of Commentators. XI. *C. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, ex recenſione J. G. Grævii, cum integris Joſ. Scaligeri, Mureti, Achillis Statii, Roberti Titii, Hieron. Avantii, Douſarum, Theod. Marcilii, & ſelectis Paſſeratii & aliorum notis.* Utrecht 1680 in 8vo. XII. *Juſtini Hiſtoriarum Philippicarum Libri* 44, *ex recenſione J. G. Grævii; cum ejuſdem Caſtigationibus. His accedunt integræ notæ M. Berneggeri, Iſ. Voſſii, Ian. Fabri, Jo. Vorſtii, Jo. Schefferi, Jac. Bongarſii, Franciſci Modii & aliorum.* Leyden 1683 in 8vo. Grævius had publiſhed this Author with his own Notes alone at Utrecht in 1668 in 12mo. But he thought proper now to add, according to the method obſerved by him in other Authors, whom he publiſhed, the entire Notes of former Commentators. This Edition is preferable to all the preceding ones, tho' ſome complain of ſeveral omiſſions in it. This Author was reprinted with Grævius's Notes alone at Amſterdam 1694 in 12mo. XIII. *M. T. Ciceronis Epiſtolarum ad Atticum Libri ſedecim, ex recenſione Johannis Georgii Grævii, cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus & Notis integris J. Victorii, P. Manutii, F. Urſini, D. Lambini, &c. ineditis; item Iſ. Caſauboni, Mureti, & J. Fr. Gronovii, necnon ſelectis variorum.* Amſterdam 1684, two volumes in 8vo. XIV. *J. Meurſii Theſeus, ſive de ejus Vitâ Liber ſingularis.* Utrecht 1684 in 4to. It is inſerted in the tenth volume of Gronovius's *Greek Antiquities.* XV. *Joannis Meurſii Themis Attica, ſive de Legibus Atticis Libri duo.* Utrecht 1685 in 4to. It is inſerted in the fifth volume of Gronovius's *Greek Antiquities.* XVI. *Joannis Meurſii de Regno Laconico Libri duo: de Piræo Liber ſingularis; & in Helladii Chreſtomathiam Animadverſiones.* Utrecht 1687 in 4to. Inſerted in the fifth volume of Gronovius's *Greek Antiquities.* For the Edition of theſe Tracts of Meurſius we are obliged to Baron Puffendorf, who communicated them from the King of Sweden's Library to his friend Grævius, who publiſhed them. XVII. *Luciani Samoſatenſis Opera omnia ex verſione Joannis Benedicti, cum notis integris J. Bourdelotii, J. Palmerii a Grentemeſnil, T. Fabri, Æg. Menagii, Fr. Guieti, J. G. Grævii, J. Gronovii, L. Barlæi, J. Tollii, & ſelectis aliorum. Accedunt inedita Scholia in Lucianum ex Bibliothecâ Iſaaci Voſſii.* Amſterdam 1687 in 8vo, two volumes. XVIII. *Claudii Rutilii Numatiani Galli Itinerarium, integris Simleri, Caſtalionis, &c. Grævii aliorumque animadverſionibus illuſtratum. Ex Muſæo Th. Janſon ab Almeloveen.* Amſterdam 1687 in 12mo. XIX. *M. T. Ciceronis de Officiis Libri III; Cato Major ſive de Senectute; Lælius, ſive de Amicitiâ; Paradoxa; Somnium Scipionis ex recenſione J. G. Grævii, cum ejuſdem Notis & integris Animadverſionibus Lambini Urſini, Langii, Fabricii, Manutii, necnon ſelectis aliorum.* Amſterdam 1688 in 8vo. Theſe pieces were publiſhed with Grævius's Notes alone at Amſterdam 1691 in 12mo. XX. *De humanæ Rationis imbecillitate, unde proveniat, & illi quomodo poſſimus mederi, Liber ſingularis. Auctore Georgio Mackenzio a Valle Roſarum, apud Scotos Cauſarum Patrono.* Utrecht 1690 in 8vo. Jena 1691 in 8vo. Francfort 1700 in 12mo. Grævius had ſo good an opinion of this Treatiſe, that he publiſhed it. XXI. *Bernardini Ferrarii Mediolanenſis Theologi de Ritu ſacrarum Eccleſiæ Veteris Concionum. Cum Præfatione J. G. Grævii.* Utrecht 1692 in 8vo. XXII. *Notæ in Lactantium de Mortibus Perſecutorum.* Theſe Notes, which are not very conſiderable, are inſerted in Bauldri's Edition of Lactantius at Utrecht 1692 in 8vo. XXIII. *Alb. Rubenii de Vitâ Fl. Mallii Theodori V. C.* Utrecht 1694 in 12mo, publiſhed by Grævius, and dedicated to Dr. Richard Bentley, who ſent over the manuſcript to him, which had been purchaſed by Sir Edward Sherburne among ſome papers of Gevartius. XXIV. *P. Danielis Huetii Poemata quotquot colligi potuerunt.* Utrecht 1694 in 8vo. *Auctiora*, 1700 in 12mo. XXV. *Theſaurus Antiquarum Romanarum.* Utrecht 1694, 1699, twelve volumes in fol. The world is greatly obliged to our Author for collecting and publiſhing correctly the Tracts, of which this work conſiſts, and which for the moſt part

but two years; for in 1658 he was invited to Deventer to ſucceed his former maſter Gronovius, who had recommended him, when he left that City for Leyden; and he accepted that Profeſſorſhip, though leſs conſiderable than that of Duiſbourg, either out of affection to a free

part were difficult to be procured. And tho' they are not all equally good, yet every one of them has its uſe. XXVI. *Franciſci Junii de Pictura Veterum Libri III. Accedit Catalogus Artificum adhuc ineditus.* Rotterdam 1694 fol. Grævius publiſhed this Edition, and added the Preface and Life of the Author. XXVII. *Callimachi Hymni, Epigrammata, & Fragmenta, ex recenſione Theodori J. G. F. Grævii, cum ejuſdem & aliorum Animadverſionibus.* Utrecht 1697 in 8vo two volumes. This Edition, which is a very beautiful one, had been undertaken by Theodore Grævius, the ſon of our Author; but he being prevented by death from finiſhing it, his father compleated it, and publiſhed it under his ſon's name. XXVIII. *C. Julius Cæſar cum Notis Dionyſii Voſſii. Acceſſit Julius Celſus de Vitâ & Rebus geſtis C. Julii Cæſaris, ex Muſæo J. G. Grævii.* Amſterdam 1697 in 8vo. XXIX. *Gloſſarium Iſidori emendatum curâ J. G. Grævii.* Publiſhed with Martinius's *Lexicon* at Utrecht 1698 in fol. XXX. *M. T. Ciceronis Orationes, ex recenſione J. G. Grævii, cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, & Notis integris Variorum.* Amſterdam 1699 in 8vo, three volumes. XXXI. *Lectiones Heſiodeæ auctiores*; publiſh'd in Monſr. le Clerc's Edition of that Author at Amſterdam 1701 in 8vo. They had been publiſh'd before in Mr. Grævius's Edition. XXXII. *Danielis Eremitæ Aulicæ Vitæ & Civilis Libri IV. Ejuſdem Opuſcula varia.* Utrecht 1701 in 8vo. This Work, which had been compoſed a century before, was entirely out of print; which induced Grævius to publiſh this Edition. XXXIII. *Syntagma variarum Diſſertationum rariorum, quas Viri doctiſſimi ſuperiore ſæculo elucubrârunt. Ex Muſeo J. G. Grævii.* Utrecht 1702 in 4to. This Collection contains, firſt, *A Diſſertation of Thomas Reineſius on the Punic or Carthaginian Language*, which was firſt printed in 1638 at Altemberg, where Reineſius was a Phyſician. The learned men in Germany at that time thought that language to be the Dialect of the Arabic. Joſeph Scaliger, Fullerus, Erpenius, and ſome others, were not of this opinion; but as they treated on this ſubject only by the bye, what they ſaid made no great impreſſion on the minds of others. Reineſius was the firſt, who undertook to treat thoroughly on this ſubject; and ſhews, that the Carthaginians were deſcended of the Tyrians and Sidonians and other people of Phœnicia; and conſequently that their language was the Hebrew and Phœnician; or that there was very little difference between them. The reaſons, which he alledged, ſeemed ſo plauſible to the learned, that they all agreed to them. Monſieur Bochart having ſince that time written his Treatiſe of the Colonies and Language of the Phœnicians, ſet this matter in ſo clear a light, that none can doubt of the Carthaginian or Punic Language's being the ſame with the Hebrew or Phœnician; or that if there be any difference between them, it is inconſiderable. Next follows *Reineſius's Diſſertation on the God* Endovellicus; in which he obſerves after ſome other Authors, that a certain man called *Endovel* brought a Colony from the Eaſt into Spain, and reigned there; and after his death was adored as a Deity. The Romans having conquered that Kingdom, offered vows to this Deity; and gave his name a Latin termination. Geographers tell us of a mountain near Portugal called *Endovela* or *Endobela*. The next piece is a Diſſertation by Herman Conringius, Profeſſor of Phyſic at Helmſtad. It contains hiſtorical and chronological Remarks on the antient Dynaſties of Egypt and Aſia. This Author is the firſt, who hath ſhewn, that what Cteſias hath ſaid of the Antiquity of the Aſſyrian and Median Monarchy, is fabulous and contrary to ſacred Hiſtory, and to what Herodotus, the moſt ancient Greek Hiſtorian, relates of it. This ſubject hath been ſince learnedly and ſolidly treated of by Archbiſhop Uſher in his *Annals*; and the ancient Dynaſties of Egypt, which Scaliger and Petavius have abandoned as fabulous or inexplicable, have been cleared with ſuch dexterity by the learned Sir John Marſham, that thoſe, who come after him, have either contented themſelves to copy them, or advanced nothing ſolid, when they offer to contradict him. The next piece is a *Letter* of *Jonſius*, who taught polite Learning at Francfort; in which he explains the original of the *Spartæ*, whom Ariſtotle mentions in his *Politics* to be born with the mark of a lance. St. Gregory Nazianzen, and ſome others after him, have unluckily taken the *Spartæ* for the *Spartiates*. Jonſius ſhews, that the *Spartæ* are the poſterity of Cadmus's companions, and that they have their name from the teeth of the ſerpents, which Cadmus had ſowed by order of Minerva. Plutarch ſays that in his time he ſaw men, who had the mark of a lance, who were thought to be deſcended from thoſe antient *Spartæ*. Next follows a *Diſſertation* of *John Vandalin*, a Dane, Profeſſor of Divinity and Hebrew in the Univerſity of Copenhagen, and afterwards Biſhop of Seeland in Denmark; which was written in anſwer to a Book of William Langins, who pretended, that our Saviour was crucified on a Thurſday; whereas our Author maintains, that he ſuffered on a Friday. The next piece is a *Diſſertation of George Eryçius Phaletranus*, or rather *Guntherus Henricus Phlathnerus Getus*; for the firſt name is ſuppoſititious. In this Diſſertation he treats of the Explication of the Prophecy of Jacob, who promiſed to his ſon Judah, that the Scepter ſhould not depart from him till Shilo came. Next follows a Tract by *Chriſtian Daum*, Rector of the College of Zwickaw in Miſnia, in which he ſhews, that we have loſt many Latin words both primitive and derivative; and produces examples out of Authors of all Ages. He gives us a large catalogue of words not found in Dictionaries. This Treatiſe might be of great uſe to thoſe, who would give new Editions of Latin Authors corrected by manuſcripts. They may here ſee, that the Copiers and Critics, who firſt printed ancient Authors, have often ſubſtituted words at pleaſure in the room of thoſe, which they did not underſtand; and that they have corrupted the originals inſtead of correcting them. After this Treatiſe follow three *Diſſertations* of *Andrew Rivinus*, who taught Philology at Leipſic about the middle of the laſt Century. In the firſt he examines what is meant by *Majuma*, *Maicampus*, and *Roncalliæ*. Having ſhewn, that thoſe Lawyers, who have derived the word *Majuma* from that of the month of May, are miſtaken; he proves, that theſe games or feaſts, which were celebrated by the people on the coaſt of Paleſtine, and afterwards received by the Greeks and Romans, take their name and original from a gate of the city of Gaza called *Majuma*, from the Phœnician word *Maim*, which ſignifies Waters. The feaſt was at firſt only a mere game repreſented on the water by Sailors and Fiſhermen, who ſhewed a thouſand tricks of activity in throwing one another into the water for the diverſion of the ſpectators. It became afterwards a regular ſpectacle, which the Magiſtrates exhibited to the people on certain days. Theſe ſpectacles having degenerated into debauchery, becauſe they brought naked women on the Stage, the Chriſtian Emperors enacted Laws to forbid them; yet they were not quite aboliſhed, for they were kept up by the Northern Nations; and the *Maycamp* of the French, which was celebrated in the preſence of Charlemagne and other Kings, and the *Campus Roncalliæ* near Placentia, where the Kings of Italy came with their veſſels, preſerved for many Ages a great part of thoſe ancient cuſtoms. The two other Diſſertations of *Rivinus* were written to explain what we are to underſtand by *Venilia*, *Salacia*, *Malacia*, *Malina*, and *Lictuna*. Rivinus examines what ancient and modern Authors have ſaid on the ebbing and flowing of the Sea; and relates their various ſentiments as to the cauſe of this motion of the waters, which appears ſo regular in its variation. There is likewiſe in this Collection a Treatiſe concerning the Roman public Treaſury, written by Chriſtian Frederic Franckenſtein, Profeſſor at Leipſic; in which he examines the origin and progreſs of the public treaſury; in what place it was kept; what Magiſtrates had the charge of it; and when they had the money depoſited in it. On this occaſion he treats of the Taxes and other Tributes, which the Romans levied in the Provinces of the Empire. He ſpeaks alſo of the Remiſſions, which they give from time to time to the people. He conſiders the Office of the *Quæſtores Ærarii*,

(g) Burmannus, pag. 24, 23.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(i) Idem, pag. 30, 31.

a free Commonwealth (*g*), or inclination to a place, where he had lived before, or hopes to obtain afterwards ſome poſt of more importance. He was not diſappointed; for in 1661 he was appointed Profeſſor of Eloquence at Utrecht in the room of Paulus Æmilius (*h*). And twelve years after he had the Profeſſorſhip of Politics and Hiſtory conferred on him. He fixed his thoughts here; and though ſeveral advantageous offers were made him elſewhere, he refuſed to accept them. The Elector Palatine and the Republic of Venice endeavoured to draw him, the former to Heydelberg, and the latter to Padua; but he conſtantly preferred his ſettlement at Utrecht and in the Low-Countries, where he was in a manner naturalized (*i*). He had however the ſatisfaction to be ſought for by divers Princes, and to ſee ſeveral of them come from Germany to ſtudy under him (*k*). He was ſeized by an Apoplexy January the 11th 1703, and died the ſame day in the ſeventy firſt year of his age. He married in 1656, and had eighteen children, but left behind him but one ſon and four daughters. One of his ſons, Theodore Peter Grævius, a youth of prodigious hopes, died in 1692 in the 23d year of his age, and was then engaged in an edition of Callimachus. He deſigned to have written the Hiſtory of William III King of England (*m*).

(k) Ibid. pag. 29.

(m) *Acta Erud. ubi ſupra.*

rarii, with their origin and all that relates to that ſubject. XXXIV. *Theſaurus Antiquitatum & Hiſtoriarum Italiæ, Mari Liguſtico & Alpibus vicinæ: quo continentur optimi quinque Scriptores, qui Ligurum & Inſubrum, ſeu Jenuenſium & Mediolanenſium confiniumque populorum ac civitatum res antiquas aliaſque vario tempore geſtas memoriæ prodiderunt collectus curâ J. G. Grævii.* Leyden 1704 fol. three volumes. In the *Preface* written by James Perizonius, he informs us, that Grævius entered upon this taſk of collecting the Writers contained in this Work, upon conſideration, that having publiſhed his *Theſaurus* of the *Roman Antiquities*, that of the *Antiquities of Italy* would be an uſeful ſupplement to it for the explication of the origin, manners, laws and hiſtories of the ſeveral cities of it. In this deſign he imitated Sigonius, who after he had explained the *Jus antiquum Civium Romanorum*, in his very next Treatiſe adds the *Jus Italiæ*, as being of almoſt equal advantage for the due apprehending of whatever relates to the Roman State and Empire. It is true Andrew Schottus publiſhed ſome things of this nature formerly; but he had not room in one ſingle volume to crowd in all the Authors, who had written on this ſubject; whereas Grævius in this Collection has preſented us with fair and beautiful copies of every Author's Work. He has likewiſe together with them collected ſeveral very ſcarce and curious Commentaries, in which the origin and antiquities of each city are explained. It was his deſign once to have added the more modern Writers to this Collection; but perceiving it would have ſwelled this Work to too great a bulk, he reſerved them for a ſubſequent *Theſaurus*, which he intended to have publiſhed, if he had not been prevented by death. He dying before he had drawn up a general Preface, his ſon-in-law Matthias de Roy deſired Perizonius to perform that taſk, who complied with his friend's requeſt; and tells us, that in this collection he perceives there are joined together the Writers, not only of the Italian Antiquities, but alſo of the Italian Hiſtory of the middle and laſt Age. He obſerves, that Grævius's intention was, that the Reader in this Work might at one view ſee the fate of people and cities both ancient and modern, and apprehend the ſeries of the tranſactions of each city, and the chain of their Hiſtory. Add to this, that ſeveral Writers have brought their accounts of the cities and places, which they treat of, from their firſt riſe and beginning down to the times, wherein themſelves lived. Thus, for inſtance, Ubertus Folietta, Triſtanus Chalcus, John Baptiſta Villanova, &c. have traced the affairs of the Cities and Nations, which they write of, from the very ſource. After this we are informed of the Romantic Hiſtorians, whoſe accounts Grævius thought fit to leave out of his collection, as well as thoſe, who have only repeated what others had ſaid before them. XXXV. *J. G. Grævii Præfationes & Epiſtolæ CXX in uſum Latinæ Eloquentiæ ſtudioſorum collectæ & editæ a Joanne Alberto Fabricio. Adjuncta eſt P. Burmanni Oratio dicta in Grævii funere.* Hamburg 1707 in 8vo. XXXVI. *Inſcriptiones antiquæ totius Orbis Romani in abſolutiſſimum corpus redacti, olim auſpiciis Joſephi Scaligeri, & M. Velſeri, induſtriâ autem J. Gruteri, nunc curis ſecundis ejuſdem Gruteri & Notis M. Gudii emendatæ, tabulis æneis Boiſſardi illuſtratæ curâ J. G. Grævii.* Amſterdam 1707 fol. two volumes. XXXVII. *Baſilii Fabri Theſaurus Eruditionis Scholaſticæ cum Notis Buchneri, & Cellarii, & Obſervationibus poſthumis J. G. Grævii.* Leipſic 1710 in fol. XXXVIII. *J. G. Grævii Orationes, quas Ultrajecti habuit.* Leyden 1717 in 8vo. XXXIX. A great number of his Letters are publiſhed by P. Burman in his *Sylloge Epiſtolarum*, printed in five volumes in 4to. The learned Dr. Richard Mead has a Collection of his Letters never yet printed. T.

(a) See his *Decade de Henry le Grand*, liv. 1. pag. 80. edit. of Roan, 1633, in 4to.

GRAIN (BAPTIST LE) Maſter of the Requeſts in ordinary to Mary de Medicis Queen of France's Houſhold, wrote ſome Hiſtories, which are pretty good [*A*]. He was born about the year 1563 (*a*). He does not ſhew any hatred againſt the Reformed; on the contrary he is a vigorous aſſertor of the edict which had been granted to them [*B*].

GRAMMONT

[*A*] *He wrote ſome Hiſtories, which are pretty good.*] He publiſhed two *Decades*; the firſt is the Hiſtory of Henry the Great; the ſecond is the Hiſtory of Lewis XIII, from the beginning of this King's reign, to the death of the Marſhal d'Ancre in the year 1617. "He relates in ſome places ſuch particulars as are "not to be met with any where elſe, and the com-"mon opinion is, that this Hiſtory is written with "impartiality, and by a true patriot." This is what Sorel obſerves (1) with regard to the firſt Decade. He obſerves (2) with regard to the ſecond, that *as it is an Hiſtory publiſhed in the time of thoſe that are mentioned* (α) *in it, and when they were in power, the foregoing adminiſtration is repreſented in an odious manner. The Marſhal d'Ancre and thoſe of his party are very much abuſed in this work, and even the Queen-mother's faithful ſervants are not ſpared; ſo that there was formerly a great demand for that book: ſome perſons would keep it as a curioſity; others would ſuppreſs and deſtroy it. It is obſerved particularly with regard to the Biſhop of Luſſon* *, *who has been ſince famous under the name of Cardinal de Richelieu, that the Author tranſcribes a letter of his to the Marſhal d'Ancre, which ſome pretend to be written in a very humble ſtyle.* They are in the right to pretend it (3).

(1) *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. m. 352.

(2) Ibid. pag. 353, 354.

* Luçone.

(3) *See* Le Grain, liv. 10. pag. 411, under the year 1617.

(α) I ſuppoſe Sorel means *in the time of them that ſucceeded thoſe who are mentioned in it.* For ſince this Hiſtory extends only to the death of the Marſhal d'Ancre, how can it mention the Miniſters who ſucceeded him in the adminiſtration? Or how can the Hiſtorian give an account of their conduct, ſince his Hiſtory does not reach to their time?

[*B*] *He is a vigorous aſſertor of the edict that had been granted to the Reformed.*] See the 7th book (4) of his Hiſtory of Henry the Great; you will find there a beautiful apology of that Prince with regard to the edict of Nantz; an apology, I ſay, ſupported with arguments and examples. D'Aubigné has given the

(4) Pag. m. 704.

GRAMMONT (GABRIEL DE) a French Cardinal in the ſixteenth Century. I mention him only with a deſign to correct ſome blunders in Moreri's Dictionary [*A*].

the ſubſtance of it in his Hiſtory (5). Le Grain followed the ſame principles in his Hiſtory of Lewis XIII; for he vindicates (6) the letters patents (7), by which his Majeſty declared, that *he did not deſign to include his ſubjects of the pretended reformed Religion, in the oath he took, and in the ſolemn declaration he made at his coronation* TO EMPLOY HIS SWORD AND ALL THE NECESSARY MEANS FOR THE EXTIRPATION OF HERESY. Theſe two beautiful paſſages in favour of a toleration of Religion are inſerted in a work of Monſieur Colomiés (8).

(5) Tom. 3. liv. 5. chap. 2. pag. m. 631.
(6) In book the 8th, pag. 299.
(7) They were regiſtred in the Parliament Auguſt the 4th 1616.
(8) Intitled, *Rome Proteſtante*, pag. 65, &c.

[*A*] *I mention him only with a deſign to correct ſome blunders in Moreri's Dictionary.*] I. The interview between Pope Clement VII and Francis I at Marſeilles did not happen in the year 1552, but in the year 1532. II. Cardinal de Grammont was not promoted to the Biſhopric of Poitiers, as a reward for his pains, becauſe he had perſuaded the Pope to conſent to this interview; for he was already poſſeſſed of that Biſhopric when he ſet out from France to go and negotiate with Clement VII. III. Theſe words, the King *gave him the Archbiſhopric of Bourdeaux and of Toulouſe: and he went to take poſſeſſion of them*, deſerve to be criticiſed upon; for in their moſt natural ſenſe they ſignify, that this Cardinal was preferred to thoſe two Archbiſhoprics at one and at the ſame time, which is falſe. And beſides, one does not know whether he went to take poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhopric of Bourdeaux, or of that of Toulouſe; Moreri's expreſſion does not determine it. IV. It is not true that this Cardinal died before he took poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhopric of Toulouſe. He took poſſeſſion of it by proxy October the 27th 1533, and in perſon the 15th of March following. V. The caſtle of Balura is a chimera; he ſhould have ſaid the caſtle of *Balma*. The Cardinal died there March the 26th (1) 1534. This caſtle belongs to the Archbiſhops of Toulouſe, and is but at a ſmall half league's diſtance from the City. VI. If the Cardinal laboured under an hectic fever, it did not come upon him when he went to take poſſeſſion of his Archbiſhopric. Moreri ought to have ſaid, that this Prelate's journey to Rome threw him into a long fit of ſickneſs, of which he died eleven days after he had taken poſſeſſion of his Archbiſhopric. Does a man die in ſo little time of an hectic fever? But the wonder is, that Catel (2), one of the Authors quoted by Moreri, is the very Writer who furniſhes me with theſe corrections. What does that man mean to quote Authors he never read? Catel corrects a blunder of John du Bouchet, concerning the name of the caſtle (3); ſo that Moreri might have known the true name of that building.

(1) Moreri ſays March the 24th.
(2) *Memoires de l'Hiſtoire du Languedoc*, liv. 5. pag. 945.
(3) Du Bouchet ſays that the Cardinal died at the place called Abalme, belonging to the Archbiſhopric, at two leagues diſtance, near Toulouſe.

GRAMOND (GABRIEL BARTHOLOMEW DE) in Latin *Gramondus*, Preſident in the Parliament of Toulouſe, and ſon of the ſenior Counſellor in the ſame Parliament [*A*], wrote an Hiſtory which is eſteemed [*B*]. I have read in a German Author a remarkable particular, the truth of which I queſtion very much [*C*], and which if it were true would be very glorious to the Preſident de Gramond. Patin's letters

[*A*] *He was the ſon of the ſenior Counſellor in the Parliament of Toulouſe.*] This ſenior Counſellor's name was *Bartholomew de Gramond*. He was a man eminent for his great virtue, and accompliſhed honeſty. His ſon paſſes this encomium upon him, at the ſame time that he relates an action of him becoming a Courtier rather than a Senator who is zealous for the preſervation of order and decency. He obſerves (1) that Monſieur de Mommorenci, Governor of Languedoc, required that his wife ſhould be received in all the Cities of his Government with ſuch marks of diſtinction as were never uſed before in ſuch a caſe. He deſired more particularly that the Magiſtrates of Toulouſe would ſend armed men to meet her. His requeſt was ſeveral times rejected, and they repreſented to him, that plays, dances, and muſick were the proper pomp of a Lady's reception; but that military honours were only deſigned for thoſe who have an authority in the armies. Bartholomew de Gramond was of another opinion; for he voted that the Ducheſs of Mommorenci be received as her huſband deſired; he was deputed by the Parliament to the Capitouls (2), and perſuaded them to comply with the Governor's deſire. This happened in the year 1619. We do not find in this the leaſt footſtep of the ancient Roman gravity. Our Hiſtorian would have ſaid ſomething much more to his father's glory, could he have obſerved, that the Parliament's Deputy confirmed the *Capitouls* in their reſolution to reject the innovation which Monſieur de Mommorency required of them for his wife. Such a conduct would have been a proof that they knew how to make uſe of Tiberius's wife counſel, *moderandos fœminarum honores* (3), i. e. "the honours paid to women ought to "be reſtrained," and the Orarion of Severus Cæcina a Senator of Rome under that Emperor. His Oration proved indeed ineffectual; but ought we to wonder at it? Rome had forgot all her great and noble maxims. Obſerve that this Senator propoſed that the Governors of Provinces ſhould not be permitted to take their wives with them into their governments (4). He urged very ſtrong arguments to ſupport his opinion.

(1) Gramond, *Hiſt. Galliæ*, lib. 3. pag. m. 213, *ad ann.* 1619.
(2) Thus they who preſide in the Town-houſe of Toulouſe are called.
(3) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 1. cap. 14.
(4) Idem, ibid. lib. 4. cap. 33.

[*B*] *He wrote an hiſtory, which is eſteemed.*] It is divided into eighteen books and contains an account of the tranſactions in France, from the death of Henry IV to the year 1629 (5). It was printed at Toulouſe in the year 1643. Foreigners judged it worthy to be reprinted by them, both in Holland and in Germany (6). I make uſe of the edition of Mentz, 1673, in 8vo. This Author's ſtyle is a little too conciſe, and not natural enough; but it ſhews that the Preſident de Gramond underſtood the Latin tongue very well. He had publiſhed at Toulouſe in the year 1623 a particular Hiſtory of the War which Lewis the Juſt * carried on againſt his Proteſtant ſubjects.

(5) And not to the year 1639, as Moreri aſſerts.
(6) Obſerve that the German Authors quote him very often. *See amongſt others* Pellerus in his *Politicus ſceleratus impugnatus.*
* Or Lewis XIII.

[*C*] *I have read in a German Author a remarkable particular, the truth of which I queſtion very much.*] Chriſtian Funccius aſſerts, that the Preſident de Gramond following Thuanus's example in his boldneſs of writing the truth, and diſcovering the errors of the adminiſtration, and the faults of the perſons of the higheſt rank, exaſperated a great many perſons againſt him, ſo that he was not ſafe even in his own native place. *In eo Thuano par quod intrepide dicat, quid ſentiat, non diſſimulans graviſſima aulæ & magnatum peccata, indeque idem quod Thuanus, fatum expertus. Simul enim ac prima pars hiſtoriæ prodiit, multorum incurrit odia, ita ut vix Tholoſæ tuto vivere potuerit. Quare non prodiit tenus hac, niſi pars prima; ſi altera ſuccederet, opus eſſet incomparabile, vel non niſi cum ipſa antiquitate comparandum. Arcaniſſima enim Reip. Gallicæ author penetraverat* (7). i. e. "Being equal to Thua- "nus in this, that he freely ſpeaks what he thinks, and "does not conceal the greateſt errors of the Court, nor "of the Nobility; for which reaſon he met with the "ſame fate as Thuanus. For no ſooner was the firſt "part of his Hiſtory publiſhed, but it raiſed the "hatred of a great many perſons againſt him, ſo that "he could hardly be ſafe at Toulouſe. This is the "reaſon why nothing but the firſt part of his Work "has been publiſhed yet. If the reſt were added to it, "it would be indeed an incomparable Work, or at "leaſt not to be compared but with the writings of "the Ancients. For the Author had dived into the "Myſteries of State." Monſieur Graverol an Advocate of Nimes, who had a great correſpondence at Toulouſe, and of whom I have aſked ſome account of this, acquainted me with ſeveral particulars in his Anſwer, but there was nothing by which I could know that he ever heard of any ſuch thing.

(7) Chr. Funccius, tom. 1. *Orbis Impor.* pag. 443. *apud* Konig, *Biblioth.* pag. 358.

ters are not very proper to support the German Author's assertion [*D*].

[*D*] *Patin's Letters are not very proper to support the German Author's assertion.*] Guy Patin is so far from representing Gramond as a man who suffered for his sincerity, that on the contrary he stiles him a base flatterer. I am apt to think that he exaggerates, and that after all the extreme to which the German Author runs would be less to blame than Patin's exaggeration. However it be, here follow the words of the latter. "I "have by me the President de Gramont's History. "He was a good old man, but of a weak and bigotted mind. He endeavoured to get Memoirs, that "he might continue his History to the death of the "late King: but Cardinal Mazarin would not give "him that employment. He died lately at Toulouse "(8). His History is but indifferent, and infinitely "inferior to that of the President Thuanus. It abounds "with falsities, and with flatteries unworthy a man of "honour. When it was printed off and ready to be "exposed to sale, Monsieur de Gramont caused fifteen "half sheets to be reprinted, that he might more effectually flatter Cardinal de Richelieu, who was then "in the highest degree of the King's favour. This "good man imagined that no expressions were strong "enough to commend him: but he got nothing by it; "for the Cardinal came to die (9)."

(8) We may infer from thence that Konig is mistaken, who places his death under the year 1672; for this Letter of Patin is dated Sept. 13, 1654.

(9) Patin, Lettre 90. tom. 1. pag. 365.

GRAMONT (SCIPIO DE) Sieur de St. Germain and Secretary of the King's Closet, was a native of Provence. I have observed in another place (*a*), that he saw at Rome the funeral solemnities of Monsieur Peirescius, and that he died some time after at Venice. He wrote some books [*A*], and amongst others one intitled, *Le Denier Royal: Traité curieux de l'Or & l'Argent.* i. e. "The Royal Penny: A curious Treatise con-"cerning Gold and Silver." Naudé commends this Work [*B*]. It is in Octavo printed at Paris in the year 1620.

(*a*) In the Remark [*C*] of the article PEIRESCIUS.

[*A*] *He wrote some Books.*] He publish'd at Paris in the year 1614, *L'Art des Consequences*, 8vo. i. e. "The "Art of drawing consequences." *De la nature, qualité & prerogatives admirables du Poinct.* i. e. "Of the "nature, propriety, and admirable prerogatives of "the Point;" in the year 1619, 8vo. *Abregé des Artifices, traitant de plusieurs inventions nouvelles, & surtout d'un secret & moyen exquis pour entendre & comprendre quelle langue que ce soit dans un an, même la Latine & la Greque.* i. e. "A Compendium of the "Arts, treating of several new inventions, and espe-"cially of a secret, and an exquisite method to learn "and understand in one year only any language what-"soever, even the Greek, and Latin Tongues." This Book was printed at Aix in Provence in the year 1640, in 8vo.

[*B*] *Naudé commends his* Royal Penny.] His words are as follow. *Quoniam res ipsa* (vectigalium impositiones) *plerumque à necessitate dependet, aut Principum voluntate, quæ leges non admittunt, inde est, quod pauci admodum reperti sunt, qui de illis Politicum quicquam monere voluerint. Quare unicum tantummodo proferam* Scipionem Gramontium; *ex cujus Nummo Regio, Gallicè quidem edito, plurima depromi possunt, quæ rem ipsam præclarè illustrent, simulque legentium animos reficiant dulci pabulo variæ lectionis, & gravissima diversarum observationum varietate* (1). i. e. "The laying of "duties being generally owing to a necessity, or de-"pending on the will of Princes, neither of which ad-"mit of any law, hence it is, that there are very few "Authors, who ventured to give a man, who studies "Politicks, any directions upon this subject. I shall "therefore mention but one, namely Scipio de Gra-"mont, whose *Royal Penny*, written indeed in French, "contains a great many things, which serve to clear "up this subject, at the same time as they will delight "the Reader with an agreeable variety of curious ob-"servations."

(1) Naud. *Bibliogr. Politic.* cap. 13. pag. 543. edit. Crenianæ.

GRANDIER (URBAN), Curate and Canon of Loudun, burnt alive for a Magician, was the son of a Notary-Royal of Sablé, and was born at Bovére near Sablé. He was a good preacher, for which reason the Monks of Loudun soon entertained a great envy against him, and at last a great hatred, after he had strongly urged in a Sermon the necessity of confessing one's sin to the Curate at Easter. He was a handsom man, of an agreeable conversation, neat in his dress, and cleanly in his person, which made him be suspected of loving the fair-sex and being beloved by them [*A*]. In the year 1629 he was accused of having had a criminal conversation with some women in the very Church of which he was a Curate. The Official condemned him to resign all his Benefices, and to live in penance. He brought an appeal, this sentence being an incroachment upon the Civil Power, and by a decree of the Parliament of Paris he was referred to the Presidial of Poitiers, in which he was cleared. Three years after some Ursuline Nuns of Loudun were thought by the vulgar to be possessed with the Devil [*B*]. Grandier's enemies soon spread

[*A*] *He was suspected of loving the sex and being beloved by them.*] It is observed in the Mercure François (1), that *Urban Grandier was a majestic but proud man, who had some reading, and a pretty good judgment; who was also endowed with some perfections natural and acquired; but who by a complication of extraordinary vices, and particularly of fornication and lasciviousness had . . . prostituted the dignity of his character*; and that when he made interest for the place of Director of the Ursulines, his intention was *to turn their Convent into a dishonest Seraglio, and to make of all the beautiful Virgins there, as many concubines.* In the Letter of the Sieur Seguin a Physician of Tours it is asserted (2), that "the very friends of Grandier acknowledged, that "he led such a debauched life, that it could not be "called by any other name but that of impiety; that "he profaned the most sacred things, and openly dis-"graced that very Religion, which he preached with "some reputation." You may have observed in the Text of this Article, that he was charged with lying with women in the very Church of which he was Curate. Monsieur Menage who relates this, observes only in the notes, that he was accused of adultery, but he does not say that it was with the wife of a Magistrate of Loudun. Monsieur de Monconis asserts it (3) upon the credit of the Superior of the Ursulines. The account published in Holland in the year 1693 leaves us no room to doubt, but this Priest was a lascivious and proud man.

(1) Tom. 20. pag. 748.

(2) Ibid. pag. 777.

(3) Voyages, Part 1. pag. 9.

[*B*] *Some Nuns of Loudun were thought by the vulgar to be possessed with the Devil.*] Monsieur Menage (4) is not content with this clause (the vulgar) but he adds immediately; "For with regard to the learned, most "of them asserted that these Nuns were not out "of order; since notwithstanding all that was said to "the contrary, none of the three marks of a true pos-"session according to the Roman Ritual, could be ob-"served in them; these marks are Divination, "the understanding of languages, which one never "learnt, and a supernatural strength of the body." He

(4) *Remarques sur la Vie de Guillaume Ménage*, pag. 340.

ſpread the report that he was the Author of that poſſeſſion, and accuſed him of witchcraft, which ſeems very odd; for if they imagined it was in his power to ſend the Devil into people's bodies, they ought to have dreaded to exaſperate him [C], they ought to have had ſome regard for him, leſt he ſhould give them up to a legion of Devils. However it be; they charged him with witchcraft. The Capuchins of Loudun, his moſt bitter enemies, thought that in order to make the charge ſucceed according to their wiſhes, it was very proper to ſtrengthen themſelves with Cardinal de Richelieu's powerful authority. For which purpoſe they wrote to Father Joſeph their fellow-Capuchin, who had great credit with the Cardinal, that Grandier was the Author of a Libel intitled, *La Cordonniére*

He quotes two Books which were written againſt this pretended poſſeſſion: the one written by Duncan, a famous Scotſman, and a Phyſician of Saumur; the other James Boutreux Sieur d'Etiau, a learned man of Angers; and he tranſcribes what Claudius Menard, Lieutenant of the Provoſtſhip of Angers obſerves, in his Catalogue of the Writers of the Province of Anjou, concerning this Book of James Boutreux. *Laudunenſis Theatri ſcenam aggreſſus, Parochi Granderii tepidatas ſilentio longo favillas memoriamque ſcripto vindicare auſus, dubiæ quæſtionis thema renovavit, ut triſtes virginum male tractarum pœnas, vel exercitæ potius trophæa virtutis ad ſcurrilia planorum ludibria, vindicandique & ſuppoſiti in Granderium, ut credi vult, maleficii miniſteria perſonata traduceret, grandi certe mentis fiducia, calami ſcriptique libertate, neſcio an ceſſura feliciter.* i. e. "Coming to ſpeak of the great event that happened at Loudun, he ventured to vindicate the memory of the Prieſt Grandier, and his aſhes which had been a long while cold and forgotten; and treated this dubious queſtion again, in order to expoſe the ſufferings of the unhappy virgins, or rather the trophies of a virtue that has been tried, to the ſcandalous railleries of wicked perſons, and to clear Grandier of the ſuppoſed witchcraft (as he would make us believe it was) by traducing thoſe who feigned to be poſſeſſed. This ſhewed indeed a great courage in him, and a great freedom in writing; but I do not know whether he ſucceeded according to his expectation." See below the Remark [I]. Now as to what Monſieur Menage obſerves, namely that the underſtanding of languages, which is *one of the three marks of a true poſſeſſion*, was wanting in theſe Nuns, it is proper to obſerve, that the Sieur Seguin, a Phyſician of Tours, relates, that "Monſieur de Launai Razilli ſpoke to them in the language of the *Taupinanboux*, and that they anſwered him in the ſame language. Now, *adds he*, I believe this Gentleman more than I do my ſelf; and I quote his authority, becauſe you know him to be a man worthy to be credited (5)." But ſince Monſieur Menage, who knew what this Letter contains, and all the ſtories that had been ſpread abroad concerning the knowledge of languages aſcribed to theſe Nuns, does yet aſſert, that they did not ſhew by this ſign, that they were really poſſeſſed, it appears by this, that we ought not to depend much on ſuch kinds of accounts. What Monſieur de Balzac obſerves in his *Converſations* deſerves to be tranſcribed here. *If he were to be charged with witchcraft*, ſays he (16), *becauſe he happened to gueſs right . . . the Devils, with whom he correſponded, muſt be only the black-guards of Lucifer's Troops. They muſt be leſs learned than the Devils of Loudun, who yet did not go beyond the third form in their ſtudy of the Latin Tongue, as one of the Cardinal de Richelieu's Courtiers obſerved. Laſtly they muſt be of that order of Devils, who are ſtill but ſchool-boys, and who in Theodorus's Orations commit blunders in the numbers, and language, and tranſgreſs in their verſes the rules of Quantity and Grammar* (7). We ſhall now give ſome proofs of the ignorance of the Devils of Loudun. *The Maſs being finiſhed Barré came to the* Superior *to give her the Sacrament, and to exorciſe her: and holding the Hoſt in his hand, he ſpoke to her in theſe words,* Adora Deum, Creatorem tuum; Worſhip God, thy Creator. *Being preſſed to anſwer, ſhe ſaid,* Adoro te, I worſhip thee. Quem adoras? Whom doeſt thou worſhip? *asked the the Exorciſt ſeveral times; upon which ſhe replied,* Jeſus Chriſtus, *with ſuch motions, as though ſhe had ſuffered a very great violence. Daniel Drouin, Aſſeſſor of the Provoſtſhip, could not forbear ſaying pretty loud,* Here is a Devil, who is not congruous in his ſpeech. *Barré changing his phraſe, aſked the poſſeſſed Lady,* Quis eſt quem adoras? Who is he, whom thou worſhippeſt? *He hoped ſhe would ſay again,* Jeſus Chriſtus; *but ſhe anſwered,* Jeſu Chriſte. *Upon which ſeveral perſons were heard crying aloud,* This is falſe Latin. *Barré boldly maintained, that ſhe had ſaid,* Adoro te, Jeſu Chriſte; I worſhip thee, O Jeſus Chriſt (8).

(8) *Hiſtoire des Diables de Loudun*, printed at Amſterdam in 1693, pag. 57.

Here follows a very ſmart raillery againſt the Capuchin, who directed Martha, who pretended to be poſſeſſed. It was aſſerted, that ſhe had two Devils in her body, the one called Beelzebub, and he other Aſtaroth. The Judges of Angers examined them both in Greek and Latin; Beelzebub anſwered in a paſſion, "that if "he had a mind to it, he would anſwer as well in "Greek as in Latin. The Capuchin, to afford him "an excuſe, ſaid, friend Beelzebub, there are ſome hereticks here, and that is the reaſon why you will "not ſpeak. He began to ſpeak Latin with Aſtaroth, "who deſired to be excuſed, becauſe he was too young "ſtill (α). Beelzebub's excuſe was, that he was a poor "Devil. Upon which there aroſe great diſpute amongſt the Judges, to know whether or not the Devils were obliged to go to School. The Civilians "maintained that the underſtanding of all languages "was the *proprium quarto modo* † of all Demoniacks; "like that of Cartigni in Savoye, who was examined in ſixteen languages with this token, that the "Miniſters of Geneva durſt not venture to exorciſe "him. Thoſe of Angers were more bold, for they "began the exorciſm after this manner: *Commando "tibi ut exeas Beelzebub & Aſtarot, aut ego augmentabo "veſtras pœnas, & vobis dabo acriores.* i. e. "I "command you, Beelzebub and Aſtaroht, to go out of "that body, otherwiſe I ſhall increaſe your ſufferings, "and make you undergo a ſeverer puniſhment. The "ſecond time he ſpoke more ſtoutly; *Jubeo exeatis "ſuper pœnam excommunicationis majoris & minoris.* i. e. "I order you to go out, upon pain of the greater "and the leſſer excommunication. Laſtly, he added in a paſſion, *Niſi vos exeatis, vos relego & confino "in infernum centum annos magis quam Deus ordinavit* "(9). i. e. "If you will not go out, I baniſh and "confine you to hell for an hundred years longer than "God has ordered." I do not doubt but this is a mere invention of the Author.

† What is proper to all of them, to them alone, and always.

(9) *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy*, liv. 1. chap. 6.

* (α) This is an alluſion to theſe words of Lucifer to Aſtaroth, in the *Conception à Perſonnages*, i. e. "The "Conception repreſented by Actors," *folio* 45 *verſo*.

Aſtaroth, ne parle jamais:
Tu es encore trop novice.
That is,
"Aſtaroth, you ſhould never ſpeak:
"For you are yet a young beginner." CRIT. REM.

[C] *If they imagined it was in his power to ſend the Devil into people's bodies, they ought to have dreaded to exaſperate him.*] Monſieur Menage was ſo delighted with this obſervation, that after he had inſerted it in William Menage's Life (10), he again adorned his Notes upon that Life with it. It will be proper to ſee how he ſpeaks in French, the Latin words are in the margin. "They charged Grandier with Magick, "the uſual crime of thoſe, who are guilty of none; "and which, according to the excellent thought of "Apuleius, who was formerly accuſed of the ſame "crime, is not believed by the very perſons who charge "others with it: for if a man was fully perſuaded "that another can put him to death by the magical "art, he would be afraid to exaſperate him, if he "were to charge him with this abominable crime." How reaſonable ſoever this argument may appear, I cannot but think that there have been perſons, who imagined, that thoſe they accuſed of magick, were really

(10) *De Maleficio fingit ſe oſſentiri* (Armandus Richelius) *nam ut verè Apuleius & ipſe maleficii reus poſtulatus, id genus crimen non eſt ejus accuſare qui credit; accuſare enim eo crimine is eum timeret, quem vi tantaminum poſſe tantum fateretur.* Menag. *in Vita Guillelmi Menagii*, pag. 83.

(5) *Mercure François*, tom. 20. pag. 777.

(6) Entretien 17.

(7) See the *Nouvelles de la Republiques des Lettres*, March 1684, pag. 10. of the ſecond edition.

OBSERVATIONS upon the perſons poſſeſſed with the Devil underſtanding languages unknown to them before.

nière ae Loudun [*D*] ; i. e. " The Woman-ſhoemaker of Loudun ;" which was very injurious to the Cardinal's perſon and to his family. This great Miniſter, amongſt a number of noble perfections, laboured under this defect, that he would perſecute to the higheſt degree the Authors of the Libels that were publiſhed againſt him ; ſo that Father Joſeph having perſuaded him [*E*] that Grandier was the Author of the *Cordonniére de Loudun*, he wrote immediately to Monſieur de Laubardemont, Counſellor of State, who was his creature, and who by the King's order took care to ſee the fortification of the Caſtle of Loudun demoliſhed, to make a diligent enquiry into the affair of the Nuns, and he gave him ſufficiently to underſtand, that he deſired to deſtroy Grandier. Monſieur de Laubardemont had him arreſted in December 1633, and after he had thoroughly examined this affair, he went to meet the Cardinal, and take proper meaſures with him. July the 8th 1634 Letters Patent were drawn up and ſealed to try Grandier. Theſe Letters were directed to Monſieur Laubardemont, and to twelve Judges choſen out of the Courts in the neighbourhood of Loudun ; all men of honour, indeed, but very credulous, and for their great credulity they were choſen by Grandier's enemies [*F*]. Auguſt the 18th (*a*) 1634, upon the evidence of Aſtaroth [*G*], a Devil of the Order of the Seraphims, and the Chief of the poſſeſſing Devils, of Eaſas, of Celſus, of Acaos, of Eudon,

(*a*) Mr. Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie de Guil. Menage*, p. 342, ſays the 8th; but he is miſtaken.

really guilty : for in the firſt place we ought not much to expect, that a man will act coherently. Secondly, it is generally imagined that a Sorcerer has no longer any power as ſoon as his cauſe is come before a Court of Judicature. Laſtly, men think that a Magician will not exert his power againſt his accuſers ; ſince this would be furniſhing proofs againſt himſelf.

[*D*] *They wrote to Father Joſeph . . . that Grandier was the Author of a Libel intitled*, La Cordonniére de Loudun.] The reaſon of this title was, that a ſhoemaker's wife was ſuppoſed to ſpeak in that libel. Monſieur Menage imagined that the ſilly ſtuff with which this ſatyr abounds, is a ſtrong proof that Grandier did not write it (11), and he heard Monſieur Bouillaud aſſert, it was certain Grandier was not the Author of that Libel (12). Monſieur Bouillaud, who was a native of Loudun, had been particularly acquainted with that man (13). See in the account printed at Amſterdam (14) with how much artifice they made uſe of this ſatyr to deſtroy Grandier.

(11) *Granderii non eſſe tot ineptiæ quibus ſcatent arguunt.* Idem, ibid.

(12) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie de Guillaume Ménage*, pag. 343.

(13) Ibid. pag. 341.

(14) Pag. 99.

[*E*] *Father Joſeph having perſuaded Cardinal de Richelieu.*] I have read ſomewhere that he encouraged this farce, with a deſign to frighten Lewis XIII, and to keep him under, by ſtories of witchcraft, which were continually buzzed into his ear. This is not at all probable ; though it muſt be confeſſed, that the greateſt genius's are, generally ſpeaking, perſons who are the leaſt diſpoſed to neglect thoſe occurrences which ſeem to be the moſt ridiculous, and the moſt abſurd. I ſpeak of thoſe elevated minds, that govern a State. Their extenſive penetration makes them diſcover ſprings where there ſeem to be none : it is becauſe they know better than other men, of what uſe a mere trifle may be ; it is becauſe they are better acquainted with the weakneſs of mankind : they know better what the ignorance and weakneſs of ſome, and the wickedneſs of others can produce. We ought not therefore always to argue thus. Such a thing is ſo abſurd, ſo mean, ſo ridiculous, that a man of wit and judgment would never mind it ; it is therefore falſe that ſuch a Miniſter of State made uſe of it ; invented it : that he invented it ; that he encouraged it. The Author of the Hiſtory of Nantz obſerves (15), that *ſeveral perſons imagined the farce that was acted during ſeveral years in the Nunnery of the Urſelines at Loudun, was a buſineſs at the bottom of which Religion was.* He means, I believe, that thoſe perſons thought this ſpring was ſet a going, with a deſign to undermine the edict of Nantz. He relates in a very agreeable manner, how ridiculous the anſwers were, which theſe poſſeſſed Ladies made. Obſerve that he aſſerts, that Grandier governed the Convent of the Urſulines ; but he gives us notice in the *Errata*, that he ſhould have ſaid Grandier viſited thoſe Nuns ſometimes. This laſt circumſtance does not agree better than the former with the account publiſhed in the year 1693. See page 25. where you will meet with theſe words. *It is at leaſt certain that theſe maidens had lived ſeven or eight years at Loudun before Grandier made them one ſingle viſit ; and when they were confronted with him in the year* 1634, *it appeared that they had never ſeen him. Father Tranquille has alſo aſſerted this in one of his books, adding, that the Curate never meddled with their affairs.*

(15) Tom. 2. liv. 10. pag. 538. under the year 1634.

This very moment I remember that it is in the *Sorberiana*, I read what I have obſerved in the beginning of this remark. The paſſage is very curious. We find there that Monſieur Quillet challenged the Devil that poſſeſſed the Nuns, and made him *quite aſhamed, ſo that all the Devils were put to a nonplus : that Monſieur de Lobardemont* (16) *was very much ſcandalized at it, and gave a warrant againſt Quillet, who finding that the whole mummery was nothing but an artifice of Cardinal de Richelieu to frighten the late King* (17), *who was naturally very much afraid of the Devil, judged that it was not ſafe for him, to continue at Loudun, nor even in France*, ſo that he retired *into Italy* (18).

(16) He ſhould have ſaid *Laubardemont.*

(17) This expreſſion is not right, it ſignifies Henry IV, and the Author intends to ſpeak of Lewis XIII.

Naudé confirms what relates to the challenger's diſgrace. Let us tranſcribe his words. " *Duncam* " and *Quillet* having excepted againſt the impoſture " of the Nuns of Loudun, the former was repri- " manded and ſeverely threatened for it by Car- " dinal de Richelieu, and the latter was obliged to " go and wait upon the Marquiſs de Cœuvre at " Rome (19).'

(18) Soberiana, *voce* Quillet. pag. m. 172.

(19) Naudé, *Dialogo de Maſcurat*, pag. 310.

[*F*] *The Judges . . . were all choſen by Grandier's enemies.*] I think that Monſieur Menage's obſervation upon this deſerves to be tranſcribed. *It is to be obſerved*, ſays he (20), *that the greateſt innocence cannot be proof againſt packt Judges. Let an accuſer chooſe Judges, and he will find means to have all the Janſeniſt Biſhops condemned to be burnt by Moliniſt Judges ; and the Moliniſt Biſhops by Janſeniſt Judges.* This affords matter of reflection (21). One *Denian*, Counſellor in the Preſidial of La Fléche, who was the Sollicitor in Grandier's trial, wrote a treatiſe concerning the poſſeſſion of the Nuns of Loudun (22), to vindicate the ſentence of the Commiſſaries.

(20) Menage, *Remarques ſur la Vie de Guillaume Menage*, pag. 342.

(21) See ſomething like this in the remark [*B*] of the article MONTAIGU (John).

(22) Menage, *Remarques, &c.* pag. 342.

[*G*] *Upon the evidence of Aſtaroth.*] This is what we infer from the ſecond *Verbal Proceſs* of the Exorciſts (23). There were three poſſeſſions. During the firſt all the Devils except one refuſed to tell their names ; they only anſwered that they were God's enemies. During the ſecond and third they made themſelves known by their names and dignities, and poſitively charged Grandier. It muſt be obſerved that they anſwered in French, though the Exorciſts ſpoke Latin to them. But what is infinitely more remarkable is, that their teſtimony was admitted by the Judges, as an evidence in a trial, in which the perſon accuſed was condemned to be burnt alive. Were theſe Judges ignorant of the character the Eternal Truth gives the Devil (24) ? The Sieur Seguin's reflections ſeem to me very ſurpriſing. *One would think*, ſays he (25), *that this was not ſo much a judgment of men, as of God, who forced the Devils from hell, for this wicked man's ſhame : for it is an admirable thing, how the Devils roſe up againſt him, and obliged him to acknowledge, that they were his accuſers. I leave the Sorbonne to judge whether the exception againſt them ought to have been admitted, when they ſpoke in God's name, and gave evident proofs of the truth they were forced to declare.* One is ſtruck with horror, when one conſiders that Chriſtian Judges thought

(23) In the *Mercure François*, tom. 20. pag. 760, 762.

(24) In St. John's Goſpel, chap. viii. ver. 44.

(25) *Mercure François*, tom. 22. pag. 777, 778.

Eudon; of Aſmodeus, of the Order of the Thrones; of Alex, of Zabulon, of Nephthalim, of Cham, of Uriel, and of Achas, of the Order of the Principalities, that is to ſay upon the evidence of the Nuns, who aſſerted that they were poſſeſſed with thoſe Devils, the Commiſſaries paſſed judgment, by which *Maſter Urban Grandier, Curate of St. Peter's Church in the market-place of Loudun, and Canon of the Church of the Holy Croſs, was declared well and duly attainted and convicted of the crime of Magic, Witchcraft, and Poſſeſſion, which by his means happened on the bodies of ſome Urſuline Nuns of Loudun, and of ſome other Lay-perſons mentioned in his trial*; for which crimes he was ſentenced to make honourable amends, and to be *burnt alive, with the magical covenants and characters which are in the Regiſter-Office, as alſo with the manuſcript wrote by him againſt the celibacy of the Prieſts* [*H*], *and his aſhes to be thrown up into the air* (*b*). Grandier heard this dreadful ſentence without any perturbation, and deſired that they would give him for his Confeſſor the Guardian of the Convent of the Cordeliers at Loudun, a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris. But they refuſed it, and gave him a Recollect, to whom he would not confeſs, ſaying he was his enemy, who contributed more than any other perſon to his ruin. They continued to refuſe him any other Confeſſor but this Recollect, and on his part he would abſolutely not accept of him; ſo that he only made his confeſſion in his heart to God; after which he went to the place of execution, and ſuffered his puniſhment with great courage and like a Chriſtian. It happened as he was on the wood-pile that a large fly, of that kind which are called drones, flew buzzing about his head. A Monk who was preſent at the execution, and who had read in the Council of Querzi (*c*) that the Devils always aſſiſt at peoples death in order to tempt them (*d*), and who had heard ſome perſons ſay that Beelzebub ſignifies in Hebrew the Lord or God of Flies, cried out immediately, that the Devil Belzebub was flying about Grandier to carry his ſoul to hell; upon which a very comical ſong was made. The poſſeſſion at Loudun continued a year longer after Grandier's death. Theophraſtus Renaudot, a famous Phyſician, and the firſt Author of the French Gazette, wrote Grandier's Elogium, which was publiſhed at Paris in looſe ſheets. All this is extracted from Monſieur Menage (*e*), who openly takes the Curate of Loudun's part, and calls the poſſeſſion of thoſe Nuns chimerical [*I*]. One would even think that he deſigned to refute

(*b*) See the *Mercure François*, vol. 20. pag. 771.

(*c*) *Apud Cariſiacum.* It is a village in Picardy.

(*d*) *Certum eſt, quia ad omnes homines, quando egrediuntur de corpore, veniunt Diaboli & ad juſtos & ad peccatores.* In a letter from the Fathers of that Council to Lewis King of Germany.

(*e*) *In Vita Guilelmi Menagii*, and in his Remarks upon that Life.

thought the exceptions againſt ſuch witneſſes void; for it is an article of faith, that theſe witneſſes are *the fathers of lies*. It would be to no purpoſe to ſay, that the efficacy of the exorciſms did not ſuffer them to tell lies; for the contrary was ſoon found by experience. It is declared in the ſecond *Verbal Proceſs* (26), that *the exorciſms were ſo long continued, that ſo many faſts were celebrated, ſo many prayers and petitions offered up to heaven, that the chief Devil and his aſſociates having promiſed to ſtrike the Magician ſo violently in ſuch a part of his body, that the mark would be viſible, and ſenſible, and having again acknowledged that they were obliged to yield to God's allmighty power, and declared that they would for ever leave that Nunnery, finally on the 13th of October 1632, the Devil got out of the body of the ſaid Superior, and gave notice of it by ſeven phlegms, which ſhe ſpit out of her mouth, to a great diſtance; the Devil who poſſeſſed ſiſter Clara got alſo out of her body, after which the Nuns lived without uneaſineſs, their bodies were no longer infeſted, and their Convent enjoyed an happy peace.* But the Devils did not keep their word; they deceived the Exorciſts; *for the 20th of November in the ſame year 1632, moſt of the Nuns were again troubled and poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits* (27).

(26) *Mercure François*, ibid. pag. 761.

(27) Ibid. pag. 762.

[*H*] *The manuſcript wrote by him againſt the celibacy of the Prieſts.*] Monſieur Menage, who *heard Monſieur Bouillaud ſay, there were no proof that Grandier compoſed this book* (28), does not deny that it was found amongſt his papers (29). He adds, that this book was pretty well wrote, that it was directed to a woman, and ended with theſe two lines.

(21) *Remarques*, pag. 343.

(29) It is hinted in the *Hiſtoire de l'edit de Nantes*, tom. 2. pag. 538. that Grandier had publiſhed this Work.

Si ton gentil eſprit prend bien cette ſcience
Tu mettras en repos ta bonne conſcience.

" If thy briſk genius does this ſcience taſte,
" Your conſcience will be ſafe, your heart at reſt.

He had no doubt read this in the Letter of the Sieur Seguin a Phyſician of Tours, which is inſerted in the *Mercure François*. But he ought not perhaps to have omitted what is alſo obſerved there, namely, that Grandier confeſſed upon the rack, that he had compoſed that work. This Phyſician is not in the wrong to aſſert (30), that " this Pamphlet gave room to ſuſpect that *Grandier* was " married. Obſerve, *continues he*, that is directed to " his deareſt concubine, whoſe name is every where " ſuppreſſed, as well as in the title-page. . . . " He adds, " I muſt confeſs that this Treatiſe ſeems to me " to be very well done, and conſiſtent to the " concluſion exclufively, which indeed is wrong, and " diſcovers the venom. There is nothing in it that " ſavours of Magic; it ſeems rather that one could in- " fer from it quite the reverſe, if there were not other- " wiſe ſufficient proofs of his being a Sorcerer." A little before he expreſſed himſelf thus: " Upon the " whole he (Grandier) was a man of a ſtout and re- " ſolute temper, and one may ſay, of a ſtrong ſoul. " He was ſuch that the Preſident told me he ad- " mired him upon his trial and lamented his loſs." The funeral Oration of Scevola Sammarthanus, which Grandier delivered at Loudun, is printed with Sammarthanus's Works (31).

(30) *Mercure François*, tom. 20. pag. 779.

(31) Menage, *Remarques*, pag. 346.

[*I*] *Monſieur Menage . . . . calls the poſſeſſion of thoſe Nuns chimerical.*] He thinks it very probable (32), that they were only troubled with a *ſuffocation of the matrix*; and he aſſerts (33), that Grandier *deſerves to be added to Gabriel Naudé's Catalogue of great Men unjuſtly charged with Magic.* He confeſſes (34) however, that he heard the Superior of the Urſulines of Loudun ſay, that " when ſhe was delivered of the Devils that tor- " mented her, an Angel engraved upon her hand the " words JESUS, MARY, JOSEPH, F. DE SALLES, and " that ſhe ſhewed him her hand, on which theſe words " were indeed ingraved, but ſlightly, as thoſe croſſes * " are ingraved, which are to be ſeen on the arms of " the pilgrims, who have taken a journey to the Holy " Land. He heard her ſay alſo, that this Angel en- " graved on the upper part of the outſide of her hand " firſt the name of *Francis de Salles*, that this name " was ſo civil as to ſlide down to make room for the " name of *Joſeph*, and for that of *Mary*, and that " they all three got lower ſtill, to make room for the " Name of JESUS." Monſieur Menage has been in the right not to declare poſitively, that he look'd upon all this as a mere impoſture; the Reader can eaſily gueſs the reaſon. But Monſieur de Monconis (35) leaves us no room to doubt of the impoſture; for which reaſon it will not be improper to tranſcribe here what he ſays of it. He went May the 8th, 1645, to pay a viſit to the Superior of the Urſulines, and as ſhe made him wait in the parlour above half an hour, he ſuſpected ſome artifice. He deſired her to ſhew him the charac-

(32) *In Vita Guil. Menagii*, pag. 82.

(33) *Remarques*, pag. 339.

(34) Ibid. gag. 344.

* * *See* Thevenot, chap. 56. of his *Voyage du Levant.*

(35) *Voyages*, Part 1. pag. 8, 9.

refute in general all that is ſaid of Magicians [*K*]. This would be getting free from one difficulty by another [*L*]. Since this article was compoſed they have publiſhed in Holland *Hiſtoire des Diable de Loudun* (*f*); i. e. "The Hiſtory of the Devils of Loudun;" and it appears evidently by that work, that the pretended poſſeſſion of the Urſulines was an horrible conſpiracy againſt Grandier's life. This account is very curious, and is ſupported with all the records that relate to this trial. I met there with a particular, which ſurpriſed me a little, with regard to the great outcry that was made againſt Father Coton [*M*]. You may find in the Life of a Jeſuit, who was one of the Exorciſts

(*f*) At Amſterdam, 1693 in 12mo. It has been tranſlated into Dutch.

ters which the Devil who had poſſeſſed her, ingraved on her hand when ſhe was exorciſed (36). She did it: "and he ſaw letters of a blood-colour on the outſide "of the left hand from the wriſt to the little finger; "the word JESUS was at the top of all, under it, towards the ſhoulder, was written *Maria*, under that "*Joſeph*, and lower ſtill, in the fourth line, *F. de* "*Sales*. She gave him an account of all the wickedneſſes of the Prieſt Grandier, who had been burnt "for ſending the Devil into the Nunnery. She told "him, how a Magiſtrate of the City *(of Loudun)*, "whoſe wife he had debauched, complained of it to "her, and how they had impeached him by a common conſent, notwithſtanding the ſtrong inclination "with which this wicked wretch filled her heart by "his magical art, againſt which God's mercy ſecured "her. At laſt Monſieur *de Monconis* took his leave of "her, and deſired to ſee her hand again, which ſhe "ſhewed him very civilly through the grate: he made "her obſerve, that the colour of the letters was not "ſo lively, as when ſhe firſt came, and that it appeared to him that the letters began to ſcale off, and "that the whole ſkin of the hand ſeemed to burſt, as "though it had been a pellicle of dried ſtarch. Touching it ſlightly with the end of his nail, he took off "part of the leg of the *M*, at which ſhe ſtartled, and "the place underneath continued as ſound as the other "parts of her hand. This was enough for him." I do not doubt of it: the diſcovery of ſo great an impoſture, which had infatuated a great many perſons, was an ineſtimable treaſure for a man of his character. You will find in the new Hiſtory of the Devils of Loudun, that *when old age had render'd her hand dry, ſkinny, and wrinkled, the drugs that were made uſe of to renew theſe names, could no longer make the impreſſion; whereupon the good old mother ſaid, that God had at laſt heard her prayers, and ſuffered now thoſe names to wear out, becauſe they occaſioned a thouſand perſons to come daily to trouble and importune her, and divert her from her devotions* (37). You will alſo find there, that Ceriſantes had the art of marking a name upon his hand (38), and that in the year 1652 the Queen's Maids of Honour ridiculed the Urſuline Nuns for thoſe ingraved names (39).

(36) According to Mr. Menage it was an Angel who engraved thoſe characters, when ſhe was delivered of her poſſeſſion.

(37) *Hiſtoire des Diables de Loudun*, pag. 469.

(38) Ibid. pag. 394.

(39) Ibid.

[*K*] . . . *One would even think, that he deſigned to refute in general all that is ſaid of Magicians.*] For indeed, he turns the firſt ſcene of this horrid tragedy into ridicule, and infers arguments from it in Grandier's favour. This firſt ſcene was as follows. One of the Nuns *reſting one night upon her little but chaſte couch* (40), perceived a phantom, very much like their late Father Confeſſor, who owned it was he, and returned from the grave to impart very extraordinary ſecrets to her. The party was put off till the next day at the ſame hour. The phantom did not fail to come, and received the ſame anſwer as the firſt time; namely that one could not enter upon any converſation with him without the Superior's conſent. The phantom thereupon became on a ſudden perfectly like Grandier. *He made love* to the Nun, *inticed her by his careſſes, which were both bold and immodeſt . . . . She ſtruggles, but no body aſſiſts her; ſhe grieves, and no body comforts her; ſhe calls, and no body anſwers; ſhe cries out, no body comes; ſhe trembles, ſhe ſweats, ſhe ſwoons away, ſhe calls upon the holy Name of Jeſus, and at laſt the phantom vaniſhes away.* I agree with Monſieur Menage, that this is very proper to clear Urban Grandier with regard to magick; but not in other reſpects. Could he not have bribed the door-keeper, without the aſſiſtance of the Devil Cedon to open him the gate (41)? Could he not get into the Nun's cell, by diſguiſing himſelf like a ſpirit, and wearing a maſk reſembling the late Confeſſor? The Nun's account ſeems plainly to hint, that the venereal act was accompliſhed. Monſieur Menage obſerves alſo (42), that no perſon of good ſenſe will imagine, that *it was in Grandier's power to diſpoſe of the Devils according to his will and pleaſure, and to ſend them to torment innocent Virgins, who were conſecrated to God.* Laſtly, he commends Lewis the fourteenth's juſtice and wiſdom, "who put a ſtop to "the proſecution of thoſe who were charged with ſorcery and witchcraft, by commuting the capital puniſhment into baniſhment with regard to ſeveral perſons, who by a Decree of the Parliament of Roan "were ſentenced to be burnt alive as guilty of that "crime; and, by a Decree of the Council of State "given April 26, 1672, the King ordered that thro' "the whole Province of Normandy the priſons ſhould "be opened to all the perſons who were kept there "for the ſame crimes, and that for the future perſons "accuſed of them ſhould be judged according to the "Declaration, which by the ſame Decree his Majeſty "promiſed to ſend to all the Courts of Judicature, in "order to regulate the proceedings of the Judges in "the tryals relating to Sorcery and Witchcraft."

(40) *Mercure François*, tom. 20. pag. 749.

(41) It is pretended that during the third poſſeſſion, he entered in the night-time through a door, which the Devil had opened for him. *Mercure François*, tom. 20. pag. 762.

(42) *Remarquet*, pag. 141.

[*L*] *This would be getting free from one difficulty by another.*] It is certain that the moſt incredulous and moſt ſubtle Philoſophers cannot but be puzzled with the phænomena relating to Sorcery. But as to Grandier, I do not know whether we might not ſay of him, what Olympias ſaid upon ſeeing her huſband's miſtreſs, whom ſhe found extremely beautiful and witty. *Do not charge her with witchcraft, all her charms are in her own perſon* (43). The Curate of Loudun was an handſom man, neat in his dreſs, and of an agreeable converſation. This was probably the magick with which he led the Superior of the Urſulines into temptation (44), and *made the Nuns ſuffer a violent and unchaſte flame* (45). The vow of continence and devotion not being capable to remove this diſorder, it was imagined to be ſupernatural. This fancy ſaved ſelf-love the ſhame of cheriſhing a long while an unlawful paſſion that was natural: the Nuns therefore thought they were bewitched; the whole Convent was in an uproar; and it was neceſſary, for the whole Society's reputation, to purſue the firſt ſteps they had taken. There is nothing more dangerous for perſons, who think that it is neceſſary for the good of the Church that they ſhould have a good character in the world, than to take falſe ſteps. This Superior of the Urſulines acted perhaps with ſincerity at firſt: but ſhe was no longer ſincere, when ſhe received Monconis's viſit: and yet ſhe was obliged to carry on the farce, in order to vindicate her former conduct. Thoſe who were well acquainted with all the particular perſons and circumſtances in the ſmall city of Loudun, when theſe deviliſh intrigues were carried on, could have unfolded the whole much better, than it could be done at preſent.

(43) See the Remark [*I*] in the article APULEIUS, where I quote Plutarch's Greek words.

(44) Monconis, *Voyages*, Part 1. pag. 9.

(45) *Mercure François*, tom. 20. pag. 761.

A few months after all this was written, I heard that a perſon of that Country was publiſhing at Amſterdam an accurate account of this ſtory. I found in it the confirmation of my conjectures: the Author of that account ſhews that the particular paſſions of ſome perſons were the true ſpring of this ſtrange Mummery; and if we may credit him, the Superior was not one ſingle moment ſincere.

[*M*] *The great out-cry that was made againſt Father Coton.*] He ſet down upon a piece of paper ſeveral things upon which he deſigned to examine a woman poſſeſſed with the Devil. Amongſt other queſtions he propoſed this, *Which is the paſſage in the holy Scripture, that is the moſt proper to prove a purgatory?* The Proteſtants and a great number of Roman Catholics exclaimed againſt this impious curioſity, and abuſed both Henry the fourth's Confeſſor, and the whole Order of the Jeſuits. And yet it is certain that this Father Confeſſor

Exorciſts of the Nuns of Loudun, ſeveral particulars concerning this affair; I ſhall tranſcribe two of them, one of which is very ſurpriſing [*N*].

(46) *Hiſtoire des Diables de Loudun*, pag. 371.

(47) Ibid. pag. 372.

(48) Ibid. pag. 373.

(49) Heideggerus, *Diſſertat. Select. Triacade*, pag. 98. *See alſo* Voetius, *Diſput.* tom. 3. pag. 622, 623.

(50) *Journal des Savans*, for May the 9th 1689, pag. 311. of the Dutch edition.

(51) His name was *Henry Marie Boudon*.

(52) *Journal des Savans*, for May 1689, pag. 310.

(1) *Jovius in Elogiis*, cap. 62.

(2) See the Advertiſement to the reader.

(3) *Hos Sibyllinos lentinus Jacobus varch, dus Lope Hiſtoriis Oriental & alii rant.*

(4) Ni tonio, *Hiſpan* pag. 4 that was d *Cajad* in Ita

(5) M *Legat Japa apud de Bi* 366,

(a) *Ex Mu Italico Mab ntii*, tom. 1. 176.

(b) *See* Gr winckel, *de præcedentiæ* 263, 320,

(2) *Ut Ma refert ex A de Graſſis enſi Facce Epiſcopo.* ibid.

feſſor did only follow the practice of his Church, except with regard to ſome queſtions which he would propoſe relating to political affairs. Did not the Exorciſt of Loudun aſk the Devil (46), *which is the beſt way by which a creature, who has ſtrayed from God, may return to him again?* Did he not aſk him (47), *whether ſince his fall he never taſted the ſweets of divine love, . . . and which is the ſtrongeſt tye that keep men united to the things of this world? . . .* (48) *whether there were ſome perſons in hell, who had had a lively ſenſe of divine love on earth?* The Devil made a full anſwer to all theſe queſtions, and even diſcovered ſeveral ſecrets of his policy, and the means to diſappoint it. Such queſtions have not been aſked at Loudun only; they are the cuſtomary ſtyle of the Exorciſts, as the Proteſtant Divines object againſt the Roman Catholicks. *Si quis attente legerit nupera Exorciſtarum ſcripta, ut Monachi Michaelis, Hiſtoriam Ludovici Gaufridi, & obſeſſarum mulierum, non ſatis mirari poterit, impietatem & ſtultitiam hominum, qui judicium controverſiarum fidei à dæmonibus expoſcunt, eos fingunt pœnitentiæ prædicatores, eos adigunt, ut preces ad Deum fundant, & omnia religionis & pietatis externa munia obeant* (49). i. e. "Whoever reads with attention the late Writings of "the Exorciſts, as for inſtance, that of the Monk Michael, the Hiſtory of Lewis Gaufridus, and of the "women poſſeſſed with the Devil, will find reaſons to "wonder at the impiety and folly of thoſe men, who "ſubmit the determination of the controverſies relating "to the Articles of Faith, to the determination of "the Devils; who ſuppoſe them to be the Preachers "of Repentance, who prevail upon them to pray "to God, and to perform all the outward acts of Religion and Devotion." So that it was only the animoſity and hatred men had againſt the Jeſuits, that made them exclaim ſo loudly againſt Father Coton's conduct, which would have paſſed unobſerved had it been any other perſon's. I do not mean the Proteſtants here. Men will never be reclaimed from that vice of having a partial reſpect for perſons.

[*N*] *I ſhall tranſcribe two particulars, one of which is very ſurprizing.*] I know them no otherwiſe but by Monſieur Couſin's Extracts. Here follows what I have read in his *Journal des Savans*, in the paſſage where he gives an account of Father Seurin's life (50). "Having mentioned this Father's feats againſt the Devil, "*the Author of his Life* (51) takes this opportunity to "prove at length, that the Nuns of Loudun were "really poſſeſſed with the Devil, and he proves it "chiefly by the authority of two of the greateſt ge"nius's of this Age. The one is Cardinal de Richelieu, who ſent to Loudun ſome Exorciſts main"tained at the King's expence. The other is my Lord "Montague, who having ſeen the Devils going out "of the body of Mother des Anges, was fully "perſuaded of the truth, and mentioned it to Pope "Urban VIII, when he abjured his hereſy and em"braced the Catholic Faith before him."

What I ſhall now obſerve is much more remarkable. You will ſee there a man, who literally gave his own body, to redeem that of Jeſus Chriſt: That is to ſay, who to get Chriſt's Body out of the Devil's hands, delivered himſelf up to the Devil. Read theſe words of the Journaliſt (52). "When Father Seurin was "exorciſing the Nuns of Loudun, who were poſſeſſed "with the Devil, the evil ſpirits declared that two "Magicians had taken three Hoſts with a deſign to "profane them. Father Seurin applied himſelf to "prayer, in order to obtain the delivery of his "maſter's body; and to redeem it, he conſented that "his own body ſhould be put in the power of the "Devils. His propoſal was accepted, and the exchange was made. The Devils got the three Hoſts "out of the hands of their agents, and brought them "to the foot of the Altar, where the holy Sacrament "was then expoſed to view, and one of the Devils en"tered the body of Father Seurin, who thus continued "poſſeſſed or obſeſſed almoſt all the remaining part of "his life."

GRAPALDUS (FRANCIS MARIUS) a learned man who lived in the ſixteenth Century. He was a native of Parma; and when his country, being delivered of the yoke of the French, ſubmitted again to Pope Julius II, he was choſen to be at the head of the embaſſy which was ſent to that Pope (*a*). His eloquence and beautiful ſhape were the reaſons why he was choſen to that employment (*b*). He made a very good Oration to Julius II, and publiſhed ſome verſes upon the ſubject he had treated in his diſcourſe. The Pope crowned him with his own hand after a very ſolemn manner in the Vatican. Grapaldus being encouraged by this poetical crown ſet about writing a great many verſes, which have been printed (*c*). The work in which he ſhewed his learning moſt, is that in which he deſcribes all the parts of a houſe [*A*]. He died of a retention of urine being above fifty years old (*d*).

(a) Jovius, *in Elogiis*, cap. 62.

(b) *A præſtanti facundia & inſigni corporis proceritate Legationis princeps.* Idem, ibid.

(c) *Ex* Jovii Elogiis, cap. 62.

(d) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *The Work in which he ſhewed his learning moſt, is that in which he deſcribes all the parts of a houſe.*] This is Paul Jovius's opinion, which is very judicious. *Sed multo uberius*, ſays he (1), *& latius ingenii famam propagavit, edito libro de partibus ædium, quo per optimas diſciplinas per ornatum diligenti cultura ingenium demonſtravit.* i. e. "But he gained a much greater and "more extenſive reputation by the Book he publiſhed "concerning the Parts of a houſe; by which he ſhewed "that he had improved his mind by a careful ſtudy of "polite Literature." This work has been printed ſeveral times. The firſt Edition is of Parma, by Anthony Quintianus; I do not know in what year it was printed; I know only that the Author publiſhed a ſecond Edition of it ſeven years after; it is larger than the firſt (2). Geſner mentions only the Editions of Baſil of 1533, and 1541 in 4to. The Edition I make uſe of is of Dort 1618 in 8vo.

GRASSIS (PARIS DE) deſerves very much to be blamed for his impoſition on the public. He compoſed the epitaph of a mule [*A*], and cauſed it to be engraved on a piece of marble, which he hid afterwards under ground in his vineyard. Some time after he ordered trees to be planted in the place where that marble was buried; and when they came and told him that they had found this inſcription, he gave it out for a particular which had been foretold concerning his mule. Men only laughed at this at firſt; nor was this piece of marble much minded for ſome time; but ſeveral years after it became famous, and paſſed with a great many perſons for an antique [*B*]; ſo that Thomas Porcacchi

[*A*] *He compoſed the Epitaph of a Mule.*] He feigned that one Publius Graſſus had raiſed this Monument to his Mule. The Inſcription begins thus. DISPEDIBUS SAXUM.

[*B*] *This Epitaph . . . paſſed with a great many perſons for an antique.*] Father Mabillon aſſerts it. *Viris eruditis nonnullis fucum fecit*, ſays he (1), *opinantibus id eſſe antiquum, ... Thomas Porcacchius inter alios hoc Epitaphium*

(1) Mabillon, *in Muſeo Italico*, tom. 1. pag. 176.

cacchi inſerted this epitaph in a book, as a genuine piece and really antient (*a*). Paris de Graſſis is not the only perſon that laid ſuch ſnares before the Antiquaries [*C*]. I ſhall obſerve by the by, that I think he is the ſame, who in the beginning of the ſixteenth Century was Maſter of the Ceremonies under ſeveral Popes, and Biſhop of Peſaro, and brother of Cardinal ACHILLES DE GRASSIS. His Journal was quoted in the writings that were publiſhed in the controverſy between the Republic of Venice and the Duke of Savoy about the right of precedency (*b*). His ceremonial has been publiſhed, and is eſteemed (*c*). He appeared very zealous againſt a plagiary; for it is of him that Couſin Preſident ſpeaks in the paſſage which you will find below [*D*].

(*a*) Ex *Muſeo Italico Mabillonii*, tom. 1. pag. 176.

(*b*) *See* Grafwinckel, *de Jure præcedentiæ*, pag. 263, 320, 329.

(*c*) *See* Naudé, *Bibliograph. Polit.* pag. m. 42.

GRASWINCKEL

Epitaphium pro genuino & antiquo habuit in libro funeralium: immo Alexander VII in Adverſariis ſuis notat id repertum fuiſſe prope ſanctum Petrum. i. e. "He has "a little impoſed upon the learned, who thought it "an Antique.... And Thomas Porcacchi, amongſt "others, inſerted it as genuine and ancient in his "Book concerning Burials: Nay Alexander VII ob"ſerves in his Memoirs, that it was found near St. "Peter's Church." He tells us that Sebaſtian Maccius gives an account of this impoſture in his Collection of ancient Inſcriptions, which is in manuſcript in Cardinal Chigi's Library. Maccius had this from Annibal de Graſſis Biſhop of Jaccentia (2).

(2) *Ut Maccius refert ex Annibale de Graſſis Bononienſi Jaccentiæ Epiſcopo.* Idem. ibid.

[*C*] *He is not the only perſon that laid ſuch ſnares before the Antiquaries.*] I ſhall relate but one inſtance of ſuch impoſtures, though it were an eaſy matter to compile a great many. Auguſt the 9th 1505 three ſtones were found near the Cape of Roco de Sintra in Portugal. There was upon thoſe ſtones a Latin Inſcription in old Letters, which contained a Prophecy. Here follows that Inſcription.

Sibylla vaticinium occiduis decretum,
Volventur ſaxa literis, & ordine rectis,
Cum videas Occidens Orientis opes.
Ganges, Indus, Tagus, erit mirabile viſu,
Merces commutabit ſuas, uterque ſibi.
Soli æterno, ac Lunæ decretum.

That is,

"The Sybils Decree and Prophecy to the inhabitants "of the Weſt. Stones with Letters ingraved on them "will be found, when the Weſt will ſee the riches of "the Eaſt. The Ganges, the Indus, and the Tagus, "a wonderful ſight? ſhall make an exchange of their "wares. Thus the eternal Sun and the Moon have "decreed it."

This was taken for an Oracle of the Sibyl (3), and ſome learned men endeavoured to explain theſe verſes; but it was at laſt diſcovered that Cajado a Portugueze Poet was the Author of them, and had buried thoſe ſtones in the ground, and cauſed them to be dug out, when he thought it a proper time. *Fraudem detexit* Caſpar Varrerius; *ſcilicet quo tempore Emmanuel Luſitaniæ Rex, per* Vaſcum Gamam, *navigationes in Indiam Orientalem feliciter tentâſſet*; *Ulyſſepone vixit* Hermicus Cajadus, *poeta celebris*, Angeli Politiani *diſcipulus* (4): *Hic tria marmora literis antiquis hoc vaticinium continentibus, incidi, & clam circa oppidum* Syntra *leviter terra tegi curavit. Poſtquam verò, tractu temporis, aliquam Antiquitatis ſpeciem contraxiſſent, amicos quoſdam, in villa ſua, circa quam hæc marmora occultata erant, convivio excepit; quibus ſtrenuè epulantibus nunciat Villicus, foſſorem marmora, ignotis literis inſcripta, inveniſſe; procul dubio Theſaurum eo loco defoſſum eſſe. Advolant omnes, inveniunt lapides, mirantur vaticinium, non ſane foliis inſcriptum: Rex hujus fraudis conſcius, ſtuporem tamen ſimulat, verſus aulicis deſcribendos tradit, ipſa vero marmora, tanquam ſanctiora κειμήλια, in gazophylacio religioſe ſervat* (5). i. e. "Caſpar Varrerius diſcovered the cheat: For at the time, when "Vaſco de Gama undertook with ſucceſs his navigation to the Indies, under the authority of Emanuel "King of Portugal, there lived at Liſbon a celebrated "Poet named Hermicus Cajado, Angelo Politiano's "diſciple. He cauſed this Prophecy to be ingraved in "ancient Letters on three marble ſtones, and ſent ſecretly into the neighbourhood of the place called "Syntra, and had it ſlightly covered over with earth. "Some time after, when theſe ſtones were become "ſomewhat like antiques, he invited ſome friends to "his country-ſeat, near which theſe ſtones were hid; "and whilſt he and his friends were at dinner, his "Farmer came and told them, that a man who was "digging, had found ſome pieces of marble, on "which ſome unknown letters were ingraved, and "that there was no doubt a treaſure buried in the "ground thereabout. They all ran to the place, "found the ſtones, and wondered at the prediction, "which indeed was not written on leaves: The King "himſelf, who knew the cheat, affected nevertheleſs "to be ſurprized; he ordered his Courtiers to explain "the verſes, and laid thoſe ſtones up amongſt his Col"lections, as a very ſacred curioſity." Some aſſert, that Cajado hoped to inſinuate himſelf by this artifice into the King's favour, and to get ſome money from him. *Poſtea tamen compertum eoſdem confictos & impoſitos fuiſſe a quodam Hermo Charado Luſitano, qui illos marmori inſcripſerat, defoderatque, ut ſitu humoreque terræ aliquantulum deformati, vetuſtatis indicium exhiberent; rurſuſque per mercenarias operas refoderat, ut hoc tam nobili atque peregregio Antiquitatis monumento, Regis* (Luſitaniæ Emanuelis) *gratiam, avide in Orientis opes intenti, pecuniamque aucuparetur, ut teſtantur Cæſar Orlandius, & Gaſpar Barrerius, quos refert Ortelius in Theatro magno tab. 5. novi orbis, & ab eo mutuatus Malvenda lib. 3. de Antichriſto cap. 16. Torniellus in Annalibus 2 tom. an. mundi* 3043, *num. 7. pag.* 48 (6). i. e. "However, it was found at laſt, that theſe verſes "had been forged by one Hermus Charadus, a Portu"gueze, who ingraved them on a piece of marble, "and buried it in the ground, that being ſome"what deformed by the moiſture of the earth, it might "ſeem to be ancient: he had it afterwards dug up by "ſome workmen, and preſented it to the King (Ema"nuel of Portugal) who was very eager after the riches "of the Eaſt, with a deſign to gain his favour, and "to get ſome money from him: as Cæſar Orlandius, "and Caſpar Barrerius aſſert, whom Ortelius quotes "in his great Theatre of the new World, Tab. 5. "from whom Malveda tranſcribes it, in his 3d Book of "the Antichriſt, Chap. 26, and Torniellus in the 2d "Vol. of his Annals, under the year 3043, num. 7. "p. 48."

(3) *Hos verſus Sibyllinos eſſe Valentinus Moranus, Jacobus Navarch, Ferdinandus Lopez in ſuis Hiſtoriis Indiæ Orientalis, ſibi & aliis perſuaſerant.* i. e. "Valentine Moranus, James "Navarch, Ferdinand Lopez "in his Hiſtory "of the Eaſt "Indies, imagined that theſe "were really Sibylline Verſes, "and endeavoured to make o"thers believe "it." Jo. Euſebius Nurembergius, *de Origine Sacræ Scripturæ*, lib. 3. cap. 3. *apud* Voetium, *Diſputat.* tom. 4. pag. 696.

(4) Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliot. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 433. ſays that *Politiano* was dead when *Cajadus* arrived in Italy.

(5) Montanus, *Legat. Belg. ad Japan.* pag. 15. *apud* Lomeierum, *de Bibliotb.* pag. 366, 367.

(6) Nierembergius, *de Orig. S. Script.* lib. 3. cap. 3. *apud* Voetium, *Diſput.* tom. 4. pag. 696.

[*D*] *It is of him that Couſin ſpeaks in the paſſage which you will find below.*] "Chriſtopher Mar"cel, nominated to the Biſhopric of Corfu, having pro"cured a copy of the Book, which Auguſtin Patricius "wrote under the Pontificate of Pope Innocent VIII, "concerning the Rites of the Roman Church, cauſed "it to be printed at Venice in the year 1516, and de"dicated it to Leo X, without mentioning in the leaſt "Auguſtin Patricius, who was the true Author of it, "and had been Maſter of the Ceremonies at Rome "from the time of Pius II, who was his uncle, and "gave him the ſurname of Picolomini, to the time of "Innocent VIII, under whom he corrected the Ro"man Pontifical, and wrote this Ceremonial. Paris "de Graſſis, who was the Maſter of Ceremonies under "Leo X, had no ſooner ſeen this Edition of Venice, "but he complained of it to his Holineſs as of an at"tempt, which could not be atoned for but by a fire, "which ſhould conſume all the copies with the Au"thor. The Pope, who had given a Licence for this "Edition, feigned to fall in a paſſion upon the Repre"ſentation of this zealous Maſter of the Ceremonies, "and appointed a Congregation to examine into that "affair. But Paris de Graſſis, notwithſtanding all his "care and diligence, could not prevent the ſeveral new "Editions of that Book, which were ſoon after pub"liſhed at Cologne and in other places (7)."

(7) *Journal des Savans*, for March the 7th 1689, pag. 141, 142. of the Dutch edition.

This is what we read in Monſieur Couſin's account of the ſecond volume of the *Muſeum Italicum*. I have looked into that ſecond volume ſince the firſt edition of my Dictionary; and this made me ſenſible of what Ovid aſſerts with a great deal of good ſenſe, that it is much more agreeable to drink the waters at the very ſpring. *Gratius ex ipſo fonte bibuntur aquæ*

GRASWINCKEL (THEODORE) a native of Delft, was a very learned Civilian in the ſeventeenth Century, and he has proved it by ſeveral works [*A*]. He was

quæ (8). I have found, that Paris de Graſſis's anger againſt the Archbiſhop of Corfu was not owing ſo much to that Prelate's aſcribing to himſelf a book of which he was not the Author, as to his divulging even with ſome alterations, thoſe ceremonies, which ought to be kept ſecret. He repreſents to Pope Leo X, in a letter he wrote to him (9), that he had been near ſixteen years Maſter of the Ceremonies, and that he ſhould think himſelf very much to blame, if he ſuffered them to be either corrupted or publiſhed, and that his predeceſſors ſhould be deprived of the praiſes that are due to them. He does not ſcruple to confeſs, that one cauſe of his complaint is, that the publiſhing of thoſe things, leſſens the veneration men ought to have for them, and makes that to be deſpiſed, which under the vail of ſecrecy and myſtery would be revered. *Quemadmodum juſti cujuſque Principis eſt curare, ne quiſquam ſuo jure fraudetur; ita, ſi diligenter inſpexerimus, ad quempiam alium non magis ſpectat quam ad Romanum Pontificem, ne ſacræ ſuæ ceremoniæ maculentur, neve aliqua in parte alterentur, ac præſertim ne corrumpantur: ſed & quod omnium principum eſt, ne prolatæ in vulgus velut proſtitutæ pontificalium ſacrorum exiſtimationem minuant, flocci faciant, & contemnantur* (10). i. e. "As it is the duty of every good "Prince to take care that none of his ſubjects be de- "prived of their right; ſo, if we duly conſider it, "it will appear to be chiefly the duty of the Popes, "to ſee that their ſacred ceremonies be not ſtained, "nor altered in any reſpect, and eſpecially that they "be not corrupted. But it is alſo the duty of all "Princes, to take care that the ſacred rites be not "expoſed by being publiſhed, whereby they would be "leſs eſteemed, ſlighted and deſpiſed." He inſtances in the conduct of the ancient Heathens, who would not ſuffer the myſteries of their Gods to come to the knowledge of the profane. He mentions particularly the conduct of the ancient Romans, and of King Tarquinius, who ſentenced Marcus Tullius to be thrown into the river, to puniſh him for giving the book of Ceremonies to be tranſcribed. Obſerve that Graſſis required that the Archbiſhop of Corfu's book be burnt with its Author, or that the Author at leaſt ſhould be puniſhed as it ſhould be thought proper. The Pope judged this petition reaſonable, and promiſed to have it examined in the following conſiſtory. *Hanc Epiſtolam cum in manibus Papæ dediſſem, legiſſetque libenter & avide, & acceptaſſet rationes & argumenta in ea per me allegata; verſus ad Cardinales aliquos, qui ſibi forte adhærebant, dixit me rationem habere ſuper petitionibus meis: & librum ceremoniarum nuper impreſſum omnino comburi ſimul cum falſo auctore, ſicut poſtulaſſem, aut ſaltem ipſum auctorem corrigi & caſtigari omnino debere prout præſentibus videretur. Itaque ad primum conſiſtorium rem & cauſam differre* (11). i. e. "When I had given this letter to the "Pope, he read it immediately with pleaſure, and "approved the reaſons and arguments I had ſet forth "in it; and turning himſelf to ſome Cardinals, who "happened to be near him, he told them that my "petition was well grounded, and that the Book of "Ceremonies lately printed ought by all means to "be burnt with its falſe Author, as I requeſted; or "at leaſt, that the Author ought to be reproved and "chaſtiſed, according as they ſhould think fit. He "therefore referred this affair to the next Conſiſtory." How this affair ended is not known; for there are ſome ſheets wanting in Graſſis's ceremonial, in the place where this account ſhould be continued (12). Father Mabillon is very near turning Paris de Graſſis's great zeal into ridicule; and he obſerves with ſome pleaſure (13), that the Archbiſhop of Corfu's book was not burnt. He aſſerts that the Roman Catholics, who have good ſenſe, do not regulate their veneration for the Pope by theſe ſecret ceremonies, but that they ground it on his being the head of the Church. It muſt nevertheleſs be granted, that this zealous aſſertor of ſecrecy was not in the wrong to maintain that the publiſhing of the myſteries of the Roman ceremonial would leſſen the veneration which the people had for it (14); for it is uſual with men much more to admire what they know not than what they know. He ſeems even to be ſorry that the Pontifical was publiſhed; by which, ſays he, to the contempt of the Prieſthood, the ceremonies contained in that book fall daily into the hands of the profane, and afford the Sectaries a continual opportunity to laugh at our Religion. *Sed utinam etiam & illa quæ dixi, ſecretiora forent & magis recondita. Non enim ea quotidie ad profanas manus in ſacerdotii contemptum, nec ad alienas ſectas in noſtræ religionis irriſionem devenire videremus* (15). However it be, we ought to ſay that he fell into too violent a paſſion againſt the Archbiſhop of Corfu; he loads him with injuries; and I do not know whether he did not abhor him as much as thoſe were antiently abhorred, who revealed the ceremonies of the myſteries of Ceres; men with whom none would go on board a ſhip, leſt they ſhould ſuffer with them the puniſhment they deſerved.

Eſt & fideli tuta ſilentio
Merces. Vetabo, qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, ſub iiſdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum: ſæpe Dieſpiter
Neglectus, inceſto addidit integrum (16).

"And juſt rewards the Gods decree
"For fair obedient piety;
"Nor he that ſcorns or ſcoffs his God
"Or blabs the myſteries abroad,
"Shall live in the ſame houſe, or ſail with me.
"Oft Jove doth heedleſs thunder throw,
"And mix the good and bad below."

Creech.

[*A*] *He ſhewed it by ſeveral works.*] He publiſhed at the Hague in the year 1642 a book *De Jure Majeſtatis*; i. e. "Of the Right of Majeſty," which he dedicated to the Queen of Sweden. He ſet down there ſuch principles as are the moſt favourable to Kings, and the moſt contrary to Buchanan's republican maxims. He aſſerted the claim of the Republic of Venice againſt the Duke of Savoy in their controverſy about precedency; for in the year 1644 he publiſhed a book *de Jure præcedentiæ inter ſereniſſimam Venetam Rempubl. & ſereniſſ. Sabaudiæ Ducem.* i. e. "Of "the Right of Precedency between the moſt ſerene "Republic of Venice, and the moſt ſerene Duke of "Savoy." He had a great while before given proofs of his zeal for the Republic of Venice: for in the year 1634 he publiſhed an anſwer to the *Squittinio*, which he intitled, *Libertas Veneta, ſeu Venetorum in ſe ac ſuos imperandi jus.* i. e. "The Liberty of Ve- "nice; or the Right of the Venetians to govern "themſelves and their Subjects." In the year 1652 he wrote againſt a Genoeſe, named Burgus, who aſſerted the ſame opinion with Selden, namely, that the ſea as well as the earth is ſubject to ſome States. *Maris liberi Vindiciæ adverſus Petrum Baptiſtam Burgum Liguſtici maritimi dominii aſſertorem.* i. e. "The "Liberty of the Sea aſſerted againſt Peter Burgus, "who maintains that the Genoeſe are maſters of the "Sea." This is the title of Graſwinckel's work (1), who the next year publiſhed a Treatiſe againſt Velvodus. I have alſo ſeen a Treatiſe of him *De Præludiis Juſticiæ & Juris*; i. e. "The Prolegomena of "Juſtice and Right," printed in the year 1660; he refutes a Portugueſe Civilian (2) in this work. He added to it a Diſſertation *De Fide Hæreticis & Rebellibus ſervandâ*; i. e. "That promiſes made to Heretics "and Rebels muſt be kept." I muſt not omit his *Strictura adverſus Felden*; i. e. "Critical Remarks "againſt Felden;" nor his Commentary upon Saluſt, and upon a Spaniſh Author *De Vita & Nece Caſſii & Bruti*; i. e. "Of the Life and Murther of Caſſius "and Brutus:" nor his Tranſlation of David's Pſalms in heroic verſe; nor his Tranſlation of Thomas a Kempis (4) in elegiac verſe; nor his poem in hexameters, in which he gives an account of the Life of Andrew Canterus, a native of Groningen, who from his youth was a prodigy of learning. He alſo wrote ſome books in Dutch, as the Art of living well, a Commentary on the Edicts *de Annonis*, concerning Proviſions; and two volumes in 4to (5) concerning the Sovereignty of the States of Holland.

(8) Ovid. *in Ep. ex Ponto*, Epiſt. 5. ver. 8.

(9) Written in the year 1517.

(10) *Muſeum Italic.* tom. 2. *in Appendice*, pag. 588.

(11) Ibid. pag. 592.

(12) Ibid. *in Commentar.* pag. vi.

(13) Ibid. pag. vii.

(14) *Quod ſi ſacrorum arcana pandantur, & ſacræ publicentur ceremoniæ, ilico futurum eſt, ut omnis opinio minuatur, ut pontificia auctoritas elanguеſcat neceſſe eſt.* i. e. "If the "myſteries of "the ſacred "Rites are laid "open, if the "holy Ceremo- "nies are pub- "liſhed, the "great opinion "men have of "them, will "immediately "be leſſened, and "the Pope's au- "thority muſt "neceſſarily lan- "guiſh." Ibid. *in Append.* pag. 589.

(15) Ibid. pag. 588.

(16) Horat. Od. 2. lib. 3.

(1) Soprani, in his Collection of the *Writers of Liguria*, mentioning Burgus, ſays that Thomaſo Graſeninckelio wrote againſt him in the year 1652. Oldoini has tranſcribed this blunder in his *Athenæum Liguſticum*. This is altering the name and ſurname of our Graſwinckel.

(2) Named *Ferdinand Rebellus.*

(3) See above, quotation (51) of the Article BRUTUS (Marcus Junius.)

(4) *De Imitatione Jeſu Chriſti.*

(5) They were printed after his death, the one in the year 1667, the other in the year 1674.

was not only well ſkilled in matters relating to the Law, but alſo in polite Literature and in the Latin Poetry. His merit was rewarded, for he was promoted to conſiderable employments at the Hague [*B*]. The Republic of Venice made him a Knight of St. Mark. He died of an Apoplexy at Mechlin October the 12th 1666, at the age of threeſcore and ſix years, and was buried in the great Church at the Hague, where his epitaph is to be ſeen, which contains a very great encomium.

[*B*] *He was promoted to conſiderable employments at the Hague.*] He was *Advocate Fiſcal* of the Demeſns of the States of Holland, and Recorder and Secretary of the Mixed-Court from the States General.

GRATAROLUS (WILLIAM) a learned Phyſician lived in the ſixteenth Century. He was born at Bergamo in Italy, and left his native country to go into Germany, with a deſign to profeſs the Proteſtant Religion there. He ſtaid ſome time at Baſil, whence he was called to Marpurg, where he was made Profeſſor of Phyſic. But he continued but one year there, either becauſe the air of the country of Heſſe did not agree with him, or becauſe he left at Baſil ſomething agreeable to him, which he miſſed (*a*), He returned to this laſt city, and ſoon after died there [*A*], at the age of fifty two years. He wrote ſeveral very good books [*B*]. It is aſſerted that he excelled in the art of phyſiognomy (*b*). Beza wrote ſome letters to him, which are printed (*c*).

(*a*) *Nobilis hunc miſit Cattis Baſilea, ſed anno Vix ſemel exacto rurſus eò rediit; Sive quod Haſſiaco non poſſet vivere cœlo, Sive quod in votis urbs Baſilea foret.* Petr. Nigid. *apud* Freher. *Theatr.* p. 1252.

(*b*) *Taken from* Paul. Freher. *Theat. Vir. Illuſt.* pag. 1252.

(*c*) The 42d and 46th.

[*A*] *He died ſoon after at Baſil.*] It is aſſerted in Paul Freher's Theatre, that he died May the 6th 1562; and the fourth part of John James Boiſſard's learned Men is quoted for this. Reuſnerus's *Diarium Hiſtoricum* might alſo have been quoted. This Phyſician's death is put under the year 1562 in the new Edition (1) of Vander Linden; Konig puts it under the year 1566, and Thuanus (2) and Bucholcer (3) on April the 16th 1568. Two Prefaces (4) and ſome ſmall Works, which Gratarolus, being at Marpurg, dedicated Auguſt the 25th 1562 to the Landgrave of Heſſe, prove that he did not die at Baſil May the 6th in that ſame year. It is a ſad thing that we ſhould meet with ſuch different accounts in ſeveral Authors, with regard to a circumſtance of this kind, which it would be eaſy to know exactly. I have obſerved the ſame variations with regard to Giſanius. See the Remark [*A*] of this Article.

(1) *De Script. Medic.* pag. 376.

(2) Thuan. lib. 43, *ſub fin.*

(3) Bucholcer. *in Indice Chron.* pag. m. 622.

(4) Printed at Straſburg in the year 1563, 8vo.

[*B*] *He wrote ſeveral very good Books.*] Here follow the titles of ſome: *De Memoria reparanda, augenda, conſervanda, ac de Reminiſcentia.* i. e. "Of reſtoring, preſerving, and improving one's memory, "and of Reminiſcence." The firſt Edition which is of the year 1554, has been followed by ſeveral others (5). *De Prædictione morum naturarumque hominum facili, & Inſpectione partium corporis.* i. e. "Of the eaſy "foretelling of men's genius and inclinations; and of "the obſervation of the parts of the body." *Prognoſtica naturalia de temporum mutatione perpetua, ordine literarum.* i. e. "Natural Prognoſtications of the per"petual changings of the times, in an alphabetical or"der." *De Literatorum & eorum qui Magiſtratibus funguntur conſervanda præſervandaque Valetudine.* i. e. "Of preſerving in health Men of Letters and Magi"ſtrates." *De vini natura, artificio & uſu, deque omni "re potabili.* i. e. "Of the nature and uſe of Wine, "and the manner of making it; and of all that can be drank." *De Regimine iter agentium, vel equitum, vel peditum, vel navi, vel curru ſeu rheda &c. Viatoribus quibuſq; utiliſſimi Libri duo.* i. e. "The Diet of thoſe "that travel either on horſeback, or on foot, or in a "ſhip, or in a coach &c. in two Books, very uſeful "to all Travellers." He publiſhed ſome Books of other Authors, to which he added ſomething of his own. *Petri Pomponatii Libri de cauſis occultorum effectuum, ſeu de Incantatione, cum Præfatione & Gloſſulis.* That is, "Peter Pomponatius's Books of the cauſes of hidden "Effects, or of Inchantments." *Petri Aponenſis Libellus de Venenis ad manuſcriptum exemplar correctus, cujus adjecit multa ejus argumenti utilia.* i. e. "Peter of A"pono's Book concerning Poiſons; corrected from a "manuſcript; to which he (Gratarolus) added a great "many uſeful obſervations upon the ſame ſubject." *Correctiones & Additiones in Librum Italicum falſo attributum Gabrieli Fallopio cui titulus eſt, Secreta Fallopii.* i. e. "Corrections and Additions to an Italian book falſly "aſcribed to Gabriel Fallopius, and which is intitled, "Fallopius's *Noſtrums.*" He made a Collection of ſeveral Treatiſes concerning the Engliſh Sweat, and concerning Baths, and a Compilation of ſeveral Works relating to Alchymy (6). One cannot refuſe him the character of a publick-ſpirited man, ſince he endeavoured to find out not only the remedies proper for Magiſtrates, but alſo thoſe that are proper for all ſorts of Travellers. Nor did he omit the Men of Letters, and endeavoured to furniſh them with the neceſſary helps not only for the preſervation of their health, but alſo for the preſervation and improvement of their memory. A man who could procure them what they want in thoſe reſpects, would deſerve divine honours in the Republick of Letters. Memory is as neceſſary to them as life itſelf.

(5) Vide *Lindenium renovatum*, pag. 376, 377.

(6) Lindenius Renovatus, pag. 377. *and* Paul Freher. *in Theat.* pag. 1252.

☞ GRAUNT, or GRANT (EDWARD) a man of eminent learning in the ſixteenth Century, was educated in Grammar Learning in the College School at Weſtminſter, from whence he was removed either to Chriſt Church or Broad-Gate's Hall in the Univerſity of Oxford (*a*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts February 27, 1571 (*b*), and that of Maſter the 27th of March 1572 (*c*); about which time he was appointed maſter of Weſtminſter School, where a great many perſons, who were afterwards eminent in Church and State, were educated under his care (*d*). In 1575 he publiſhed at London in 4to *Græcæ Linguæ Spicilegium*; which was afterwards contracted by his learned uſher Mr. William Camden, and printed at London 1597 in 8vo, under the title of *Inſtitutio Græcæ Grammatices compendiaria in uſum Regiæ Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis.* In 1577 our Author was made Prebendary of the twelfth Stall in the Collegiate Church of Weſtminſter in the room of Dr. Thomas Watts; and about that time being admitted Bachelor of Divinity of Cambridge (*e*), was incorporated in the ſame degree at Oxford in May 1579 (*f*). He was afterwards Doctor of that Faculty, but not of that Univerſity (*g*). He reſigned his Maſterſhip of Weſtminſter School about the month of February $159\frac{2}{3}$ [*A*] (*h*), and was ſucceeded in March following by Mr. Camden (*i*). He died

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 310. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 105.

(*c*) Idem, ibid. col. 106.

(*d*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 119.

(*g*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) Idem, ibid. col. 311.

(*i*) Guil. Camdeni *Vita, ſcriptore Thomâ Smith*, page xviii. prefixed to *Guil. Camdeni & illuſtrium Viror. ad G. Camdenum Epiſtolæ*, edit. London 1691 in 4to.

[*A*] *He reſigned his Maſterſhip of Weſtminſter School abouth the month of February* $159\frac{2}{3}$.] This we are aſſured of by Mr. Wood (1). Dr. Thomas Smith therefore is miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that our Author died in March

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 310.

died in September or October 1601, and was interred in St. Peter's Church at Weſtminſter (*k*). He collected and publiſhed the *Letters* and *Poems* of *Roger Aſcham*, to which he ſubjoined a piece of his own, intitled, *Oratio de Vita & Obitu Rogeri Aſchami, ac Dictionis Elegantiâ, cum Adhortatione ad Adoleſcentulos.* London 1577 in 8vo. He was an excellent Latin Poet, as appears from ſeveral copies of verſes written by him, and printed in various books; and was exceedingly well verſed in all parts of polite Literature.

(*k*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 311.

March 1593 : MORTUO *viro doctiſſimo Edwardo Granto, S. Theologiæ Doctore, qui Regiam Scholam Weſtmonaſterienſem diu rexerat, menſe Martio MDXCIII. in ejus locum ſuffectus eſt Camdenus* (2). H.

(1) *Guilielmi Camdeni Vita, ſcriptore Thomâ Smith,* pag. 18. prefixed to *Gul. Camdeni & illuſtr. Virorum ad G. Camdenum Epiſtolæ,* edit. London 1691, in 4to.

☞GRAUNT (JOHN), Author of a celebrated book, intitled, *Natural and political Obſervations made upon the Bills of Mortality* [*A*], was ſon of Mr. Henry Graunt of Hampſhire, and born in Birchin-Lane in the City of London April the 24th 1620. He was

[*A*] *Author of a celebrated Book, intitled,* Natural and Political Obſervations made upon the Bills of Mortality.] In this Book he had the advice and aſſiſtance of Sir William Petty (1). It was printed at London 1661 in 4to. The ſecond Edition was printed at London 1662 in 4to, under this title: *Natural and Political Obſervations mentioned in the following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality. By* John Graunt, *Citizen of London. With reference to the Government, Religion, Trade, Growth, Air, Diſeaſes, and the ſeveral changes of the ſaid City. The ſecond Edition.* The third Edition was printed at London 1665 in 8vo, under the following title: *Natural and Political Obſervations, mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality. By Capt.* John Graunt, *Fellow of the Royal Society. With reference to the Government, Religion, Trade, Growth, Air, Diſeaſes, and the ſeveral changes of the ſaid City. The third Edition, much enlarged.* The *Imprimatur* by the Lord Brouncker Preſident of the Royal Society is dated Tueſday June 20th 1665. The Dedication of our Author to John Lord Roberts, Lord Privy-Seal, is dated from Birchin-Lane January 25th 166½. In this Diſcourſe Capt. Graunt endeavours to ſhew, that about one third of all that were ever quick, die under five years old, and about thirty ſix in an hundred under ſix (2). That two parts of nine die of acute, and ſeventy of two hundred and twenty nine of chronical diſeaſes; and four of two hundred and twenty nine of outward diſeaſes, as cancers, fiſtulas, ſores, ulcers, &c (3). That ſeven in an hundred die of age (4). That ſome diſeaſes and caſualties keep a conſtant proportion, whereas ſome others are very irregular (5). That not above one in four thouſand are ſtarved (6). That it were better to maintain all beggars at the public charge, tho' earning nothing, than to let them beg about the ſtreets; and that employing them without diſcretion may do more harm than good. For "if there be, *ſays he* (7), but a certain proportion of work to be done, and that ſame "be already done by the *Non-Beggars*; then to em- "ploy the *Beggars* about it, will but transfer the want "from one hand to another; nor can a learner work "ſo cheap as a ſkilful practiſed Artiſt can. As for ex- "ample, a practiſed Spinner ſhall ſpin a pound of "wool worth two ſhillings for ſix pence; but a learner "undertaking it for three pence ſhall make the wool "indeed into yarn, but not worth twelve pence. This "little hint is the model of the greateſt work in the "world, which is the making of England as conſider- "able for trade as Holland; for there is but a cer- "tain proportion of trade in the world, and Holland "is prepoſſeſſed of the greateſt part of it, and is "thought to have more ſkill and experience to ma- "nage it. Wherefore to bring England into Holland's "condition as to this particular, is the ſame as to ſend "all the Beggars about London into the Weſt-Country "to ſpin; where they ſhall only ſpoil the Clothiers "wool, and beggar the preſent Spinners at beſt; "but at worſt put the whole trade of the Country to "a ſtand, until the Hollander being more ready for "it, have ſnapt that with the reſt." Capt. Graunt proceeds then to obſerve, that not one in two thouſand are murthered in London, whereas in Paris few nights ſcape without their Tragedy. The reaſons of this he conceives to be two: one is the government and guard of the city by Citizens themſelves, and that alternately, no man ſettling into a trade for that employment: the other is, *the natural and cuſtomary abhorrence of that inhumane crime and all bloodſhed, by moſt Engliſhmen; for of all that are executed, few are for murther. Beſides the great and frequent revolutions and changes in Government ſince the year* 1650 *have been with little bloodſhed, the uſurpers themſelves having executed few in compariſon, upon the account of diſturbing their innovations. In brief when any dead body is found in England, no Algebraiſt or Uncipherer of Letters can uſe more ſubtile ſuppoſitions and variety of conjectures to find out the demonſtration or cipher, than every common unconcerned perſon doth to find out the murtherers, and that that for ever, until it be done* (8). He remarks, that not one in fifteen hundred dies lunatic (9). That few of thoſe, who die of the venereal diſeaſe, are ſet down, but diſguiſed under the conſumption &c (10). That the *Rickets* is a new diſeaſe both as to name and thing, and that from fourteen dying of it in 1634 it gradually encreaſed to above five hundred in 1660 (11). That there was another new diſeaſe appearing, called by the vulgar a *ſtopping of the ſtomach*, which increaſed in twenty years from ſix to near three hundred (12). "Hereupon, *ſays he* (13), I apprehended that this "*ſtopping* might be the *Green ſickneſs*; for as much as "I find few or none to have been returned upon that "account, altho' many be viſibly ſtained with it. Now "whether the ſame be forborn out of ſhame, I know "not; for ſince the world believes, that marriage "cures it, it may ſeem indeed a ſhame, that any maid "ſhould die uncured, when there are more males than "females, that is, an overplus of huſbands to all that "can be wives." He obſerves next, that the *riſing of the lights* (ſuppoſed in moſt caſes to be the *fits of the mother*) had alſo encreaſed in thirty years from ninety four to two hundred forty nine (14). That both the *ſtopping of the ſtomach* and *riſing of the lights* are probably reliques or depending upon the *Rickets* (15). That the ſtone ſeemed to decreaſe. That the gout ſtood at a ſtay (16). That the ſcurvy increaſed (17). That deaths by reaſon of agues were to thoſe cauſed by fevers, as one to forty (18). That abortives and ſtillborn were to thoſe that were chriſtned, as one to twenty (19). That not one woman in an hundred dies in child-bed, nor one of two hundred in her labour (20). That there had been in London within that Age four times of great mortality, viz. in the year 1592 and 1593, 1603, 1625, and 1636; whereof that of 1603 was the greateſt, there dying of the plague then 30561. That in the years 1603 and 1625 about a fifth part of the whole died, and eight times more than were born (21). That a fourth part more die of the plague than are ſet down (22). That the plague in 1603 laſted eight years; that in 1639 twelve years; but that in 1625 continued but one year (23). That alterations in the air do incomparably more operate as to the plague than the effluvia from the bodies of men. That purple fevers, ſmall pox, and other malignant diſeaſes forerun the plague a year, two or three (24). That a diſpoſition in the air towards the plague diſpoſes likewiſe women to abortions (25). That as about one fifth part of the whole people died in the great plague-years, ſo two other fifth parts fled (26). That whether the plague be great or ſmall, the city is fully repeopled within

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 311. and vol. 2. col. 810. 2d edit. London 1721.

(2) Pag. 25.

(3) Pag. 28, 29.

(4) Pag. 32.

(5) Pag. 33.

(6) Pag. 34.

(7) Pag. 37, 38, 39.

(8) Pag. 39, 40.

(9) Pag. 40.

(10) Pag. 44, 45.

(11) Pag. 46, 47.

(12) Pag. 50.

(13) Pag. 51.

(14) Pag. 51, 52.

(15) Pag. 54.

(16) Pag. 55, 56.

(17) Pag. 56.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Pag. 57.

(20) Pag. 58, 59.

(21) Pag. 64, 65.

(22) Pag. 66.

(23) Pag. 70.

(24) Pag. 70, 71.

(25) Pag. 74.

(26) Ibid.

was by trade an Haberdaſher of ſmall wares, and ſerved all the offices of the City as far as that of a Common-Council Man, which he held two years, and was Captain, and afterwards Major of the Train Bands. At laſt he laid down his trade, and all public employments, upon the account of his Religion; for though he was educated a Puritan, and afterwards profeſſed himſelf a Socinian, yet in the latter part of his life he declared himſelf of the Roman Catholic Religion, in which he died. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

within two years (27). That the more ſickly the year is, the leſs fertile it is of births (28). That it is falſe, that plagues always come in with Kings reigns (29). That Autumn is the moſt unhealthful ſeaſon (30). That in London there have been twelve Burials for eleven Chriſtnings: but on the contrary in the country ſixty three Chriſtnings for fifty two Burials (31). That the people in and about London may be ſuppoſed to be a fifteenth part of the people of England and Wales. That there were about ſix millions and an half of people in England and Wales. That the people in the Country double by procreation but in two hundred and eighty years, and in London in about ſeventy; the reaſon of which is, that many of the breeders leave the country, and that the breeders of London come from all parts of the Country, ſuch perſons breeding in the Country almoſt only who were born there, but in London multitude of others. That about ſix thouſand a year came up to London out of the Country. That in London about three die yearly out of eleven families. That there are about twenty five millions of acres of land in England and Wales (32). He then aſſigns the reaſon why the proportion of breeders in London to the reſt of the people is leſs than in the Country; and remarks, that in London there are more impediments of breeding than in the Country. That there are fourteen males for thirteen females in London, and in the Country but fifteen males for fourteen females (33). He then obſerves (34), that "the "*Chriſtian Religion* prohibiting polygamy, is more "agreeable to the Law of Nature, that is, the Law "of God, than *Mahumetiſm* and others that allow it. "For one man's having many women or wives by law "ſignifies nothing, unleſs there were many women to "one man in nature alſo. II. The obvious objection "hereunto is, that one horſe, bull, or ram having each "of them many females, do promote increaſe. To "which I anſwer, that although perhaps there be naturally even of theſe ſpecies more males than females; yet artificially, that is, by making geldings, "oxen, and weathers, there are fewer. From whence "it will follow, that when by experience it is found "how many ewes, (ſuppoſe twenty) one ram will ſerve, "we may know what proportion of male lambs to caſtrate or geld, viz. nineteen or thereabouts. For if "you emaſculate fewer, viz. but ten, you ſhall by promiſcuous copulation of each of thoſe ten with two "females, hinder the increaſe, ſo far as the admittance of two males will do it. But if you caſtrate "none at all, it is highly probable, that every of the "twenty males copulating with every of the twenty "females, there will be little or no conception in any "of them all. III. And this I take to be the trueſt "reaſon, why foxes, wolves, and other vermin animals, that are not gelt, increaſe not faſter than ſheep, "when as ſo many thouſands of theſe are daily "butchered, and very few of the other die otherwiſe "than of themſelves. IV. We have hitherto ſaid, "there are more males than females: we ſay next, "that the one exceed the other by about a thirteenth "part. So that altho' more men die violent deaths "than women, that is, more are ſlain in wars, killed "by miſchance, drowned at ſea, and die by the hand "of juſtice; moreover more men go to Colonies, and "travel into foreign parts, than women; and laſtly, "more remain unmarried than of women, as Fellows "of Colleges and Apprentices above eighteen, &c. "yet the ſaid thirteenth part difference bringeth the "buſineſs but to ſuch a paſs, that every woman may "have an huſband without the allowance of polygamy. Moreover altho' a man be prolific forty years, "and a woman but five and twenty, which makes the "males to be 560 to 325 females; yet the caſes above "named and the later marriage of the men reduce all "to an equality." He then remarks, that he had heard Phyſicians ſay, that they have two women patients to one man; which aſſertion ſeems the more probable, ſince women have either the green-ſickneſs, or other diſtempers, are ſick of breeding, abortions, childbearing, ſore breaſts, whites, obſtructions, fits of the mother, and the like. Now from this *it ſhould follow, that more women ſhould die than men, if the number of burials anſwered in proportion to that of ſickneſſes. But this muſt be ſalved, either by alledging, that the Phyſicians cure thoſe ſickneſſes, ſo as few more die than if none were ſick; or elſe that men being more intemperate than women, die as much by reaſon of their vices, as women do by the infirmity of their ſex; and conſequently more males being born than females, more alſo die* (35). He obſerves (36), "that from the difference between males "and females we ſee the reaſon of making eunuchs in "thoſe places, where Polygamy is allowed, the latter "being uſeleſs as to multiplication without the former, "as was ſaid before in the caſe of ſheep and other animals uſually gelt in thoſe countries. By conſequence "this practice of caſtration ſerves as well to promote "increaſe, as to meliorate the fleſh of thoſe beaſts that "ſuffer it. For that operation is equally practiſed "upon horſes, which are not uſed for food, as upon "thoſe that are. In *Popiſh* Countries, where polygamy is forbidden, if a greater number of males oblige themſelves to celibate, than the natural over-plus "or difference between them and females amounts "unto; then multiplication is hindered; for if there "be eight men to ten women, all of which eight men "are married to eight of the ten women, then the "other two bear no children, as either of admitting "no man at all, or elſe admitting men as whores, (that "is, more than one,) which commonly procreates no "more than if none at all had been uſed; or elſe ſuch "unlawful copulations beget conceptions but to fruſtrate them by procured abortions or ſecret murthers; "all which returns to the ſame reckoning. Now if "the ſame proportion of women oblige themſelves to "a ſingle life likewiſe, then ſuch obligation makes no "change in this matter of increaſe. From what has "been ſaid appears the reaſon why the Law is and "ought to be ſo ſtrict againſt fornications and adulteries; for if there were univerſal liberty, the increaſe "of mankind would be but like that of foxes at beſt. "Now for as much as Princes are not only powerful, "but rich, according to the number of their people, "(hands being the father, as lands are the mother and "womb of wealth) it is no wonder why States, by "encouraging marriage, and hindering licentiouſneſs, "advance their own intereſt, as well as preſerve the "Laws of God from contempt and violation." Capt. Graunt remarks then (37), that *it is a bleſſing to mankind, that by this over-plus of males there is this natural bar to Polygamy; for in ſuch a ſtate women could not live in that purity and equality of expence with their huſbands, as now and here they do. The reaſon whereof is, not that the huſband cannot maintain as ſplendidly three as one; for he might, having three wives, live himſelf upon a quarter of his income, that is, in a parity with all three, as well as, having but one, live in a parity at half with her alone. But rather becauſe that to keep them all quiet with each other and himſelf, he muſt keep them all in greater awe and leſs ſplendor; which power he having, he will probably uſe it to keep them all as low as he pleaſes, and at no more coſt than makes for his own pleaſure; the pooreſt ſubjects (ſuch as this plurality of wives muſt be) being moſt eaſily governed.* In the ninth chapter he treats of the Growth of the City, and remarks, that the ninety ſeven Pariſhes within and the ſixteen Pariſhes without the walls of the City of London increaſed in twenty years from ſeven to twelve, and in forty years from twenty three to fifty two. That the ſixteen Pariſhes had increaſed more than the ninety ſeven, the latter having increaſed but from nine to ten in the ſaid forty years. That the ten Out-Pariſhes had in fifty four years increaſed from one to four. That the ninety ſeven, ſixteen, and ten Pariſhes increaſed in fifty four years from two to five (38). That the City removes Weſtwards; for which he aſſigns the reaſons. That there were ſome Pariſhes in London two hundred

(27) Pag. 75.
(28) Pag. 78.
(29) Pag. 80.
(30) Ibid.
(31) Pag. 81, 82, 83.
(32) Pag. 83—88.
(33) Pag. 88—94.
(34) Pag. 95, & ſeqq.
(35) Pag. 98, 99.
(36) Pag. 101, & ſeqq.
(37) Pag. 104, 105.
(38) Pag. 106, 111.

Society. Beſides the treatiſe abovementioned he wrote *Obſervations on the Advance of Exciſe*, and a tract upon Religion; but theſe were never printed. He died on Eaſter Even April the 18th 1674, and was interred four days after in St. Dunſtan's Church in Fleetſtreet, his body being attended by a great many perſons of diſtinction and learning, and particularly Sir William Petty. Mr. Wood tells us (*a*), that he was "an ingenious and ſtudious perſon, generally beloved, a faithful friend, a great peace-maker, and one that had often been choſen for his prudence and juſtneſs an arbitrator. But above all his excellent working head was much commended, and the rather for this reaſon, that it was for the public good of learning."

(*a*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 311. 2d edit. London 1721.

times as big as others. That the City of London and Suburbs being equally divided, would make an hundred Pariſhes about the largeneſs of Chriſt-Church, Black-Friars, or Coleman-Street. That there were about 24000 teeming women in the ninety ſeven, ſixteen, and ten Pariſhes in and about London. That about three die yearly out of eleven families containing each eight perſons. That there were about 12000 families within the walls of London. That the houſing of the ſixteen and ten Suburb-Pariſhes was thrice as big as that of the ninety ſeven Pariſhes within the walls. That the number of ſouls in the ninety ſeven, ſixteen, and ten Out-Pariſhes was about 384000, whereof 199000 were males, and 185000 females. That in the ninety ſeven, ſixteen, and ten Pariſhes there were near 70000 fighting men, that is, men between the ages of ſixteen and fifty ſix. That Weſtminſter, Lambeth, Iſlington, Hackney, Redriff, Stepney, and Newington contained as many people as the ninety ſeven Pariſhes within the walls, and conſequently one fifth of the whole pile, ſo that in and about London there were about 81000 fighting men, and 460000 in all (39). That Adam and Eve in 5610 years might have by the ordinary proportion of procreation begotten more people than were then probably upon the face of the earth; and conſequently the world cannot be older than the Scriptures repreſent it to be. That every wedding one with another produces four children. That in ſeveral places the proportion between the males and females differ. That in ninety years there were juſt as many males as females buried within a certain Pariſh in Hampſhire. That a Pariſh conſiſting of about 2700 inhabitants had in 90 years but 1059 more Chriſtnings than Burials. That there came yearly to dwell in London about 6000 ſtrangers out of the Country, which ſwelled the Burials about 200 a year. That in the country there had been five Chriſtnings for four Burials. That the proportion between the greateſt and leaſt mortalities in the Country are greater than the ſame in the city. That the country air is more capable of good and bad impreſſions than that of London. That the difference of births is greater in the Country than at London. That in the Country but about one of fifty dies yearly, but at London one of thirty, over and above the plague (40). That London was not then ſo healthful as formerly, which he thinks was occaſioned partly by its being more populous, but chiefly becauſe he had heard that ſixty years before few ſea-coals were burnt in London, which were in our Author's time univerſally uſed. *For I have heard*, ſays he (41), *that Newcaſtle is more unhealthful than other places, and that many people cannot at all endure the ſmoke of London, not only for its unpleaſantneſs, but for the ſuffocations, which it cauſes.* He obſerves that the art of making gold, if it were much known, would only exalt ſilver into the place, which gold now poſſeſſes; and if it were known but to ſome one perſon, he could not, nay durſt not enjoy it. That the elements of true policy are to underſtand thoroughly the lands and hands of a Country (42). He concludes with remarking, that if all theſe things were clearly and truly known, "it would appear that how ſmall a part of the people work upon neceſſary labours and callings, viz. how many women and children do juſt nothing, only learning to ſpend what others get. How many are mere voluptuaries, and as it were mere gameſters by trade: how many people by puzzling poor people with unintelligible notions in Divinity and Philoſophy: how many by perſuading credulous, delicate, and litigious perſons, that their bodies are out of tune, and in danger: how many by fighting as ſoldiers: how many by miniſtries of vice and ſin: how many by trades of meer pleaſure or ornaments; and how many in a way of lazy attendance, &c. upon others. And on the other ſide, how few are employed in raiſing and working neceſſary food and covering: and of the ſpeculative men how few do ſtudy nature and things; the more ingenious not advancing much further than to write and ſpeak wittily about theſe matters." T.

(39) Pag. 111-127.

(40) Pag. 127-142.

(41) Pag. 142.

(42) Pag. 145-150.

GRAWERUS (ALBERTUS) born at Meſecow in the Mark of Brandenburg in the year 1575, has been very much eſteemed amongſt the Divines of the Augſburg Confeſſion. He may be compared to thoſe ſoldiers of fortune, who paſſing through all the degrees in the army arrive at laſt at the higheſt poſts. He was at firſt only a ſchool-maſter in Hungary (*a*) [*A*]. But when the City of Agria was taken (*b*) by the Turks he retired to Wittemberg; whence he went to Eiſleben to be Principal of the College there: he was afterwards made Dean of Mansfeld (*c*); then he was admitted Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Jena (*d*), and two years after he was made Profeſſor of Divinity there. Laſtly, in the year 1616, he obtained the office of Superintendent of the country of Weimar (*e*). He died November the 30th 1617 (*f*). He was the moſt paſſionate Divine that ever was; never did a man write more paſſionately againſt thoſe of the Geneva Confeſſion. The Miſſionaries quote him chiefly [*B*], when they deſign to ſhew the hatred

(*a*) Firſt at *Scepuſ*, and afterwards in the year 1597 at *Caſſovia*.

(*b*) In the year 1599.

(*c*) In the year 1607.

(*d*) In the year 1609.

(*e*) *Ex* Spizelio in *Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 39. *See alſo* Paul. Freher. *Theatr.* pag. 324, 395.

(*f*) Freher. *Theatr.* pag. 395. Spizelius ſets down the year 1616.

[*A*] *He was at firſt only a Schoolmaſter in Hungary.*] This is the notion we ſhould have of him, if we only conſulted Spizelius: but when we examine his funeral Sermons (1), we find that Baron Gregory Harwath, having founded a new College at Scepuz (2), made Grawerus Principal of it, at Giles Hunnius's recommendation, and that Grawerus taught Philoſophy and Divinity in that College.

(1) *Apud* Freherum, *in Theat.* pag. 394, 394.

(2) In the year 1595.

[*B*] *The Miſſionaries quote him chiefly.*] When Father Adam wrote a Book againſt Monſieur Daillé, he quoted *I do not know how many Germans, a Giles Hunnius, a Zephirius, a Gibelin, a Philip Nicholas, a Granverus* (3), who load the Reformed with a thouſand injuries. He inſiſted chiefly upon a Treatiſe of Grawerus *the moſt abſurd abſurdities of the Calvinian abſurdities* (4). Here follows Monſieur Daillé's wiſe anſwer, but a little too diſobliging for the Author I mention in this article. "Theſe are brethren who are in "a paſſion; we muſt forgive their anger, and comfort ourſelves by the teſtimony which their very "paſſion bears in favour of our cauſe, in this con"troverſy in which we are engaged with them. If "they were not in the wrong, they would not abuſe "us. It is certainly their error that provokes them; "truth is milder and more modeſt. For that Luther "and his diſciples were in a paſſion when they wrote "all thoſe ſhameful and horrible paſſages, which you "have collected from their writings, appears ſufficiently from the folly and impertinence of their own "words: as for inſtance, to omit all the reſt, that ri-

(3) Thus it is in Monſ. Daillé's *Replique*; but it ſhould have been *Grawerus*.

(4) The Latin title is, *Abſurda abſurdorum abſurdiſſima, Calviniſtica abſurda, hoc eſt invicta Demonſtratio Logica & Theologica aliquot horrendorum paradoxorum Calviniani dogmatis in articulis de perſona Chriſti, Cœna Domini Baptiſmo, & Prædeſtinatione*, Printed at Jena in 1612, 4to. This is the ſecond edition.

tred and animoſity there is between the two Proteſtant Communions. He was boiſterous not only in the controverſies carried on by word of mouth, but alſo in his writings [C], which are very numerous [D], moſt of them againſt the Reformed. He wrote alſo againſt the Socinians, and againſt the Church of Rome.

" diculous title of a book of one of them, which you " was ſure not to forget. *The moſt abſurd Abſurdities of " the Calvinian Abſurdities.* A learned man would " not ſpeak ſo ſillily, if he were cool." He finiſhes this chapter in theſe words. *God be praiſed, they are not all ſo paſſionate as your* Gibelins *and your* Granveres. There are ſome of milder temper, who *will hear reaſon; and the late Doctor Calixtus a Divine of Helmſtad, the moſt learned of all the Lutherans of his time, has ſufficiently ſhewed it in two or three books* * *which he publiſhed upon that ſubject* (5).

* Judicium de Controv. Luther. & Ref. *ann.* 1650. Deſiderium & Studium Concord. Eccleſ. *ann.* 1651.

(5) Daillé, *Replique à Adam*, Part 2. ch. 14. pag. m. 86.

Obſerve that Monſieur Daillé might have charged the Jeſuit Adam with tranſlating the title of our Grawerus's work erroneouſly. The true tranſlation is as follows. *The Calvinian abſurdities more abſurd than any other Abſurdity.*

[C] *He was boiſterous . . . in the Controverſies carried on by word of mouth, . . . and in his writings.*] He had a conference with Amling in the year 1604 in the Caſtle of Schotchwiz, and publiſhed it with notes, which breathe nothing but his zeal for the Lutheran Religion. *Veritatis Lutheranæ amore notulis quibuſdam aſperſis evulgatum* (Colloquium cum Amlingo). He had never exerted himſelf ſo ſtrongly in behalf of his party as he did on that occaſion. *Singulari zelo & fervore Spiritus ſancti motus ſtrenuè & maſcule adverſus hoſtium quorumvis cohortes depugnavit, nec quicquam omiſit quo veritatis cœleſtis doctrina aſſeri propugnarique queat,* CUM PRIMIS *in graviſſimo illo Colloquio cum Amlingo habito* (6). i. e. " Being acted by an extra- " ordinary zeal, and by the aſſiſtance of the Holy " Ghoſt, he fought ſtoutly and bravely againſt all the " troops of any enemies whatſoever, nor did he omit " the leaſt thing that was proper to aſſert and defend " the doctrine of the heavenly truth, eſpecially in his " conference with Amling." Judge how paſſionate he was againſt Sebaſtian Lamius, whom he convicted of Calviniſm in a Synod. *Quemadmodum etiam in Synodo Hungarico-Keyſmarcenſi anno* 95 *habita Sebaſtianum Lamium heterodoxiæ Calvinianæ convicit* (7). He had no doubt impeached him for a falſe brother, who under the name of a Lutheran Miniſter was hatching the errors of a Calviniſt; that alone was ſufficient to exaſperate a cool man. And beſides, he diſputed with him in a Synod. This circumſtance of the place could alone raiſe his paſſion. Let us not forget to obſerve, that he has been called *the ſhield and the ſword of Lutheraniſm* (8).

(6) Spizelius, *in Templo Hon. reſerato*, pag. 43.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Idem, pag. 40.

[D] *His works are very numerous.*] The titles only will give you a notion of his exceſſive zeal. *Bellum Calvini & Jeſu Chriſti*; i. e. " The war between " Calvin and Jeſus Chriſt;" printed at Magdeburg in the year 1605. *Harmonia præcipuorum Calvinianorum & Photinianorum*; i. e. " The Agreement be- " tween the chief Calviniſts, and the Photinians;" printed at Jena in the year 1612, in 4to. I have already mentioned his *Abſurda abſurdorum &c.* His *Anti-Lubinus, hoc eſt Elenchus paradoxorum & emblematum Calviniſticorum D. Eilhardi Lubini, de prima cauſa & natura mali*; i. e. " A ſummary of the " Calviniſtical Paradoxes and Emblems of Eilhard " Lubinus concerning the nature and firſt cauſe of " evil;" printed at Magdeburg in the year 1604 in 4to, is a work againſt the Calviniſts, though Eilhard Lubinus always lived a Lutheran, as Baillet aſſerts (9); for no doubt Grawerus ſuſpected him of being of Calvin's opinion upon ſome ſubjects. I omit the titles of his other works; you will find them in Spizelius (10), and in Paul Freher (11).

(9) In tom. 1. of the *Anti*, pag. 351.

(10) In *Templo Honoris reſerato*, pag. 40.

(11) *Theatr. Viror. Illuſt.* pag. 395.

☞GREAVES (JOHN) a very learned Engliſh Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was eldeſt ſon of Mr. John Greaves, Rector of Colmore near Ailresford in Hampſhire (*a*), and the moſt eminent ſchoolmaſter of that county (*b*). He was born at Colmore in the year 1602 (*c*), and being well grounded in grammar-learning, was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford in 1617 (*d*). July the 6th 1621 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*); and in 1624, being of Maſter's ſtanding, became a Candidate for a Fellowſhip of Merton-College, and on account of his uncommon ſkill in Philoſophy and polite Literature was the firſt of the five who were elected (*f*). June the 25th 1628 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*). Having now read over all the Greek and Latin writers with great attention, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of natural Philoſophy and Mathematics; and having contracted an intimate friendſhip with Mr. Henry Briggs, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in the Univerſity of Oxford, Dr. John Bainbridge, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy there, and Mr. Peter Turner, a Senior Fellow of his College, who afterwards ſucceeded Mr. Briggs in the Profeſſorſhip of Geometry at Oxford, he was animated by their example to proſecute the ſtudy of the Mathematics with indefatigable induſtry. And not content to have read over the writings of Copernicus, Regiomontanus, Purbach, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and other celebrated Aſtronomers of that and the preceding age, he made the antient Greek, Arabian, and Perſian Authors in that Science familiar to him, having before gained an accurate ſkill in the Oriental Languages (*b*). His reputation began now to be ſo conſiderable, that in 1630 he was choſen Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham College at London, upon the reſignation of Mr. Peter Turner; and at the ſame time held his Fellowſhip of Merton-College (*i*). By means of Mr. Turner he was introduced into the acquaintance and favour of Dr. William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*k*). He had now formed a reſolution of travelling into foreign countries; and it appears that about the year 1635, before his voyage to the Eaſt, he went to Paris, and to Leyden [A], where he contracted a friendſhip with the celebrated James Golius. But his grand deſign was to viſit the Eaſtern Countries, which by means of the Archbiſhop being enabled to do

(*a*) Vita *Joannis Gravii*, ſcriptore *Thomâ Smith*, *S.T.D.* p. 3. printed among *Vitæ eruditiſſimorum & illuſtrium Virorum*, *ſcriptore* Thomâ Smith, *S.T.D. & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero*, edit. London 1707, in 4to.

(*b*) Idem, ibid. *and* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 156. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*c*) Smith, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 218.

(*f*) Smith, pag. 4.

(*g*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 240.

(*b*) Smith, pag. 5.

(*i*) Idem, pag. 6.

(*k*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 157.

[A] *It appears, that about the year* 1635 *before his voyage to the Eaſt, he went to Paris and to Leyden.*] Dr. Smith (1) was at a loſs to determine, whether our Author went to Paris and Leyden before or after his voyage to the Eaſt. But it is evident, that he was at Paris in 1635 from a paſſage in a Letter of Claudius Hardy to him dated in that city September 1ſt 1641, where he ſays, *Dubium eſſe tibi potuiſſe non exiſtimo, quin de tuo Reditu in Europam maximum perciperem gaudium, Vir eruditiſſime, pro eo affectu quo te colui, cum apud nos degeres. . . . . Ante* ANNOS SEX *cognovi te ſtudioſiſſimum Linguæ Perſicæ.*

(1) *Vita Joannis Gravii*, pag. 7.

do [B], he embarked in the River of Thames in 1637 for Leghorn, from whence he proceeded to Rome, where he accurately viewed the venerable remains of Antiquity; and it appears from his Note-book, that he not only wrote down the inſcriptions, but likewiſe meaſured the pillars and other monuments there, and took a draught of them, particularly of *Ceſcius's Pyramid* and the *Pantheon*. He viewed likewiſe the Catacombs, and examined all the principal Cabinets and Muſeums in that City. Here he became acquainted with Lucas Holſtenius, Keeper of the Vatican Library, Athanaſius Kircher, and Gaſpar Bertius, a celebrated Aſtronomer, who informed him, that he had found by repeated obſervations with a large inſtrument of Clavius's, that the altitude of the pole at Rome was forty one degrees and forty ſix minutes. From Rome he went to Padua, where he was introduced into the acquaintance of Francis Urſati, John Rhodius, and Andrew Moretti, Profeſſors there. Hence he went to Florence, where he ſtaid a few weeks, and afterwards to Leghorn, whence he embarked for Conſtantinople. He arrived there about April 1638 [C]; and in the beginning of September following embarked

[B] *His grand deſign was to viſit the Eaſtern Countries, which by means of the Archbiſhop being inabled to do.*] Mr. Wood (2), who is groſly miſtaken in placing our Author's voyage to the Eaſt in 1633, informs us, that the Archbiſhop "ſent him to travel into the Eaſtern "parts of the world to obtain Books of the Languages "for him." And Dr. Smith obſerves (3), that Mr. Greaves furniſhed himſelf with quadrants and other inſtruments neceſſary for taking the altitudes and diſtances of the Stars and the latitudes of Cities, for meaſuring the Pyramids, and making obſervations of the Eclipſes, at his own expence, having in vain applied himſelf for the patronage and aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrates of the City of London, whoſe honour and advantage he deſigned to conſult in this voyage; but that he was very probably aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop, who gave him Letters of Recommendation to Sir Peter Wyche, Embaſſador from King Charles I, to the Port, and a full power to purchaſe at whatever price he thought proper any manuſcripts of value, eſpecially in the Arabic Language. Mr. Greaves likewiſe in his Letter dated at Conſtantinople Aug. 2, 1638, and probably addreſſed to Mr. Peter Turner, obſerves, that *the City of London had failed him in his expectations of the contributions towards mathematical inſtruments*; and that he had been neceſſitated *to ſell moſt of his Books he brought with him; but that the love and care of his brothers ſtraining their own occaſions to ſupply his, had enabled him in deſpite of the City to go on with his deſigns.*

(2) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 157.

(3) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 7.

[C] *He arrived there about April* 1638.] Auguſt the 2d following he wrote the following Letter from that City, the original of which is in the Savilian Library at Oxford, tho' extremely worn and effaced in two or three paſſages.

"Sir,

"I received your Letters of February the 26th "about the midſt of July, and with thoſe the expec- "tation of *Clemens*, with the *Catena* upon *Job*; both "which, according to his Grace's inſtruction, I ſhould "have preſented to the Patriarch, with all obſervance "and reſpect, if his death had not prevented the deli- "very. Upon the 27th of June, by expreſs com- "mand from the Grand Signior, he was as a Traytor "ſtrangled, and his body thrown into the Sea; it be- "ing pretended, that he had ſent Letters to the Em- "peror of Muſcovia, by means whereof ſome two years "ſince the Muſcovite ſurprized a Town upon the Black "Sea belonging to the Turk. His accuſers were men "of his own coat, Greek Biſhops (bred up under the "Jeſuits) whereof *Bereas* one of the chief of them "hath ſucceeded in his place; who, that it may ap- "pear whoſe diſciple he hath been, hath made ſuch "combuſtion in the Greek Church, that I think the "like hath ſeldom been. For beſides the anathema- "tizing of * * * for being a Lutheran, he hath put "in priſon, and partly in chains, above fifty Biſhops "and Prieſts of his followers and adherents, whereof "ſome he hath ſtrangled. The Dutch Embaſſador "hath been called in queſtion by him before their "Divan, to have received from the Church two hun- "dred thouſand crowns in the time of former diſſen- "ſions, beſides ſtore of MSS. belonging to the Patri- "arch. I my ſelf might have fallen into the ſame "danger, if by the mediation of ſome Greeks of my "acquaintance I had not prevented the ſtorm. For hav- "ing procured out of a blind and ignorant Monaſtery, "which depends upon the Patriarch, fourteen good "manuſcripts of the Fathers, I was compelled pri- "vately to reſtore the Books, and loſe my money, for "fear of a worſe inconvenience. Yet if *Cyril* had "lived a little longer, I might have ſent to my Lord's "Grace not only theſe, but many other choice copies. "For my purpoſe was to have gone to Mount *Athos*, "being from thence but four days journey by Sea, "whither I ſhould have been recommended by the "Patriarch, and have had liberty of entering into all "the Libraries in that place, to have collected a Cata- "logue of ſuch Books as either were not printed, or "elſe by the help of ſome there might have been more "correctly ſet out. Theſe (by diſpenſing with the "Anathema's, which the former Patriarchs have laid "upon all Greek Libraries, thereby to preſerve the "Books from the Latins) the Patriarch purpoſed to "have preſented to his Grace, for the better proſecu- "tion of his Grace's honourable deſigns in the Edition "of the Greek Authors. But the ſame hand, which "took away the Patriarch's life, ſpoiled my endea- "vours (the beſt that I can ever hope for) of ſerving "his Grace in this particular. Though I preſume in "Arabic Books my Lord hath received a remonſtrance "of my care, by thoſe, which the Companies have "ſent from thence. It is true, many more very "choice ones might be procured with inquiry, and "watching after opportunities, if they would give the "price. Some few of thoſe, which they thought to "be overvalued, I have purchaſed at exceſſive rates. "You may wonder how I have been able to do it, "ſince the City of London hath failed me in my ex- "pectations of their contributions towards mathema- "tical inſtruments. I have been neceſſitated to ſell "moſt of the Books I brought with me. But the "love and care of my brothers ſtraining their own oc- "caſions to ſupply mine have inabled me, in deſpite of "the city, to go on with my deſigns. You may there- "fore hope to ſee moſt of the Greek Mathematicians, "tranſlated into Arabic, brought home. Amongſt "others I have procured *Ptolemy's Almageſt*, the fair- "eſt Book, that I have ever ſeen, ſtoln by a Spahy "(as I am informed) out of the King's Library in the "Seraglio. Whereby you ſee there is a poſſibility of "having alſo thoſe Greek and Latin Authors (which I "mentioned in my former Letters to be buried in the "Seraglio) if the * * were handſomly followed by an "Embaſſador. My purpoſes, I hope, ſhortly I ſhall "put in execution, being this month to go with the "* * for Egypt. The Eclipſe of the Moon in Dec. next "will be obſerved (if it pleaſe God) at Bagdad, Con- "ſtantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria; all which "places I have furniſhed with convenient inſtruments, "and given them inſtructions according to Tycho "Brahe's, how they ſhould obſerve. I preſume at "Bagdad it will be punctually and carefully done, "ſince the Phyſician to the King's favourite, a Chri- "ſtian, hath undertaken the buſineſs, who hopes to "get reputation by doing it in the ſight of the Grand "Signior and of his Army. I doubt not, it will be "as carefully obſerved in England, and could wiſh (as "by my Letters I earneſtly deſired) that the ſame time "obſervations might be made at the Azores. Sir, I "grow tedious, and therefore will only kiſs your hands, "thanking you for many former favours to me. And "tho' in theſe particulars I preſume I ſhall give my

embarked for Egypt; but being obliged to put in at Rhodes, he went aſhore, and taking with him a braſs Aſtrolabe of Gemma Friſius, becauſe he durſt not make uſe of any larger inſtrument, for fear of giving ſuſpicion to the Turks, he found the elevation of the pole there to be thirty ſeven degrees and fifty minutes (*l*). At laſt he arrived at Alexandria, where he ſtaid four or five months, and made a great number of uſeful obſervations [*D*]. Hence he went twice (*m*) to Grand Cairo to meaſure the pyramids, carrying with him a radius of ten foot, moſt accurately divided into 10,000 parts, beſides ſome other inſtruments for the fuller diſcovery of the truth (*n*). While he was there, he made the meaſure of the foot obſerved by all Nations, in one of the rooms under the ſaid pyramids, with his name *John Gravius* under it (*o*). Having made a curious collection of Greek, Arabian, and Perſic manuſcripts, (a catalogue of which he afterwards ſent to Claudius Hardy and James Golius at their requeſt) with a great number of gems, coins, and other valuable antiquities, he returned to Leghorn about Midſummer 1639; from whence he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with great civility by Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, to whom he inſcribed a Latin Poem written by him at

(*l*) See his *Account of the Latitude of Conſtantinople and Rhodes.*

(*m*) In 1638 and 1639.

(*n*) See his *Preface* to his *Pyramidographia.*

(*o*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 157.

" friends ſatisfaction, yet have I not ſatisfied my ſelf, " in that I have not as yet, though after diligent en- " quiry, found any opportunity of performing your " worthy deſigns. I ſhall endeavour ſo much the more, " both in Egypt and Italy, to give you a remonſtrance " of my care of your inſtructions, by how much your " many favours, and in particular your late recom- " mendations of me to his Grace, have made me

" Your affectionate Friend to ſerve you,

" From Conſtantinople John Greaves."

" Auguſt 2d 1638.

[*D*] *Made a great number of uſeful obſervations.*] Several of thoſe are noted down in a manuſcript of his in the Savilian Library at Oxford, which was bought with other manuſcripts of his of the widow of Dr. Nicholas Greaves, our Author's brother by Mr. Richard Stubbes, Rector of the Eaſt-Hamſted in Berkſhire, and formerly Fellow of Wadham College in Oxford (4). Dr. Thomas Smith in a Letter dated at New-College in Oxford Decemb. 15th 1683 ſent to the Royal Society an extract from that manuſcript, which we ſhall give the Reader from the *ninth vol. p.* 80, *& ſeqq.* of the *Letters* of that Society. It is as follows:

(4) *Vide* T. Smith Præfat. pag. ix. x. in Vitas quorundam eruditiſſimorum & illuſtr. Virorum.

" Obſervations aſtronomical and geographical made " in Egypt by the moſt learned Mr. *John Greaves* " collected out of his papers.

" *Declinatio Acus Magneticæ a Meridiano* Alexan- " driæ *Occidentem verſus* 5°. 45′ *e multis obſervationi- " bus iiſque accuratis.*

" *Altitudo Poli* Alexandriæ 30°. 10′; *licet in iiſdem " Ephemeridibus alibi dicit* 30°. 5′; *alibi tantum* 3 " minut.

" The Sun's Meridian Altitude taken at *Galata* by " Conſtantinople 11th March 1637, S. V. 49° : $\frac{11}{100}$. " 49° : 18 : 36″ ☉ in ♈ 1° : 5′. Declin. Bor. 0° : " 26′. *Altitudo Poli Conſtantinopoli* 41° : 7′½.

" At *Rhodes* Sept. 11th 1638. 53 : $\frac{53}{60}$. 53. 53.

" At *Alexandria* 19th Decemb. 1638, 35° : $\frac{201}{300}$, " 35°. 40′ : 12″.

" Snellius ſuppoſes the Altitude of the Æquinoctial " at *Alexandria* to be 58° : 58′; and ſo the Pole to be " raiſed there but 30° : 2′.

" The Variation of the Needle at *Rome* March " 17th, S. V. three quarters of a Degree Eaſt.

" Of *Leghorn* March 14th, S. V. 50′ to the Eaſt.

" The Obliquity of the Zodiac 1639, 23° : 30′ : 15″.

" The Colours of the Planets and of the Stars in " *Egypt* not different at all from what the antient Aſtro- " nomers obſerved, and from what we ſee in England.

" At the riſing and ſetting of the Sun in Egypt, eſ- " pecially about Alexandria, there is great ſtore of " vapours.

" At a good diſtance from the Horizon the body of " the Sun grows ruddy, and appears bigger than it " uſually ſeems to be in England.

" Few nights, and thoſe without wind, that he " could ſee the Stars near the Horizon; for which he " alledgeth this reaſon, becauſe when the winds blow, " they cauſe great quantity of ſand, which oftentimes " makes the ſky to look as when it is hazy weather in " England.

" He could obſerve no ſpots in the Sun for ſeveral " weeks together in the latter end of January, Fe- " bruary, and March. On the 5th of April three " little ſpots in the Sun, two cloſe together.

" The Diameter of the Sun taken January 25th, " S. V. 2ʰ : $\frac{40}{100}$ p. m. and ſo again 4ʰ. p. m. was " 35′. 25″.

" January 29th, S. V. 1638 about 5ʰ. p. m. he " found the ſame Diameter.

" His eyes were hurt with gazing upon the Sun, " ſo that for ſeveral days after there appeared to the " eye, with which he had obſerved, as it were a com- " pany of crows flying together in the air at a good " diſtance.

" *Poſidonius*, as *Cleomedes* writes, obſerved the Alti- " tude of *Canobus* at *Alexandria* to be 7½: he obſerv- " ed it to be but 6 and almoſt ½.

" The Jewiſh Paſſover began on Monday night 8th " April S. V. 1639 at *Alexandria*; ſo that Tueſday " 9th April was the 15th of Niſan.

" At this day he ſays there be but four channels or " *Oſtia* of *Nilus*; two natural, *Damiata* and *Roſetto*, " which make the *Delta*, and part ſome 20 miles be- " low *Cairo*; and two artificial, the one on the South " ſide of *Alexandria*, and hath its beginning South 30 " miles above *Roſetto*. By this all merchandize was " antiently brought to *Alexandria*, which now comes " from *Roſetto* to *Giermas* with great uncertainty by " reaſon that *Bocca* of *Nile* is very dangerous, both " becauſe of the N. W. and N. N. W. winds, which " barr in all thoſe ſhips and veſſels; as alſo for the " ſands and ſhallows, which at the overflowing of the " Nile good ſhips may paſs. The other artificial cha- " nel is at *Boulas*, where it falls (into the *Delta*) into a " ſinus of the Sea, that is in the middle way between " *Roſetta* and *Damiata*, and the like to that at *Madiga*, " which is the mid-way between *Alexandria* and *Roſet- " to*. Between theſe two places about forty miles Engliſh.

" *Roſetto* lies from *Alexandria* Eaſt by South.

" The courſes of *Nilus*, (allowing the ſeveral turn- " ings,) S. S. E. Wherefore *Memphis* and *Alexandria* " cannot be in the ſame Meridian, nor *Rhodus*; from " *Rhodus* they ſail S. S. E. to *Alexandria*.

" On land about 3 miles from *Shiemon* you may ſee " the Pyramids, which lie Weſt of it at the diſtance " of between 50 and 60 miles.

" *Ptolomy's Pillar* at *Alexandria*, as it is commonly " called, is of Corinthian work. He ſays, that he " had ſeen two or three Greek characters on the Plin- " thus to the Sea ſide: on the Weſt ſide of the Plin- " thus ΔΙΟ ΟΣ.

" At *Cairo*, where they hatch chickens by an artifi- " cial warmth, they know by looking on a new laid " egg of what colour the chicken will be, as alſo " whether it will be a cock or a hen."

This paper was read before the Royal Society Dec. 19th 1683, and referred to the conſideration of Mr. Edmund Halley, who made his report on the 9th of January 168¾, and collected from it the Latitude of Conſtantinople to be 41°. 7′½ N. that of Rhodes to be 30°. 47′ N. and that of Alexandria to be 31°. 4′ N. The very learned and ingenious Mr. John Machin, Secretary of the Royal Society, and Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham College, having conſidered this paper of Mr. Greaves, has communicated to us the following obſervations. " I make the obliquity of the " Ecliptic about the years 1637 and 1638 at its me- " dium to be 23°. 29′. 20″. Mr. Greaves in " this paper makes it to be 23°. 30.′ 15″. The " obſervations of Mr. Greaves will make the La- " titude of Conſtantinople by the Sun to be 41°. 08′;

" of

at Alexandria in 1638, in which he exhorted that Prince to clear thoſe ſeas from pirates, who extremely infeſted them. At Florence he contracted an intimacy with Robert Dudley, who was ſtiled in Italy Duke of Northumberland [*E*], who informed him, that after a careful obſervation, and allowing for the refractions and parallax according to Tycho Brahe's method, he found the elevation of the pole there to be forty three degrees and forty ſix minutes. From Florence Mr. Greaves went to Rome, in order to repeat the obſervations which he had made there before, and to make new ones, and deſigned to have continued there ſeveral months; but the deſire of returning to his own country induced him to ſhorten his ſtay there; upon which he went to Leghorn, where he embarked for England, and arrived there in the ſummer of the year 1640 (*p*). November the 14th 1643 (*q*), upon the deceaſe of Dr. John Bainbridge, he was choſen Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, and Superior Reader of Linacre's Lecture in Merton-College (*r*), and had a diſpenſation from the King for holding his Fellowſhip of that College, becauſe the ſtipend belonging to his Profeſſorſhip was extremely leſſened during the civil wars (*s*). In 1645 he propoſed a method for reforming the calendar, by omitting the intercalary day for forty years to come [*F*]. In 1646 he publiſhed at London in 8vo his *Pyramidographia: or a Deſcription of the Pyramids in Egypt* [*G*]; and in 1647 at London in 8vo his *Diſcourſe of the Romane foot and denarius; from whence, as from two principles, the meaſures and weights uſed by the Antients may be deduced* [*H*]. November the 9th 1648 (*t*) he was ejected by the Parliament Viſitors from the Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy and Fellowſhip of Merton-College, and obliged to quit the Univerſity, on pretence of his avoiding an anſwer to the articles alledged againſt him [*I*]. Dr. Walter

(*p*) Smith, pag. 13, 14.

(*q*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiquit. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 42.

(*r*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 157.

(*s*) Smith, pag. 15.

(*t*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 413.

" of Rhodes 36°. 4′6⅔; of Alexandria 31°. 5′¾. by " Canobus 31°: 7′½. The Sun's place in this paper is " ſaid to be on March the 11th. St. v. in ♈. 1°. 5′, " and the Declination North 0′. 26′; whereas at that " time I make the Longitude in ♈ 1°. 9′. 46″, and " the Declination 0°. 27′. 48″."

[*E*] *Robert Dudley, who was ſtiled in Italy Duke of Northumberland.*] He was ſon of Robert Earl of Leiceſter by Douglas Howard, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, and widow of John Lord Sheffield. This Gentleman endeavoured to prove his legitimacy in the beginning of the reign of King James I, in order to inherit the eſtate and titles of his father and his uncle Ambroſe Earl of Warwick; but miſs'd of his deſign thro' the endeavours of his father's widow, and therefore returned to Florence, where he had the title of Duke of Northumberland conferred upon him by Ferdinand II, Emperor of Germany, and became an excellent Mathematician, Phyſician, and Navigator, and ſkilled in all arts and ſciences. He wrote *Arcano del Mare*, printed at Florence 1630 and 1646 in two volumes in fol. (5).

(5) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 126, 127.

[*F*] *In* 1645 *he propoſed a method for reforming the Calendar by omitting the intercalary day for forty years to come.*] This paper was publiſh'd by Dr. Thomas Smith in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* for the month of October 1699.

[*G*] *In* 1646 *he publiſhed at London in* 8*vo his* Pyramidographia, Or a Deſcription of the Pyramids in Egypt.] He made a great number of alterations and additions in a copy of this Book, which he preſented to his brother Mr. Thomas Greaves, now repoſited in the Savilian Library at Oxford. This Treatiſe is reprinted in the ſecond volume of Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*; and was tranſlated into French, and printed in the firſt volume of *Relations de divers Voyages* publiſhed by Monſr. Thevenot. Dr. Thomas Smith had ſome thoughts of tranſlating it and the *Diſcourſe of the Roman Foot and Denarius* into Latin for the ſake of foreigners (6); but this deſign was never executed. Soon after the publication of the *Pyramidographia*, ſome Animadverſions were written upon it by a Gentleman *of great learning*, as Dr. Smith ſtiles him (7), tho' he does not name him; in which the animadverter endeavoured to invalidate our Author's obſervations, as if his inſtruments had been defective, or not well applied, thro' the neglect of ſome circumſtance neceſſary to be obſerved in an accurate enquiry. Dr. Smith remarks (8), that theſe animadverſions did not want learning, but were ill grounded and unjuſt; and that he ſhould have wondered how the Author would ſuffer them to eſcape him, to the injury of his friend's reputation, which he had ſo juſtly acquired by his Book, but that it appears from the hiſtory of times, that he wrote theſe Animadverſions out of the reſentment to Mr. Greaves, who had refuſed him his intereſt for procuring a place, which he ſollicited, but in vain. Mr. Greaves upon ſeeing theſe objections, applied himſelf with the utmoſt care to the reviſal of his Book, and by repeated calculations found, that he had aſſigned too ſmall an height to the largeſt of the Pyramids, which he now diſcovered to be four hundred and ninety nine foot high, inſtead of four hundred and eighty one, as he had affirmed in his Book p. 69. line 15. This correction he ſent in a Letter to Dr. Charles Scarborough.

(6) Smith, pag. 22.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

[*H*] *His* Diſcourſe of the Roman Foot and Denarius &c.] It is dedicated to his *truly noble and learned Friend* John Selden *Eſq; Burgeſs of the Univerſity of Oxford in the honourable Houſe of Commons.* Dr. Edward Bernard in his Book *de Menſuris & Ponderibus Antiquorum* (9), highly applauds this Treatiſe of our Author whom he ſtyles *Juſtitiæ Romanæ diligentiſſimus Indagator*; and in his manuſcript Lectures, cited by Dr. Smith (10) ſays, that his Book is *aureus, imo ſupra aurum omne & metallorum lucem pretioſus, luculentus.* Dr. Richard Cumberland in his *Eſſay towards the Recovery of the Jewiſh Meaſures and Weights, comprehending their monies*, having obſerved (11), that our Author " in his " Book of the Roman Foot, hath given us the Egyp- " tian *Derah* or Cubit accurately adjuſted to the 1000 " part of our Engliſh Standard-foot;" proceeds thus: " What uſe this very learned man intended to make " of this Egyptian Cubit, I find not, but heartily " wiſh, that he had lived to finiſh the work he intend- " ed, about the Meaſures and Weights of the Anci- " ents. The Jewiſh Cubit he hath no where ſtated " that I know of; only in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to " Mr. *Selden* he intimates it to be inveſtigable by the " help of the Roman Foot: how he thence could have " deduced it, I know not." Dr. George Hooper, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in his *Inquiry into the State of the ancient Meaſures, the Attick, the Roman, and eſpecially the Jewiſh*, ſtiles him an *accurate Author*, and ſpeaks of *the known ſkill and accuracy of that Obſerver* (12); and having obſerved (13), that Mr. Greaves intended to proſecute the ſubject of the *Dirhems* and *Denars* of the Arabians beſides what he has done in his *Diſcourſe of the Roman Foot* (14), tells us, that it is great " pity for many reaſons, that the accurate judgment " and exquiſite learning, with which he was furniſhed, " met with thoſe unhappy times, in which an honeſt " man was not only diſcouraged, but diſabled from " the proſecution of ſuch ſtudies." Dr. John Arbuthnot in his *Tables of ancient Coins, Weights and Meaſures, explained and exemplified in ſeveral Diſſertations* tells us (15), that Mr. Greaves *may be juſtly reckoned a claſſical Author* on the ſubject of the Roman Weights and Coins. Mr. John Ward, F. R. S. and Profeſſor of Rhetoric in Greſham College, in his *De Aſſe & Partibus ejus Commentarius*, publiſhed in Mr. Robert Ainſworth's *Monumenta Vetuſtatis Kempiana ex vetuſtis Scriptoribus illuſtrata, eoſque viciſſim illuſtrantia*, ſpeaks of Mr. Greaves's *Diſcourſe of the Roman Foot and Denarius* with great commendation.

(9) Printed at Oxford in 1683.

(10) *Vita Joannis Gravii*, pag. 37.

(11) Pag. 7. edit. London 1686.

(12) Part 1. cap. 4. § 2. pag. 24. edit. London 1721 in 8vo. *See likewiſe* Part 2. cap. 1. §. 4. pag. 45.

(13) Part 3. cap. 2. §. 4. pag. 92.

(14) Pag. 115.

(15) Cap. 3. pag. 15. edit. London 1727, in 4to.

[*I*] *The Articles alledged againſt him.*] They were as follow (16): " I. That he had betrayed the College " in

(16) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 157.

Walter Pope, who erroneouſly calls our Author *Edward* (*u*), obſerves (*w*), that Mr. Greaves had been *for a ſeaſon ſkreened againſt the fury of the viſitation by ſome powerful friends*; but finding it impoſſible to keep his Profeſſorſhip, made it his buſineſs to procure an able and worthy perſon to ſucceed him, and by the advice of Dr. Charles Scarborough (*x*) the Phyſician pitched upon Mr. Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum, who obtained for Mr. Greaves the full arrears of his ſtipend, amounting to five hundred pounds, *and deſigned him a conſiderable part of his ſalary* (*y*). Mr. Greaves upon his ejectment had his cheſts broken open by the ſoldiers, and his papers and manuſcripts taken from him, part of which were loſt, and the reſt recovered by means of his friend Mr. Selden (*z*). He then retired to London, where he married, and proſecuted his ſtudies with great vigour, as appears from the writings, which he publiſhed and left in manuſcript [*K*]. He died at London October the 8th 1652 (*aa*), being not full fifty years of

(*u*) *Life of Seth Ward, Lord Biſhop of Salisbury*, cap. 4. pag. 18. edit. London 1697 in 8vo.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) He was afterwards Phyſician to King Charles II, and knighted by him.

(*y*) *Life of Seth Ward*, pag. 18, 19, 20, 21.

(*z*) Smith, pag. 33.

(*aa*) *Deſiderata Curioſa, by Francis Peck, M. A.* vol 2. lib. 14. pag. 25. edit. London 1735 in fol.

" in diſcovering to the King's Agents 400 *l.* in the " Treaſury, which thereupon was taken away for the " King's uſe. II, That contrary to his oath he had " conveyed away a conſiderable part of the College " goods without the conſent of the company, and " thereby gratified Courtiers with them in other houſes. " III, That he feaſted the Queen's Confeſſors, and " ſent divers preſents to them, among which was an " *holy Throne*; and that he was more familiar with " them, than any true Proteſtants uſe to be. IV, " That he was the occaſion of ejecting Sir Nathaniel " Brent from his Wardenſhip, for adhering to the Par- " liament, and bringing in Dr. Harvey (17) into his " place. V, That he was the occaſion why Mr. Ed- " ward Corbet and Mr. Ralph Button were turned out " of their reſpective offices and chambers in the Col- " lege, becauſe they abode in the Parliament's quar- " ters, &c. VI, That he gave leave to Father Phi- " lips the Queen's Confeſſor, and Wyatt (18) one of " her Chaplains to come into the College Library to " ſtudy there, and that he put Mr. John French, a " Fellow, out of his chamber in Merton-College, " and put them into it, &c."

(17) Dr. William Harvey, the Phyſician, who diſcovered the circulation of the blood.

(18) Veatt, a Frenchman.

[*K*] *His Writings, which he publiſhed, and left in manuſcript.*] Beſides thoſe already mentioned he publiſhed the following: *Demonſtratio Ortus Sirii Heliaci pro parallelo inferioris Ægypti*; printed at the end of his Edition of Dr. John Bainbridge's *Canicularia*, at Oxford 1648 in 8vo. To this is added by Mr. Greaves, *Inſigniorum aliquot ſtellarum Longitudines & Latitudines ex Aſtronomicis Obſervationibus* Ulug Beigi, Tamerlanis *Magni Nepotis*. This Book is dedicated to George Ent M. D. who was afterwards Knighted and Preſident of the College of Phyſicians at London, and whom Mr. Greaves had contracted a friendſhip with at Padua. *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*. London 1649 in 4to. In the Dedication to Mr. Selden he obſerves, that he drew up this Grammar of the Perſian Language at the requeſt of that Gentleman, who approved of it; and that he propoſed to have publiſhed it nine years before, but wanting types, and being diverted by other affairs, and particularly his journey into the Eaſt, he had been obliged to ſuſpend the Edition. To this he ſubjoins, *Anonymus Perſa de Siglis Arabum & Perſarum Aſtronomicis*, printed at London 1648 in 4to. In the Dedication to Claudius Hardy, dated at London July 28th 1648 he obſerves, that tho' many perſons had written of the *Siglæ* of the Jews, which occur every where among the Rabbins, yet no perſon had publiſhed any account of thoſe uſed by the Arabians and Perſians, eſpecially in their Aſtronomical Tables. Mr. Greaves having met at Conſtantinople with this anonymous Perſian Writer, who explains this ſubject with great clearneſs and accuracy, thought it not improper to be joined to his *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*, which he had begun at Paris at Monſr. Hardy's ſollicitation. In 1650 our Author publiſh'd at London in 4to, *Epochæ celebriores, Aſtronomis, Hiſtoricis, Chronologis, Chataiorum, Syro-Græcorum, Arabum, Perſarum, Choraſmiorum, uſitatæ, ex traditione* Ulug Beigi, *Indiæ citra extraque Gangem Principis. Eas primus publicavit, recenſuit, & Commentariis illuſtravit* Johannes Gravius. This is dedicated to the Republic of Venice, to which he addreſſes a compliment in elegant Latin verſe. In order to render theſe *Epochæ*, which are of great importance in correcting a vaſt number of errors in our Books of Chronology, the more intelligible, Mr. Greaves has reduced them to the Julian Period and the vulgar Dionyſian Æra of Chriſt, and added a Praxis of the Tables, with proper Lemmata and Examples. To this Work he ſubjoined *Choraſmiæ & Mawaralnahræ, hoc eſt, Regionum extra Fluvium Oxum Deſcriptio, ex Tabulis Abulfedæ Iſmaelis, Principis Hamah*. London 1650 in 4to. Dedicated to Archbiſhop *Uſher*. In the *Preface* he obſerves, that he had collated theſe *Tables* of *Abulfeda* with five manuſcripts; one of which belonged to Erpenius, and was tranſcribed from a manuſcript in the Elector of Palatine's Library; another was the very manuſcript, from which Erpenius's copy was taken, but removed to the Vatican Library; two others in Mr. *Edward Pocock's* Library; and the fifth bought by Mr. Greaves at Conſtantinople. By the aſſiſtance of thoſe he corrected a great many errors in each of the Tables; but never made the leaſt alteration, unleſs where the caſe evidently required it, or the greateſt part of the manuſcripts juſtified it. Learned men had long wiſh'd for, or promis'd to publiſh the Tables of the celebrated *Abulfeda*. *Ramuſius* ſeems to have been the firſt, who cited them, and ſhewed the uſe of them. After this *Caſtaldus*, an eminent Geographer, corrected a great many paſſages in them relating to Aſia, which he had undertaken the Deſcription of, eſpecially with regard to the Longitudes and Latitudes of places, which had been before corrupted. Next followed the learned and judicious *Ortelius*, who in his *Theſaurus Geographicus* frequently mentions them, not as having ſeen them himſelf, but upon the authority of Caſtaldus. Erpenius regretted, that the whole Work of Abulfeda was not publiſhed, and promiſed an Edition of it; but being prevented by death, left it to William Schickard, who, in his *Tarich ſeu Series Regum Perſiæ* (19), gave the world out of *Abulfeda* a great many curious things, till then unknown to the Europeans, and illuſtrated the Geography of the Eaſtern Countries by means of the manuſcript of Vienna, communicated by the noble *Tengnagelius*. But Schickard, in a Letter to Mr. Greaves, obſerved, that this manuſcript of Vienna, which he had made uſe of, was in a variety of places impoſſible to be read, and generally very doubtful in the numbers; ſo that no Tables, or at leaſt only incorrect ones, could be formed by it. Our Author therefore undertook this Work, in the midſt of his own private misfortunes and anxiety, and the public calamities; and compleated it. He informs us, that Abulfeda ſucceeded his brother, as Prince of Hamah in Syria, in the year of the Hejira 743, or of the Chriſtian Æra 1342, and died in the year 746 of the Hejira; and for this he quotes the Author of the Book, intitled, *Al Sacerdan*. But Mr. *George Sale* in the Article of ABU'LFEDA in this *Dictionary* 20), has ſhewn, that the paſſage cited by our Author from *Al Sacerdan*, (or rather *Al Sukkerdân*, which is Perſian, and ſignifies a *Sugar-Diſh*,) does not relate to our *Abu'lfeda*, but to another, who was a King of Egypt, and did not begin his reign till ten years after our Abulfeda's death. Mr. Gagnier (21) diſcovered this miſtake of Mr. Greaves, but has committed ſome inaccuracies in his examination of it, which are taken notice of by Mr. Sale. But to proceed to Mr. Greaves's *Preface*, he obſerves, that the title of this Work of Abulfeda in the Arabic ſignifies *Canon* or rather *Rectificatio Terrarum*; and that it is declared at the concluſion of the Work, that it was finiſhed in the 721ſt year of the Hejira, or of the Chriſtian Æra 1321. It appears to be compiled from the principal Arabian Writers, about ſixty of whom Mr. Greaves remark'd to be cited in it. With regard to the method of theſe Tables, he obſerves, that *Ptolemy*

(19) Printed at Tubingen 1628 in 4to.

(20) Vol. 1. pag. 115.

(21) *In Præfat. ad* Abulf. *Vitam Mah.* pag. 4, & *ſeq.*

(*bb*) Smith, pag. 33. *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 158.

of age, and was interred in the Church of St. Bennet Sherehog in London (*bb*). He left his brother Dr. Nicholas Greaves Executor of his laſt will and teſtament, which had been made the year before his death; and the latter left by will our Author's Aſtronomical

lemy and the reſt of the Greek and Latin Writers compute the longitude of places from the Fortunate Iſlands; and that the ancient Arabians follow the Greeks in that point. But Abulfeda and ſome others compute from the extreme promontory, which runs out into the Atlantic Ocean. Hence appears the reaſon why in ſome of the Aſtronomical Tables and Geographical Charts of the Arabians, Alexandria in Egypt is in fifty one degrees of Longitude, in others in ſixty one degrees, the former computing from the ſhore of the Atlantic Ocean, the latter from the Fortunate Iſlands. But the Indian Geographers and Aſtronomers have a quite different method of computing the Longitude; for they draw the firſt Meridian in the Eaſt through *Cancador*, contrary to the Greeks, Latins, Perſians, Arabians, and others, who fix it in the Weſt, as appears from *Ali Koſhgi*, an eminent Perſian Aſtronomer, in his Inſtroduction to Aſtronomy. With regard to the Climates, *Abulfeda* takes a method very different from the common one. The antient Greek Writers reckoned ſeven Climates; in which number they are followed by the Arabians and Perſians. But *Abulfeda*, beſides theſe ſeven Climates, which are real and κατὰ θέσιν, depending on the length of the days, aſſigns twenty eight others κατ' ὑπόθεσιν. In his Tables therefore he diſtinguiſhes between *Clima verum* & *Clima cognitum*; "the latter being, ſays he, any "Country or Kingdom, which contains ſeveral Pro- "vinces or Tracts of Land; as *Syria*, *al Erak*, and "other countries. Sometimes *Clima cognitum* is part "of one true Climate, ſometimes of two; as Syria is "partly in the third, and partly in the fourth Cli- "mate. Sometimes *Clima cognitum* contains parts of "ſeven Climates, as it is reported of China; the "Longitude of which is ſaid to exceed the Latitude." The reaſon why *Abulfeda* reckons *Arabia*, or, as he calls it, the *Peninſula of Arabia*, the firſt Climate, was on account of the temple of God and the ſepulchre of Mahomet being ſeated there. Mr. Greaves then proceeds to explain the meaſures of the diſtances of places uſed by Abulfeda. The ſame year our Author publiſhed at London in 12mo, *A Deſcription of the Grand Seignior's Seraglio, or the Turkiſh Emperor's Court*, written by Mr. *Robert Withers*, and dedicated by Mr. Greaves to his *honoured and truly noble Friend* George Tooke *Eſq*;. In the dedication he obſerves, that this *is a piece of that exactneſs, as the like is not extant in any other language*; that he *aſſumes nothing to himſelf, either as author of the diſcourſe, or as poliſher of it*; that *it was freely preſented to him at* Conſtantinople; and that the name of the Author being then unknown, upon enquiry he had ſince found it to be the work of Mr. Robert Withers, "who by the "favour of the Engliſh Embaſſador, procuring him "admittance into the *Seraglio* (a courteſie unuſual,) "and by continuance many years in thoſe parts, had "time and opportunity to perfect his obſervations. "To him therefore are ſolely due the thanks of his "labour; to me it is ſufficient, that I have faith- "fully diſcharged my truſt, in publiſhing, ſince the "Author's death, the fruits of his travels, and in "communicating to the reader the pleaſure and ſa- "tisfaction of peruſing a relation full of truth and "exactneſs." But it appears that Mr. Greaves did not know, that this piece was already printed in Mr. Purchas's *Pilgrims*, *Part II. lib.* 9. *cap.* 15. *pag.* 1580, & *ſeqq.* edit. London 1625 in fol. and in the Preface to it we have the following words. "It is a "royal preſent worth the receiving, to ſet thee in "poſſeſſion, and make thee maſter of the Grand Sig- "nior's Seraglio; a ſight hitherto prohibited in a "manner to Chriſtian eyes .... Theſe hath maſter "*Robert Withers* collected after his ten years obſer- "vation at Conſtantinople, where he was educated "by the care and coſt of that late honourable Embaſ- "ſador from his Majeſty Sir Paul Pindar, and well "inſtructed by Turkiſh ſchoolmaſters in the Lan- "guage, and admitted alſo to further ſight of their "unholy holies, than is uſual." In 1652 our Author publiſhed at London in 4to, *Aſtronomica quædam ex Traditione* Shah Cholgii Perſæ: *una cum Hypotheſibus Planetarum & cum Excerptis quibuſdam ex* Alfergani *Elementis Aſtronomicis*, & Alî Kuſhgii *de terræ magnitudine*, & *ſphærarum cæleſtium a terrâ diſtantiis: ſtudio & operâ* Johannis Gravii, *nunc primum publicata*. In the dedication to John Marſham Eſq; afterwards Sir John Marſham, dated at London October the 1ſt 1650, he obſerves, that it was upon his ſollicitation that Marſham was induced to publiſh his *Diatriba Chronologica*, printed at London 1649 in 4to, and dedicated to Mr. Greaves; who in the Preface to his *Aſtronomica quædam*, tells us, that very near four hundred years before *Gerardus Cremonenſis*, a man excellently ſkilled in the Arabic Language, though not ſo well verſed in Aſtronomy, publiſhed theories of the Planets. His errors, which were every where received in the ſchools, and raſhly adopted by the ignorant Profeſſors of the Sciences, were firſt refuted by *Regiomontanus* (22); a little before whoſe time *George Purbach* (23), an eminent Aſtronomer, and *Regiomontanus's* maſter, ſeeing theſe ſtudies neglected, becauſe no perſon had laid down the elements of the ſcience in a ſolid and perſpicuous manner, wrote his book *de Theoricis Planetarum*, by which he facilitated the reading of *Ptolemy* and the antient Aſtronomers. Though this was done long before by *Ptolemy* himſelf in his old age, (not to mention a great number of Arabian and Perſian writers after him, particularly *Albattani*, *Alfergan*, *Coſta Ebn Luka*, *Naſſir Eddin*, and *Kuſhgi*,) for Ptolomy having finiſhed his Μεγάλη Σύνταξις, ſubjoined his treatiſe περὶ ὑποθέσεων πλανωμένων, i. e. *De Hypotheſibus Planetarum*, with a view either to refreſh his own memory, or to aſſiſt the youth. But this piece continued in obſcurity, ſcarce known to the Greeks, much leſs to the Latins, till Dr. *John Bainbridge* publiſhed it with *Proclus's Sphæra* at London 1620 in 4to. Purbach is therefore highly to be commended for being the firſt after the reſtoration of learning in Europe, who wrote a ſhort introduction into the more abſtruſe parts of the ſcience. Since his time there have been publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes upon the elements of Aſtronomy, or Commentaries upon that writer. Amongſt theſe the moſt eminent are *Eraſmus Rheinhold* and *Michael Mæſtlin*, the latter of whom is frequently recommended by *Tycho Brahe*. But Mr. Greaves obſerves, that it muſt be confeſſed, that even theſe writers, though otherwiſe very valuable, have not explained every thing to ſuch advantage, as an attentive reader could wiſh. For, to omit other defects, we meet in them a great number of barbarous terms, unknown to the Latin language, but every where uſed in the writings of Aſtronomers, the origin of which is requiſite to be underſtood. For ſince the time that Alphonſus, King of Caſtile, had with immenſe coſt, by the aſſiſtance of the Jews, Moors, and Arabians, whom he ſent for from all parts, formed the tables which bear his name, this maſs of exotic words overſpread the Latin writers upon Aſtronomy. Hence came the words *Juzahar*, *Zenith*, *Nadir*, *Buth*, with a prodigious variety of others, either taken from the Arabians, or formed in imitation of them. Mr. Greaves gives ſome inſtances of this, and remarks, that ſince the time of *al Mamon*, (by whoſe direction the Greek writers were firſt tranſlated into Arabic at Babylon,) all the books of ſcience, eſpecially Phyſic and Mathematics, came out of the Arabian ſchools; ſo that it is no wonder, if even in this more enlightened and polite age, there are ſtill retained ſome words, which diſcover their firſt origin. For it happens in ſcience as in the names of countries and places, that what has once been commonly received, will ſcarce be obliterated by length of time. Mr. Greaves therefore thought it would not prove unacceptable to the Republic of Letters, to trace up theſe exotic words to their original; and for that purpoſe to fix upon ſome genuine and approved writer. But as it was of no importance whether this was a Perſian or Arabian Author (ſince both Nations uſed the ſame technical expreſſions,) he choſe the ſhort tract here publiſhed, taken from the Commentaries of *Mahmud Shah Cholgi*. From this the reader will receive a double advantage; for thoſe who are converſant in Aſtronomy, will ſee the origin of ſeveral words, without which the tables uſed

(22) He was born June 6, 1436, and died July 6, 1476. *Vide Petr. Gaſſendum in Vita Johann. Regiomontani*, pag. 67, 92.

(23) He was born May 30th 1423, and died April 7, 1461. *Vide Gaſſendum in Vitâ Georgii Peurbachii*, p. 58, 74.

mical inſtruments to the Savilian Library in the Univerſity of Oxford, where they are repoſited. Mr. Greaves held a correſpondence with ſeveral learned Foreigners, particularly

uſed by the Arabians as well as the Perſians and Indians, cannot be underſtood; and perceive that the celeſtial hypotheſes of thoſe Nations are exactly conformable to thoſe of Ptolemy, and have them ſuccinctly and clearly explained here, and adapted to the motions of the Planets, from the accurate obſervations of *Naſſir Eddin* in the City Maragâ. Thoſe likewiſe who ſtudy the Oriental tongues, will be pleaſed to ſee a book publiſhed in the genuine Perſian language; ſince what had hitherto been publiſhed in that tongue, and particularly the *Pentateuch* by the *Tawuſh* the Jew, and Xavier's *Hiſtoria Chriſti & Petri* publiſhed by *Ludovicus de Dieu* at Leyden in 1639, are full of barbariſms and improprieties. Mr. Greaves concludes his preface with remarking, that *Shah Cholgi* flouriſhed in the year 866 of the Hejira, and 1461 of the Chriſtian Æra; at which time he compoſed his Commentaries upon the Aſtronomical Tables dedicated by *Naſſir Eddin* to *Ilechan Tatar*. Whether he wrote any thing beſides the Commentaries, (part of which Mr. Greaves here publiſhes) is not known; but that Gentleman tells us, theſe alone are ſufficient to correct a great many errors in Aſtronomy; to confute divers aſſertions in Chronology, received upon the authority of Joſeph Scaliger; and to explain a variety of things in the Arabian writers, eſpecially the Mathematicians. To this book he ſubjoined *Binæ Tabulæ Geographicæ, una* Naſſir Eddini *Perſæ, altera* Ulug Beigi *Tatari. Operâ & ſtudio* Joannis Gravii *nunc primum publicatæ*. London 1652 in 4to, dedicated to his friend Mr. Edward Pocock, and his brother Mr. Thomas Greaves. In the *Preface* he tells us, that having at the ſollicitation of ſeveral learned men, undertaken an edition of the *Geographical Canon* of Abulfeda, he thought proper to publiſh firſt theſe two Tables, by which he hoped at preſent to ſatisfy the impatience of thoſe, who were importunate for the edition of Abulfeda, by whoſe aſſiſtance they imagined Geography might be illuſtrated and placed in a right view. Mr. Greaves remarks, that theſe learned men had formed a juſt notion of Abulfeda; but appear not to have known, that ſeveral other Arabian writers have treated extremely well of the ſubject of Geography. For, to omit others, *Ebn Haukal* wrote a large work, in which he diſcourſes very accurately of every thing remarkable in each country. *Al Edriſi* in his book *concerning Kingdoms and Empires*, deſcribes exactly the ſituation of cities and places, the boundaries of each Nation, and their Longitude and Latitude. The ſame deſign is executed by *Ebn Chordadabah*, an eminent Arabian Geographer. *Yacut al Hamaw* has compiled a Geographical *Theſaurus*, of great uſe to thoſe who ſtudy the Oriental Languages. But theſe writers are all excelled by *Abu al Rihán al Birun*, an admirable Mathematician, who, in imitation of Ptolemy, wrote a Geographical Canon about ſix hundred and ſixty years after the time of Ptolemy. And to paſs over other Writers, (about thirty of whom are cited in the Geography of Abulfeda), *Gabriel Sionita* and *John Heſronita* publiſhed the *Geographia Nubienſis* with a Latin Verſion; though the Arabic edition at Rome, which thoſe learned men followed, is rather to be conſidered as an imperfect abridgment of *al Edriſi*, who flouriſhed in the year 548 of the Hejira, and of the Chriſtian Æra 1153, than a complete work; as appeared from two manuſcripts, one bought by Dr. Pocock in Syria, and the other purchaſed by Mr. Greaves in Egypt, written in African Letters, though very antient, and with elegant maps. The firſt Table publiſhed by Mr. Greaves in this volume, was made by Naſſir Eddin, who flouriſhed about the year 660 of the Hejira, and was an eminent Perſian Mathematician and Aſtronomer, and is highly commended by *Gregory Abu'l Faragius*. The Hiſtorians relate, that preſenting a book written by him to *Moſtaaſem*, the laſt Kalif of Babylon, and being treated with contempt by the Kalif, he was ſo exaſperated, that he went to *Holac Chân*, Prince of the Tatars, and perſuaded him to make war upon *Moſtaaſem*, whoſe army was defeated, and himſelf with his four ſons ſlain by *Holac Chân*, after the taking of Babylon. By this event the Empire and Name of the *Abaſſidæ*, which had flouriſhed about five hundred years in Aſia, were entirely extinguiſhed. It is probable, that Naſſir Eddin was advanced to great honours by Holac, and had a conſiderable ſhare in his friendſhip; and under his patronage formed the Aſtronomical Tables, which he ſtiled the *Ilechan-Tables* from Ilechan King of the Tatars, by the aſſiſtance of the moſt famous Mathematicians in the City Maraga. *Mahmud Shagh Cholgi* prefers theſe Tables to all others; and Mr. Greaves remarks, that if they had been known to the Emperors in the preceding ages, thoſe monſtrous hypotheſes of an eighth heaven, long before introduced by *Thebet Ebn Corah*, and other errors would have been exploded. Mr. Greaves therefore extracted this table out of his Collection, which he thinks will be of great advantage in illuſtrating the Geography of the remoteſt parts of Aſia, moſt of which Naſſir Eddin had ſeen and travelled over, and given an accurate account of the reſt from the writings of the Indians and Arabians. The other table was made by *Ulug Beig*, King of Parthia and India, and grandſon of *Timurlan* the Great, who reſiding in Affluence at Samarkand, his metropolis, exerciſed himſelf in the ſtudy of Mathematics and Aſtronomy, and having ſent from all parts for Aſtronomers, (the principal of whom were *Giyath Eddin Jamſhid*, and *Ali Cuſhgi*, Author of a famous book concerning the Elements of Arithmetic and Aſtronomy,) and furniſhed them with inſtruments, obſerved the Phænomena of the Heavens with the utmoſt accuracy, and formed from thence his tables, which are celebrated over the whole Eaſt, in the year 841 of the Hejira, and 1437 of the Chriſtian Æra. Among theſe, according to the cuſtom of Aſtronomers, is ranked the Geographical Table here publiſhed by Mr. Greaves; who obſerves, that he was informed at Conſtantinople by ſome Turkiſh Aſtronomers of no mean parts and ſkill, upon remarking the agreement between the obſervations of *Tycho Brahe* and thoſe of *Ulug Beig*, that the latter, beſides his other moſt exact inſtrument, had procured a Quadrant, the radius of which was as high as the top of the Dome of St. Sophia, which is above an hundred and eighty Roman feet. This account the Turks had from Perſians of credit. Mr. Greaves leaves the Reader to believe as much of this relation as he pleaſes; but remarks that very large inſtruments were abſolutely neceſſary to take the height of the Pole at Samarkand, (where Ulug Beig reigned, according to Emir Cond, above forty years;) for he makes it to be thirty nine degrees, thirty ſeven minutes, and twenty three ſeconds; from whence we may conclude his prodigious accuracy in the reſt of his obſervations. Beſides thoſe Works, which he had publiſhed, ſome other pieces of his were printed ſince his death, viz. I. *Lemmata* Archimedis *apud Græcos & Latinos jam pridem deſiderata, è vetuſto Codice manuſcripto Arabico à* Johanne Gravio *traduͣta, & nunc primum cum Arabum Scholiis publicata. Reviſa & pluribus mendis repurgata à* Samuele Foſter: publiſh'd at London 1659 fol. in a Book intitled, *Miſcellanea, ſive Lucubrationes Mathematicæ* Samuelis Foſter *olim Londini in Collegio Greſhamenſi Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris publici. Omnia in Lucem edita, & pleraque Latinè reddita operâ & ſtudio* Johannis Twyſden, *C. L. M. D. qui etiam ex ſuis nonnulla adjunxit*. Our Author in his Letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, dated September 19th 1644, ſpeaks thus of his Tranſlation of thoſe *Lemmata*. "I have finiſhed thoſe *Lemmata* of *Archimedes*, which "the Arabians call بماخذه ان; and if I be not de- "ceived, ſuch as wiſh well to the Mathematicks, "will think my pains well beſtowed; as indeed it was "no ſmall labour to correct the Diagrams and the Letters, (which were too often perverted in the manu- "ſcript,) and ſometimes to ſupply what was defective "in the Demonſtration itſelf." II. *Of the manner of hatching of eggs at Cairo*: publiſhed by Sir *George Ent* in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* for January and February 1677, N°. 137. p. 923. It is not improbable, that the Emperor Hadrian might allude to this cuſtom in his Letter to Servianus the Conſul, in which he ſpeaks this of the Egyptians: *Nihil illis opto, niſi ut ſuis pul-*

larly William Schickard, James Golius, Claudius Hardy, Francis Junius, Peter Scavenius, and Chriſtian Ravius; and had an intimate friendſhip with Archbiſhop Uſher, Mr. Selden, Dr. Gerard Langbaine, Dr. William Harvey, and Sir John Marſham, to whom he left by will all the coins which he had collected in Italy and the Eaſt; Dr. Edward Pocock, Dr. George Ent, Dr. Charles Scarborough, and other great

lis alantur; quos quemadmodum fœcundant pudet dicere. III. *An account of the Longitude and Latitude of Conſtantinople and Rhodes; directed to the moſt Reverend* James Uſher, *Archbiſhop of Armagh*: publiſh'd by Dr. *Thomas Smith* in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N°. 178, for December 1685. Reprinted in *A Collection of curious Travels and Voyages, publiſh'd by Mr.* John Ray, Tom. II. p. 84 & ſeqq. 2d Edit. London 1705 in 8vo. IV. *Reflections on a Report made by the Lord Treaſurer* Burleigh *to the Lords of the Council of the Conſultation had and the Examination of the* Plain Diſcourſe and humble Addreſs for our gracious Queen Elizaberh, her moſt excellent Majeſty to peruſe and conſider, as concerning the needful Reformation of the Vulgar Kalendar, for the civil years and dayes accompting of verifying according to the time truly ſpent, *by* John Dee, *Martii* 25. 1582. Mr. Greaves's *Reflections* were publiſh'd by Dr. *Thomas Smith* in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* Vol. XXI. N° 257, for October 1699. V. *An Account of ſome Experiments for trying the force of great Guns by Mr.* John Greaves: publiſh'd by Mr. *Richard Stubbs*, Rector of Eaſt-Hamſted in Berkſhire in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N°. 173, p. 1090. for July 1685. VI. *Deſcriptio Peninſulæ Arabicæ ex* Abulfedâ. *Arabicè & Latinè.* He deſigned to have publiſhed this in 1645; but was prevented by the Civil Wars. The Tranſlation was inſerted together with the original by Mr. *Gagnier* in the third volume of Dr. *John Hudſon's Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores*; from which Edition chiefly Monſr. la Roque made his French Tranſlation of the ſame Deſcription of Arabia, ſubjoin'd to his *Journey to Paleſtine*. Mr. Greaves had likewiſe prepared for the preſs the following works. I. *Tabulæ integræ Longitudinis & Latitudinis Stellarum fixarum juxta* Ulug Beigi *Obſervationes*. He collated theſe Obſervations with five Manuſcripts, in order to render his Edition as correct as poſſible. He left this Book in the hands of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Dr. *Thomas Hyde* not knowing any thing of this Work of our Author, publiſhed the ſame Obſervations with a Latin Tranſlation and Notes at Oxford in 1665 under this title: *Verſio Latina e Lingua Perſicâ, & Commentarii in Obſervationes* Ulughi Beigi *de Tabulis Longitudinis & Latitudinis Stellarum fixarum*; dedicated to Dr. *Seth Ward*, then Biſhop of Exeter, and afterwards of Sarum. II. He had prepared a Tranſlation of *George Chryſoccoca* out of Perſian Manuſcripts into Greek, as he found that piece among the Baroccian Manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library; and a Table containing the Longitude and Latitude of twenty five of the moſt conſiderable Fixed Stars, and another Table, or Κανόνιον τῦ μήκους καὶ πλατῦς τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων πόλεων. The tables had been publiſhed by *Iſmael Bullialdus* in the Appendix to his *Aſtronomia Philolaica* at Paris 1645. Dr. Smith tells us (24), that he had ſeen the various Readings noted down by Mr. *Greaves* in the margin of his MS. collated with the printed copy. III. *A Geographical Account of the Mountains of the Earth according to the Arabians from* Abulfeda: in Engliſh. In this piece he made the following obſervations. "That Mount *Sina* reaches to "the Red-Sea, is confirmed by the Geographers and "Travellers of our times. One thing is remarkable, "which neither Hiſtorians, nor any other that I know "of, make mention of; and that is this: that the "rocks are there of a goodly ſpeckled kind of marble, the colour being red with ſome mixture of black "and white. From whence almoſt all the choiceſt "pillars and huge vaſt ſtones, that are now in the "world, have been brought down the Red-Sea, and "ſo conveyed to the *Nilus*, by which they have been "carried up to *Thebes* or down to *Alexandria* and o-"ther places. I have ſeen wonderful fair and great "ſtones, that have been brought anciently from Mount "*Sina*, whereof ſome of them are in the pyramids, "others are made into obeliſks and pillars. Thoſe "pieces both of *Conſtantinople* and *Rhodes*, which are "ſo huge and vaſt, thoſe goodly pillars, which are in "the *Pantheon* built by *Agrippa*, as alſo the Aguglias "full of Ægyptian Hieroglyphics, have all had their "original from thence. This I may the more confi-"dently aver, becauſe a learned man, a *Venetian*, who "had been ſome pretty while at Mount *Sina*, and whom "I knew to be very curious, aſſured me, that he "had ſeen ſome pillars there, which were almoſt fi-"niſhed, when by caſualty had been left imperfect, "and not brought away. And that for many miles "there were huge rocks and mountains of this red "marble ſpeckled with black and white, of which "kind all the antient fabricks of Ægypt conſiſted. "And beſides this place of Mount Sina all the other "quarries and hills are of a kind of white free-ſtone, "like ours; wherefore they could not have of them "from theſe, but from thoſe of Mount Sina." IV. *Of the* Tatars *or* Mogols, *from* Texeira *the Spaniard*; who borrowed many things from *Emir Cond* the Perſian; with a ſhort Deſcription of the chief Cities in Perſia by the ſame Writer. In Engliſh. V. *Commentaries upon the* Epochæ, which he had publiſhed an Account of in the year 1650. Theſe Commentaries were unfortunately omitted in that Edition; tho' in the title-page Mr. Greaves mentions them, and in the Book itſelf refers the Reader to them. Dr. Smith could not diſcover what was become of them, not meeting with them among our Author's or Archbiſhop *Uſher's* papers. VI. *Verſio integra Tabularum Geographicarum* Abulfedæ. This could not be found by Dr. Smith. It appears from Mr. Graves's Preface to his Edition of *Choraſmiæ & Mawaralnahræ Deſcriptio*, that this Tranſlation was finiſh'd by him. VII. *Elementa omnium Scientiarum, præſertim Mathematicarum.* This Treatiſe comprehends a ſhort view of all the Sciences, and contains a great many things relating to Aſtronomy, Geography, and Chronology collected from the Arabic and Perſian Writers, with ſeveral excellent Aſtronomical Obſervations made by himſelf and others. This Book written by his own hand was given to Dr. *Dudley Loſtus* by Dr. *Nicholas Greaves*, and afterwards came into the hands of Dr. Thomas Smith, who deſigned to have publiſh'd it (25); but was prevented by death. VIII. He made ſeveral Maps from the Tables of *Naſſir Eddin*, *Abulfeda*, and *Ulug Beig* compared together; and another of Leſſer Aſia, at the deſire of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who was then writing a learned Diſſertation, which was afterwards printed under the title of *Geographica & Hiſtorica Diſquiſitio de* Minori Aſiâ *proprie dicta*, &c. IX. He deſigned alſo to publiſh a *Perſian Lexicon*, as appears from his Letter to Archbiſhop *Uſher* above quoted, where he writes thus; "According to your "Grace's advice, I have made a *Perſian Lexicon* out "of ſuch words as I met with in the Evangeliſts and "in the Pſalms, and in two or three Arabian and Per-"ſian Nomenclators; ſo that I have now a ſtock of "above ſix thouſand words in that language; I think "as many as *Raphelengius* hath in his Arabic Dictionary. Wherefore I have a greater mind than ever "to go to Leyden, and peruſe their Oriental Manuſcripts, which were printed by the expence of the "States, a thing which long ſince your Grace would "have had me to have done. But yet conſidering my "Lecture in Oxford (tho' as yet it cannot be read) it will "not be fit for me to go without ſpecial leave from our "honourable Chancellor, and two or three more of "the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council. I ſhall "therefore deſire your Grace to procure this favour for "me in writing, with this caution, that my abſence "for a while may be no prejudice to me at home, eſpecially ſince my journey is for the improvement "of learning and for the publiſhing of ſome of thoſe "Books, which I long ſince have finiſhed. There I ſhall "have an opportunity of printing your Grace's Map, "and of perfecting and publiſhing that Diſcourſe of "Dr. *Bainbrigg* concerning the *Periodus Sothiaca*." X. He propoſed likewiſe to have publiſhed many other Tracts, particularly concerning the *Arabian Geographers*, the *Weights and Meaſures of the Arabians*, the *Mummies of the Egyptians*, and their *Hieroglyphics*, and concerning many other Antiquities of that Country.

(24) Pag. 30.

(25) Smith, pag. 31.

great men. He had three brothers, NICHOLAS, THOMAS, and EDWARD, all men of diſtinguiſhed learning [*L*].

GREGORY

[*L*] *He had three brothers*, Nicholas, Thomas, and Edward, *all then of diſtinguiſhed learning.*] Dr. NICHOLAS GREAVES was a Commoner of St. Mary's Hall in Oxford, from whence in 1627 he was elected Fellow of All-Souls-College (26). In 1640 he was Proctor of that Univerſity (27). November 1ſt 1642 he took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (28), and July 6th the year following that of Doctor of Divinity (29). He was Dean of Dromore in Ireland (30). Dr. THOMAS GREAVES was admitted a Scholar of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford March 15th 1627, and choſen Fellow thereof in 1636, and Deputy Reader of the Arabic during the abſence of Mr. Edward Pocock in 1637 (31). He took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity October 22d 1641 (32), and was Rector of Dunſby in Lincolnſhire during the times preceding the Reſtoration, and of another Living near London (33). October 10th 1661 he had the Degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him (34), and a Prebend in the Church of Peterborough in 1666, being then Rector of Benefield in Northamptonſhire, "which Benefice he reſigned ſome years before his "death thro' trouble from his Pariſhioners, who be-"cauſe of his ſlowneſs of ſpeech and bad utterance "held him inſufficient for it, notwithſtanding he was "a man of great learning (35)." In the latter part of his Life he retired to Weldon in Northamptonſhire, where he had purchaſed an eſtate, and died there May 22d 1676 in the 65th year of his age, and was interred in the chancel of the Church there (36). His writings are, *De Linguæ Arabicæ Utilitate & Præſtantiâ, Oratio Oxonii habita* 19 *Julii* 1637. Oxford 1637 in 4to. *Obſervationes quædam in Perſicam Pentateuchi Verſionem*; printed in the ſixth Tome of the *Polyglot Bible* (37). *Annotationes quædam in Perſicam Interpretationem Evangeliorum*; printed in the ſame Tome (38). Theſe Annotations were tranſlated into Latin by Mr. Samuel Clarke. We ſhall preſent the Reader with an original Letter of his, which will inform us of a work, which he then deſigned.

(26) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 669.

(27) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 283.

(28) Idem, ibid. vol. 2. col. 21.

(29) Idem, ibid. col. 33.

(30) Smith, pag. 34.

(31) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 556.

(32) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 2.

(33) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 556.

(34) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 147.

(35) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 556.

(36) Idem, ibid.

(37) Pag. 48.

(38) Pag. 56.

To Mr. *Richard Baxter*.

Aug. 5. 1656.

"I thanke you for your kind letter and cenſure of "my little Treatiſe. I have compoſed another, but "much larger, and in a different language concerning "a Religion oppoſite to Chriſtianity, yet (which is one "of the great depths of Satan) pretending to be a con-"firmation of it; I mean the Mahometan Religion, "which hath prevailed in ſo great a part of the world, "the firſt publiſher whereof doth profeſs, that he was "ſent with the ſame meſſage, and to preach the ſame "doctrine, which Chriſt before had delivered. From "whence I think it undeniably follows, that by the "judgment of their own Prophet they ought to em-"brace the Chriſtian Religion; and in diſputation "with them I conceive this ought to be chiefly urged "and inſiſted on. I know their ordinary exception "and evaſion is, that the Scriptures are corrupted, "(which Mahomet often objects to the Jews and Chri-"ſtians,) and changed, not in matters of ſmall moment, "but in fundamentals, as touching Chriſt's prediction "and expreſs mention of Mahomet, as an Apoſtle or "Meſſenger to be ſent from God, beſides divers other "paſſages relating to the perſon and office of Chriſt, "wherein they affirm our Scriptures and Records to be "falſified; an error very eaſy to be refuted, though "they will not eaſily be convinced. A Treatiſe of "their *Credenda* and *Agenda*, in part of both which "they are diametrically oppoſite to Chriſtianity, I have "compoſed out of their own writings; the Tranſlations "now extant, and relations of the Greeks and Latins "concerning Mahomet's Original and a great part of "his doctrine, being very erroneous, which hath oc-"caſioned divers miſtakes in *Vives*, *Grotius* &c. Hav-"ing therefore ſhewn ſome part of the Work with "other Obſervations to the Reverend Biſhop *Uſher*, he "often adviſed me to publiſh them; but I have not "yet an opportunity. This incloſed Note I have "ſent you for a little taſte, and eſpecially becauſe a-"mong thoſe arguments of God's Providence, "and reaſons to perſuade the belief of the Chriſtian "Religion, which you and others produce, I think "this very conſiderable, the confeſſion and teſtimony "of the chief adverſaries. What plainer or clearer "evidence could be deſired from the mouth of ſo great "an enemy as this, which I have tranſcribed? To "me it is a great ſatisfaction and confirmation to ſee "God's Truth and Wiſdom juſtified not only by her "own children, but even by ſtrangers and the greateſt "oppoſers of it; which cauſeth me to think of that "expectation often uſed in the Scripture, *Inimici tui* Pſ. lvi. 3. "*mentientur tibi*, as many render it, *mendaciter ſe de-* יְכַחֲשׁוּ לָךְ "*dunt tibi*, as Junius; our Tranſlators ſometimes, "*Thine enemies ſhall be found liars unto thee.* The "truth, which they acknowledge, ſhall diſcover them "to be liars; as it is certain, that Mahomet, the more "truth he utters in this, the more he is found a liar in "the reſt. Who knoweth whether they, who ac-"knowledge our Saviour's miraculous Nativity, won-"derful Works, and Miſſion from Heaven to preach "the Goſpel, ſo frequently atteſted in the Alcoran, "may not at length be induced to receive the whole "truth, of which ſuch a part is already believed by "them, if Chriſtians would ſeriouſly endeavour it, "and labour to improve ſuch an advantage? I ſhould "be glad to hear of your health, and to receive an "anſwer from you, if it may not hinder your better "employments. God preſerve you for the further be-"nefit of his Church. I remain

"Your loving Brother and Servant,

"*T. Greaves.*"

He had a correſpondence by Letters with ſeveral of the moſt learned men of that time, particularly Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Abraham Whelocke*, Profeſſor of Arabic in the Univerſity of Cambridge, as appears from the following Letters to him from thoſe eminent Scholars.

"To my worthy Friend Mr. Thomas Greaves at Cor-"pus Chriſti College in Oxford, theſe.

"Worthy Sir,

"I received a part of your excellent Notes upon "that Arabique Dialogue, and have had ſome ſpeech "with the Printer concerning them. His anſwere is "yet ſomewhat uncertain. What is fit to be done or "may be, to ſecond your wiſhes, ſhall hereafter, "when you come up, be performed as farre forth as "it lies in the power of

"March 23th. 1635. Your affectionat Freind

"The Temple. *J. Selden.*"

"Worthy Sir,

"You know, I doubt not, by this time, that God "hath taken from us our deer Freind Mr. *James*. On "Munday laſt he was buried at Weſtminſter. He had "divers Collections and Notes of Hiſtory and other "things; which, I preſume, are in ſome trunks of "his in his chamber at the College. Into whoſe "hands of his kindred they ſhall come, I know not; "nor could I tell, under that name, to whom to make "any addreſſe. But becauſe I preſume they are yet "under ſomme command of yours, I have ventured "upon putting you to this trouble, that you would "favour me ſo much as to take the beſt courſe, that "might be, that upon ſuch ample ſatisfaction as may "be fit, I might have them in bulk as they are. "You ſhall be umpire in the buſineſſe, and they ſhal "be ſatisfied immediately, if I may have them. If "any thing ly in my power, wherein I may ſerve "you, I beſeech you command, and you ſhall find a "very ready heart in

Your moſt affectionat Freind and Servant,

"Dec. 13. 1638.

"The Temple. *J. Selden.*"

"To his much honoured Freinde Mr. Thomas Greaves,

"Reader of the Arabick Lecture in Oxford, theſe,

"At Corpus Chriſti College.

"Worthie Mr. Greaves,

"I am very mech indebted (I confeſſe) to you, and "blame myſelfe for ſoe longe ſilence. My neceſſities "have caſt me uppon many buſineſſes of late, ſoe that "I have almoſt forgott myſelfe, and before old age be-"gin

GREGORY, ſurnamed the Great, born at Rome of a Patrician family, diſcovered ſuch great abilities in the exerciſe of the ſenatorial employments, that the Emperor Juſtin the younger appointed him Prefect of Rome (*a*). He quitted this office as ſoon as he found that it attached him to the good things of this world, and ſecluded himſelf in a monaſtery [*A*], under the government of Valentius the Abbot (*b*). He was ſoon taken from thence by Pope Pelagius II, who made him his ſeventh Deacon, and ſent him as his Nuncio to Conſtantinople, to demand ſuccours againſt the Lombards. He returned to Rome after the Emperor's death [*B*], and was, for ſome time, Secretary to Pope Pelagius; after which he obtained leave to retire into his monaſtery (*c*). When he thought of enjoying a ſolitary and unruffled life there, he was elected Pope by the Clergy, the Senate, and People of Rome; and after employing all the methods poſſible to avoid this dignity [*C*], he was forced to accept of it (*d*). It appeared by his conduct, that

(*a*) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontific. de St. Gregoire.*

(*b*) Others call him Valentine.

(*c*) Maimb. *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Greg.* pag. 7, 8.

(*d*) He was inthron'd the 3d of Sept. 590.

" gin to enter into سن الاضمحلاط the declining age;
" for my eye-ſight, which is as deare to me as my life,
" (I feare) decayes. You much revived me both by
" the gift of that excelleut and trewlie eloquent ſpeech
" of yours, as alſoe by the report of my ever honoured
" freind Mr. *John Greaves*, whoſe preſence (when
" by God's help it ſhall come to paſſe) together
" with yours may bringe me to Oxford. I am aſham-
" ed to tell you, few do *Arabicari* in this Univerſity;
" yet ſome doe, yet ἄλις ἐις ἄλις ἐδείς. So that in
" the Church there will be ſome that promote theſe
" ſtudies. I ſhal be heartily joyful to ſee you here
" this Vacation, and will ſet apart a roome or two
" for you, one in my houſe, another in the publicke
" Scholes, where you ſhal be *in gremio venerandæ ma-*
" *terteræ veſtræ matriſque noſtræ.* I hope alſoe to be
" myſelfe at home, and to enjoy your company. I
" thanke you againe and againe for that wiſe, learned,
" and rhetorical Panegyriq of the Arabic Language.
" I am not able to ſend you mine in print, becauſe
" not worthie. Commend me heartily to all our freindes,
" to your brother with you, to Mr. Jacob, Mr. Gre-
" gory, Mr. Chidloe, your Chaplaine, my very lov-
" inge freinde. I have heard by Sir *Chriſtopher Hat-*
" *ton* of Northampton ſhyre, that worthy Mr. *Rowſe*
" was pleaſed to ſpeake good wordes of me to him. I
" much thanke him for it; and if you pleaſe, re-
" member my ſervice to him next after your ſelfe.
" Now God preſerve you ever his.

" Your very lovinge Freinde and Fellow-Labourer
" Cambridge Julie 24,
" 1639. " *Abraham Wheelock.*"

Dr. EDWARD GREAVES, the youngeſt brother of Mr. John Greaves, was born at or near Croydon in Surrey, and admitted Probationer Fellow of All-Souls-College in Oxford in 1634 (40); and entering on the Phyſic Line took the Degree of Doctor of that Faculty July 8th 1641 (41), in which year and afterwards he practiſed with good ſucceſs about Oxford. In 1643 he was elected Superior Lecturer of Phyſic in Merton College, to read the Lecture of that Faculty founded by Dr. Thomas Linacre. Upon the declining of the King's cauſe, he retired to London, and practiſed there, and ſometimes at Bath (42). March 16th 1652 he was examined for the firſt time before the College of Phyſicians at London, and October 1ſt 1657 was elected Fellow thereof (43). After the Reſtoration he was appointed Phyſician in ordinary to King Charles II, and became a Baronet. Mr. Wood (44) ſtiles him a *pretended Baronet*; but we find, that he takes this title in his Oration before the College of Phyſicians; and in the ſixth Edition of *A Diſplay of Heraldry: by* John Guillim, *Purſuivant of Arms* (45), are the following words: " He beareth Gules, an Eagle diſplay'd,
" crowned Argent, by the name of *Greaves*, and
" with the Arms of Ulſter is the Coat of Armour of
" Sir *Edward Greaves* of St. Leonard's Foreſt in Suſ-
" ſex and of Harietſham in Kent, Bart. This Coat
" without the Arms of Ulſter, and with its due diſ-
" tance is born by his brother *Thomas Greaves*, D. D."
He died at his houſe in Covent-Garden London November 11th 1680, and was interred in the Pariſh-Church there (46). He wrote and publiſh'd *Morbus Epidemius, ann.* 1643: Or, *the New Diſeaſe, with ſigns, cauſes, remedies, &c.* Oxford 1643 in 4to, written upon occaſion of a diſeaſe called *Morbus Campeſtris*, which raged in Oxford, while the King and Court were there. *Oratio habita in Ædibus Collegii Medicorum Londinenſium* 25 *Julii* 1661, *die* Harvæi *memoriæ dicato.* London 1667 in 4to. This Oration ſhews him to have been a great Maſter of the Latin Tongue. T.

(40) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 669.

(41) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 2.

(42) Idem, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 669.

(43) From the Regiſter of the College, communicated by the very learned Dr. Thomas Pellet, Preſident of the College.

(44) *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(45) Pag. 210. edit. London 1724.

(46) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 669.

[*A*] *He ſecluded himſelf in a Monaſtery.*] It was that of St. Andrew, which he himſelf had founded at Rome in his father's houſe (1), and had given the direction of it to Valentius, whom he drew from a Country Monaſtery (2). He founded ſix other Convents in Sicily, *and ſold all the reſt of his poſſeſſions, the monies ariſing from which he gave to the poor* (3).

(1) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Greg. le Grand*, pag. 7. Dutch edit.

[*B*] *He returned to Rome after the Emperor's death.*] This Emperor's name was Tiberius, who died the 14 of Auguſt 582 (4), which points out an egregious error of Maimbourg. He relates (5) that Gregory, who could not obtain any ſuccours, *did nevertheleſs very great ſervice to the Church*, ſince he compoſed in Conſtantinople *his excellent Treatiſe of morality on Job*; and that he *obliged, by his learned conferences, Eutychius the Patriarch to retract his errors* with reſpect to the Reſurrection. *After which*, continues he, *his Nunciature being ended by the death of the Emperor Tiberius, who died during this interval, . . . he returned to Rome.* He fixes theſe conferences to the year 586, and therefore muſt ſuppoſe that Tiberius did not die before this year, which is a groſs chronological error. Dr. Cave dates theſe conferences, and the death of this Emperor to the year 586 (6), and has conſequently committed the ſame error. Baronius (7) alſo fixes the death of this Emperor to the ſame year. His chronological error was not known to Du Pin (8).

(2) *Monaſterio ſuo urbano Valentium ex Monaſterio S. Equitii in provincia Valeria accitum præfecit.* Cave, *Hiſt. Literar. Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 430.

(3) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Gregoire*, pag. 7.

(4) Chronic. Alexand. *See Father* Pagi, *Diſſ. Hypatica*, pag. 336. & Denys de St Marthe, pag. 100, 101. of the *Hiſt. of St. Gregory.*

[*C*] *Employing all the methods poſſible to avoid this dignity.*] He wrote a very urgent Letter to the Emperor, *in which he conjures him not to confirm his Election, and to give order to have a perſon choſen who had greater capacity, vigour and health than he himſelf could boaſt* (9); and when he heard that his Letter had been intercepted by the Governor of Rome, and was perſuaded that his election would be confirmed by the Imperial Court, he fled, *and went and hid himſelf in the moſt ſolitary part of a foreſt in a cave, firmly reſolved to ſpend his days there . . . till deſpairing to find him, a new election enſued* (10). He would not accept of the Papal Dignity, till he had manifeſtly found by ſome celeſtial ſigns that God called him to it. It is pretended (11) that a Dove *flying before thoſe who ſought for him, ſhewed them the way they were to go; or that a miraculous light pointed out to them the place of his retreat.* This reſembles very much the adventure of the Magi who went to worſhip the new-born Meſſiah. Maimbourg's exclamation with reſpect to the reſiſtance made by St. Gregory is very juſt. *An illuſtrious example*, ſays he (12), *which ought to confound the furious ambition of thoſe, who not approaching in any manner the holineſs, doctrine and abilities of this great Man, who, burying himſelf in his life-time under ground, to ward off the Papal Dignity as a thunder-bolt, do, by their ſcandalous intrigues, a kind of violence to the Holy Ghoſt, raiſe themſelves, contrary to its orders, by ways merely human, and very uncanonical, to the moſt exalted ſtation in the Church.* See the extract of a Book intitled, *de Clerico renitente*, in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (13). I muſt not omit another paſſage of Maimbourg, with reſpect to the anſwers made by St. Gregory to the numberleſs Letters which were ſent to him from all quarters (14), *to declare the ſhare which the Writers had in the univerſal joy which his exaltation occaſioned. He anſwered no otherwiſe than by expreſſing, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the extreme affliction with which he was ſeized, at his being forced out of his ſolitude*

(5) *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Grezoire*, pag. 8.

(6) *Hiſt. Literar. Script. Eccleſiaſt.* pag. 430.

(7) *In Annal.*

(8) *Nouv. Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 5. pag. 102. Dutch edition.

(9) Maimb. *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Greg.* pag. 10.

(10) Idem, ibid. pag. 13.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Pag. 14.

(13) In February 1685, pag. 179.

(14) Maimb. *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Greg.* pag. 14.

that they could not have elected a perſon who was more worthy of this exalted ſtation; for, beſides his great learning, and the pains he took to inſtruct the Church, by both preaching and writing, he had a very happy talent to win over Princes in favour of the temporal as well as ſpiritual intereſt of Religion. It would take up too much time to deſcribe the particulars of his conduct on this occaſion; and I am the more unwilling to enlarge upon it, becauſe any one may inform himſelf of it in a modern writer (*e*). But I will not omit, that our Pope undertook the converſion of the Engliſh [*D*], and ſucceeded very happily in it by the aſſiſtance of a woman (*f*), as is generally found in revolutions relating to Religion. His maxims with reſpect to the forcing the conſcience of men were not uniform, and he ſometimes gave up that matter too far [*E*]; and indeed it

(*e*) Maimb. in the *Hiſt. du Pontificat. du St. Greg. le Grand.*

(*f*) See the remark [*D*].

ſolitude, in order to be engaged anew in worldly affairs. But becauſe experience has ſhewn in all ages, (this is Maimbourg's reflection) *that the fine things which a man of genius may write and ſay, are not always a good proof of his integrity and virtue; and that there are many who think and act in a quite different manner from their preaching and writing, I ſhall not tranſcribe here what this great Pontiff has ſaid concerning himſelf on this occaſion in his writings.* But here is one thing which juſtice will not allow me to omit, this is an error of the famous du Moulin, animadverted upon by Maimbourg. But that no one may complain of my extenuating or amplifying the thing, I ſhall make uſe of the Cenſor's own words (15).

(15) Maimbourg, Preface *de l'Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Gregoire.*

Du Moulin the Miniſter, in a little piece he compoſed under the falſe Title of the Life of St. Gregory I, ſurnamed the Great, . . . *would make us believe, that this Roman Pontiff was of a different Religion from ours. But, in order to ſpare my ſelf the trouble of refuting ſo wretched a Libel, it will be enough for me to ſhew, to evince what credit he deſerves, that he begins with the moſt groſs as well as moſt horrid untruth that ever was vented: For thus he ſpeaks, in chapter* 11, *pag.* 9, *to prove, contrary to the teſtimony of St. Gregory of Tours, that St. Gregory* did not oppoſe in any manner his being made a Biſhop. Thoſe, *ſaid he,* who have writ the Life of Gregory, (particularly Gregory of Tours) declares that he made an oppoſition for ſome time; but this agrees very ill with what Gregory himſelf ſays in Epiſt. 4. of Book I, where he declares that he did not oppoſe his being made a Biſhop; *and cites the following words in the margin,* ſibi ut imponeretur Epiſcopatus non reſtitiſſe, i. e. that he did not oppoſe his being made a Biſhop. *Now whoever reads this Epiſtle will find the direct contrary. And indeed, St. Gregory complains to his friend John Patriarch of Conſtantinople, for his not having prevented, by the good offices he ought to have done him with the Emperor, the confirming of his election; and he delivers himſelf as follows:* If we are commanded to love our neighbour as ourſelves, why do not you love me as your ſelf? for I know with what ardour you would have declined the being made a Biſhop; and yet you did not endeavour to keep this burthen from my ſhoulders. *St. Gregory complains here in expreſs terms, becauſe the Patriarch did not oppoſe his being made Biſhop of Rome; and du Moulin the Miniſter will have it, that St. Gregory owns in that very place,* that he did not oppoſe this in any manner; *thus aſcribing to this holy Pope what he himſelf ſays of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, by way of complaint.*

[*D*] *Our Pope undertook the converſion of the Engliſh.*] He ſent ſome Monks of his Monaſtery (16) into England, under the direction of Auguſtin their Abbot (17), *whom the Biſhops of France conſecrated firſt Biſhop of the Engliſh Nation, according to the power given them by St. Gregory for that purpoſe* (18). Ethelred was at that time King of England, and had married Aldeberga or Bertha, daughter to Charibert King of France, *a young Princeſs of great wit, learning, and a very zealous Catholic* (19). This Queen prevailed with him to hearken to the Pope's Miſſionaries. *He ſent for them before him, and would not give them audience but in the open field, purſuant to an ancient ſuperſtitious notion of the vulgar, in order that if they had a mind to employ any charm, or ſome ſecret inchantment to deceive him, it might be diſpelled, and loſe all its power in the open air. . . . After having liſtned to them very calmly, he told them, that he was highly delighted with all they had related: but that nevertheleſs thoſe fine things, and eſpecially thoſe glorious promiſes they made him of everlaſting life, not appearing very certain to him, he did not think it expedient for him to abandon what he had received from his anceſtors, purely to hunt after uncertainties* (20). He gave them permiſſion to preach in his Kingdom, and allowed every one, who approved of their doctrine, to embrace it. He himſelf became a convert to their Religion (21); *and becauſe the example of Kings is commonly very powerful, either in matters of good or evil, moſt of the Engliſh embraced the Chriſtian Faith after him. And the circumſtance which compleated their converſion, was the ſmooth and efficacious manner by which he won them over: for he did not conſtrain or force any perſon to renounce their antient ſuperſtitions, having learnt from his Teachers, that the ſervice we do Chriſt ought to be voluntary* (22). The Queen was prodigiouſly inſtrumental to theſe converſions; for ſhe not only prompted the King her Conſort to treat the Miſſionaries kindly, but alſo to become himſelf a convert. There have been few revolutions in Religion, whether of a good or ill kind, but have been chiefly influenced by women. Maimbourg will give us ſome examples of this (23). "We may affirm, that as the Devil made uſe formerly of the artifices of three Empreſſes (*), who were the wives "of Licinius, Conſtantius and Valens, to eſtabliſh "the Arian hereſy in the Eaſt; ſo God, to attack the "enemy with his own weapons, would alſo employ "three illuſtrious Queens, Clotilda wife of Clovis, "Ingonda wife of St. Ermenigilde, and Theodelinda "wife of Agilulphus, to ſanctify the Weſt, by converting the French from Heatheniſm, and by extirpating Arianiſm out of Spain and Italy, by the "converſion of the Viſigoths and Lombards." In another Work he had ſpoke only of the ſervice which women had done to bad cauſes; *As tho' it were the fate* (24) *of every hereſy,* ſays he, *as an hundred examples have ſhewn, to find always a protection, and, if I may be allowed to expreſs myſelf in that manner, its ſtrength in the weakneſs of ſome Princeſs, who, either out of vanity, pride or illuſion, thinking perhaps to make a merit of it, will become the chief of a party, which not being able to maintain it ſelf, falls, and at laſt buries her miſerably under its ruins.*

(16) i. e. of that which he had founded in his houſe at Rome.

(17) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Greg.* pag. 201.

(18) Idem, ibid. pag. 206.

(19) Ibid. pag. 207.

(20) Ibid. pag. 208, *ad ann.* 597.

(21) Ibid. pag. 212. *ad ann.* 600.

(22) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres,* for Feb. 1686, pag. 193, 201. againſt the compariſon which Maimbourg makes between the methods employed by Ethelred and Lewis XIV to make converts.

(23) *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Gregoire,* pag. 69.

(*) *Conſtantia, Euſebia, Dominica.*

(24) *Hiſt. du grand Schiſme d'Occident,* liv. 2. pag. m. 183. with regard to the Princeſs of Wales, who protected Wickliff. See alſo what he ſays in the ſame work, book 4. pag. 79.

[*E*] *He ſometimes gave up that matter too far.*] The little uniformity there was in his maxims, appears evidently, from his not approving to have force employed in converting the Jews; and his approving to have force uſed in bringing the hereticks back to the Church. *St. Avitus Biſhop of Clermont in Auvergne . . . . walking in proceſſion, after his Clergy, thro' the City, all the people that followed him . . . . fell ſuddenly on the Jewiſh Synagogue, and razed it ſo entirely, that one ſtone was not left upon another* (25). The Prelate, *deſirous to make uſe of ſo favourable an opportunity,* ſent to inform the Jews, that they either muſt turn Chriſtians or leave his Dioceſe, upon which three hundred of them were converted, and the reſt obliged to depart. This example *was followed ſoon after in Spain and Italy, and eſpecially in Provence, where more was done than he did. For without giving himſelf the trouble to win them over to the Faith by holy inſtructions and good examples, they were baptized by forcible methods; a circumſtance that cauſed as many profanations of ſo ſacred a thing, and ſacrilegious actions, as there were Jews baptized. St. Gregory, to prevent ſo great an evil, wrote* (†) *to Virgilius Archbiſhop of Arles, and to Theodore Biſhop of Marſeilles, (both great and good men) ordaining them to prevent force from being employed in baptizing of the Jews, for fear leſt the ſacred Fonts, where men are born again to a new life by Baptiſm, may not be to them the occaſion of a ſecond death, more fatal to them than the firſt by apoſtacy. He had wrote a little before, to the ſame effect to the Biſhop of Terracina* (26). He commanded him to leave the Jews *the entire liberty of aſſembling in the place which had been granted them for the ſolemni-*

(25) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Greg.* pag. 239.

(†) *Dum quiſpiam ad Baptiſmatis fontem non prædicatione, ſed neceſſitate pervenerit, ad priſtinam ſuperſtitionem remeans, inde deterius moritur, unde renatus eſſe videbatur.* lib. 1. Ep. 45.

(26) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Greg.* p. 240.

(27) Ibid. pag. 241.

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it is very difficult to prescribe rules for a thing so very repugnant to reason. But to compensate for this, his morality with regard to the chastity of Churchmen, was extremely rigid [*F*]; he asserting, that a man who had ever known women ought not to be admitted

zation of their Feasts (27). This he wrote some time after to the Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia. "The "Laws, *says he*, indeed forbid the Jews to build new "Synagogues; but then they permit them to enjoy "their old ones unmolested." *Quia sicut legalis definitio Judæos novas non patitur erigere Synagogas; ita quoque eos sine inquietudine veteres habere permittit.* "And he adds, what he says also with respect to the "Jews of Marseilles, that they must be brought over "to the Faith, by preaching and not by forcible me-"thods; that God requires the sacrifice which is made "to him, of the mind and heart, to be voluntary; "and adds, that those who are converted by violent "methods, and from necessity, return to their vomit "the first opportunity they have for it (28)." So far is admirably well; but here follows a strange distinction, and which forms a monstruous medley in a System. . . (29). "Not but that, according to him, there "is, in this, a great difference between the Infidels and "Hereticks, chiefly in the rise and beginning of he-"resies. For the latter ought to be treated as rebels, "perfidious and perjured wretches, who have violated "the Faith they had given to God and the Catholic "Church, out of which they came, by revolting "against her, and employing their utmost efforts to "destroy it. They may be forced to return to the obe-"dience which they owe to it, and to their duty; and "if they will not, they may be punished, according "to the Imperial Laws, the holy Fathers, and Cal-"vin himself who has wrote a piece on this subject, "to justify his conduct with regard to Servetus, whom "he caused to be condemned to the flames in Geneva. "But the case is different with respect to Heathens, "Jews, and Mahometans, and even to those Here-"tics, who being born in the heresy, which they re-"ceived from their ancestors, were not brought up in "the Church any more than the abovementioned In-"fidels. They ought not to be forced directly, and "by violence, to become converts to Christianity, "especially when they have been tolerated some time. "But St. Gregory informs us, both by his doctrine "and example, that it is good to constrain them in-"directly, according to the Gospel which saith, *Com-"pelle intrare* (force them to enter in,) *which may be done these two ways*; the one, by treating the ob-"stinate with rigour; and the other, by doing good to those who become converts to the Christian Religion. "It is thus that St. Gregory will have such "Manichees as are obstinate in their heresy to be "persecuted; that he ordains the Bishop of Cagliari "to load with heavy taxes the peasants, and such "heathens as are members of the Church, hold lands "of her, and refuse obstinately to embrace the Chri-"stian Religion; and that on the contrary, he will "have such Jews, who become converts, to be eased "of one third part of what they are obliged to pay "the Roman Church, for such lands of its patri-"mony as they cultivate in Sicily; in order that the "rest, allured by the hopes of a like abatement, "may be the more readily induced to turn Christians: "and to those who might very much suspect this sort of "conversions, he says (‡), that if these people im-"pose upon the world, and are not true converts, yet "much will be got by it, in as much as at least "their children will become good Catholics."

(28) Ibid. pag. 242.

(29) Ibid. pag. 243, 244.

(‡) *Etsi ipsi minus fideliter veniunt: hi tamen qui de iis nati fuerint jam fidelius baptisantur. Aut ipsos ergo, aut eorum filios lucramur.* lib. 4. Ep. 6.

REFLECTIONS on St. Gregory's maxims, with regard to the forcing of consciences.

This might suggest matter sufficient for a long discourse, but I shall content my self with a few notes. I. It is certain that the choice of conversion or banishment is very hard and severe, and very apt to make hypocrites; for what lengths will not people of moderate piety go, rather than lose the sweets of their native country? In a word, all who propose this choice, condemn it as a tyrannical action, wherever they themselves are exposed to it: an evident sign that they judge of the justice of an action, only as it squares with their own interest, *quod volumus sanctum est*, i. e. "what we require is holy." II. It is ascribing to the Church a power which it has not, to pretend that it may treat all who forsake it, as temporal States treat rebels. The Church can have none but voluntary subjects, and can never extort an oath that is derogatory to the law of order, by which men are commanded to follow the light of conscience in all times and places; and consequently those, who in obedience to this light, violate the faith which they have given to it, ought to be compared to those who prefer primitive and absolute oaths, to such as are posterior and conditional; for it would be impious in that person who should engage himself to a formulary of faith or belief, without presupposing that it is good; and thus all oaths by which men bind themselves to the Church are conditional; but the obligation to the light of conscience is natural, essential, and absolute. What may be said of those who, to obey their consciences, violate the oath they had taken to the Church, is, that from men of understanding they are become ignorant. But what well regulated State enacts punishments against such as forget their learning, or against others who imbibe ideas and notions which persuade them that what they mistook for error is truth? We may therefore say, that if the Church could punish those as rebels, who forsake it, it would have more power than the most despotic Princes (30) exercise; it might punish, as a capital crime, the change of some ideas or notions. III. We may easily comprehend that this is a chimerical distinction; for a man who has been brought up in a Church could never renounce the power of leaving it, whenever his conscience should prompt him to go over to another communion, and therefore he has as much right to follow this communion as those who were brought up in it: for the only right the latter have is, their being persuaded that their Religion is good. IV. My maxims are so true, that every party agrees to it, when they do not suppose their own principle. A Jew, so far from branding with the name of perfidious and rebellious, a man who forsakes the Christian belief to embrace the Jewish Religion, calls him, on the contrary, faithful to God, to Truth, and to the Church; and gives the name of perfidious to those only who forsake the Jewish belief. This is the practice of all Religions. V. As to the two ways of *compelle intrare*, i. e. "forcing people to come in." I refer the reader to the Philosophical Commentary. I shall only observe, that the expression *Merchants of the word of God* (31), suits in a more particular manner those who employ these two methods to convert people (32); and that it is morally impossible but that Monarchs who give a sanction to them, must be excited by those who promote this affair, to take unjust and base measures (33). VI. The reason why St. Gregory would not have the Jews converted to Christianity by forcible methods, is a very good one, viz. because that those who are converted in this manner return to their vomit whenever they have an opportunity for it: but he therefore was very much in the wrong, in ordering conversions to be made by loading the obstinate with taxes, and remitting a third part of them to those who should become converts to Christianity; for it is manifest that those who are thus converted, return to their vomit whenever they can do it with safety. VII. If the reason he gives for converting the Jews, by loading the obstinate with taxes, and easing converts be good, he is in the wrong for disapproving the employing of forcible methods in bringing them to baptism; for this is his reason; if these converts are hypocrites, *yet much will be got by it, because, at least, their children will become good Catholics.* May not the same be said with respect to those who are forced to baptism? It therefore must necessarily be a pitiful contradiction.

(30) i. e. considered only as Sovereigns; for it is to be observed that such Sovereigns as punish what they call heresy, do this only by vertue of their Religion, and therefore it is their Religion that properly inflicts the punishment: QUOD NOTANDUM.

(31) 2 Epist. to the Corinth. chap. ii. ver. 17.

[*F*] *His morality, with regard to the chastity of Churchmen, was extremely rigid.*] Whenever a Bishop was to be elected, he recommended above all things to the Electors, to enquire if the candidate for the See was guilty of adultery or simple fornication. "He even would have him asked privately, whether "he was not guilty of this crime; admonishing "him, that if he were guilty of it, though unknown "to any person, and there was no proof to convict "him, he yet could not in conscience take orders;

(32) This recalls to my memory the two following verses of Ennius: *Nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis, Nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes.* Cicero, *de Offic.* lib. 1. cap 12.

(33) See the *Nouvelles Lettres contre le Calvinisme de Monsieur Maimbourg*, tom. 1. pag. 205, & *seq.* and what is observed with regard to the methods of conversion employed by Queen Mary in England. *Nouv. de la Republ. des Lettres*, for Nov. 1685, pag. 1283.

ted to the Prieſthood; and always cauſed the candidates for it to be examined on that point. However, he excepted widowers on this occaſion, provided they had not behaved irregularly during their marriage, and had led a life of continence during a long courſe of years. He likewiſe exerted himſelf with great ſeverity againſt ſuch as were found guilty of calumny [G]. All things duly conſidered, he merits the ſirname of Great;

" however, that they ſhould be given him, in caſe he " would proteſt that he was clear from it; but if he " confeſſed his guilt on this occaſion, it ſhould be told " him in a gentle manner, that he ought rather to " think of retiring to a monaſtery, there to do pe- " nance, than to the Prieſthood, of which his crime, " though unknown to the whole world, rendered him " unworthy (34)." This great Pontiff being informed (35), *that ſome Eccleſiaſtics of Sardinia had committed this ſin of uncleanneſs after their taking orders; ordained that they ſhould not only be depoſed, without hopes of ever being reſtored to the ſacerdotal function; but alſo that, to prevent ſo great an evil* (*) *no more perſons might be admitted to holy orders, and eſpecially to the Epiſcopate, without its being firſt certainly known whether they had always lived chaſtly; and that they had even lived in a ſtate of continence for ſeveral years after they had been ſeparated from their wives, in order to their being admitted to the Prieſthood.* The Electors being divided at Naples in the choice of a Biſhop, this Pope declared expreſly, that he would not allow of John the Deacon (36), (37), " becauſe he had " been well informed, that he had a very young " daughter. Now what preſumption, added he, is " it in him, to aſpire to the Epiſcopal Dignity; he " who is manifeſtly convicted by this young child of " his, of the ſhort time he has lived in a ſtate of " continence? *Nam quâ præſumptione ad Epiſcopatum audet accedere, qui adhuc longam corporis ſui continentiam, filiola teſte, convincitur non habere* (†). *He cauſed it to be inviolably obſerved, purſuant to the Canons,* " that every Eccleſiaſtic or man who held a " benefice, whether Sub-deacon, Deacon, Prieſt, Abbot or Biſhop, who had committed the ſin of uncleanneſs, in caſe there were proofs of his guilt, " ſhould be depoſed, and ſent to a monaſtery there to " do penance; and be for ever after incapacitated " from being reſtored to his order and dignity.... " Having been informed (‡) that Abbot Secundinus, " who was a very wicked man, had been guilty of " horrid crimes, he ſaid, that without ſeeking for " proofs, in order to convict him of it judicially, it " was ſufficient that himſelf, perhaps in boaſting " what theſe kind of debauchees call their fortunate " adventures, had (‡) confeſſed, that he had diverted " himſelf with women, which yet had not prevented " his being made an Abbot; upon which he diveſted " him of his function (38). *He treated after the ſame manner* the Biſhop of Docleatina a City of Illyricum, now called Cataro; *and gave orders to his Metropolitan,* that if this wicked man who had been juſtly diveſted of his office, for having ſullied his character by this infamous vice, ſhould ever pretend, and even diſcover by a ſingle expreſſion, that he entertained any more thoughts of the Epiſcopate, he ſhould be ſhut up in a monaſtery, there to do penance, during the remainder of his life, and be deprived of the communion till his death. *Si forte poſt depoſitionem ſuam inverecunde ac mente perverſa aliquid de Epiſcopatu loqui, atque rurſus ad hoc qualibet aſpirare præſumptione tentaverit.* (**). A very remarkable circumſtance in this is, that the Biſhop of Tarentum, not being accuſed, but only ſuſpected of having kept a concubine ſince his being a Biſhop; he admoniſhed him very ſeriouſly, that if he is conſcious to himſelf of his having committed this crime (although it were not known to any one) and that he denies it, and there was no convincing proof of it, he nevertheleſs is bound in conſcience to diveſt himſelf of his character, and to forbear all ſacerdotal functions. This will appear the ſtronger, in as much as this ſame Biſhop, having committed another crime, which the public thought more heinous, he yet inflicted an infinitely more gentle puniſhment upon him. For this too paſſionate Prelate, having received ſome treatment that diſpleaſed him, from " one of the poor old women who were maintained " at the expence of the Church, cauſed her to be " beaten at ſuch a rate, that it half killed her. It " is certain that had ſhe died a few days after having " been ſo barbarouſly beat, he would have been ſe- " verely puniſhed, in the utmoſt rigour of the Ca- " non Law, as guilty of murther: however, as ſhe " did not die till eight months after, St. Gregory " imagined that he ought not to aſcribe her death to " the blows ſhe had received, and therefore only ſuſ- " pended him for two months. But as to the incon- " tinence, which, according to the Laws of human " juſtice, would be puniſhed with much leſs rigour " than this other action ſo unworthy of a Biſhop; he " declares to him, that if he has committed it, (al- " though no proof could be given of it) he yet, to " ſatisfy his conſcience, muſt abſolutely quit his " Biſhoprick (39)."

Maimbourg does not leave this ſubject without obſerving, that the Canon-Laws are not now rigorouſly put in force in things of this kind; and that a man is not obliged to follow St. Gregory's opinion with reſpect to this caſe of conſcience (40).

[G] *He likewiſe exerted himſelf with great ſeverity againſt ſuch as were found guilty of calumny.*] All that Maimbourg relates on this ſubject ſeems ſo appoſite, that not finding any thing ſuperfluous in it, I did not think fit to abridge it. He obſerves (41), in the firſt place, that there is a very ſubtle oppreſſion (*), *and ſo much the more dangerous as it is the more difficult to diſcover, viz. calumny, which the wiſeſt, and even thoſe who glory in ſuffering joyfully the firſt* (42), *find ſo barbarous and intolerable, that they cannot prevent, how great ſoever may be their ſtrength of mind, their conſtancy from being ſhaken.* After which he proceeds thus. " I am ſenſible that (**) both the civil and ca- " non Laws appoint puniſhments for this crime, ſo " much complained of in the world; but they are not " always well obſerved with reſpect to Eccleſiaſticks, " as St. Gregory ſhews, and eſpecially in communities, " where calumny is ſcarcely puniſhed, upon pretence " that the puniſhing of a falſe accuſation, would take " away the liberty of producing new ones; and of " diſcovering to Superiours ſuch faults as really de- " ſerve puniſhment. Now this is what St. Gregory " could not bear with in any manner, as is manifeſt " from ſeveral of his Letters. And indeed (†), Epi- " phanius Prieſt of the Church of Cagliari, having " been falſely accuſed of ſome heinous crime by other " Sardiot Eccleſiaſticks, who had even brought the ac- " cuſation before the Pope; he himſelf would take full " cognizance of this cauſe: And having found that " it was nothing but mere calumny, with which they " wanted to oppreſs the innocence of this Prieſt, he " ſent him back fully abſolved to his Biſhop, enjoin- " ing that Prelate to reſtore him to his Order, and to " deprive the perſon who had accuſed him of the " Communion, unleſs he were ready to ſhew, by cano- " nical and very evident proofs, the truth of what he " had advanced againſt this Prieſt. This is (††) what " the Law requires, which adds, that he who accuſes " his brother falſly, ought to undergo the ſame puniſh- " ment the perſon accuſed would deſerve, were he " found guilty. Here follows ſomething farther. Hi- " larius, Subdeacon of the Church of Naples, having " brought a falſe accuſation againſt John, Deacon of " the ſame Church, which he could not maintain a- " gainſt ſeveral witneſſes who gave evidence of the " Deacon's innocence; the holy Pontiff was very much " offended that Paſchaſius their Biſhop had not yet " puniſhed the ſlanderer. Upon which he command- " ed Anthemius the defender, to tell him in his name, " that he will firſt have him deprived of his office of " Sub-Deacon of which he is unworthy; ſecondly, " that he be publickly whipp'd. *Ut eundem Hilarium* " *prius Subdiaconatus, quo indignus fungitur, privet of-* " *ficio, atque verberibus publicè caſtigatum faciat in exi-* " *lium*

(34) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Gregoire*, pag. 351.

(35) Idem, ibid.

(*) *Sed ne unquam ii qui ordinati ſunt pereant, provideri debet quales ordinantur, ut prius aſpiciatur ſi vita illorum continens in annis plurimis fuerit &c.* L. 3. Ep. 26.

(36) One of the two who had been elected.

(37) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Gregoire*, pag. 353.

(†) L. 8. Ep. 11.

(‡) *Qui poſt acceptum ſacrum Ordinem lapſus in peccatum carnis fuerit, ſacro Ordine ita careat ut ad altaris miniſterium ulterius non accedat.* L. 3. Epiſt. 26. *Si Clericus fuerit à ſuo remotus officio, pro ſuis continuo lugendis exceſſibus in Monaſterium detrudatur.* L. 3. Ep. 9. L. 1. Ep. 18, 42.

(‡) *Hoc ſolum ad ejus damnationem poteſt ſufficere, quod etiam ipſe de ſe dicitur fuiſſe confeſſus, quod à ſtatu habitus ſui in lapſum corporis cecederit.* L. 2. Ep. 23. Ind. 11.

(38) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Greg.* pag. 354.

(**) Lib. 10. Ep. 34.

(39) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Gregoire*, pag. 355, *& ſeq.*

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ibid. pag. 460.

(* *Calumnia conturbat ſapientem.* Eccleſ. c. 7. v. 8.

(42) i. e. the unhappineſs of being oppreſſed by the rigour of thoſe who govern.

(**) *Digeſt.* l. 3. tit. 2. Grat. c. 5. q. 6. cauſ. 6. q. 1.

(†) L. 3. Ind. 12. Ep. 24.

(††) Cod. l. 4. & 9. tit. de probat. leg. finali. Cum calumniantes ad vindictam poſcat ſimilitudo ſupplicii. *Cauſ.* 2. q. 8. c. 3.

Great; but we cannot excuſe the profuſion of encomiums by which he ingratiated himſelf in the favour and eſteem of an Uſurper [*H*], whoſe hands were ſtill reeking with one of the moſt execrable parricides that is found in hiſtory. It is a very remarkable example of the ſervitude into which that perſon falls, who is determined to maintain himſelf in an exalted employment. When we compare his flattery of the Emperor Phocas, with that which he beſtowed on a very wicked Queen of France [*I*], it muſt be confeſſed

(†) L. 9. Ind. 4. Ep. 66.

(††) *Qui modus coercionis, & à Magiſtris liberalium artium, & ab ipſis parentibus, & ſæpe etiam in judiciis ab Epiſcopis ſolet uſurpari.* Aug. Ep. 159.

" *lium deportari, ut unius pœna multorum poſſit eſſe* " *correctio* (†): for this kind of puniſhment was in- " flicted on Clerks at that time, as may be ſeen in St. " Auſtin (††), altho' this cuſtom has been ſince abo- " liſhed; and laſtly that, after having been puniſhed " in this manner, he be ſent into baniſhment, either " into a Monaſtery there to do penance, or by the or- " der of the Magiſtrate, to whom alone it belonged to " puniſh a criminal with baniſhment, by the Law of " the State. And as he manifeſted the horror in which " he held calumny, by puniſhing it with ſo much ſe- " verity; ſo he kept a very ſtrict guard upon himſelf, " to prevent his being overreached on theſe occaſions; " and did not give the leaſt credit to an informer or " accuſer, till ſuch time as having examined even to " the moſt inconſiderable circumſtances of the accuſa- " tion, and heard both parties with great attention, " he could not doubt in any manner of the truth of it. " He, beſides, was ſo much afraid of being impoſed " upon, though innocently, by the artifices of ca- " lumny, that whenever he had an opportunity for " ſo doing, he forbore to paſs ſentence on the accu- " ſation, by referring to ſome other perſon, on whoſe " capacity and probity he could entirely depend.

[*H*] *We cannot excuſe the profuſion of encomiums by which he ingratiated himſelf in the favour and eſteem of an Uſurper.*] The army of Mauritius the Emperor having revolted from him at the inſtigation of Phocas, marched towards Conſtantinople, and took it very eaſily. The Emperor was delivered up to Phocas, *who was ſo dreadfully cruel, as to cauſe to be murthered, in his preſence, and before the eyes of Mauritius, five little Princes his children, whom their unfortunate father could not ſave* (43). The nurſe of the youngeſt had ſaved him artfully from the maſſacres, and put her own ſon in his ſtead; but this being perceived by Mauritius, he cauſed his own to be given back to the executioners (44). " After this the tyrant, " more cruel than the fierceſt wild beaſts, not being " affected in any manner with ſo great and generous " an action, which drew floods of tears from all the " ſpectators, gave orders for the ſlaying of that little " innocent creature, and for ending this bloody ſa- " crifice of his cruelty by laying Mauritius on the " body of his five children as on an altar, where he " was inhumanly butchered." Mauritius's eldeſt ſon had been ſent a little *before to the King of Perſia*; but he was taken at Nicæa and beheaded. " The cruel " Phocas likewiſe put to death moſt of the Emperor " Mauritius's relations and friends, and even the " Empreſs Conſtantina, and her three daughters, " contrary to the promiſe he had made to the Pa- " triarch Cyriacus, viz. that he would ſuffer them to " live unmoleſted in a convent wherein they had ſe- " cluded themſelves. In fine, there never was ſo " much innocent blood ſhed, nor ſo many miſeries and " misfortunes as under his reign. . . . (45). And in- " deed, there never was a more infamous tyrant than " this wicked man, who had neither virtue, birth, " honour or merit; was very ill ſhaped, frightfully " ugly, having a hideous aſpect, ſeeming always in " a fury whenever he ſpoke; a drunkard, laſcivious, " brutal and ſanguinary; devoid of the leaſt ſen- " ſation of humanity; being wholly a ſavage beaſt " in his countenance and temper, and having no- " thing of a man about him, but his ſhape which " was horridly deformed; in a word, having all the ill " qualities that may be contraſted with thoſe which " Hiſtorians have ſo greatly applauded in Mauri- " tius (46)." I have tranſcribed the very words of Maimbourg, in order that no one may ſay, that I magnified Phocas's crimes, merely to caſt the greater odium on St. Gregory; and I will again borrow the expreſſions of the ſame Author, with regard to the adulation employed by this Pope, in order that I may not be accuſed of repreſenting things maliciouſly to his diſadvantage. *I own*, ſays the Hiſtorian (47), *that all I have here related may give ſome uneaſineſs to thoſe who ſhall afterwards read the three epiſtles* (*) *which the holy Pontiff wrote to Phocas, and to Leontia his conſort, when advice was brought to Rome of what had been tranſacted in Conſtantinople, at his being crowned Emperor there. For he ſeems to rejoice in all theſe three letters, and to return thanks to God for his acceſſion to the imperial throne, as being the greateſt happineſs that could accrue to the Empire; and to ſpeak of him in the moſt advantageous terms, as of an admirable Prince who would make it flouriſh again, and raiſe it to great felicity, by delivering it from all the calamities with which it had been hitherto afflicted. And he praiſes God, that the people, after having ſuffered under ſo ſevere and uneaſy a yoke, began to enjoy the return of the ſweets of liberty under his adminiſtration.* Maimbourg throws the beſt varniſh he can over this ſtrange adulation (48). He ſeeks ſeveral reaſons for this, but does not take any notice of the true one, viz. that Mauritius had declared in favour of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, againſt Pope Gregory (49), in ſome very tickliſh diſputes, ſuch as thoſe always are which relate to authority or ſuperiority. The Pope, overjoyed at being delivered from an Emperor who favoured the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, beſtowed the moſt laviſh encomiums on this new Prince, in order to obtain from him what he deſired in oppoſition to his rival (50). There are very few examples of a virtue ſo pure and exalted, as to have been proof againſt the jealouſy of authority or party intereſt. Though a Prince be poſſeſſed of the moſt ſhining qualities, and withal acts againſt a certain Church, and is drove from his throne or murthered, ſhe looks upon this as a favour from heaven; kiſſes reſpectfully the human hand that procures it, and eſpecially when this hand oppoſes the other Prince. In ſuch a circumſtance, two contradictory propoſitions are found in the mouths of the Clergy; the party which loſes its protector, conſiders this loſs but as a horrid conſpiracy forged by the infernal powers, and cites both the divine and human Laws againſt the Revolution. But as to the other party, it ſpeaks of nothing but the miraculous way of Providence, of the paternal care of heaven, and runs vehemently into worldly politicks. But I queſtion whether this prepoſſeſſion was ever carried to ſuch infamous lengths as in the caſe of St. Gregory. How great a fall! what a blindneſs and baſe condeſcention was this! A Pope who exerts himſelf with ſo much ſeverity againſt a poor fornicating eccleſiaſtic, and pronounces ſuch dreadful ſentences on this occaſion, writes to Phocas, and at the ſame time does not expreſs the leaſt ſorrow, that Mauritius and his children had been put to death. No ſet of men inveigh more againſt Scepticks than the Clergy, and yet none are more apt to make a noſe of wax of the rules of morality, according to the reciprocal intereſt of their cauſe, which is in reality a very dangerous kind of Scepticiſm.

(43) *See* Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Greg.* pag. 179.

(44) Ibid. pag. 180.

(45) Ibid. pag. 181.

(46) Ibid. pag. 182. *ex* Cedreno.

(47) Pag. 183.

(*) L. 2. Ep. 38. Ind. 6. & 45, & 46.

(48) Dr. Cave, in *Hiſt. Liter. Scriptor. Eccleſ.* pag. 431. expreſſes himſelf as follows: *Anno* 603 *datis ad Phocam tyrannum literis imperium illi peſſimis flagitiis arreptum gratulatus eſt: quin & ſi verum fateri fas ſit, adeo turpiter in hac re lapſus eſt Gregorius, ut ſceleſtiſſimo parricidæ excogitatiſſimis adulandi artibus blandiri, & in pietiſſimi principis Mauricii manes acerrime debacchari non erubeſceret.*

(49) Maimbourg, owns this, pag. 124.

(50) Phocas favoured the Court of Rome, and enacted a Law by which he forbid the Biſhop of Conſtantinople to entitle himſelf Oecumenial Patriarch, declaring that this title belonged to none but the Biſhop of antient Rome. *See* Maimbourg, pag. 126.

[*I*] *A very wicked Queen of France.*] This was Brunehaut. In all the letters which this Pope wrote to her, he beſtowed upon her (51) " all the praiſes " that can be laviſhed on one of the moſt perfect " Princeſſes of the world, ſo far as not to ſcruple to " declare expreſly, that no nation in the world is ſo " happy as the French, ſince it has merited ſuch a " Queen, endowed with virtues and fine qualities of " every kind." *Præ aliis gentibus gentem Francorum aſſerimus felicem, quæ ſic bonis omnibus præditam meruit habere Reginam* (†). Here follows what we meet with on this occaſion in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (52): We ought to make *more account* of this Pope's good intentions, *than of his extreme complaiſance for Queen Brunehaut, who, according to moſt Hiſtorians, was the moſt wicked woman upon earth; but at the ſame time the moſt artful in winning over the Clergy to her intereſt, becauſe that at the ſame time that ſhe committed the moſt enormous crimes, ſhe was exceſſively liberal to Eccleſiaſtics* (53), *and founded temples and convents, not forgetting to ſue very devoutly for relicks to the*

(51) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Gregoire*, pag. 313.

(†) L. 2. Epiſt. 8.

(52) *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, for Feb. 1686, pag. 196.

(53) *See* Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Greg.* pag. 236.

confeſſed that thoſe who forced him to attend the papal throne, knew him better than he knew himſelf. Theſe ſaw that he was maſter of all the artifices and inſinuating addreſs neceſſary in thoſe who would raiſe great protectors to themſelves, and draw down the bleſſings of the earth upon the Church. It is very probable that the zeal which he ſhewed againſt the ambition of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople was ill governed [*K*]. It is not certain that he deſtroyed the noble monuments of the antient magnificence of the Romans [*L*], in order that ſuch as viſited Rome might not attend more to the triumphal arches, &c. than to holy things. The ſame may be affirmed with reſpect to the accuſation of his having burnt a numberleſs multitude of heathen books [*M*], and Livy in particular.

the holy Father. . . . Maimbourg proves *the* exemptions *which are pretended to have been granted by this Pope to pious Queen Brunehaut to be ſuppoſititious; for St. Gregory applauds her for this virtue, and the like encomiums will be for ever beſtowed on any perſon who is munificent to the Church, the natural dupes of thoſe people, who ſometimes are dupes in their turn.* This recalls to my memory the anſwer which *a Carthuſian made to* Philip de Comines: "the body of Jehan "Galeas, a great and wicked tyrant. . . . lies at the "Carthuſians in Pavia, near the Park, higher than "the chief altar; and the Carthuſians ſhewed it "me, at leaſt his bones (to which we go up by a "ladder) which ſmell no otherwiſe than it is natural "for them to do; and a native of Bourges gave him "the title of Saint, when aſking him ſoftly, why he "called him *Saint*, for that he could ſee painted round "him the arms of ſeveral cities which he had uſurped, "or had no right to; . . . he whiſpered in my ear, "and ſaid; *we give the title of Saint, in this country, "to all from whom we receive any benefactions* (54). The rule or maxim of theſe honeſt Friars ſuits all ages and countries.

(54) Philip. de Comines, *Mem.* liv. 7. pag. m. 451.

[*K*] *The zeal which he ſhewed againſt the Patriarch of Conſtantinople was ill grounded.*] This Patriarch is honoured as a Saint in the Greek Church. He was called John the Faſter. *The ſirname of Faſter was beſtowed upon him*, becauſe *he was incredibly abſtemious, and led a life of the greateſt auſterity* . . . (55). *He employed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent his being raiſed to the Patriarchate* (56), of which Pope Gregory gives him the following teſtimony, *quo ſtudio beatitudo veſtra Epiſcopatus pondus fugere voluerit ſcio* (57). But when this mighty Faſter had been ſeated ſome time on this noble throne, he was no longer able to govern his pride. Perhaps he was infected with this ill quality before his being raiſed to the Patriarchate; for it often happens, that when corrupted nature cannot excite men to voluptuouſneſs, ſhe compenſates for it by other faults, and chiefly by the ſpirit of pride. Perhaps too the patriarchal dignity, by I know not what contagious fatality, inſpired the ſoul of *John the Faſter* with ambitious thoughts. However this be, this exalted dignity furniſhed him with an opportunity of giving a looſe to his paſſions, and he might colour them with the ſpecious pretence of maintaining the rights of his Patriarchate. Thoſe who pretend to an auſtere devotion have the better opportunity of concealing their faults when they do not enjoy an employment, in which they may plead the intereſts of the Church, thoſe of God's glory, charity to their neighbour, &c. but when they are raiſed to ſuch poſts, they may give way to ſeveral paſſions, and indulge them to ſatiety under the ſacred Auſpices abovementioned. To return to John the Faſter. He aſſumed the title of Oecumenical Patriarch; at which the Pope was ſo much exaſperated, that he commanded him, upon pain of excommunication, to lay that title aſide. *John the Faſter* was ſo little intimidated at theſe menaces, that he always retained his title of Oecumenical; *and this he did with ſo much haughtineſs, or rather affectation, that in the Acts or Inſtruments of a Synod which he ſent to Rome, . . . he ſtiles himſelf Oecumenical Patriarch almoſt in every line* (58). This gave riſe to a very great quarrel between St. Gregory and him. Many people are of opinion that this was only a diſpute about words, and Maimbourg ſeems to prove this well enough. But this he cannot abſolutely do, without exhibiting a furious ſatyr againſt the two chief Prelates of that age, viz. the Biſhop of Rome and the Patriarch of Conſtantinople; for what can be more ridiculous than the ſtorms they raiſed, in caſe their diſpute was only about a name (59)?

(55) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pont. de St. Greg.* pag. 103.

(56) Ibid. pag. 106.

(57) Gregor. lib. 1. Epiſt. 4. Ind. 9. *apud* Maimbourg, pag. 106.

(58) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Greg.* pag. 109.

(59) See the *Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres*, for February 1686, pag. 189.

[*L*] *It is not certain that he deſtroyed the noble monuments of the ancient magnificence of the Romans.*] It is certain that he was accuſed of this, as appears from the following words of Platina who rejects this accuſation. *Neque eſt cur patiamur Gregorium hac in re à quibuſdam literarum ignaris potiſſimum carpi, quod ſuo mandato veterum ædificia ſint dirupta, ne peregrini & advenæ (ut ipſi fingunt) ad urbem religionis cauſa venientes poſthabitis locis ſacris, arcus triumphales & monumenta veterum cum admiratione inſpicerent. Abſit hæc calumnia à tanto Pontifice Romano præſertim; cui certe poſt Deum patria quam vita charior fuit* (60). i. e. "Neither "ought we, in this matter, to ſuffer Pope Gregory "to be cenſured by ſome illiterate people, upon pre"tence that he commanded the edifices of the anti"ents to be demoliſhed, leſt travellers and foreigners "(as they pretend) coming to viſit Rome from a re"ligious motive; neglecting the holy places, ſhould "gaze with admiration upon the triumphal arches "and monuments of antiquity. Far be ſuch a ca"lumny from ſo great a Pope, who certainly, next "to God, loved his country more than his life." The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that Sabinianus, ſucceſſor to Gregory, diſcovered ſo ſtrong an animoſity againſt his predeceſſor, that he was going to burn his books. Some inhabitants of Rome prompted the new Pope to this, becauſe (as we are told) St. Gregory had either maimed or demoliſhed the ſtatues of the antient Romans; but Platina rejects alſo this accuſation. *Paululum etiam abfuit quin libri ejus comburerentur, adeo in Gregorium ira & invidia exarſerat homo malevolus. Sunt qui ſcribant Sabinianum inſtigantibus quibuſdam Romanis hoc in Gregorium molitum eſſe, quod veterum ſtatuas tota urbe dum viveret, & obtruncaverit & disjecerit: quod quidem ita vero diſſonum eſt, ut illud quod de abolendis ædificiis majorum in vita ejus diximus* (61).

(60) Platina, in *Gregorio.*

(61) Idem, in *Vita Sabiniani.*

[*M*] *He was accuſed of having burnt a numberleſs multitude of heathen books.*] It is related that the Palatine Library, founded by Auguſtus, had been burnt to aſhes by St. Gregory. I have read this particular only in *Joannis Sariſberienſis*, and therefore do not give much credit to it, but will nevertheleſs tranſcribe his words. *Si vero mathematicorum via eſſet uſquequaque laudabilis, non tantopere pœnituiſſet magnum Auguſtinum ſe eorum conſultationibus inclinaſſe. Ad hæc doctor ſanctiſſimus ille Gregorius, qui melleo prædicationis imbre totam rigavit & inebriavit eccleſiam, non modo mathefin juſſit ab aula, ſed ut traditur à majoribus, incendio dedit probatæ lectionis ſcripta, Palatinus*

Quæcunque tenebat Apollo.

In quibus erant præcipua, quæ cæleſtium mentem, & ſuperiorum oracula videbantur hominibus revelare (62). i. e. "But if the practice of the Aſtrologers were ſo "laudable, the great St. Auſtin would not have re"pented ſo much his having conſulted them. Far"ther, the moſt holy Doctor St. Gregory, who im"proved and edified the whole Church with his mel"liſluent Sermons, did not only forbid the practice of "Aſtrology in the Court, but as we find by tradition, "committed to the flames the moſt excellent books "in the Palatine Library; among which were thoſe "that ſeemed to reveal to mankind the will of hea"ven and the oracles of thoſe above." He ſays elſewhere, that St. Gregory deſtroyed profane books, in order to bring the ſacred books into greater eſteem. *Fertur beatus Gregorius bibliothecam combuſſiſſe gentilem, quo divinæ paginæ gratior eſſet locus, & major autoritas, & diligentia ſtudioſior* (63). A moſt certain circumſtance is, that the Pope had a very great averſion to the books of the heathens. This the reader may

(62) Joan. Sariſberienſis, *de Nugis Curialium*, lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. m. 104.

(63) Ibid. lib. 8. cap. 19. pag. 557.

particular [*N*]. He died the 10th of March 604. I ſhall not make any remark concerning his works, but refer my reader to Du Pin, whoſe work is more eaſily met with than this Dictionary will be. I had like to have omitted the zeal which this Pope ſhewed for the Pſalmody of the Church [*O*].

(*g*) A Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur.

The work which Father Denys of St. Marthe (*g*) printed (*h*), intitled, *The Hiſtory of St. Gregory the Great*, had not appeared in public when I drew up this article. I have juſt now peruſed this hiſtory; and I ſhould take it for one continual panegyric of this great Pope, had not the Author frequently interſperſed the elogiums with ſeveral obſervations, which explain matters, illuſtrate facts, or refute ſome other writers. He gives, in the preface, a catalogue of thoſe who have wrote the Life of St. Gregory; and it is there he cenſures ſome errors of Peter du Moulin the Proteſtant Miniſter, excluſive of that which was taken notice of in the remark *C*. He does not ſeem ſatisfied with Maimbourg [*P*]. He refutes Cardinal Baronius with regard to what is related of St. Gregory's

(*h*) At Roan, in 1697, 4to.

judge of from the following paſſage in hiſtory. "Didier "Archbiſhop of Vienna, was a man of very great "merit, rare erudition, and moſt diſtinguiſhed vir- "tue, to whom St. Gregory wrote more than once "with very great encomiums; and nevertheleſs he "blamed his conduct, and reproved him very ſharp- "ly, as being guilty of a very great crime, for em- "ploying his time in teaching ſome of his friends "grammar, polite literature, and explaining the Po- "ets to them. He aſſures him that this unhappy "news filled him with ſo much affliction, that all the "joy he felt upon hearing the ſucceſs of his ſtudies, "and his extenſive capacity, was changed on a ſud- "den into ſorrow. *Quia in uno ſe ore cum Jovis "laudibus Chriſti laudes non capiunt. Et quam grave "nefandumque ſit Epiſcopis canere quod nec Laico religioſo "conveniat, ipſe conſidera. Quantò execrabile eſt hoc "de Sacerdote enarrari, tantò utrum ita nec ne ſit "diſtricta & veraci oportet ſatisfactione cognoſci.* Be- "cauſe, ſays he, the praiſes of Jupiter and thoſe "of Chriſt cannot conſiſt from the ſame mouth. "Conſider a little how ſhameful and deteſtable it is "in a Biſhop, to ſing ſuch verſes as even a devout "and religious layman could not repeat with decency, "and without injuring his profeſſion. He adds, "though other people had aſſured him this was o- "therwiſe, it yet grieves him very much; and that "he will make the more exact enquiry into the "truth of this, becauſe it is more dreadful and even "execrable, to hear ſuch a report of a Prieſt and "Biſhop. *Si poſthac evidenter ea quæ ad nos perlata "ſunt falſa eſſe claruerint, nec vos nugis & ſæcula- "ribus literis ſtudere conſtiterit: Deo noſtro gratias a- "gimus, qui cor veſtrum maculari blaſphemis nefando- "rum laudibus non permiſit.* But if, (ſays he,) to "comfort him, I can plainly perceive that this report "ſpread againſt you is falſe, and that you do not "amuſe your ſelf with thoſe fooleries of human lite- "rature and worldly and ſecular ſciences; I ſhall re- "turn thanks to God, for not ſuffering your heart "to be defiled with encomiums filled with blaſphe- "mous expreſſions, which theſe profane Authors be- "ſtow on the moſt wicked wretches (64)." Maim- bourg did not fail to reflect upon himſelf after writing what I have copied above. See his words in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for September 1686, pag. 1034; and in Seckendorf pag. 4. Book 1. of the *Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm*.

(64) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Pontif. de St. Greg.* pag. 263, 264.

[*N*] *... and Livy in particular.*] Antoninus Archbiſhop of Florence, is the moſt antient Author cited for this purpoſe by Voſſius. It is pretended that Livy was treated in this manner, becauſe he expatiates too much on the ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the Heathens. *At mirificus zelus fuit S. Gregorii, qui ut S. Antoninus, & ex eo J. Heſſelius, ex utroque Raderus ad Martialem tradit, Livium propterea combuſſit*, quod in ſuperſtitionibus & ſacris Romanorum perpetuo verſetur (65).

(65) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 98.

[*O*] *I had like to have omitted the zeal which this Pope ſhewed for the Pſalmody of the Church.*] "(66). He "applied himſelf chiefly to the regulating the office "and ſinging of the Church, for which purpoſe he "drew up his *Antiphonarium* ... (67). Nothing "can be more wonderful than what he did on this "occaſion. Although he had the adminiſtration of "all the affairs of the univerſal Church, and was "ſtill more burthened with maladies, than with that "numberleſs multitude of different affairs, (which he "was obliged to ſuperintend) in every part of the "world: he nevertheleſs found time to examine to "what tunes the ſeveral Pſalms ſhould be ſet, as "well as the Hymns, Prayers, Verſes, Reſponſes, "Canticles, Leſſons, Epiſtles, Goſpel, the *Præfatio* "(part of the Maſs) and the Lord's Prayer; what "tones, meaſures, notes and moods, were moſt ſuit- "able to the majeſty of the Church, and beſt adapted "to inſpire devotion; and of all this he formed that "Church Muſic, every part of which is ſo ſolemn "and edifying, and which now goes by the name of "Gregorian Muſic. He likewiſe inſtituted an Aca- "demy of Choriſters (†), for all Clerks, to the Dea- "conſhip excluſively, and this becauſe Deacons ought "to be employed only in preaching the Goſpel, "and in diſtributing the Church-alms among the "poor; and that he would have the Choriſters ap- "ply themſelves to learn in perfection the art of true "chaunting by note; and to modulate their voices "in ſuch a manner as that they may ſing agreeably "and devoutly, which, according to St. Iſidore, is "obtained only by faſting and abſtinence. *Pridie "quam cantandum erat cibis abſtinebant pſallentes, "legumine in cauſa vocis aſſidue utebantur, unde & "cantores apud gentiles Fabarii dicti ſunt* (*). The "Antients, ſays he, uſed to faſt the eve of their "chaunting, and uſed only pulſe for their ordinary "diet, in order to make their voices clearer, whence "the heathens gave the name of bean-eaters to "ſingers. I know not whether the Choriſters of the "preſent age would willingly ſubmit to this method, "to which they are not much uſed. However this "be, St. Gregory employed very great pains in in- "ſtructing them; and himſelf taught them to ſing, "though he was Pope. Joannes Diaconus informs "us, that, in his time, there was kept with great "veneration, in the palace of St. John of Lateran, "the bed in which, though he was ſick, he never- "theleſs uſed to chaunt, for the better inſtructing of "the young Clerks; the whip with which he uſed to "menace young Clerks, and the Choir-boys, when- "ever they failed in the key, and miſtook in the "notes of his muſic. *Uſque hodie lectum ejus in quo "recubans modulabatur, & flagellum ejus quo pueris "minabatur, veneratione congruâ cum authentico An- "tiphonario reſervatur* (†)." I muſt here make an obſervation with reſpect to ſuch as quote Authors without examining circumſtances. The Walloon Clergyman who publiſhed, anno 1644, a large volume on the divine melody of the holy Pſalmiſt, did not take time to conſider, whether or no the circumſtances of things had been changed ſince the age of Joannes Diaconus, who wrote the Hiſtory of St. Gregory. Joannes Diaconus lived in the ninth Century. He tells us, that the whip was ſtill preſerved with which this great Pope uſed to menace the ſcholars who learnt muſic. But it does not follow from thence that we may employ, as he does, the preſent tenſe, in relating that particular; and conſequently the Walloon Miniſter very juſtly deſerves cenſure. His words are theſe (68). *The above cited Gregory the Great inſtituted a ſchool for Choriſters, and built colleges for their uſe, which he endowed with ſuitable revenues. There is* STILL *ſhewed, in Rome, his bed on which he uſed to lie and chaunt; the whip with which he uſed to correct his ſcholars, and the authentic Antiphonarium. Naucl.* 94.

(†) *Scholam quoque Cantorum quæ hactenus, eiſdem inſtitutionibus in S. R. Eccleſ. modulatur conſtruit.* L. 4. Ep. 44.

(*) Iſid. *de Eccleſ. Offic.* lib. 2. c. 12.

(†) Jo. Diac. L. 2. c. 6.

(68) Jerem. *de Pours divine Melodie*, pag. 1070.

[*P*] *Father Denys of St. Marthe ... does not ſeem ſatisfied with Maimbourg.*] According to him the *Hiſtory of the Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great*, publiſhed

(i) The Editor of St. Gregory's Works of 1675.

Gregory's monaſtic life; and he oppoſes ſome ſentiments of Gouſſainville (*i*). His remark with regard to the Centuriators of Magdeburg is intermixed with falſe Criticiſms, as we ſhall ſee below [Q]. I do not find that he cenſures Pope Gregory in any reſpect. He

(69) Denys de Sainte Marthe, in his preface.

publiſhed by this Author, *does not contain the entire Life of this Saint* (69). He adds, *that Maimbourg expatiated only on certain incidents of his Pontificate which ſquared with his deſigns and views; neglecting all the reſt which yet were worthy of being known.* " I am " ſenſible, ſays he in another place (70), that a famous writer, who has publiſhed the hiſtory of the " Pontificate of St. Gregory, and who pretends ſo " much to impartiality, has blamed him for expatiating with ſo much warmth *on a trifling affair.* I " nevertheleſs don't doubt but that if St. Gregory, or " any other Pope, had endeavoured to get himſelf " entitled Oecumenical Patriarch: and that John the " Patriarch of Conſtantinople, or any other Biſhop, " had oppoſed this; the ſame writer would have cenſured the Pope for ſuch an attempt, as being an " intolerable preſumption and uſurpation; have applauded the generoſity of the Patriarch, of the Biſhop, and of all in general who had oppoſed it. " So dangerous it is in an Hiſtorian to take up the " pen with a prejudiced mind; a mind that is as ſtudious of intermixing incidents with its own reflections, as of delivering thoſe incidents with the utmoſt ſincerity." This Author has here given us a diſadvantageous idea of Maimbourg's probity.

(70) Idem, *Hiſt. de St. Gregoire*, liv. 3. chap. 1. pag. 336, 337.

[Q] *His remark with regard to the Centuriators of Magdeburg, is intermixed with falſe Criticiſms, as we ſhall ſee below.*] It is univerſally known, that the diſpute, with regard to the vow of celibacy, between the Proteſtants and Romaniſts is very great; and that one of the arguments alledged by the Proteſtants is, that thoſe vows are attended with many diſorders, and a numberleſs multitude of (71) *works of darkneſs*, unfruitful according to the ſenſe of the Goſpel; but very fruitful in another ſenſe, ſince they give life to a great number of human creatures. It is true indeed, that theſe are fruits which are not ſuffered to ripen; the utmoſt endeavours are uſed to ſtifle them before their birth; efforts muſt be uſed in order to ſcreen the firſt crime, and this can hardly be done without committing a ſecond ſin of a more heinous nature than the former. This is what controverſial writers never fail to alledge; and they even ſay that the diſcovery of theſe irregularities and diſorders has ſometimes occaſioned a repeal of the harſh Law of Celibacy. Here follows a long citation from Father Denys de St. Marthe. " I ſhall not undertake to re" fute here a fiction publiſhed by the Centuriators of " Magdeburg (†), which deſtroys itſelf. According " to them St. Gregory the Great, after enacting a " decree, by which Prieſts were ordered to put away " their wives, was obliged to repeal it, becauſe of " the conſequences attending it. A little after this " regulation, the Pope, ſay they, having ordered " ſome people to go a fiſhing in a reſervoir belonging " to him, inſtead of fiſh, there were drawn out of " the water ſix thouſand heads of little children. " Gregory knowing therefore that the children were " the fruit of the incontinence of the Prieſts whom " he had bereaved of their wives, repealed his de" cree; and did penance for the ſin he had commit" ted, by occaſioning ſo many crimes. It is added, " that St. Udalric Archbiſhop of Augſburg wrote " this to Pope Nicholas. Now this whole relation " is only a confuſed heap of ridiculous falſities. Why " did they make choice of the Pope's reſervoir, ra" ther than the Tyber, or other public places, to caſt " in the heads of the ſix thouſand children? What " was done with their bodies of which not the leaſt " mention is made? Is it probable that thoſe who " murthered them, and whoſe intereſt it was to con" ceal them, took a pleaſure in beheading them, " and in carrying their heads within the walls of the " Pope's palace, in order that their crimes might be " ſoon diſcovered? Were they not afraid of their " floating upon the water? How had they agreed all " together to carry all thoſe bodies into one and the " ſame place? For we are not told that any were " found elſewhere (72)." Here are difficulties that are not ſtarted either by Baronius or Bellarmin, when they refute this tale of the Centuriators of Magdeburg. I connot ſay whether they were not invented by Father Denys of St. Marthe; but he will permit me to ſay, that if they appear ſpecious to thoſe who ſtop at the firſt impreſſions of things, they will ſeem no ways ſolid to thoſe who examine matters attentively. Every one will acknowledge to me, that in matters of fact or incidents, thoſe who refute ought to raiſe ſuch objections as may oppoſe the aim of their adverſary. Let us ſee whether the difficulties ſtarted by Father St. Marthe have this property. I ſhould think them ſolid, if Udalric, and thoſe who quote his letter, had pretended that the murtherers of the baſtards in queſtion cut off their heads, and threw them no where but in the Pope's refervoir. This aſſertion would be liable to the great inconveniencies propoſed by the Author; and it would be extremely difficult to alledge any probable reaſon againſt his ſeveral queſtions. But we are not to ſuppoſe that the Centuriators intended this, their deſign being only to relate what had been diſcovered in St. Gregory's reſervoir; and if they made no mention of the Tyber, or any other public place, it is not that they believed that none of the baſtards of the Eccleſiaſtics had been thrown into them, but becauſe they did not know that the like crimes had been diſcovered in thoſe places; or becauſe they were ſatisfied with the conſequences that might be drawn from what had been ſeen in the reſervoir. They ſuppoſed that the following inference would naturally be drawn from it; the Pope's reſervoir only contained ſix thouſand children; conſequently an almoſt numberleſs multitude of children have been made away with, to conceal the guilt of their parents; for how many have been thrown into the Tyber, into Common-ſewers and Wells? What numbers were buried, &c? Does a man who relates that in digging the foundations of a certain palace, a great number of medals or bones were found, infer from ſuch a relation, that this was the only place in which ſuch things were found; and could his adverſaries, upon pretence of his making no mention of other places, deny what is affirmed by him? It is to be obſerved, that there is one particular reaſon why this reſervoir is mentioned rather than the Tyber, &c. Rivers are not emptied, but reſervoirs or ponds are drained from time to time in order to take the fiſh out of them; and it is on ſuch occaſions that people may ſee whether any children had been thrown into them. To know their number, the heads only are counted, which are ſingle parts in every child, and very eaſily diſtinguiſhed. Theſe are the reaſons why the heads only ought to be mentioned in Udalric's Letter. Father de St. Marthe ought not to be diſpleaſed at their making no mention of the bodies. Such an objection might properly have been made to commiſſioners who had been ſent upon the ſpot, to examine the ſtate of the reſervoir. Theſe would be blame worthy, did not their enquiries contain more circumſtances than Udalric's Letter. They would have been obliged to obſerve whether, beſides the heads, any bones had been found; whether all the bodies were as ſo many ſkeletons; whether ſome were but half rotten, or but half devoured by the fiſh, and ſuch like particulars; but an Author who mentions this diſcovery, as an argument againſt the Laws of Celibacy, has no buſineſs to deſcend to particulars; and needs but obſerve, in general, that ſix thouſand heads were found. If what Father Sainte Marthe relates concerning the ſituation of the reſervoir was true, this would be a conſiderable objection; but who told him that the reſervoir in queſtion was within the walls of the palace? Would Baronius have overlooked this reaſon, had there been any grounds for it? Would he have barely ſaid, that the reſervoirs or ponds were not public, but very well guarded? *Cum certum ſit piſcinas illas in quibus piſces aſſervari ſolent, non fuiſſe omnibus publicas, ſed optime cuſtoditas* (73). This is but a weak reaſon; for centinels are not poſted in the night time round theſe places;

(71) See the Epiſt. to the Epheſ. chap. v. ver. 11.

(†) Cent. 6. c. 7.

(72) Denys de St. Marthe, *Hiſt. de St. Greg.* liv. 2. chap. 4. pag. 206.

(73) Baron. *ad ann.* 591. num. 21. pag. m. 29.

He acts the Apologiſt on every occaſion; on the encomiums beſtowed on Phocas and Brunehald; the credulity this Pope ſhewed by the multitude of miracles publiſhed by him in his Dialogues [*R*], and on the inconſtancy of his principles with regard to perſecutions

places; the proprietors only take care to prevent any perſons coming to fiſh in them without their leave, which however will not be an obſtacle to thoſe who would throw an infant into them.

Perhaps many controverſial Writers, who ſhould be Apologiſts for the Centuriators of Magdeburg in oppoſition to Father Sainte Marthe the Benedictine, would end their Apology here. I am acquainted with ſome who would act in this manner; and who even ſinging *Io triumphe* with an air of inſult would boaſt their having deſtroyed all the new engines which the Monk had employed againſt the relation of theſe German Authors. But with regard to my ſelf, who think it an honour not to imitate (74) a conduct ſo repugnant to ſincerity, I aſſure my readers, that Father Denys de Sainte Marthe has employed infinitely more ſolid reaſons than thoſe I have refuted, he adding what follows (75): *But how impudent is it to aſſert, that St. Gregory was leſs ſtrict with reſpect to the continence of Prieſts? What Pope ever ſhewed more zeal and reſolution for the obſervance of it? We may know his real ſentiments, by the anſwer he made to St. Auſtin with regard to certain difficulties which he had propoſed to him. For, in his anſwer to the ſecond article, he expreſly excludes all Clerks, in holy Orders, from the number of thoſe who are allowed to marry. To confound ſtill more the heretical Writers, who give credit to this fabulous ſtory, we have already ſhewn, that Pope Nicholas I was dead before St. Udalric was born; and that Nicholas II was not raiſed to the Pontificate till many years after the death of this Saint.* Here are two ſtrong arguments againſt the aſſertions of the Centuriators: Baronius (76) and Bellarmin (77) had employed them to very great advantage. The Benedictine in queſtion ſhould have ſtopt here; for the true method of multiplying replies and rejoinders *in infinitum*, is to intermix falſe reaſons or arguments with true ones: an adverſary will ever find matter ſufficient to foment the diſpute, ſo long as falſe proofs ſhall be given him to refute; and he will perſuade many people of his party, who never read the Works of his antagoniſts, that his cauſe is ever victorious. Hence it is that nothing is ever cleared up with reſpect to a numberleſs multitude of people; and that many conſider, as doubtful, ſuch particulars as deſerve to be utterly rejected. Methinks we may rank in this claſs, that incident mentioned by the Centuriators of Magdeburg and their Uldaric; for, on one ſide, we don't find, in any other Writer, the leaſt traces either of the repeal or repentance aſcribed by them to St. Gregory; and on the other, it appears evidently by the writings of this Pope, that he never gave up or retracted with regard to forbidding Prieſts to marry. All he did on this occaſion was, his not requiring ſuch Sub-deacons, as had been ordained before the Decretal (78) of his Predeceſſor, to be ſeparated from their wives; but he would not allow of their being raiſed to ſuperiour Orders; and enacted *that Biſhops ſhould not ordain any new Sub-deacons, till after making them promiſe to lead a life of continence* (79). Unleſs therefore ſolid proofs are brought, both of the repealing of the Law relating to celibacy, and of St. Gregory's repentance; and farther, if it be not manifeſtly ſhewn, that there was an Udalric Biſhop of Augſburg, contemporary with ſome Pope named Nicholas; thoſe Writers who ſpeak of a Letter of one Udalric, and the ſix thouſand childrens heads found in St. Gregory's fiſh-pond, will never merit the leaſt credit.

I will add two or three obſervations more. I. The Continuators have not drawn up their ſtory well. Their own words are as follow. *Beatus Gregorius magnus Papa primus aliquando ſuo quodam decreto uxores ſacerdotibus adimit. Deinde paulo poſt cum idem Gregorius juſſiſſet ex piſcina ſua piſces aliquot capi, piſcatores pro piſcibus ſex millia capitum infantium ſuffocatorum repererunt. Quam cædem infantium cum intelligeret S. Gregorius ex occultis fornicationibus vel adulteriis ſacerdotum natam eſſe; continuo revocavit decretum, & peccatum ſuum dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus purgavit* (89). Theſe Writers ſuppoſe, that Pope Gregory enacted a Decree, by which the Prieſts were forbid to marry; and that a little after, he ordered ſome fiſh to be taken out of his pond; but that the Fiſhermen, inſtead of fiſh, found ſix thouſand children's heads; that thereupon the Pope in queſtion repealed his Decree, and atoned for his ſin by fruits worthy of repentance; and knew, that the incontinence of the Prieſts had occaſioned the murther of ſo many children. This ſtory, I again ſay, is very ill drawn up. It ſuppoſes that ſix thouſand children were thrown into the Pope's reſervoir, in a very ſhort ſpace of time; and that the Fiſhermen, who found the ſix thouſand heads of theſe ill fated creatures, did not catch any fiſh. All this is abſurd: many years are required for the drowning ſo great a number of children in one and the ſame place (81), and would rather increaſe the fiſh to a very great degree, than quite deſtroy them. The ſtory would have appeared much more probable, had it been ſaid, that St. Gregory annulled the celibacy of the Clergy which had been eſtabliſhed a great number of years; and that the cauſe why he allowed them to marry was, that having ordered his fiſh-pond to be cleared, which had not been ſo during a long courſe of years, ſix thouſand children's heads were found therein. Such a relation as this gives as great a number of years as could be deſired. My ſecond obſervation is, that a Writer, by not digeſting or well diſpoſing the ſeveral circumſtances of an incident (82), makes it doubtful, improbable, ridiculous and abſurd, tho' it be ever ſo true and certain in itſelf; for taking it for granted, that the heads of ſix thouſand children had been really found, Udalric and the Centuriators would make it appear improbable, by their careleſs manner of relating it. My third obſervation is, that Theophilus Raynaud, in a paſſage cited by me elſewhere (83), ſuppoſes, that the heads were found in the well of Pope Gregory II; now here are two miſtakes, the one with regard to the place, and the other with reſpect to the Pope. The queſtion aſked by Bellarmin (84), how they knew that theſe ſix thouſand children had been got by Eccleſiaſtics, and not by Laymen, may be conſidered as an objection, but not as a puzzling difficulty; for altho' Gregory I. might have imagined, that the Laity had got ſome of the children in queſtion, he yet would have conſidered at the ſame time, that the celibacy which was enjoined the Clergy made the enormity ſtill greater. It is certain that the Laity deſtroy a numberleſs multitude of children, in order to ſcreen their guilt (85). I am to obſerve, that Udalric, Biſhop of Augſburg, lived in the tenth Century, and that the letter in queſtion was printed in the work intitled *Orthodoxologia ſanctorum Patrum*, at Baſil, in the ſixteenth Century.

[*R*] *The credulity this Pope ſhewed, by the multitude of miracles publiſhed by him in his Dialogues.*] "Some "learned men, who are not pleaſed with the relation "of all theſe miracles, have doubted whether thoſe "Dialogues were really written by St. Gregory, they "not thinking them worthy ſo great a Luminary of "the Church (86)." Father Denys de Sainte Marthe, having ſpoke in this manner, refutes very ſolidly the doubts of theſe learned men, and ſhews them that the Dialogues in queſtion were really compoſed by St. Gregory. Du Pin acknowledges them to be ſo (87); but then he confeſſes at the ſame time, that *they ſeem* not worthy *of the gravity and diſcernment of this holy Pope, becauſe* they abound *with ſo many extraordinary miracles, and ſtories that are almoſt incredible. It is true indeed that he has related them on the teſtimony of others; but then he ſhould not have believed them ſo inconſiderately, nor publiſh them afterwards as true incidents. . . The ſtories which are told in theſe Dialogues, have often no better authority than the bare relation of ſome ignorant old men, or vulgar report. The miracles told in them are ſo numerous, ſo extraordinary; and often about things of ſo little conſequence, that it would be very difficult to believe them all. There are ſome ſtories which can hardly be reconciled with the lives of thoſe of whom he ſpeaks; as the voluntary impriſonment of St. Paulinus in Africa, under the King of the Vandals. No Author abounds with ſo many viſions, apparitions, and dreams. And indeed St. Gregory owns at the cloſe of his work, that more particulars, relating to the other world, had been diſcovered in his time, than in all the preceding Ages.*

(74) *Longe mea diſcrepat iſtis Et vox & ratio.* Horat. Sat. 6. ver. 92. lib. 1.

(75) St. Marthe, *Hiſt. de St. Gregoire*, pag. 207.

(76) Baron. *ad ann.* 591. num. 19, 20, 21.

(77) Bellarmin, *de Clericis*, lib. 1. cap. 22. pag. m. 1124, 1125.

(78) That by which Pope Pelagius II had commanded all the Sub-deacons of Sicily to part from their wives.

(79) *See* Sainte Marthe, *Hiſt. de St. Greg.* pag. 205, 206.

(80) Magdeburg. *apud* Baron. *ad ann.* 591. num. 19. pag. m. 27.

(81) Baron. *ad ann.* 591. num. 21. employs this reaſon.

(82) Apply theſe words here, *Nihil eſt*, Antipho, *Quin male narrando poſſit depravarier.* Terent. *in Phor.* Act. 4. Scen. 4. ver. 16. i. e. "There is no "ſtory but may "be ſpoilt in the "telling."

(83) In the article BELLARMIN, remark [*E*].

(84) Bellarmin. *de Clericis*, lib. 1. pag. 1125.

(85) See the remark [*C*] of the article PATIN.

(86) St. Marthe *Hiſt. de St. Greg.* pag. 273.

(87) Du Pin, *Bibliotb. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt.* tom. 5. pag. 138. Dutch edit.

ſecutions in matters of Religion &c. He joins with thoſe who deny that St. Gregory delivered Trajan's ſoul out of hell (*k*). Had it been true that after the death of this Pope, part of his writings had been burnt; and that they all would have met with the ſame fate, had it not been for an incident [*S*] very much reſembling that which had anti-ently

(*k*) See the remark [*A*] of the Article TRAJAN.

Ages. But, in my opinion, no man would warrant the truth of all theſe ſtories. Father Denys de Sainte Marthe acknowledges (38), "that he would not warrant the "truth of all the miracles and viſions which are re-"lated in the Dialogues." He nevertheleſs does not blame the conduct of this Pope. *Our Saint*, ſays he, *might have told part of them, on the teſtimony of ſome perſons who were a little too credulous. He imagined that he ought not to contemn them, becauſe of the edifying particulars he found in them. It will be prudent in the Reader to examine, in the peruſal of them, in what degree of certainty they are placed by St. Gregory, and who are the perſons from whom he received his informations.* This is the direct ſtile of an Advocate or Apologiſt, who aſſerts that St. Gregory does not merit cenſure in any manner. The worſt is, that the reaſons which are given to ſhew this, are no ways ſolid; for if, upon pretence of there being many edifying particulars in a relation, a writer was allowed to adopt it, how many fictions may not be exhibited to the Public, as ſo many pious and true hiſtories? An Author's forbearing to ſay in expreſs terms, *I give this incident or circumſtance as undoubted and certain*; his not citing contemporary and very grave Writers, but only an ancient Tradition; theſe, I ſay, do not afford a ſufficient preſervative, nor ſo prudent a conduct as juſtifies ſuch an Author. He muſt declare poſitively and expreſly, *I relate this as a doubtful matter, and therefore you may give what credit you pleaſe to it, I not having one good authority for it.* I ſay, he ought to expreſs himſelf thus, that his readers may be ſure he is not perſuaded of the truth of what he advances, and is not extremely deſirous that others ſhould believe it. Every man who relates a miraculous event, without giving the leaſt hint that he himſelf doubts the truth of it, or is willing that any perſon ſhould doubt of it, declares manifeſtly that he relates it as a truth. Let it not be objected to me that an Hiſtorian is not allowed to ſuppreſs all ſuch particulars as may ſeem falſe to him; and that it is his duty to relate ſuch, as he finds well atteſted, tho' he does not ſuppoſe them to be true; let not, I ſay, this objection be made to me, for it would be no confutation of what I laid down. My aſſertion relates to an Hiſtorian, who dares not hint ever ſo little to ſignify his doubt, or the liberty he gives any perſon to diſbelieve it. Every good Hiſtorian who relates a thing which he conſiders as fabulous, adds to it the words *'tis ſaid*, or ſome other expreſſion which ſhews ſtill more clearly what he thinks of it (89); and therefore when he adds nothing of this kind to his relations, it is a token that he exhibits them as matter of fact, and deſires to perſuade his readers that they are ſo. This is the general aim of all perſons who relate a thing which they are perſuaded is true; they deſire that all thoſe for whom they write ſhould believe it; and they ſhould take it as a great affront, a mark of contempt, ſhould any perſon anſwer, I don't believe any thing of the matter. Now if theſe maxims are true with regard to an Hiſtorian, they are much more ſo with reſpect to a Divine who gives an account of miracles in a treatiſe of morality or devotion, or in general in a work like that of St. Gregory. We muſt take it for granted, not only that this Pope believed all the miracles he related, but likewiſe that he deſired all his Readers ſhould look upon the ſeveral prodigies related by him as fact. The Author in queſtion was therefore too credulous; he wanted judgment; and it was not his fault if all his Readers did not imbibe his miſtakes; for if a prudent Reader rejects part of what he relates, this is not owing to any hints he gave him. It may be obſerved, that it would be a very fair juſtification of him, to anſwer that he himſelf did not credit all the particulars he advanced. I would only aſk, whether he deſired that his Readers ſhould believe every circumſtance he told? In caſe he did, he is an impoſtor; and in caſe he did not, why did he trifle away his time in writing ſuch things? The beſt apology that could be made for him, would be to ſay, that he was over credulous and wanted judgment.

(88) *Hiſt. de St. Gregoire*, pag. 275, 276.

(89) *Equidem plura tranſcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare ſuſtineo de quibus dubito, nec ſubducere quæ accepi.* Q. Curtius, lib. 9. cap. 1. *See* Frenſhemius's Commentary on this ſubject, where the reader will meet with ſeveral ſimilar paſſages from other Hiſtorians. *See alſo* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 4. cap. 40. *and* Maimb. liv. 5. of *l'Hiſtoire des Croiſades*, cited in the *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, pag. 293. La Mothe le Vayer, in his *Diſc. ſur l'Hiſtoire*, mentions ſeveral paſſages of Livy, which ſhew the caution this Author uſed in relating prodigies.

This is what may be ſaid in oppoſition to the apology, which Father Sainte Marthe has made for the miracles in which this great Pope might have been miſtaken. The Apologiſt does not declare, whether he believes that there are a great number of miracles of this kind in St. Gregory's dialogues; but we may naturally ſuppoſe that he does not. He expatiates very much on the reaſons which he thinks capable of perſuading his Readers, that the extraordinary incidents related in theſe Dialogues, were very common in that Age. One of his reaſons is, that there were then a great number of hereticks, whom it was neceſſary to convert to Chriſtianity; and many Catholicks who did not believe the *immortality of the ſoul*, and the *reſurrection of the dead* (90). "It is an undoubted fact, "that in St. Gregory's time, a great number of Chri-"ſtians were wavering, with regard to theſe capital "points of our doctrine and religion. He (*) is ſo "humble as to own, that he himſelf had formerly "been in doubt, with regard to the Reſurrection; "for which reaſon he uſes his utmoſt endeavours, in "ſeveral of his homilies, to perſuade his auditors of "theſe truths. As there have always been a great "many libertines, even in the pale and the outward "communion of the Catholic Church; ſo there al-"ways have been many whoſe intereſt it was that "there ſhould be no other life but the preſent, no re-"ſurrection and laſt judgment; they therefore eaſily "perſuaded themſelves that there were no ſuch things; "for a corrupt heart will ſoon be followed by a miſ-"taken and erroneous judgment. However this be, "it is very certain that, in St. Gregory's time, Italy "and Rome in particular, abounded with ſuch unbe-"lievers. It would be needleſs for me to go about to "prove this, after what has been obſerved, on this "ſubject, by the laſt Tranſlator of theſe Dialogues, "in the excellent Preface he has given us. Gregory "of Tours (†) takes notice of a diſpute he had with "one of the Prieſts of his Church, who aſſerted that we "are not to look for a reſurrection. He likewiſe "mentions a Deacon of the Church of Paris, who "ſet up for a man of great parts, and was fallen into "the ſame error, he being extremely eager to diſpute "on this article of our Faith: whence we may con-"clude, that a great many more people in France had "imbibed theſe heretical tenets. Thoſe who ſhall "peruſe the Dialogues, will there find from Peter the "Deacon, that he knew ſeveral Chriſtians, who "doubted whether the ſoul continued to exiſt after its "ſeparation from the body (‡). Was it not therefore "conſonant to God's mercy, to diſplay miracles in "that Age, in order to aſſiſt the weakneſs of thoſe un-"happy unbelievers? And can we blame St. Gregory "for collecting them?" I ſhall make but two ſhort remarks on this paſſage: firſt, that if thoſe unbelieving Catholicks doubted only that the ſoul is immortal, and that bodies would riſe from the grave, they in this caſe were very pitiful reaſoners; for it would be very ſilly and ridiculous in any perſon who admitted the truth of the Goſpel, to entertain any doubts with reſpect to theſe two articles. My ſecond remark is, that perhaps there never were ſo many unbelievers as in the XVIth and XVIIth Century; I mean thoſe unbelievers who are not contented with throwing down the edifice without ruining the foundation, but who are for deſtroying, both the edifice and foundation. There were, beſides, a very great number of hereticks (91) in thoſe two Centuries, who ſtood in need of converſion. Miracles ſhould have been as frequent, at leaſt, in thoſe Ages, as in that of Gregory the Great: whence it may be concluded, that Father Sainte Marthe's argument proves nothing, becauſe it proves too much.

(90) St. Marthe, *Hiſt. de St. Greg.* pag. 274.

(*) *Multi enim de reſurrectione dubitantes, ſicut & nos aliquando fuimus.* Hom. 26. *in Evang.*

(†) *Hiſt.* l. 10. c. 13, 14.

(‡) L. 3. c. 38. & l. 4. c. 4.

(91) i. e. according to the definition of Father Denys de St. Marthe.

[*S*] *Had it been true that, after the death of this Pope, part of his writings had been burnt, and that they all would have met with the ſame fate, had it not been for an incident.*] Joannes Diaconus, in Chap. 69th, Book 4th of St. Gregory's Life, relates (92), *that Italy was afflicted with a grievous famine the ſame year that this Pope died.* "The poor who had been accuſtomed "to the liberality of this common Father of the Faith-"ful,

(92) St. Marthe, *Hiſt. de St. Greg.* liv. 4. chap. 7. pag. 613.

ently diverted the people of Rome from putting to death the Senators as murtherers of Romulus (*l*); ſome perſons, I ſay, would have concluded from this, that the fame and glory of this Pope, as well as that of ſome other antient Fathers, is like to rivers, which being very ſmall at their ſources, ſwell prodigiouſly when at a very great diſtance from it. Some objections might be made to this compariſon; but it is certain, generally ſpeaking, that the objects of memory are of a very different nature from thoſe of ſight. The latter diminiſh in proportion to their diſtance, whilſt the former generally magnify according to the diſtance of time and place (*m*).

(*l*) See *Plutarch* in the Life of *Romulus*, pag. 35.

(*m*) *Omnia poſt obitum fingit major vetuſtas.*

" ful, not receiving the ſame ſuccours from Sabinian " his ſucceſſor, from a pretence that Gregory had " ſquandered away all the poſſeſſions of the Church of " Rome by his extravagance; ſome perſons were ſo " furious, as to exerciſe their rage on the Works of " this holy Doctor, (not being able to wreak it on his " perſon) and they burnt a conſiderable part of them. " But when they were going to burn the reſt, Peter " the Deacon, a diſciple of our Saint, told them, that " it was to no purpoſe they threw thoſe Books into " the fire, to eclipſe the memory of this Pope whom " they hated, becauſe they, by the eager deſire the " public had to peruſe them, were already diſperſed " over the world. He added that it was a ſacrilegious " act to offer ſo unworthy a treatment to the writings " of this holy Father, on whoſe head he had often ſeen " a Dove deſcend (*), repreſenting the Holy Ghoſt, " which converſed familiarly with him. Peter, to " confirm the truth of what he aſſerted, went up into " the *Pulpitum* holding the holy Goſpels, on which " he ſwore that what he had ſaid was true; adding, " that he beſought the Lord, in caſe he had not ſpoke " truth, to put an end to his life that inſtant. His " requeſt was granted: for he died that inſtant, with- " out the leaſt pain, and was buried at the foot of the " *Pulpitum* where this ſurprizing accident had happen- " ed." The Author from whom I have borrowed this paſſage, cannot believe, *that any perſons would exerciſe their rage in ſuch a manner on the works of ſo great a Biſhop of Rome*; and he obſerves that Cardinal Baronius *rejected this relation as a mere fable, ſupported only on a falſe tradition, becauſe no author more ancient than John makes any mention of it* (93). Theophilus Raynaud the Jeſuit oppoſes this opinion of Cardinal Baronius, and combats it in the following manner. He obſerves, in the firſt place, that the ſilence of Paterius, of Iſidorus and Ildefonſus, is a negative argument; and that the ſtrength of this kind of argument is inſufficient and weak, as is univerſally acknowledged (94). In the ſecond place, that the authority of Sigebert, cited by Baronius, cannot ſerve as a proof againſt Joannes Diaconus. This Cardinal ſays, that Sigebert has expreſly denied that any work of St. Gregory was left on this occaſion; they having been all preſerved at the interceſſion of Peter the Deacon. Now the Jeſuit aſſerts, that Sigebert affirms the very contrary, in chapter 41 and 43 of the work intitled *de Viris illuſtribus*. He obſerves in the third place, that St. Gregory had writ ſome Books, the leaſt traces of which are not to be now found. *Præſertim cum idem Joannes ſequenti capite* 70, *ex ipſiſmet Sancti Gregorii epiſt. ad Joannem Ravennæ ſubdiaconum, demonſtret, pleroſque libros à ſancto Gregorio fuiſſe conſcriptos, quorum nullibi extant veſtigia; ut expoſitionis in Proverbia, & in Prophetas, & in libros Regum, neque enim pauca quæ habemus in* 1 *Regum & Ezechielem, menſuram implent titulorum illorum* (95). i. e. " Particularly when the " ſame John, in the 70th chapter which fol- " lows, proves, from the Epiſtle of the ſame Gregory " to John Sub-Deacon of Ravenna, that St. Gregory " compoſed many Books of which no footſteps re- " main, ſuch as, an Expoſition on the Proverbs, the " Prophets and the Books of Kings; nor do the few " which are ſtill extant on 1 Kings and Ezekiel, come " up to the title of them." He employs, in the fourth place, an argument *ad hominem*, grounded on Baronius's confeſſing, that the writings of this great Pope were expoſed to very great danger; and that the mutineers, not being able to exerciſe their rage on Gregory himſelf as he was dead, wreak'd it on his Books, and that openly, and in the forum at Rome. It is certain that Baronius, by owning ſuch a circumſtance, deſtroys his own aſſertion; for, after this, of what uſe is it to him, that none of St. Gregory's works have been burnt? Have we not proofs ſufficiently ſtrong of the contempt or hatred which the Romans had for this Pontiff, ſince they had formed a reſolution to burn all his writings publicly; which reſolution was ſo furious and obſtinate, that they ſtood in need of a very great miracle to prevent the effects of it (96)?

(*) St. Ephrem, Deacon of the Church of Edeſſa, declared, that he had ſeen a white dove on the ſhoulder of the great St. Baſil, which ſeemed to ſuggeſt to him all he ſpoke to the people. Ephræm. *Orat. in Baſil. apud* Coteler. tom. 3. *Monum. Græc.* pag. 59.

(93) St. Marthe, *Hiſt. de St. Greg.* pag. 614.

(94) *Quod* (argumentum ab autoritate negativa) *omnes agnoſcunt eſſe inſufficiens & enervie.* Theoph. Raynaud, *de bonis ac malis libris*, num. 582. pag. m. 327.

(95) Theoph. Raynaud. *de bonis ac malis Libris*, num. 582. pag. m. 327.

(96) It is to be obſerved that John Rubeus, in the *Life of Boniface VIII*, pag. 246. affirms, quoting Joannes Diaconus, that Pope Gregory was accuſed of hereſy: *Accuſatus fuit effuſi ſanguinis & Malchi Epiſcopi in cuſtodia occiſi, theſauri Eccleſiæ dilapidati, doctrinæ non ſanæ, contendentibus æmulis illius libros, tanquam reos hæreticorum dogmatum Vulcano debere tradi.*

GREGORY VII, named Hildebrand before he was raiſed to the See of Rome. Of all the Popes who have boldly and happily laboured to increaſe the power of the Pontificate, none ſucceeded ſo well as he (*a*). How wicked a man ſoever he may be ſuppoſed, no one can deny but that he poſſeſſed the qualities of a great man [*A*], as well as certain conquerors, who, in other reſpects, had committed the moſt enormous crimes of every kind [*B*]. He was born at Soana, a little City of Tuſcany, and made himſelf

(*a*) For notwithſtanding that he was at laſt drove from Rome by the Emperor, he yet furniſhed the Popes his ſucceſſors with an opportunity of triumphing, as they have done, on ſo many occaſions.

[*A*] *No one can deny but that he poſſeſſed the qualities of a great man.*] Here follows the picture which a modern Author has given of him. " He was of " a very ſmall ſtature, but in his body lodged a " very great ſoul, a very lively and enlightened " mind; an intrepid courage, incapable of yielding, " what difficulties ſoever he might meet with in the " purſuit of its enterprizes: of a fiery, imperious, " haſty, bold and enterprizing temper; too forward " indeed in the execution of his deſigns, and carrying " things to extremes, without dreading the evil con- " ſequences that might attend his vigorous, and ſome- " times too violent reſolutions. In all other reſpects " his life was unblameable, notwithſtanding the ca- " lumny with which his enemies have endeavoured " to blacken him, ſetting himſelf, the firſt example " of what he required from others (†); and very " learned, eſpecially in the divine ſciences (‡), the " laws, rules, and cuſtoms of the Church, as the " Hiſtorians, (not excepting Germans) who cannot " have been too favourable to him, acknowledge. " In fine, could his impetuous and inflexible temper " have permitted him to temper his zeal with the " excellent moderation which his five predeceſſors " employed, it is certain that he would have pre- " vented many evils, and a great effuſion of Chriſ- " tian blood; and then Hiſtorians could have beſtowed " nothing but very great encomiums upon him (1)." If the reader conſiders the character which Naudé gives of him, he will find it to be that of a very great man. *He was one of the greateſt pillars the Church ever had; and to ſpeak of him with ſincerity and impartiality, it was he who firſt gained it the poſſeſſion of its franchiſes, and who freed the ſovereign Pontifs from their ſervitude to the Emperors* (2). Some may ſay, that gaining one's liberty, ſhaking off the yoke, putting one's ſelf in a ſtate of independence, and ſubduing one's own maſters, are indeed actions of a very criminal nature; but they cannot ſay, that ſuch actions can be performed without the greateſt courage, and endowments of mind.

(†) *Forma gregis factus, quod verbo docuit, exemplo demonſtravit.* Otto Friſing.

(‡) *Virum ſacris literis eruditiſſimum, & omnium virtutum genere celeberrimum.* Lambert. Schafnab.

(1) Maimbourg, *Décadence de l'Empire*, liv. 3. pag. m. 220. Dutch edit. He cites Willel. Malmſb. l. 3. *de Geſt. Reg. Angl. Petr. Dam.*

(2) Naudé, *Apologie des grans Hommes*, pag. 577.

[*B*] *....as well as certain conquerors, who, in all other reſpects, had committed the moſt enormous crimes of every kind.*] I am the bolder in making this compariſon, becauſe I am perſuaded, that the conqueſt of the Church required as much bravery and abilities as the conqueſt of an Empire. The authority to which the Roman Pontifs have raiſed themſelves,

himſelf ſo conſiderable in the monaſtery of Clugni, that he was appointed Prior of it. He negotiated ſeveral affairs with, and for the Popes, and was himſelf raiſed at laſt to the Pontificate of Rome in 1073. Upon his acceſſion, he reſolved to diveſt the Emperors of a regal privilege they enjoyed viz. of giving the Inveſtiture to the Biſhops; he ſuppoſing that he ſhould meet at firſt with inſurmountable obſtacles to this, in caſe it could be objected to him, that he had acted as Pope before his election had been ratified by the Emperor (*b*), he wrote to this Prince in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms; and declared that he would not be either conſecrated or crowned, till he had been informed of his will in that matter. The German Biſhops adviſed the Emperor to annul this election; but all they could obtain was, that he would cauſe enquiries to be made in what manner it had been performed; and accordingly he gave his ſanction to it, as ſoon as he was told the wiſhed-for anſwer which his Envoy had received from Hildebrand. However, he ſoon had reaſon to repent of it; for the new Pope, in the firſt Council held by him in Rome, revived the antient decrees againſt Simoniſts, and ſuch Eccleſiaſtics as kept concubines [*C*]; and enacted a new one, by which he declared to be excommunicated, both him who ſhould receive the inveſtiture of any benefice from a layman, and the perſon who ſhould beſtow it. He did not except any perſon on this occaſion; and hence it was that his Legates declared to the Emperor, who had gone to meet them as far

(*b*) It was the Emperor Henry IV.

is more worthy of admiration than the wide-extended monarchy of antient Rome; ſo that it may be aſſerted, that Providence had deſtined this city to be, in two different manners (3), the ſource of the moſt exalted qualities neceſſary for the founding of a very great ſtate. If this does not prove that the Romans equalled other nations in the practice of moral virtues, it is at leaſt a proof that they either were more courageous or induſtrious. It is amazing to conſider that a Church which pretends to have no other weapons but the ſpiritual ones of the word of God; and which can build its rights on no foundation but the Goſpel, every part of which inculcates humility and poverty, ſhould have been ſo arrogantly bold as to aſpire at an abſolute power over all the Kings of the earth: but it is ſtill more amazing, that ſo chimerical a deſign ſhould have been ſucceſsful. That antient Rome, which valued nothing but conqueſts and military virtue,

(3) When it loſt its temporal power, it acquired the ſpiritual. *Sedes Roma Petri, quæ paſtoralis honoris Facta caput mundi, quicquid non poſſidet armis, Religione tenet.* Proſper Aquitanicus, *Lib.* de Ingratis, & *Lib.* 2. de Vocatione Gentium, cap. 6.

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra.
\- - - - - - - -
Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento,
(Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis & debellare ſuperbos (4).

(4) Virg. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 848, &c.

" Let others better mold the running maſs
" Of metals, and inform the breathing braſs;
" And ſoften into fleſh a marble Face.
\- - - - - - -
" But Rome, 'tis thine alone, with artful ſway,
" To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
" Diſpoſing peace and war thy own majeſtic way.
" To tame the proud, the fetter'd ſlave to free;
" Theſe are Imperial arts and worthy thee."
Dryden.

ſhould have ſubdued ſo many other nations: this is noble and glorious in the eye of the world; but then when we weigh and reflect upon it, our wonder is not raiſed in any manner. But it is infinitely more ſurprizing to ſee new Rome, (pretending to nothing but an Apoſtolical miniſtry) acquire a new authority and power, to which the greateſt monarchs have been forced to ſubmit: for it may be affirmed, that very few Emperors who reſiſted the Popes, but found themſelves great loſers by it at laſt. In this very age, the diſputes of the moſt powerful Princes with the Court of Rome generally terminate in their confuſion. The examples of this are ſo recent (5), that it would be needleſs to ſpecify them. In the eye of the world, ſuch a conqueſt is more glorious than that of Alexander and the great Julius Cæſar; and thus Gregory VII, who was the chief inſtrument of it, ought to be ranked among thoſe great conquerors who have poſſeſſed the moſt exalted qualities.

(5) I write this an 1695.

The reader will find, in the remark [*S*], my anſwer to an Objection that has been raiſed to what I have advanced here.

[*C*] *He revived the antient Decrees againſt Simoniſts, and ſuch Eccleſiaſticks as kept concubines.*] No Pope was ever ſo vigorous as our Hildebrand, againſt ſuch Prieſts as did not keep ſtrict celibacy; and this made him to be very much hated. Here follow the words of Lambertus Schaffnaburgenſis, according to Coeffeteau's verſion. " Pope Hildebrand, having frequently " called Synods of the Biſhops of Italy, had or- " dained that, according to the antient canons, the " Prieſts ſhould have no wives; and that thoſe who " had, ſhould put them away, upon pain of being " diveſted of the ſacred character; and that none " thenceforwards ſhould be admitted to the Prieſthood, " who would not promiſe to live in a ſtate of per- " petual continence. This Decree being publiſhed " throughout all Italy, he ſends letters to the Biſhops " of Gaul, ordaining them to do the ſame in their " Churches; and that the Prieſts ſhould leave their " wives upon pain of excommunication. The whole " faction of the Clergy roſe up immediately againſt " this Decree; crying that it was heretical, and " taught a ridiculous doctrine, repugnant to the word " of God, which ſays, *all men cannot receive this* " *ſaying; he that is able to receive it, let him receive* " *it*; repugnant likewiſe to the Apoſtle, who com- " mands thoſe who cannot contain themſelves to marry, " for it is better to marry than to burn. They ad- " ded farther, that this man, Gregory VII, by an " injurious Decree, would conſtrain men to live as " angels, giving thereby a looſe to obſceneneſs of " every kind, by his checking the courſe of na- " ture. Theſe factious Eccleſiaſtics concluded at laſt, " that in caſe the Pope ſhould perſiſt obſtinately " in his reſolution, they would renounce the Prieſt- " hood rather than forſake their wives; and that " then he might ſee, where he could meet with an- " gels to govern the Church, ſince he would make uſe " of Angels for that purpoſe (6)." Coeffeteau adds, according to Marianus Scotus, " that many of the " clergy choſe rather to be excommunicated by the " Pope than to forſake their wives; but the Pope " ordained in a Synod, that no Chriſtian ſhould " hear Maſs from a married Prieſt (7)."

(6) Lambertus Schafn. *de Rebus Germanic. ad ann.* 1074, *apud* Coeffeteau, *Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquite*, pag. 677.

I ſhall take notice of one circumſtance which appears to me worthy of notice; *viz.* that the Popes found it infinitely more difficult to ſubject the Eccleſiaſtics of the North than thoſe of the South, to the Law of Celibacy. A long time after that thoſe of Italy and Spain had ſubmitted to this ſevere yoke, the Prieſts of Germany and other northern nations reſiſted ſtill, and diſputed the ground for marriage, *tanquam pro aris & focis*; and I know not if we may not even juſtly affirm, that in Luther's time, the concubinage of Prieſts was more apparent, and more ſcandalous in Germany than in Italy: but it muſt not be inferred from thence, that the inhabitants of the ſouthern countries are chaſter; on the contrary, one would imagine rather, that the Prieſts of the North choſe rather to keep to certain concubines, than to diſguiſe their incontinence by random amours. They acted therefore in this with greater frankneſs and ſincerity; and perhaps thought it a leſs crime.

(7) See the remark of the Article MUTIUS (Huldrich).

far as Nuremberg, that they had expreſs orders to treat him as an excommunicated perſon ; and not to have any conference with him, *till ſuch time as they had abſolved him from the excommunication, which he had incurred for the ſin of Simony, of which he had been impeached before the late Pope* (*c*). The Emperor ſubmitted to every thing that was required from him ; received abſolution, and aſſured Gregory by letter, that he would for ever pay him the moſt profound ſubmiſſion. But notwithſtanding this, he would not ſuffer the Legates to call a Council ; and ſtill kept ſuch of his Miniſters as the Pope had expreſly excommunicated. The Pope, for theſe and ſeveral other reaſons, cited him to *appear in the approaching Synod of Rome* ; and threatened, *in default* thereof to excommunicate him. The Emperor laughed at this menace, and made the Legates, who had been ſo bold as to threaten him, ſuffer indignities of every kind, and called a Council at Worms, in which Cardinal le Blanc acted as the accuſer of Gregory. He impeached him of ſo many crimes [*D*], that the Aſſembly annulled the election of this Pope ; and wrote to him Letters, filled with the moſt injurious expreſſions, to inform him of this deciſion. The perſons who preſented thoſe letters behaved with the utmoſt brutality on this occaſion ; and nevertheleſs *this Pontif, who notwithſtanding his haſty and fiery temper could maſter it at pleaſure, took them with great unconcern, and without ſpeaking a word* (*d*) ; but having communicated them the very next day to his Synod, he pronounced (*e*) ſolemnly the ſentence of anathema againſt the Emperor [*E*], and excommunicated a great number of German and Lombard Prelates ; but the latter, ſo far from being afraid of it, aſſembled immediately after in Pavia, and excommunicated him. Having foreſeen that his conduct on this occaſion would draw upon him very powerful enemies, he had ſet every engine at work in order to ſtrengthen his party ; and was particularly aſſiduous in winning over three Princeſſes to his intereſt [*F*], one of whom, Maud or Mathilda by name, adhered to him in ſuch a manner as furniſhed a great handle for diſcourſe [*G*]. Farther, he prompted the Saxons to rebel ; made a league

(*c*) *See* Maimbourg, *Décadence de l'Empire*, liv. 3. pag. 228. Dutch edit.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 236.

(*e*) Anno 1076.

[*D*] *Cardinal le Blanc . . . impeached him of ſo many crimes.*] To know the accuſations brought againſt this Pope, we need but peruſe the ſentence that was pronounced againſt him by the aſſembly of Worms, which I ſhall here give, according to the verſion of the Sieur du Pleſſis Mornai (8). " Hildebrand, who " calls himſelf Gregory, is the firſt who without " our conſent, againſt the will of the Roman Empe- " ror appointed by God ; in oppoſition to the will " of our anceſtors, and of the laws, has, by his ſole " ambition ſo long continued, invaded the Papal " See. He will do whatever comes into his head, " *per fas nefaſque*, whether it be lawful or unlawful. " He is an apoſtate Monk who depraves holy Divinity " by a new doctrine ; adapts the ſacred Scriptures to " his views and ſchemes by falſe and forced interpre- " tations ; creates diviſions in the college ; blends in- " diſcriminately things ſacred and profane, pollutes " both equally ; lends an ear to devils and to the " ſlanders of wicked men, himſelf acting at the ſame " time as witneſs, judge and accuſer. He parts huſ- " bands from their wives, and prefers whores to vir- " tuous women ; and fornication, inceſt and adultery " to a chaſte marriage. He inflames whole nations " againſt the Prieſts, and the populace againſt the " Biſhops ; would perſuade the world that no man is " rightly ordained, but who crouches to him for " Prieſt's orders, or has purchaſed them *ab ejus Auri- " fugis*, from his Leeches. He impoſes cheats and " bubbles upon the vulgar by an outſide ſhew of re- " ligion. This man, *in ſenatulo mulierc ularum*, in " an aſſembly of ſilly women, treats of the moſt " holy myſteries of religion, abrogates the Law of " God, and incroaches upon the Papal See and the " Empire. He is guilty of high treaſon both divine " and human, as he attempts to deprive a ſacred " Emperor, a very good Prince, both of life and Em- " pire. For theſe reaſons, the Emperor, the Biſhops, " the Senate and people of Chriſtendom, declare him " fallen from his dignity, and will no longer leave " Chriſt's flock under the guard of ſuch a wolf."

(8) Du Pleſſis Mornai, *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 240. *He cites* Avent. *Annal. Boior.* l. 5. Lambertus Schaffnab. *de Rebus Germaniæ*. Carolus Sigonius, *de Regno Italiæ l.* 9. *Autor Vitæ Henrici.*

[*E*] *He pronounced ſolemnly the ſentence of anathema againſt the Emperor.*] " And, what no Pope had ever " yet done, he diveſted him of his Imperial Dignity, " and of his Kingdoms of Germany and Italy ; de- " clared that all his ſubjects were abſolved, by the " Pontifical authority, from the oath of fidelity they " had taken to him ; and afterwards wrote ‡ circu- " lar letters to this effect, to all the Biſhops and " Princes of Germany, by which he permitted them, " in caſe Henry ſhould perſiſt obſtinately in his re- " ſolution againſt the holy See, to elect, by the ſame " authority, another monarch, who might receive the " crown of the Empire, and govern it juſtly accord- " ing to the Laws (9)."

(‡) Gregor. l. 3. Ep. 6. & l. 4. Ep. 2. & 3.

(9) Maimbourg, *Decad. de l'Empire*, pag. 237.

[*F*] *Was particularly aſſiduous in winning over three Princeſſes to his Intereſt.*] " Theſe were the Empreſs " Agnes his mother (10), the Ducheſs Beatrix his " aunt, and the Counteſs Maud or Mathilda his firſt " couſin. As for the Empreſs, her prayers and re- " monſtrances might be of great ſervice to him. And " indeed * ſhe travelled into Germany with the Le- " gates whom Gregory firſt ſent thither ; and the Em- " peror promiſed to comply with every thing ſhe re- " queſted in the Pope's name, but failed in every par- " ticular. However, as the Counteſſes Beatrix and " Mathilda were very powerful in Italy, where they " poſſeſſed very large territories ; Gregory might " draw ſuccours from thence that would be much " more efficacious than bare remonſtrances, which " Henry did not very much regard. Theſe two " Princeſſes, who were very devout, had formed to " themſelves a very high idea of Gregory's virtue, " who indeed paſſed for a great ſaint, and a very " auſtere one ; and was even ſaid to have revelations " and trances, together with the gift of prophecy and " miracles, which create a great eſteem and reverence " for ghoſtly fathers. They afterwards had put " themſelves entirely under his direction ; and he, " anſwering the confidence they repoſed in him, took " great pains, by his letters, to lead them into the " paths of virtue ; and diſcovered a great affection " for them, and a mutual confidence : ſo that, when " the ſignal rupture which broke out between the " Pope and the Emperor had divided the Empire in- " to two parties, they did not heſitate in the leaſt, " but declared publickly for Gregory, and reſolved to " ſuccour him with all their forces, particularly the " Counteſs Mathilda (11)." I employ the very words of this Jeſuit, in order that none of my readers may entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of my deſigning to impoſe upon them by unfaithful tranſlations. It muſt be confeſſed that this Pope was very artful ; and that notwithſtanding his impetuous temper, he yet employed the moſt efficacious ſtratagems ; he made ſure of the fair ſex, and pitched upon ſuch Ladies as were moſt powerful.

(10) i. e. the mother of the Emperor Henry IV.

(*) Lambert. Greg. l. 1. Ep. 85. & l. 2. Ep. 30.

(11) Maimbourg, *Decadence de l'Empire*, pag. 238.

[*G*] *Maud or Mathilda . . . adhered to him in ſuch a manner, as furniſhed a great handle for diſcourſe.*] The moſt pacific Pope, tho' he had been ever ſo much beloved, could not have eſcaped the ſlander of evil tongues, had he been engaged in ſo very intimate a correſpondence as that of Hildebrand with Mathilda. Now I leave the Reader to judge, whether ſo fiery a Pope

(f) He was named Rodolphus, and was elected Emperor by the Germans.

league with the Duke of Suabia (*f*), and ſent a great number of circular letters, which proved of the greateſt ſervice to him; for he declared all thoſe to be excommunicated who ſhould correſpond with the Emperor; he forbid all the Biſhops to grant him abſolution, and commanded all Princes, either to force him to ſubmit himſelf to the holy See, or to proceed to the election of a new Emperor. A very remarkable circumſtance is, his daring to aſſert that, in depoſing of this Monarch, he had acted no otherwiſe than in conformity to the practice of the Court of Rome [*H*]. The league which was formed in his favour in Germany, was ſo powerful, that after long debates it was declared by them, *that they ſhould elect another Emperor by the Pope's authority, who ſhould give him the Imperial Crown* (*g*). The Emperor, notwithſtanding his groveling condeſcenſion with reſpect to the confederate Princes, yet could obtain no other but very hard conditions; which prompted him to wait upon the Pope in perſon, to deſire abſolution from him, and was forced to ſubmit to the moſt unheard of indignities before he could obtain it [*I*]. His excommunicated adherents were treated almoſt as rigorouſly.

(g) Maimbourg, *Decad. de l'Empire*, pag. 251.

Pope as this, and who had made himſelf ſo many enemies, could eſcape being ſatirized, for the reciprocal attachment between him and this Counteſs. We will again employ the words of a Jeſuit, who cannot be any ways ſuſpected on this occaſion. "The Counteſs Mathilda now finding herſelf alone, and abſolute miſtreſs of her dominions, becauſe the Ducheſs Beatrix her mother died (†) much about the time that Godfrey's (12) death came to be known; ſhe reſolved to follow more ſtrictly than ever the Counſels of Gregory; made him abſolute maſter of her mind, her conduct and poſſeſſions; and therefore, purſuant to the cuſtom of thoſe female Devotees, who imagine that they muſt be utterly undone, ſhould their ghoſtly Father be put from them, for whom they ſometimes have too great an attachment, ſhe employed her utmoſt endeavours not to loſe ſight of him (‡). She followed him aſſiduouſly wherever he went; did him a thouſand little ſervices in a moſt incredible affectionate manner. She never tranſacted any thing but by his orders, which ſhe executed with ſurprizing exactneſs; and tho' ſhe was the greateſt Princeſs in all Italy, ſhe nevertheleſs preferred to this title that of his moſt humble ſervant and dear daughter; ſhe looking upon, and treating him, as her father and her maſter, with a great deal of reſpect, zeal and devotion indeed, but perhaps with a little leſs prudence and diſcretion than was fitting, if I may be allowed to ſay thus much, without injuring the reverence that is due to the memory of ſo illuſtrious a Princeſs. For, in ſhort, the Emperor's adherents and the enemies of Pope Gregory, and eſpecially the Eccleſiaſtics in Germany, whom he was firmly determined to ſeparate from their wives, becauſe they had impudently married them againſt the moſt holy Laws of the Church; theſe, I ſay, took occaſion even from thence, to inveigh againſt him in a moſt odd manner; to charge him with too private an intimacy with that Counteſs (§), and to publiſh the ſcandalous and improbable ſtories on that occaſion, they being directly repugnant to truth and the known virtue of both. And indeed the German Hiſtorian, who lived at that time and relates theſe particulars, adds, that there was not one perſon then living, who had ever ſo little judgment and was not prejudiced and blinded by an unjuſt paſſion, but ſaw as clear as the Sun at noon-day, that theſe were nothing but impudent ſlanders which, like faint clouds, were ſo completely diſperſed, ſolely by the apoſtolical life which the Pope led in the ſight of the whole Court of Rome, that there did not remain ſo much as the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion, in the minds of thoſe who knew him (13)."

(†) 18 April 1076.

(12) This was Mathilda's huſband.

(‡) Lambert. Schaffnab. *Poſt cujus mortem Romani Pontificis lateri penè comes individua adhærebat, eumque miro colebat affectu. Cumque magna pars Italiæ ejus pareret imperio, & omnibus quæ prima mortales ducunt, ſupra cæteros terræ illius Principes abundaret: ubicumque opera ejus Papa indiguiſſet ociùs aderat, & tanquam patri & domino ſedulum exhibebat officium.*

(§) *Unde nec evadere potuit inceſti amoris ſuſpicionem, paſſim jactantibus Regis fautoribus, & præcipuè Clericis quibus illicita, & contra ſcita Canonum conjugia prohibebat, quod die ac nocte impudenter Papæ ejus, &c. Sed apud omnes ſanum aliquod ſapientes luce clariùs conſtabat falſa eſſe quæ dicebantur. Nam & Papa tam eximiè tamque Apoſtolicè vitam inſtituebat, ut nec minimam ſiniſtri rumoris maculam converſationis ejus ſublimitas admitteret, & ille in urbe celeberrima, &c.* Lambert. Schaffnab.

I am obliged in juſtice to take notice here of a complaint of Coeffeteau againſt du Pleſſis Mornai. That Friar is very much offended at du Pleſſis, for having cited only the firſt part of the paſſage from Lambertus Schaffnaburgenſis; *and therefore ſhe cannot avoid being ſuſpected of an inceſtuous paſſion; the King's partizans ſpreading a report every where, and eſpecially the Eccleſiaſtics, whom he forbid to marry contrary to the Canons, that he uſed to wallow impudently night and day in her embraces; and that ſhe, being very fond of the ſtolen ſweets ſhe uſed to taſte with this Pope, would not marry again after her huſband's death* (14). Here du Pleſſis ſtops, and Coeffeteau makes the following complaint. *But reader, what wilt thou ſay, if I ſhew thee that this Author,* this grave Hiſtorian, *as he calls him, refutes the impudent and barefaced calumny in queſtion in this very place. . . . With what face then can he be ſo inſincere as to quote this paſſage, to caſt a blemiſh on his life and domeſtic converſation* (15)? It is too violent an exclamation for a matter of ſo little conſequence. I own that du Pleſſis would not have done amiſs had he obſerved tranſiently, that Lambertus Schaffnaburgenſis refutes this; however, as his chief view is only to relate what judgment was formed of Pope Gregory, it is no ways ſtrange that he ſhould employ barely thoſe words of Lambertus Schaffnaburgenſis, where he informs the Public of the ſlanders which were vented againſt this Pope. It is to be obſerved, that he calls this Lambert, Abbot of Hirtzaw, for which his adverſary cenſures him, and declares that he was only a Friar of Hirſfeld, in the Dioceſe of Mentz.

(13) Maimbourg, *Décadence de l'Empire*, p. 243.

(14) Du Pleſſis, *Myſt. d'Iniquité*, pag. 695.

(15) Coeffeteau, *Reponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 695.

I ſhall conclude with a reflection of Father Maimbourg: *All theſe ſtories,* ſays he (16), *were ſo many palpable falſities; but nevertheleſs as the Public, from a malignity natural to them, are much more inclined to believe evil reports than favourable ones, eſpecially with regard to perſons who are in ſome reputation on account of their virtue; it did not fail to produce an evil effect, and to prejudice Gregory at that time; which ought to teach ghoſtly Fathers, that the ſhorter conferences they have with their female devotees, the better; and, that long and frequent converſations with women, are often more dangerous, (at leaſt to their reputation) than uſeful to perſons of their character.*

(16) *Décad. de l'Empire*, pag. 245.

[*H*] *He dared to aſſert . . . that he had acted no otherwiſe than in conformity to the Court of Rome.*] This ſhews the little ſtreſs that ought to be laid, on thoſe who boaſt of their doing nothing but in imitation of the ancients. The greateſt innovators have been ſo confident as to aſſert this, of which we have a remarkable example in this place. I ſhall quote a Jeſuit's own words, in order that no one may think I amplify matters (17). "I find alſo that Heriman Biſhop of Metz, "having propoſed in writing his difficulties to Gre- "gory on this ſubject; and aſked, among other par- "ticulars, what anſwer he ſhould make thoſe who aſ- "ſerted, that the Pope had no authority to diſpoſſeſs "the King of his throne, nor diſcharge his ſubjects "from their oath of fidelity, as he had done in the "laſt Synod of Rome; he had anſwered him flatly, "and without the leaſt heſitation (**), that he had "done it very juſtly, agreeably to the cuſtom and "uſage of his predeceſſors, who had excommunicated "Kings and Emperors, by depriving them of their "Empires and Kingdoms. Nevertheleſs Otho Fri- "ſinghenſis, a very learned and very holy Biſhop, "and a man very well affected to the Popes, and fre- "quently applauded by Cardinal Baronius, affirms "with great ſincerity, that having read the Hiſtorians "very carefully, he had never found that any Pope, "before him in queſtion, had made any ſuch attempt "(18)." *Lego & relego Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum geſta, & nuſquam invenio quemquam eorum ante hunc à Romano Pontifice vel excommunicatum, vel regno privatum* (††).

(17) Maimbourg, *Décad. de l'Empire*, pag. 248.

(**) Lib. 4. Epiſt. 25.

(18) *See* Father Alexander, *Select. Hiſt.* cap. Seculi 11, & 12. Part 2. where he ſuppoſes that Gregory VII was impoſed upon by his Secretary, who produced to him falſe records.

[*I*] *The Emperor . . . was forced to ſubmit to the moſt unheard of indignities.*] He had ſet out *in the beginning of winter, with his wife, and his children, and a very ſmall train; and croſſed the Alps in the moſt ſe-*

(††) Otto Friſing. *Chron.* l. 6. c. 35.

rously [*K*]. This abated very much the zeal which the Lombards had for him; and he had no other way of recovering their favour, but by discovering an eager desire to revenge the injuries which had been done him. The wars he was obliged to carry on in Germany, where Rodolphus Duke of Suabia had been elected King, prevented his invading the Pope; but as he gained great advantages over his competitor, he discovered very little inclination to execute what Gregory required from him; for which reason this Pope, in a Council held at Rome in 1080, excommunicated and divested him anew of his Imperial dignity [*L*]. This last thunder-clap, carried things to the utmost extremities. The Emperor summoned an Assembly, first at Mentz, and afterwards at Brixen

were season of the year, he being exposed to such great inconveniencies as might have excited compassion even for a private Traveller, and much more for so great a Prince, reduced to so miserable a condition (19). Nevertheless his arrival in Italy gave the Pope some uneasiness, for which reason Mathilda, *in order that he might be safe, let what would happen, carried him to the fortress of Canossa* (20). Several Princes besought him to absolve this Emperor; but he was a long time inexorable; and then, *being rather overcome by importunities than moved by the repeated and earnest sollicitations of those Princes, he at last answered, that he was determined (since they so strongly desired it) to absolve him, on condition nevertheless, that, to prove to the whole world that he truly repented of his rebellion, he should first send him his Crown and all the rest of his* Insignia *of royalty, to be disposed of as he should think proper; and that he should confess publickly, that after what he had done in his infamous conventicle or unlawful assembly at Wormes, he was unworthy of ever being a King or Emperor.* The Princes fell prostrate before the Pope, and conjured him, in the Almighty's name, to require more supportable terms. They obtained with much difficulty, *that he might e'en come if he were desirous of being absolved; but that, in order to obtain this favour, he must resolve to submit to whatever penance should be enjoined him* (21). The Emperor submitted to every thing (22). "He went "to the first gate of the castle, and there waited, with "the greatest submission, for what should be required "of him. First he was obliged to enter it alone, and "to leave all his attendants without, to wait for him, "and conduct him back at his coming out; which "was certainly a very delicate point, and no Monarch "but himself would have submitted to it. For, in "short, this was as if he had delivered himself, bound "hand and foot, into the hands of those who could "dispose of him in an absolute manner at their plea"sure; and keep him prisoner in a castle which was "judged impregnable, and whence his attendants could "never have forced him. Farther, when he had "passed the first inclosure or wall, he was stopt at the "second, and there forced to lay down all the Insig"nia of Majesty. Then having stript off his clothes, "he put on only a plain woollen tunic or jacket, like a "hair-cloth (23), and staid there bare-footed, in the se"verest weather in winter, (for it was the latter end of "January,) and fasting; he not having eat a morsel "from morning till night; imploring with deep groans "God's mercy and that of the Pope. The most "strange circumstance is, that this poor Prince was "forced to wait, in so sad, so painful and pitiful con"dition, three days together, whilst the Pope would "not be moved, either by tears or intreaties, to ad"mit him sooner to his presence to comfort him; and "the matter was carried so far, that, as he himself "confesses, (boasting and glorying of his extreme se"verity on this occasion, in his Letter to the Princes "of Germany,) all those who were with him could "not forbear murmuring, they being greatly astonish"ed at his unparallel'd hardness of heart; and some "even said publickly, that his behaviour was like "the barbarous cruelty of a tyrant, rather than the "just severity of an apostolical judge. *Ut pro eo mul"tis precibus & lachrymis intercedentes, omnes quidem in"solitam nostræ mentis duritiem mirarentur, nonnulli "vero in nobis non Apostolicæ severitatis gravitatem, "sed quasi tyrannicæ feritatis crudelitatem esse clama"rent* (††). These are Gregory's own words, cited by Cardinal Baronius . . . (24). This Monarch was "going to lose all patience, after having suffered so "severe a penance during three days: and he was up"on the point of breaking with the Pope, . . . when "the Countess Mathilda undertook this business with "with greater earnestness than she had hitherto done; "for now Pope Gregory, who could not deny any "thing to the earnest intreaties of so great a Princess, "to whom he owed so many obligations; that he at "last resolved to admit Henry to his presence the 4th "day in the morning, and to reconcile him to the "Church upon the following conditions: *that he "should submit to the sentence, which the Pope, at the "time and place appointed him, should pass with regard "to the articles laid to his charge . . . that in the mean "time he should not exercise any act of sovereignty.*" I omit the rest of the conditions, all which were extremely severe.

(19) Maimbourg, *Decad. de l'Empire*, pag. 254.

(20) Ibid. pag. 255.

(21) Ibid. pag. 257.

(22) Ibid. pag. 258.

(23) Malmsbury adds, with scissors and a broom in his hand, as submitting himself to be shaved and scourged. Du Plessis, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 242, 243.

(††) Greg. l. 4. Ep. 12. & *apud* Baron. *ann.* 1077. n. 17.

(24) Maimb. *Décadence de l'Empire*, pag. 260.

[*K*] *His excommunicated adherents were treated almost as rigorously.*] "He did not exercise much greater "mildness towards the German Bishops, and the rest "as well Clergy as Laity, who were come a little "before, to throw themselves at his feet, in order to "be absolved from the excommunication they had in"curred. For before he granted them absolution, he "caused them to be confined separately in little cells, "like so many prisons; and there made them fast "very rigorously a considerable time, contrary to the "custom of their Country, where, because of the ex"treme cold, it is much more difficult to fast than in "Italy (25)." Fasting is certainly one of the most mortifying penances that can be laid upon the Northern Nations, and especially on the rich, who are accustomed, from their infancy, to high feeding, and to make long meals; where they not only eat a great deal, but drink more in proportion. Had the Christian Religion first rose in this country, it is my opinion that it would not have sent into the East the same Canons relating to abstinence and vigils, which came from the East into the North. See the complaints which were made against Cardinal Alamandus (26).

(25) Ibid. pag. 259.

[*L*] *He excommunicated the Emperor and divested him anew of his Imperial Dignity.*] By this fulminating Decree he (*) *divests him of the Empire and the Kingdoms of Germany and Italy; absolves all his subjects from the oath of fidelity they had taken to him; and, what he would not till now consent to do, he confirmed the election of Rodolphus, to whom he sent a rich golden crown, round which was an inscription in one verse, signifying, that Christ Jesus who is the mystical Stone, having given the diadem to Peter, gave it to Rodolphus in the person of Gregory* (†). These are Father Maimbourg's own words (27). It is very true that Hildebrand's father was a Carpenter; this would be a proof, that a person of the most exalted courage may be born among the dregs of the people. Could any man have behaved with greater haughtiness than our Hildebrand? Did he not make it his business *to humble Kings, because*, as he said, *they were too lofty, and that he would humble them by his severe treatment* (28) *Imperatoribus & Regibus, cæteribusque Principibus, ut elationes maris & superbiæ fluctus comprimere valeant, arma humilitatis, Deo auctore, providere curamus; proinde videtur utile, maximè imperatoribus, ut cum mens illorum se ad alta erigere, & pro singulari vult gloriâ oblectare, inveniat quibus se modis humiliat, atque unde gaudebat, sentiat plus timendum.* i. e. "We take it upon ourselves, by God's as"sistance, to humble the pride of Emperors, Kings, "and the rest of Princes, as so many swelling surges "with the arms of humility: it seeming useful, espe"cially with regard to Emperors, that when their "minds are puffed up and delighted with glory, they "may be taught to be humble, and to tremble at the "exalted station in which they so much prided them"selves." It is to be observed that Maimbourg the Jesuit rejects what has been related of Gregory VII's father. Here follow his words: *What is generally said of his being a Carpenter's son, and that playing with*

(26) The Remark [*A*] of the article ALAMANDUS.

(*) Conc. Rom. 7 t. 10. Concil. edit. Paris.

(†) Petra dedit Petro, Petrus dia-dema Rodolpho.

(27) Maimbourg, *Décadence de l'Empire*, pag. 278.

(28) Greg. *Ep. ad Heriman. Episc. Met. de Excom. Hen. IV. apud* Maimb. *Décad. de l'Empire*, pag. 259.

(b) This City is in Tirol, between the City of Trent and Inſpruck.

Brixen (*b*), where *Gregory* was declared to have forfeited the Pontificate; and they elected in his ſtead Guibert of Parma, Archbiſhop of Ravenna, who aſſumed the name of Clement III. This Aſſembly charged Hildebrand, among other crimes, with Necromancy [*M*]. The Emperor having won two battles, the one in Germany againſt Rodolphus, notwithſtanding the Pope's prophecies [*N*]; and the other near Mantua, againſt the army of Mathilda the Counteſs, reſolved to go and ſettle his Anti-pope in Rome. This he effected after ſtruggling with many difficulties; and had the ſatisfaction to force his enemy to fly from Rome, and retire to Salerno. It was there that Gregory VII died the 24th of May 1085 (*i*). It is not an eaſy matter to give a more particular detail of his actions with any certainty; for not to mention that the writers who ſpeak

(i) Conſult the Authors whom Father Maimbourg has cited in his *Décadence de l'Empire*, I have made uſe of his relation.

ſhavings when he was but a child, he had by mere accident formed letters out of them, ſo diſpoſed that they formed the following verſe of the Pſalmiſt, Dominabitur à mare uſque ad mare, i. e. "He ſhall rule from one Sea "to another," *is a mere fiction* (29).

(29) Maimbourg, pag. 218.

[*M*] *This Aſſembly charged Hildebrand, among other crimes, with Necromancy.*] This appears by the ſentence that was pronounced againſt him, of which du Pleſſis Mornai makes very ample mention. *And likewiſe*, ſaid he (30), *in the year* 1080, *the Biſhops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul met at Brixen in Bavaria* (31); *and again condemned Hildebrand as guilty of ambition, hereſy, impiety and ſacrilege*; "becauſe, *ſay they*, he "is a pſeudo-monk, a magician, ſoothſayer, an interpreter of dreams and prodigies; a deſpiſer of the "Chriſtian Religion, who has purchaſed the Pontificate contrary to the cuſtom of our anceſtors, againſt "the will and inclination of all good men &c. A "ſworn enemy to the Emperor and the Empire, a corrupter of laws both divine and human; teaching "falſhood inſtead of truth, evil inſtead of good &c. "The trumpet or proclaimer of wickedneſs of every "kind, the ſautor of a tyrant, the ſpreader of diviſions between brethren, relations and friends, and of "divorces between married people; this excellent man "denying that Prieſts, who have lawful wives, are "true Prieſts; and yet bringing to the altars, fornicators, adulterers and inceſtuous wretches &c. We, "by the authority of God Almighty, declare him diveſted of the Pontificate; and in caſe he himſelf "does not quit it, we ordain that he be for ever debarred acceſs to it. *Sigonius*, who alſo gives us this "ſentence, has the following words in it; *manifeſtum "Necromanticum, pythonico ſpiritu laborantem*, i. e. a "real Necromancer, and poſſeſſed with an evil ſpirit."

(30) *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 244.

(31) Or rather in Tirol.

[*N*] *The Emperor having won two battles . . . . notwithſtanding the Pope's prophecies.*] Hildebrand, to animate Rodolphus and the Saxons, aſſured them that he knew by revelation, *that a falſe King was to die that year*, which he interpreted of the Emperor Henry IV; *and if this do not come to paſs*, added he, *may I be no longer Pope, even if it does not come to paſs before St. Peter's day*. Du Pleſſis Mornai (32) borrows this from Sigebert; and obſerves that *Rodolphus, relying on that oracle, renewed the battle four times, according to others ſix; and not only loſt it, but likewiſe his right hand wherewith he had ſworn to the Emperor, and loſt his life*. Coeffeteau anſwers (33), that *Cardinal Baronius had foreſeen this calumny, and ſhewed that Gregory never pretended to the revelations which his enemies fathered upon him; but only that he had aſſured in general terms, confiding in God's mercy, and in the juſtice of the cauſe which his zeal prompted him to defend, that God would ruin his adverſaries, and that thoſe of his party ſhould ſoon be victorious, but without fixing any day, as the ſchiſmaticks have accuſed him*. "Hence, *ſays Ba*"*ronius*, Gregory's enemies took occaſion to ſlander "him, and to call him falſe Prophet, as though he "ſhould foretel that Henry would die ſoon, and many "ſuch particulars; tho' the truth is, he never pretended to ſay this by a ſpirit of prophecy, but only "according to the ordinary courſe of things, it frequently happening that men reap according as they "have ſowed; and therefore Gregory, relying on "the juſtice of his cauſe, was ſtrongly perſuaded that "God would render him victorious; which, ſays he, "all things conſidered, will be found true, if we conſider that Henry and his accomplices came to a miſerable end." Here follows the anſwer that was made to Coeffeteau. *He ſhould have conſidered that Baronius ſays this with regard to an Epiſtle* (†), *written by Gregory to his fellow Biſhops, and others of the faithful, the expreſſions of which may indeed admit of his interpretation. But this does not prove that the Pope did not ſpeak otherwiſe elſewhere. And indeed, the charge laid upon him is quite another thing, not contained in a Letter, but delivered in a public Sermon, which he preached in his pontifical habit.* The words are as follow: *Look upon me hereafter no longer as Pope, but caſt me from the altar, if this prophecy be not fulfilled on St. Peter's day. But it fell out unluckily, that the aſſaſſins, having been bribed, could not ſtrike the blow, in order to fulfil the prophecy; ſo that, to juſtify himſelf, he eluded his words by ſaying, that they were to be underſtood of the death of Henry's ſoul, becauſe it was not in his power to kill his body* (34).

(32) *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 244.

(33) *Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 692.

(†) *Gregor. Regiſt.* lib. 8. Ep. 7.

(34) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 182.

It is manifeſt that du Pleſſis's objection remains in its full force, ſince Coeffeteau's anſwer, copied from Baronius, is altogether inſignificant. It may therefore be affirmed, that Hildebrand pretended to propheſy things which were ſoon proved falſe by the event. Weigh well the following words of Father Maimbourg (35). "He wrote circular Letters (‡) to "all the faithful, and particularly to thoſe of the Province of Ravenna, to engage them to join in a con"federacy with the Norman Princes againſt the Anti"Pope. He ſent others to the Princes of Germany, "to excite them to draw the ſword againſt Henry, "and aſſured all of them that they would gain a glo"rious victory. But it happened unluckily for him, "that the ſucceſs was quite contrary to the aſſurances "he had given them; for three weeks after the date "of his Letters, which are of the twenty ſecond of "September, the two armies of Henry and Rodol"phus fought a furious battle (*), the fifteenth of Oc"tober, on the banks of the river Elleſtre, near Merſ"burg in Saxony (36)." Here we have a dilemma: Hildebrand imagined that his prediction would, or would not come to paſs. If he believed it would, we muſt call him a falſe Prophet; if he thought it would not, and had no other view but to animate the rebels, we muſt call him an impoſtor, who, by a deteſtable policy, ſacrificed to his temporal intereſt the holineſs of prophecy and the honour of the ſacred Name of God. We have ſeen in our days ſome interpreters of the Revelations, who may be perplexed and confounded by a like dilemma. The artifice employed by Hildebrand puts me in mind of the Article DEJOTARUS (37). Men who ſet up for fore-tellers of things to come, are eſpecially careful to provide themſelves with a front of braſs, and an inexhauſtible ſtorehouſe of equivocations, in order that they may have an opportunity of explaining events in their own favour, whatever may be the iſſue of them. If the events are proſperous, in a worldly way, theſe fore-tellers aſſert that they grow more obdurate, and that this is the true evil that had been foretold. See Hildebrand here applying to the death of the ſoul, what he had preſumed to propheſy with reſpect to the Emperor's death. Of what uſe could it be to Rodolphus for the Emperor Henry IV to be damned at the expiration of many years, if Rodolphus, before this, was to be killed in a battle which the Emperor ſhould win? What judgment or ſenſe was there in foretelling the damnation of Henry IV, a Prince who would ſoon triumph over his rival? Had he been a true Prophet, the firſt thing he would have foretold would have been this triumph. I obſerve this, in order to ſhew the vanity of Pope Gregory VIIth's ſubterfuge.

(35) *Décadence de l'Empire*, pag. 281.

(‡ Greg. l. 8. Ep. 7.

(*) Lib. 8. Epiſt. 9.

(36) Rodolphus was killed in this battle.

(37) Remark [*K*].

ſpeak of him refute one another [O]; it cannot be denied, but that his enemies are ſuſpected to have wrote againſt him with too much prejudice; and that what they have related with reſpect to his Necromancy, has very much the air of a fiction [P]. Be this as it will, I can aſſure the reader that no Pope was ever ſo well or ſo ill ſpoken of as Gregory VII. A great number of miracles are aſcribed to him, and he is ranked among the number of the Saints (k). It is pretended that his body was found almoſt entire, five hundred years after his death [Q]; and we may very juſtly wonder at the uncertainty of hiſtory,

(k) See *des Ouvrages des Savans*, for April 1689, pag. 166, 167. In the Extract of *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, tom. 6, & 7. which contains the Life of Gregory VII.

[O] *The Writers who ſpeak of him refute one another.*] It is certain that they have run into the oppoſite extremes; ſome againſt Pope Gregory VII, and others againſt the Emperor Henry IV. The modern Hiſtorian, whom I have frequently cited, deſcribes this ſo happily, that I chooſe to make uſe of his expreſſions rather than my own. "This quarrel, *ſays he* (38), which di- "vided all Europe, and prompted one part of it to take "up arms againſt the other, divided, and afterwards "fired the Authors who have wrote on them to ſuch a "degree, that I can affirm there never was ſo much "heat, bitterneſs, rancour, and even rage, as appears "in the works of thoſe, who have undertaken to de- "fend and maintain one or other of thoſe parties; "and who, through their paſſions and prejudices, run "into extremes, without ſuffering people ſo much as "to examine the merits of either. For, beſides that "they are not ſparing of the moſt opprobrious expreſ- "ſions, with which they load one another, contrary "to all the rules, I will not ſay of Chriſtianity, but of "common civility and even humanity; ſome, in imi- "tation of Benno that ſchiſmatical Cardinal, revile, "in a moſt horrid manner, the memory of Pope "Gregory VII, and paint him as the moſt wick- "ed and deteſtable wretch that ever lived; whilſt "others, on the contrary, deſcribe him poſſeſſed of "all the perfections which form a great Pon- "tiff; and cannot find expreſſions adequate to the "praiſes they think he deſerves." To form the better judgment of the Hiſtorians of that Age, it may be proper to conſider the ſeveral things, which have been wrote for and againſt the League under Henry III and Henry IV. How many fictions, how many ſlanders were publiſhed at that time? I omit inſtances of a later date; and am perſuaded that the moſt prejudiced minds will agree with me, that Ages to come would be very unjuſt, ſhould they judge of thoſe men who are now the chief actors in affairs of State, from the libels which are daily printed on both ſides, in which every Writer publiſhes, with the moſt bare-faced impudence, not what he knows to be true, but what he himſelf invents or picks up in the ſtreet. I write this in 1695.

(38) Maimbourg *Décadence de l'Empire*, pag. 216, 217.

(39) *See* du Pleſſis Mornai, *Myſtere d'Iniquit.* pag. 248, 249.

(40) Coeffeteau, *Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 704, *ſays that Benno relates the following ſtory about this Laurence*; That one day a ſparrow chirping in preſence of ſeveral Prelates, ſome aſked him what that bird ſaid, and that he told them, this bird ſays to the other birds, that they are going to fly immediately to Porta Maggiore, where a cart loaded with millet, is juſt now broke down: He therefore invites them to go and eat their ſhare of it; upon which ſeveral of them went to that gate, and found the thing as he had ſaid.

(41) Ibid. pag. 704.

[P] *What they have related with reſpect to his Necromancy, has very much the air of a fiction.*] Cardinal Benno writes as follows on this ſubject (39). He ſays that Gregory had learnt Necromancy of Theophylactus, who was Pope Benedict IX, of Laurence his companion, of the Archbiſhop of Melfi, and of John Archprieſt of San Giovanni Porta Latina, who was Pope Gregory VI, "who by a correſpondence with Devils, "and the flight and ſinging of birds (40), pretended "to know what was tranſacted in the moſt remote "Countries, the event of wars and the death of "Princes. That ſo long as theſe lived, even whilſt "they ſat in the Pontifical Thrones, he was the inſtru- "ment and chief accomplice of all their ſorceries... "That coming one day from Alba, he had left behind "him his magical Book, which he ſeldom went abroad "without, when miſſing it as he was entering at the "gate of the Lateran, he ſent two truſty ſervants to "fetch it, forbidding them in the ſtricteſt terms to open "it; but that theſe being excited by curioſity, read it: "and that immediately there appeared to them a great "number of Satan's angels, which terrified them to "ſo great a degree, that it made them run almoſt "diſtracted &c. That it was a common thing with "him, by only ſhaking his ſleeve, to diſcharge from "it fire, flame and ſuch like." Coeffeteau complains (41) of du Pleſſis's *& cætera*. "He omits, "*ſays he*, the moſt wonderful part of this ſtory, for "Benno adds, *that the evil ſpirits were urgent to "know of theſe two ſervants the reaſons why they "had called them, and put them to ſo much trouble. "Command us immediately*, ſaid theſe pretty Demons "to the ſervants, *to do what you deſire, otherwiſe we "will fall upon you and torment you.* Upon this the "youngeſt ſaid to them, *overturn thoſe walls this in- "ſtant; and ſaying this, they pointed to the high walls "of Rome which ſtood not far from them. Immediately "theſe ſpirits threw down the walls of Rome; when "the two young men, making the ſign of the croſs, re- "turned in the utmoſt terrors to their maſter.*" Coeffeteau declares, that du Pleſſis was aſhamed to inſert this laſt idle tale in his book, *no author of that age having ſpoke of this overthrowing of the walls of Rome.* God forbid I ſhould ſuſpect du Pleſſis to have ſuppreſſed, out of artifice, the moſt fabulous part of this paſſage from Benno; but I ſhall be ſo bold as to ſay, that he would have done well, had he omitted his *et cætera* on this occaſion, This apologiſt declares, that Coeffeteau is guilty of a falſification. *He ought not*, ſays he (42), *to have inſerted in the margin*, that no author of that age has mentioned the overthrowing of the walls of Rome. *Benno does not mention it neither*; he only ſays of this young man, *oſtendit illis muros altos vicinos Romæ, quos in momento maligni ſpiritus dejecerunt.* i. e. "That he ſhewed them the "high walls near Rome, which the evil ſpirits "threw down in a moment;" *and therefore he ſaid nothing of the walls of Rome, near which ſome old walls might have fallen, though no notice be taken of it by the hiſtorians.* The ſincerity which I profeſs does not permit me to declare in this place againſt Coeffeteau, for I am perſuaded that he is cenſured unjuſtly; *muros altos vicinos Romæ* are the walls themſelves of Rome, which were not far from the people in queſtion, and not in the neighbourhood of Rome. Such are the ambiguities in the Latin tongue. How many diſputes do they not occaſion?

(42) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 193.

I ſhall here give Naudé's judgment with reſpect to the incidents related by Cardinal Benno. "I can "hardly perſuade myſelf, that ſuch ſtrange things "could be ſaid of the moſt wicked wretch that ever "lived, as are told by this author of ſuch a Pope, "and occaſionally of Sylveſter II, John XX, XXI, "and Benedict IX, who, according to him, uſed to "make women, by his magical incantations, run "after him over woods and mountains, and foretold "things to come with certainty. But theſe ſtories "are nothing in compariſon of what he adds of "Laurence the Archbiſhop, who underſtood extremely "well the ſinging of Birds; of Gregory VII, who "threw the ſacred hoſt into the fire, conſpired the "Emperor's death, cauſed Gerard Brazutus his con- "fident to poiſon ſix Popes; and had learned Ne- "cromancy ſo perfectly of Theophylactus and Lau- "rence, diſciples of Sylveſter, that he uſed to throw "out fire by ſhaking his arm, and dart thunder out of "his ſleeve. But this author has ſaid to much to ob- "tain credit; and ſince he was deſirous of ſlan- "dering the Popes, he ought to have done it with "more modeſty and judgment (43)." Theſe laſt words ought to be meditated upon perpetually by ſatirical writers. By endeavouring to overdo a thing, they fall ſhort of it; *ipſa ſibi obſtat magnitudo* (44); they diſcredit the truths related by them, by the fictions with which they blend them. They would act much more wiſely, to ſuppreſs ſome particulars, than to add ſuch as are inſignificant (45). The maxim, *dimidium plus toto*, i. e. "the half is more "than the whole (46)," ought to be for ever their rule in writing. Father Maimbourg (47) obſerves, that the ſlanders publiſhed againſt Gregory VII "deſtroyed themſelves, becauſe they were too inju- "rious; too groſly invented by men blinded with "paſſion and prejudice, which ſays nothing by its "endeavour to ſay too much, and what at the ſame "time is altogether improbable."

(43) Naudé, *Apologie des grans Hommes*, pag. 553.

(44) Florus, in *Proœmio*. See the remark [H] of the article ACHILLEA.

(45) It is not here that we are to apply the maxim of the Civilians, *Superflua non nocent.*

(46) The remark [H] of the article ACHILLEA.

[Q] *It is pretended that his body was found almoſt intire, five hundred years after his death,*] He was interred in Salerno, in St. Matthew's Church, which he himſelf had conſecrated a little before his death. His body was ſought for in 1573, and found cloathed in the Pontifical veſtments. Here follows the epitaph

(47) *Décadence de l'Empire*, pag. 290.

hiſtory, when we read the Apologies which have been written by thoſe who favoured him [*R*].

(*l*) From June 1699.

The anonymous Author who publiſhes monthly, *L'Eſprit des Cours de l'Europe* (*l*), has made a reflection which it will be proper for me to examine. It relates to what is told by me in the remark [*B*], concerning the conqueſts of the Popes. He pretends they were not ſo difficult as I imagine [*S*] ; and that we ſhould rather wonder that they were not

(48) *See* Father Jacob, *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, lib. 1. pag. 93. There ſeem to be many errors in this paſſage; many words omitted by the Printers.

which was added to it (48). *Gregorio VII. Soanenſi Pont. Opt. Max. Eccleſiaſticæ libertatis vindici acerrimo, aſſertori conſtantiſſimo, qui dum Rom. Pontificis auctoritatem adverſus Henrici perfidiam ſtrenuè tuetur, Salerni ſanctè decubuit, anno Dom.* 1085. 8 *Kal. Junii. Marcus Antonius Columna, Marſilius Bononienſis, Archiepiſcopus Salernitanus, cùm illius corpus, quingentos circiter annos, ſacris amictum, ac ferè integrum reperiſſet, ne tanti Pontificis ſepulchrum diutius memoria careret. Gregorio XIII. Bononienſe ſedente, anno Domini* 1578 *pridie Kalendas Quintilis.* i. e. " To the me- " mory of Gregory VII, of Soana, Pope of Rome, " a moſt ſtrenuous aſſerter of the liberties of the " Church, who, whilſt he was vigorouſly maintain- " ing the authority of the Pontifical See againſt the " perfidy of Henry, died piouſly in Salerno, Ann. " Dom. 1085, May the 25th. This epitaph, in " order that the ſepulchre of ſo great a Pope might " no longer be undiſtinguiſhed, was ſet up by Marc " Anthony Columna, Archbiſhop of Salerno, he " having found his body after it had been buried " about 500 years, and dreſſed in the Pontifical " veſtments: in the Pontificate of Gregory XIII, " June the 30th, 1578." A place was given him in the Roman martyrology anno 1584, and his feſtival was ſolemniſed in 1595 (49).

(49) *Hiſtoires des Ouvrages des Savans*, for April 1689, pag. 166.

[*R*] *The apologies which have been written by thoſe who favour him.*] He who ſignalized himſelf chiefly for this Pope was a German Jeſuit (50), who has produced the good teſtimony which fifty very holy and very learned (as he calls them) authors, have given of Gregory VII. Among theſe are *Paulus Bernriedenſis*, and *Gerochus* or *Gerhohus Reicherſpergenſis*. Du Pleſſis (51) imagined, that this Gerochus had writ the Life of Gregory VII, and has given a quotation from it, on the credit of Joannes Aventinus. It is pretended that he is doubly miſtaken: it is aſſerted in oppoſition to him (52), 1. that Gerochus did not write ſuch a life, but that he only ſpoke (53) of divers things, which relate to the diſputes between this Pope and the Emperor. 2. That he does not ſay what du Pleſſis has cited him for. It is proved by the work itſelf of Gerochus, publiſhed at Ingolſtad anno 1611. Rivet replies (54), that one is not obliged to truſt that edition, ſince it was procured by Gretſerus the Jeſuit, who might have ſuppreſſed whatever he pleaſed in it. This Jeſuit aſſerts (55), that the words aſcribed to Gerochus, are of Aventinus. He talks in an extreme haughty ſtrain againſt ſuch, as ſhall dare ſtill to doubt of the innocence of Gregory VII, after his apology, and the pieces publiſhed by Sebaſtian Tegnanel, Librarian to the Emperor. *Quis Benno & Sigebertus, Gregorii VII, calumniatores; ſi conferantur cum tot ſanctiſſimis & doctiſſimis Scriptoribus à parte Gregorii VII ſtantibus, quorum in Apologia pro eodem Pontifice, quinquaginta protulimus, recitatis eorum verbis; ex quibus nonnulli interea integri in lucem venerunt, ut Paulus Bernriedenſis, & Gerochus ſeu Gerhohus Reicherſpergenſis, ut taceam præclara illa antiquorum monumenta, quæ in defenſionem Gregorii VII jam olim ſcripta, nuper ex tenebris eruit vir clariſſimus Dominus* Sebaſtianus Tegnanel, J. U. D: *Cæſareus Viennæ Bibliothecarius, quorum fulgore tam priſcorum, quàm recentium in Gregorium VII convicia adeo obnubilantur, ut jam non niſi à noctuis, ululis, veſpertilionibus & nycticoracibus, & ſi quæ ſunt aliæ hujus generis caliginis patientes, lucis impatientes aves, conſpiciantur* (56). i. e. " What " are Benno and Sigebert, thoſe ſlanderers of Gre- " gory VII, when compared with ſo many moſt holy " and moſt learned authors, advocates for that Pope, " of whom I have cited fifty, and their very expreſ- " ſions, in my apology for that Pontif. Among " thoſe writers, ſome have come to light intire, as " Paulus Bernriedenſis and Gerochus or Gerhohus " Reicherſpergenſis; not to take notice of thoſe ex- " cellent remains of antiquity, which having been " written formerly in defence of Gregory VII, were " lately publiſhed by Sebaſtian Tegnanel, Doctor of " Laws, Librarian to his Imperial Majeſty at Vienna; " by the ſplendor of which, as well antient as mo- " dern, the ſlanders vented againſt Gregory VII are " ſo obſcured, that they now are viſible only to owls, " bats, night-ravens, and the like nocturnal birds."

(50) James Gretſerus.

(51) *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 246.

(52) Coeffeteau, *Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquite*, pag. 696. Gretſerus, in *Examine Myſterii Pleſſ.* pag. 356.

(53) *In primo Libro de Inveſtigatione Antichriſti.*

(54) Rivet, *Remarques ſur la Rép. au Myſt. d'Iniquité*, pag. 186.

(55) *In præloquiis ad* Gerochianum Syntagma. See his *Examen Myſterii Pleſſæani*, pag. 357.

(56) Gretſ. *in Exam. Myſter. Pleſſæani*, pag. 359, 360.

Is it poſſible that Aventinus ſhould have been guilty of the baſeneſs which is aſcribed to him? It is pretended, that in order to ſlander the Popes with the greater malignity, he declared that thoſe ſatyrs which he himſelf invented had been found by him in antient books. *Quis vel obiter in Aventino verſatus neſcit, Aventinum ſine fronte in pontifices maledicta jacere, & ne impudentia accuſetur mentiri talia à veteribus vel dicta vel prodita de pontificibus, cum ipſe ex hæretico ſuo cerebro omnia hujus generis exſculpſerit, & quæ olim dicta vel ſcripta voluiſſet, dicta vel ſcripta fuiſſe, Cynico prorſus ore affirmet* (57). i. e. " What " man is ſo little converſant in Aventinus, as not to " know that he calumniates the Popes in the moſt " barefaced manner; and to avoid the accuſation of " impudence, falſely pretends that ſuch and ſuch par- " ticulars were related of the Pontifs, when he himſelf " forged all theſe incidents in his heretical brain; " and whatever he would have to have been ſaid or " written antiently, aſſerts, with a Cynical aſſurance, " to have been really ſaid or written." To prove this it is alledged, that he has cited Gerochus for ſome particulars which are not in that author's manuſcript. This would be a ſtrong objection, if Aventinus's favourers could not plead, as their laſt refuge, that Gretſerus falſified his edition of Gerochus (58). It may be ſaid, in anſwer to Gretſerus, that it is no ways probable Aventinus publiſhed his own ſatires under the name of an antient author, ſince he might have found a conſiderable number of antient authors, who have ſlandered the Court of Rome in the higheſt degree. It was but naming thoſe writers; zealous Papiſts never fail to complain, that the enemies of the holy See, " are continually employed in ſearching for ſuch " proofs and calumnies as are not to be found for " their purpoſe in good writers, among the ſepulchres " and old ſinks of the ſciſmaticks; and as Michael " Ritius (*) the Civilian has very well obſerved," *Antiquos & manuſcriptos libros in latebroſis locis laborioſe evolvunt, & ex fœtido pulvere auctores quoſvis excitant, quos licentioſe in ipſos Pontifices ſcripſiſſe deprehendunt.* " They laboriouſly peruſe antient books " and manuſcripts, lying in obſcute corners; and raiſe " any authors out of the duſt, whom they find to " have written licentiouſly againſt the Popes." *Witneſs the collection made of theſe by Matthias Flaccius Illyricus, in the huge work intitled* Catalogus teſtium veritatis, *which I cannot better compare to any thing than to the Poneropolis of Philip of Macedon; for as this city was inhabited by none but wretches baniſhed for their crimes, villains, thieves, murderers, and all the ſcum of the country; in like manner we may juſtly ſay, that excepting the paſſages corrupted out of the fathers and councils; this whole long catalogue is ſtuffed with nothing but old fragments and ſcraps, from thoſe who have formerly combatted againſt the Church, or were cut off from the body of it, as rotten and gangrened members, ſuch as, among a thouſand others, the falſe Cardinal Benno* (59).

AVENTINUS ſlandered.

(57) Gretſerus, ibid. pag. 354.

(58) Rivet affirms it above, citation (54).

(*) *Lib. de fide Gallica.*

(59) Naudé, *Apologie des grans Hommes*, p. 551.

[*S*] *The anonymous author, . . . of* l'Eſpirt des Cours de l'Europe, *. . . pretends that, . . . the conqueſts of the Popes . . . were not ſo difficult as I imagine.*] We may divide his reflexion into two parts, and ſay that in the firſt, he rallies in an artful and agreeable manner the power of the Popes; and that, in the ſecond, he plainly and ſeriouſly acknowledges, that it was eaſy for them to aggrandize themſelves. The ingenious ironies in the firſt part are ſo drawn up, that an Ultramontain Doctor might be impoſed upon by them, and employ them ſeriouſly as proofs; and therefore it may not be improper to examine them. " Is it not ſaid that " every earthly knee ſhall bend at the name of the in- " viſible Head? How can the viſible Head want power " to

not greater, than that they have been ſo great. I ſhall ſay a word or two concerning a book

" to overthrow all his enemies, and to confound all " thoſe who oppoſed him. The viſible head acts only " by the power of the inviſible Head: if the Sovereign " is always victorious, his Lieutenant muſt be ſo like- " wiſe. This miracle is an article of faith: nay, 'tis " the grand ſpring of religion, which ought to ſubject " the body as much as the mind to its empire. This " no one diſputes; it has a power over the whole man. " As rewards are offered to the material, as well as to " the ſpiritual ſubſtance, both ought to be equally ſub- " ject to the laws, and the menaces relate indifferent- " ly to both. Should this principle be once over- " thrown, what would become of the holy inquiſition? " This divine tribunal would then have no other foun- " dation but a barbarous cruelty; and this ſacred arſe- " nal would not contain one ſingle weapon but what " had been forged in hell-fire. The Pope is therefore " the maſter over bodies as well as ſouls; and as his " authority over conſciences is unlimited, his power " over bodies ought to be ſupreme. Beſides, did not " the œconomy of ſalvation juſtly require, that power " ſhould be as extenſive as light? Of what ſervice " would it be to a chief or head eſtabliſhed by the Dei- " ty to be omniſcient, if he was not at the ſame time " inveſted with abſolute power? It would little avail " this Hercules, to cruſh the monſters of error, if he was " not alſo enabled to overthrow monſters of impiety: " this right includes Kings and Emperors, who tho' " they command over nations, are not therefore leſs " ſubject to the Church. The Popes oppoſed theſe ex- " alted ſubjects, whenever they rebelled againſt this " good mother: they employed an infinite power a- " gainſt them; how then was it poſſible for the Popes " to be worſted? Hence the true cauſe of the glori- " ous and incomprehenſible ſucceſſes of the new Mo- " narchy of Rome (60)." Should we take this paſſage out of its ironical dreſs, it would form the ſerious argument following; that as ſoon as the Biſhops of Rome were conſidered as the Vicars or Lieutenants of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe power over bodies and ſouls is unlimitted; their empire muſt neceſſarily have been eſtabliſhed eaſily over nations, and even over the temporalities of Sovereigns. One diſtinction will be ſufficient to clear up this difficulty. In what manner ſoever it be propoſed, that Chriſt eſtabliſhed a Vicar or Deputy in his Church, yet good ſenſe and right reaſon will ſuggeſt to us, that he eſtabliſhed it, not as ſupreme Maſter and Creator of all things, but in quality of Mediator between God and men, or in quality of Founder of a religion, which ſhows men the way to ſalvation; promiſes the joys of Paradiſe to the faithful, and threatens impenitent ſinners with God's wrath. Such then are the bounds which Chriſt Jeſus would have ſettled to the power of his Vicar; and the moſt that the latter could have done, would have been to decide with regard to the doctrine which ſaves or damns. After having declared to mankind the promiſes with regard to Paradiſe, and threatnings with reſpect to hell, and after having employed inſtructions, cenſures, and ſuch like ſpiritual methods; he would be obliged to leave to God the executing of the threatnings, not only with regard to the puniſhment in the other world but to the corporal puniſhment inflicted in this world. Chriſt himſelf acted in this very manner. He conformed exactly to the true ſpirit of religion, which is, to enlighten and ſanctify the ſoul, and lead into ſalvation by perſuaſive methods; without incroaching ſo far upon politics, as to puniſh corporally the ſtubborn and incredulous, of whom he found numberleſs multitudes; for it is not true that, in this reſpect, the head and maſter of the Church *is always victorious* (61). And therefore they themſelves who were the moſt ſtrongly perſuaded that the Pope is Chriſt's Vicar, muſt have conſidered his pretending to a temporal juriſdiction, and the authority he aſſumed of puniſhing the body, as an abuſe of his Vicarſhip; and hence there ſhould have naturally aroſe, a numberleſs multitude of obſtacles to the Biſhop of Rome's conqueſts. It is not a uſeleſs faculty to know all things, tho' one has not the power to govern and diſpoſe all things. It is enough that Religion teaches exactly what men are to believe and practiſe; it need but enable its profeſſors to refute error: and it is only in this ſenſe that the authority of cruſhing monſters of hereſy and impiety belong to it. If men reſiſt its light, it belongs to God to puniſh them for it, as wretches for whom no excuſe can be made; this is not the buſineſs of Religion, nor one branch of the miniſtry eſtabliſhed by Jeſus Chriſt. I will now examine the ſecond part of the anonymous Writer's reflection.

" But, not to ſoar ſo high, and to ſpeak more " humanly, I do not find any thing ſo very ſurpriſing " in the exaltation of the Roman Pontifs. By the help " of ſome paſſages of Scripture, they have perſuaded " mankind of their Divinity: but is this a new thing? " Do not men go the moſt extravagant length in " matters of Religion? Above all they love to deify " their fellow-creatures, as is manifeſt from the hea- " then ſyſtem. Now, if it be once admitted, that " the Roman Pontifs could eaſily eſtabliſh the divine " privileges of their office; was it not natural that " men ſhould declare in their favour againſt all other " powers? As to my ſelf, ſo far from being ſurprized " at their exaltation, I wonder how it was poſſible " for them to fail of univerſal monarchy. When I " conſider how many Princes have ſhook off the pa- " pal yoke, I am quite confounded; when I enquire " into the reaſon of it, I can aſcribe it to nothing but " the two general and known cauſes following, that " men do not always act agreeably to their princi- " ples; and that the preſent life makes a ſtronger " impreſſion on their minds than that to come (62)." Taking it for granted, as this ſubtle and ingenious perſon ſuppoſes, that the Popes could eaſily perſuade mankind, that they were Gods upon earth, i. e. that in quality of viſible heads of the Church, they were impowered to declare in an authoritative way, *what is heretical and what is orthodox*; and alſo to regulate ceremonies, and command over all the Biſhops in Chriſtendom will the conſequence of this be, that they could eaſily eſtabliſh their authority over Kings, and ſubject them to their yoke without the leaſt difficulty? It does not appear to me that this follows; on the contrary, methinks, it ſeemed probable that their ſpiritual authority ſhould be expoſed to great danger, by their ambitious deſigns of encroaching on the temporalities of Kings. Take care (was it one day ſaid to the Athenians) that your concern for heaven does not make you loſe the earth (63). On the contrary, it ſhould have been ſaid to the Roman Pontifs, take care that your paſſionate deſire for conquering the earth, does not make you loſe heaven; you will loſe the ſpiritual, ſhould you attempt to uſurp the temporal power. It is well known that the moſt orthodox Princes are more tender of their ſovereignty than of Religion, of which we have a thouſand examples both antient and modern. It therefore was not probable, that they ſhould let the Church poſſeſs itſelf of their demeſnes and rights; and it was probable, that they ſhould endeavour to increaſe their authority, in prejudice of the Church, rather than ſuffer the power of the Church to increaſe, to the prejudice of their temporal power. Princes who underſtand the art of reigning, generally have the Gentlemen and ſoldiers at their devotion; and when this part of their ſubjects are faithful to them, they ſeem not to have any cauſe to fear the enterprizes of the Clergy. Their troops will fight for them againſt all ſorts of enemies. The forces of Charles V made war againſt Clement VII; thoſe of Lewis XII of France againſt Pope Julius II; and thoſe of Lewis XIV would have fought for him with incredible bravery againſt Alexander VII, a little before the peace of Piſa (64) freed this Pope from the ſtorm which was going to break over his head. Being at Mr. Juſſel's at Paris, in 1675, a perſon affirmed that Count de Vignori, Governor of Triers, made the following anſwer to the Friars, who repreſented to him that the Convents, which he demoliſhed in order to fortify the City, had been founded by Charlemaigne; *I only execute the King's orders; and ſhould he command me to raiſe a battery againſt the holy Sacrament, I would do it.* Francis Mendoſa de Corduba was not quite ſo fiery in an anſwer he made to a letter of the Emperor dated the 30th of December 1598, but did not fall very ſhort of it. He obſerved to him that, *although his Imperial Majeſty ſhould be with his power on one ſide, and the holy Father the Pope with his anathema on*

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(60) *L'Eſprit des Cours de l'Europe*, Nov. 1699, pag. 663.

(61) See the remark [*E*] of the article XENOPHANES.

(62) *L'Eſprit des cours de l'Europe*, for Nov. 1699, pag. 665.

(63) See the citation from Eraſmus, in the remark [*F*] of the article OLYMPIAS.

(64) It was concluded in 1664.

book publiſhed a few months ſince, and entitled, *The Hiſtory of the Amours of*

the other, commanding him once more to go, that he would not obey; ſince he had a maſter who had ordered him to perform his exploits, unleſs any one by force of arms ſhould oblige him to do otherwiſe (65). We may add that it is in the power of Emperors and Kings, to beſtow ſo many noble rewards on a great number of perſons, that is very eaſy for them to win over to their intereſt a great number of Prelates and Monks, and oblige them to write againſt the Pretenſions of the Court of Rome. This paper-war muſt, in all probability, prove fatal to ſuch Roman Pontifs as uſurp a temporal authority; for it is eaſy to ſhow, both by expreſs texts of ſcripture, by the ſpirit of the Goſpel, by antient tradition, and the practice of the primitive ages; that the Popes have no manner of ground or reaſon for their pretenſions of diſpoſing of crowns, nnd of ſharing, in ſo many particulars, the rights of ſovereignty. This may even pave the way, to the calling in queſtion their ſpiritual authority; and by putting them upon the defenſive, with reſpect to that point, how greatly does one puzzle them? To what danger would not the belief of theſe articles, which people came to ſwallow by degrees, be thereby expoſed? Farther, the Clergy, whom the Court of Rome prohibit from marrying, will in all probability be inclined to ſerve their Princes, which is no inconſiderable circumſtance. Numberleſs multitudes of them look upon the yoke of celibacy as too ſevere: the honeſt part of the Eccleſiaſtics, who cannot live in that ſtate are fondeſt of marriage; for as to thoſe who have little or no conſcience, they do not ſcruple to keep concubines. Be this as it will, celibacy is grievous to vaſt numbers of people; marriage is to them the moſt precious of all ſacraments; and whoever ſhould write a book on this ſubject, like to that on *frequent Communion*, would make himſelf as odious as Mr. Arnauld, when he publiſhed, under that title, but on a different ſubject, a work that has made a great deal of noiſe. One therefore ſhould have naturally thought, that the Emperors and other Princes would meet with legions of Prieſts, Canons, and Monks, ready to ſerve them, againſt the Popes, as thoſe are zealous promoters of celibacy. Now what might not theſe Princes promiſe themſelves, who beſides their great armies, can oppoſe to a Biſhop of Rome, ſo many Eccleſiaſticks, who cannot live without women, and are extremely deſirous of having wives and children?

(65) The author of the *Apology for the Houſe of Naſſau*, p. 184. edit. of 1664. He cites *de Meteren*, folio 456.

But in order to know whether thoſe who had formed ſuch conjectures, with regard to the obſtacles which the Roman Pontifs would meet with againſt their deſigns; to know, I ſay, whether ſuch conjectures would have been well grounded, we muſt have recourſe to the events themſelves, and conſult hiſtory. It will thereby appear, that they would have conjectured very right, with regard to the obſtacles; and that they could have erred, at moſt, only in pretending that thoſe obſtacles would be inſurmountable. Read du Pleſſis's work, intitled, the *Myſtery of Iniquity*; *or the Hiſtory of the Papal See*, and you will there find the progreſs and oppoſitions in every chapter. The Roman Pontifs do not advance forward, and gain ground, but by removing the obſtacles which they meet with at every ſtep. Armies, books, ſermons, libels and prophecies have been employed againſt them; in ſhort every engine has been ſet at work in order to put a ſtop to their conqueſts, and yet at laſt they all could not avail. The reaſon of this is, becauſe the Roman Pontifs uſed all the arts and means poſſible to ſucceed in their deſigns. Their fulminating anathemas have been inforced by arms, cruſades, and the tribunals of the Inquiſition; whilſt craft, violence, courage and artifice, have conſpired to protect them. Their conqueſts have coſt the lives of as many men, or almoſt as many, as thoſe of the Roman Commonwealth. Many writers apply to new Rome, what was obſerved by Virgil concerning the old.

(66) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 5.

Multa quoque & bello paſſus, dum conderet urbem,
Inferretque Deos Latio (66). . . .
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(67) Idem, ibid. ver. 33.

TANTÆ MOLIS ERAT ROMANAM CONDERE GENTEM (67).

" Long labours, both by ſea and land he bore;
" And in the doubtful war before he won
" The Latian realm, and built the deſtin'd town.
\- - - - - -
" Such time, ſuch toil, requir'd the Roman name,
" Such length of labour for ſo vaſt a frame.
Dryden.

Zipporah told Moſes, *ſurely a bloody huſband art thou to me* (68); but if the Church of Rome were the wife of Jeſus Chriſt, her huſband might tell her with more reaſon, *ſurely a bloody wife art thou to me.* (68) Exod. iv. 25.

What is here ſaid, methinks, is ſufficient to juſtify the propoſitions which I had laid down in the firſt edition of this Dictionary, in the remark [*B*] of the preſent article. I am ſtill firmly of opinion, that the exalted power to which the Popes have raiſed themſelves, is one of the greateſt prodigies in human Hiſtory, and a thing that will not happen twice. Were it to do again, I believe it would never be done. Future ages would never afford a point of time ſo favourable to this enterprize, as paſt ages; and were this great edifice deſtroyed, it would be impoſſible ever to rebuild it. All the Court of Rome can now do, though it is filled with the ableſt politicians in the world, is barely to ſupport itſelf. Its acquiſitions are now at an end (69). It does not now dare excommunicate a crowned head; and is often obliged to diſſemble its reſentment, againſt that Catholic party, who diſpute the Pope's infallibility and ſuperiority, and burn ſuch books as are moſt favourable to them. Were there now an antipapacy, I mean a ſchiſm, like to thoſe which have been ſo frequent, and created ſo much confuſion in former times, when Pope ſet up againſt Pope, and council againſt council,

(69) This muſt be underſtood according to the ſchool diſtinction, *intenſivè* and not *extenſivè*.

Infeſtiſque obvia ſignis
Signa, pares aquilas, & pila minantia pilis (70).

(70) Lucan. *Pharſal.* lib. 1. ver. 6.

" Standards againſt Standards rais'd;
" Eagles againſt eagles, javelin againſt javelin."

it would not come off with honour, but would be quite diſconcerted, atd at its wit's end. Such a contraſt or ſtruggle, in an age like ours, would prove quite deſtructive. The reader muſt obſerve by the way, in order to form a juſt idea of the greatneſs and nature of the obſtacles ſpoken of above, that the Roman Pontifs were obliged to make themſelves maſters of ſeveral general councils. Now this was a very difficult taſk; for the more numerous a council is, the more it reſembles a ſhip toſt about by contrary winds, and buffeted by thoſe violent ſtorms of which Virgil has left the following deſcription.

Incubuêre mari, totumque à ſedibus imis
Unà Euruſque Notuſque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus; & vaſtos volvunt ad littora fluctus.
Inſequitur clamorque virum, ſtridorque rudentum.
Eripiunt ſubitò nubes cœlumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis: ponto nox incubat atra,
Intonuêre poli, & crebris micat ignibus æther (71).

(71) Virg. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 84.

" The raging winds ruſh thro' the hollow wound,
" And dance aloft in air, and ſkim along the ground:
" Then ſetling on the ſea, the ſurges ſweep:
" Raiſe liquid mountains, and diſcloſe the deep.
" South, eaſt, and weſt, with mix'd confuſion roar,
" And roll the foaming billows to the ſhoar.
" The cables crack, the ſailors fearful cries
" Aſcend; and ſable night involves the ſkies;
" And Heaven itſelf is raviſh'd from their eyes.
" Loud peals of thunder from the poles inſue,
" Then flaſhing fires the tranſient light renew;
" The face of things a frightful image bears,
" And preſent death in various forms appears.
Dryden.

The utmoſt art and skill is required for ſteering ſuch a ſhip; and it is almoſt a miracle, if the moſt painful, the moſt skilful working, ſucceeds ſo happily a to bring it into the intended harbour.

of Gregory VII [T].

[T] *I ſhall ſay a word or two concerning a Book entitled . . .* the Hiſtory of the Amours of Gregory VII.] This is but part of the title, but here it follows compleat: *The Hiſtory of the Amours of Gregory VII, of Cardinal Richelieu, of the Princeſs of Condé, and the Marchioneſs d'Urfé. By Mademoiſelle D***. At Colen. Printed for Peter the younger, MDCC.* Although the Author mentions the word *Romance* in the firſt lines of the Preface, ſhe nevertheleſs *affirms, that all theſe ſtories are true; and that ſhe could have carried them to a much greater length, had ſhe employed invention.* This is the higheſt pitch of boldneſs, and may be eaſily perceived, at this time, by the peruſal of the Book; but who can venture to ſay, that this will not be a difficult matter in future Ages? Let us ſuppoſe that ſuch a Book had been wrote in the time of Gregory VII; is it not very probable that Aventinus, or Flacius Illyricus, finding it in the corner of ſome Library, would have made uſe of it as a true Hiſtory? Would it not be quoted every day, as a genuine piece, in controverſial works? Who can tell how things may change between the eighteenth and twenty eighth Century? Perhaps ignorance and barbarity will return, after which polite Literature may again revive. Perhaps a thouſand valuable Books may be deſtroyed, whilſt this in queſtion may exiſt. This piece will perhaps be diſcovered by ſome curious perſon; be look'd upon as an invaluable treaſure of ſecret hiſtory, and a genuine monument of the true hiſtory of Cardinal Richelieu's amours, &c. The Public have too often been impoſed upon by ſuch pieces, and will probably be ſo in time to come. But there is no help for it.

GREGORY (PETER) a native of Toulouſe, taught the civil Law, firſt at Cahors, and afterwards in the city of his birth. He flouriſhed in the 16th Century. He was a man of very great learning, and wrote ſome books filled with a vaſt erudition [A]; but he did not appear judicious enough in the choice of things publiſhed by him. What has been ſaid of his book *de Republica* may be applied to all his works [B]. He was invited in a very honourable manner into Lorrain, to be Profeſſor in Civil and Canon Law at Pontamouſſon (a), where Duke Charles had lately founded an Univerſity. See the margin (b). He exerciſed this employment very gloriouſly till the year 1597, which was that of his death [C]. He was buried in the convent of the Nuns of St. Clara (c). He underſtood Hebrew [D], which had Colomeſius known, he would have mentioned him in his *Gallia Orientalis.*

(a) *Decani titulo & cum ſumma poteſtate accitus eſt, atque in ea utrumque jus magna cum laude profeſſus.* Doujat. *Præn. Canon.* pag. 638.

(c) Extracted from Doujat. *Præn. Canon.* pag. 638.

(b) Doujat fixes this to anno 1582, but Peter Gregory, in the dedication to the *Syntaxis Artis mirabilis*, dated at Lions the 4th of November 1574, calls himſelf Law-Profeſſor in the new Univerſity of Pontamouſſon. This Univerſity was founded anno 1573, by Cardinal Charles of Lorrain, if we may credit Baudrand, pag. 431. of vol. 2. of his Geography.

[A] *He . . . wrote ſome Books, filled with a vaſt erudition.*] This will appear from the peruſal of the work intitled, *Syntagma Juris univerſi atque Legum pene omnium Gentium, & rerum publicarum præcipuarum, in tres partes digeſtum, in quo divini & humani juris totius, naturali ac novo methodo per gradus, ordineque, materia univerſalium & ſingularium ſimulque judicia explicantur.* This is a large folio volume, which has borne ſeveral impreſſions (1). His other Works are *Syntaxis Artis mirabilis. De Republica Libri XXVI.* Two volumes on the Canon-Law. The firſt volume contains *Partitiones totius Juris Canonici, in quinque libros digeſtæ, Scholiis & Annotationibus illuſtratæ inſtar Syntagmatis totius Juris Eccleſiaſtici, quæ à methodo Partitionum Ciceronis Oratoriarum diverſæ, ſummam potius Hoſtienſis imitantur:* the other volume contains, *Commentaria & Annotationes in Decretalium procœmium. Ad Tit. de ſumma Trinitate & Fide Catholica. De Conſtitutionibus. De Reſcriptis. De Electione Enarratio. Ad Cap. conquerente de officio & poteſtate Judicis Ordin. Rei beneficiariæ Eccleſiaſticæ Inſtitutiones. Ad Tit. de Sponſalibus & Matrimoniis. De Uſuris libri tres* (2). He wrote againſt Charles du Moulin (α), to prove that the Council of Trent ought to be received in France.

(1) I have that before me, of Frankfort, 1599.

(2) See Doujat, *Prænot. Canonic.* pag. 638.

§ (α) Under the name of *Ræmundus Rufus* (if I miſtake not) and to ſhew that the Council of Trent ought to be received in France, againſt what the other had written to the contrary, in his *Conſilium ſupra facta Concilii Tridentini.* Peter Gregory's piece was inſerted in 1682, in one of the laſt Editions of the Works of Charles du Moulin, to introduce, as it were, into the world, this little piece, which was then going to appear, for the firſt time, in the Works of this Civilian. REM. CRIT.]

[B] *What has been ſaid of his Book* de Republica, *may be applied to all his Works.*] Here follows the judgment which Gabriel Naudé has formed of it. *Copioſior* (Nicolao Bieſio Medico Lovanienſi) *extitit Gregorius Tholoſanus, at magis ex arte ſcribens, quia Juriſperitus: deſiderantur tamen in eo modus, quem ſibi præſcribere non potuit eruditione vulgari luxurians; & majeſtas, cui non magis indulſit quàm judicio, dum omnia ingerit, & pauca digerit: cæterum valde utilis eſt, & diverſa in ſe continet, propter quæ theſauri inſtar haberi poſſit, ubi meliorum auctorum gemmas ac precioſam variæ doctrinæ ſupellectilem poſſis invenire* (3). i. e. "Gregory of "Toulouſe was more copious, and wrote with greater "art, as being a Civilian, than Nicholas Bieſius the "Phyſician of Louvain. Nevertheleſs, the luxuriancy "of his erudition was ſuch, that it did not permit him "to ſet bounds to his writing. This Author is like-"wiſe deficient in dignity as well as in judgment; he "crouding in every thing, and digeſting very little. "He nevertheleſs is a very uſeful Writer, and has "taken in a multitude of things, for which reaſon he "may be conſidered as a treaſure, where the moſt ex-"cellent particulars of the beſt Authors are to be "found."

(3) Naudæus, *Bibliograph. Politica*, pag. m. 22.

[C] *The year* 1597 . . *was that of his death.*] Doujat (4) informs me of this particular; and as he was the Author's countryman, I believe him rather than Konig, who declares that our Gregory died in 1585. The Francfort Bookſeller (5) is not accurate, when he ſays in his Dedication, dated the firſt of March 1599, that the calamities of the times had prevented his enjoying the preſence and aſſiſtance of the Author (6), when he reprinted the *Syntagma Juris univerſi.* Would this Author have wrote thus of our Gregory, in 1599, had he known that he died in 1597? This error could not be wholly excuſed, by ſuppoſing that the printing of this Book took up ſome years.

(4) *Præn. Canon.* pag. 638.

(5) *Johnas Rhodius.* He had removed from France to Frankfort, as he tells us in the dedication.

(6) *Cum per injuriam temporis ipſius auctoris præſentia & ope frui non liceret.* Johnas Rhodius, *Petri Fiſcheri Bibliopolæ Francofortenſis Succeſſor*, Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Archiepiſcopum Moguntinum. *Cum ipſius Auctoris præſentia in hiſce deplorandis Gallicarum rerum tumultibus frui non liceret.* Idem, Præfat. ad Lector.

[D] *He underſtood Hebrew.*] This we are told by Feltman, a Civilian of Germany; he not only calling him *virum omni ſtudiorum genere excellentiſſimum* (7), but alſo *Hebræi Juris ac Sermonis callentiſſimum* (8).

(7) Feltman. lib. 1. *de Tit. Honor.* cap. 13. *apud* Magirum, Eponymol. pag. 403.

(8) Ibid. cap. 1. num. 3. *apud eundem, ibid.*

☞GREGORY (JOHN), a very learned Engliſh Writer in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Agmundeſham or Amerſham in Buckinghamſhire on the 10th of November 1607. His parents were in low circumſtances, but of ſuch noted piety and honeſty, as gained them the eſteem of perſons of the beſt Quality in that place (a); whence this their eldeſt ſon, about the fifteenth year (b) of their pious education of him, was choſen by Dr. Crook to wait upon Sir William Drake, and ſoon after on Sir Robert Crook, at Chriſt Church in Oxford, where they were put under the tuition of Dr. George Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter (c). He ſtudied here ſixteen of every rwenty

(a) *Short Account of the Life and Death of Mr. John Gregory M. A. By John Gurgany B. D. of Merton College*, prefixed to *Gregorii Poſthuma: or certain learned Tracts written by John Gregory, M. A.*

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 100. tells us, that he became a Servitor in Chriſt Church in 1624.

(c) *Short Account, ubi ſupra.*

twenty four hours for ſeveral years together, by which means he made a prodigious progreſs in learning (*d*), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts October the 11th 1628 (*e*), and that of Maſter of Arts June the 22d 1631 (*f*). About this time Dr. Brian Duppa, Dean of Chriſt Church, made him Chaplain or Petty Canon of that Cathedral, and afterwards his domeſtic Chaplain, and Prebendary of Chicheſter and Saliſbury, when Dr. Duppa ſucceſſively ſate Biſhop of thoſe Sees (*g*). In 1634 he publiſhed a ſecond edition of Sir Thomas Ridley's *View of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law with Notes* [*A*]; in which *Notes* he made an early diſcovery of his Civil, Hiſtorical, Eccleſiaſtical, Ritual, and Oriental Learning, and his ſkill in the Saxon, French, Italian, Spaniſh and all the Eaſtern Languages, which he made himſelf maſter of without any guide, except Mr. John Dod the Decalogiſt (*h*), whoſe converſation and directions for the Hebrew tongue he enjoyed one vacation near Banbury (*i*). Some years before his death he was reduced to great diſtreſs, being deprived of the benefit of his two Prebends, and retired to an obſcure Ale-houſe on the Green at Kidlington near Oxford. Here he lived in great retiredneſs; and in 1646, juſt before his death, publiſhed *Notes and Obſervations upon ſome paſſages of Scripture* [*B*], in which kind of ſtudies he intended to ſpend the reſt of his life.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 240.

(*f*) Idem, ibid. col. 252.

(*g*) *Short Account &c.*

(*i*) *Short Account, ubi ſupra.* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 100. ſays that his benefice was in Northamptonſhire.

(*b*) He was called ſo, becauſe he, with *Robert Cleaver*, another Puritan Miniſter, wrote *An Expoſition on the ten Commandments.* He was born in Cheſhire, educated in Jeſus College Cambridge, ſucceſſively Miniſter of Hanwell in Oxfordſhire, Fenny Drayton in Leiceſterſhire, Canons Aſhby and Fauſley in Northamptonſhire, though for a time ſilenced in each of them. He died at Fauſley in 1645, aged about ninety.

[*A*] *In* 1634 *he publiſhed a ſecond Edition of Sir* Thomas Ridley's View of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law, *with Notes.*] The title of this Edition is as follows: *A View of the Civile and Eccleſiaſticall Law; and wherein the practice of them is ſtreitned and may be relieved within this Land. Written by Sir* Thomas Ridley *Knt. and Doctor of the Civile Law. The ſecond Edition by* J. G. *Mr. of Arts.* Oxford 1634 in 4to. It was reprinted at Oxford 1662 in 8vo, and 1675 in 4to. Mr. Gurgany B. D. of Merton College (1) tells us, that Mr. Gregory dedicated his Edition of Ridley's *View* to Dr. Duppa; but we find no ſuch Dedication in the Edition of 1634 now before us; and our Author himſelf in his preface obſerves, that *finding it under the protection of the high and mighty Prince* James, *he thought it altogether inglorious to ſeek any other Patron for this new Edition.* He ſtiles this Work *a learned and uſeful View of both the Laws*, and remarks that it "may "now hope to conceive a more indifferent cenſure than "before (2), as being committed to a ſeaſon more ma-"ture and more perfectly diſpoſed. For howſoever, "*ſays Mr.* Gregory, the time, that firſt brought this "forth, could not be charged with any notable diſtem-"per; yet the Commonwealth we live in is of that "thriving nature, that however the preſent time may "ſtill be good, yet it always makes the ſucceeding "Age better than itſelf. This argues the State not "near her ruin, though ſome unruly ſpirits, led by an "irregular motion, have been bold to anticipate; as if "every one that had ſo much pity to fear, had alſo "judgment enough to foreſee the ruin of a Kingdom. "... If it needs muſt be ſuſpected, that the State is "not far from her fall, let this be the only reaſon, be-"cauſe ſhe draweth ſo near to her perfection. That "which heretofore moſt of all incumbered theſe Do-"minions, was the diſproportion of the civil power to "the eccleſiaſtical. This a great Prince abated, and "the Act was truly maſculine, yet like thoſe of the "ſtrongeſt importance, would not be perfected by the "ſame hand. Therefore it was by him ſo fully done "on one ſide, that it might be feared leſt it ſhould run "over on the other. To prevent this, the diſcretion "of theſe late diſcerning times hath warily provided, "the wiſdom of the Prince having ſo well tempered "both the Powers, that it may now be hoped, they "ſhall agree one with another, as both do in him, "by a glorious correſpondence."

(1) In his *Short Account of the Life and Death of John Gregory M. A.* prefixed to *Gregorii Poſthuma: or certain learned Tracts written by John Gregory M. A.*

(2) The firſt edition of it was printed in the reign of King James I.

Sir Thomas Ridley was educated at King's College Cambridge, afterwards Maſter of Eaton ſchool, one of the Maſters of Chancery, Chancellor of the Biſhopric of Winchester, Vicar General to Archbiſhop Abbot. He died January 23, 1628.

[*B*] *In* 1646 ... *he publiſhed Notes and Obſervations upon ſome paſſages of Scripture.*] The title of this work was, *Notes and Obſervations upon ſome paſſages of Scripture. By* J. G. *Maſter of Arts of Chriſt-Church Oxon.* Oxford 1646 in 4to. It was reprinted at London 1660, 1665, 1671, 1683 in 4to, and tranſlated into Latin, and inſerted in the *Critici ſacri.* In the preface he animadverts upon thoſe, who in explaining Scriptures made pretences to *a ſpirit of interpretation.* "This "indeed, *ſays he*, is a Spirit, *that bloweth where it* "*liſteth, and no man can tell whence it cometh, nor* "*whither it will go.* I would have you tell me by "this *Spirit* of what kind the *Dial* of *Ahaz* was; or "how the Sun could go *ten degrees backwards.* For "the kind I am ſure it was like none of ours in uſe; "and if the retroceſſion could be meant of the ſhadow "(and ſome men look no farther) the ſame thing may "be made to fall out every day upon an ordinary dyal, "and (notwithſtanding what a good Mathematician Pet. Nonius. "hath ſaid to the contrary) in a ſite and poſition of "the Sphere without the tropics. Therefore the going "back is to be meant of the Sun itſelf. Tell me by "the ſame Spirit how darkneſs could be *upon the face* "*of the whole earth* at the Paſſion of our Saviour, and "no Aſtronomer in the Eaſt, nor any man of all that "Hemiſphere, excepting thoſe of Jeruſalem, per-"ceive it? Make it good, if you can, out of the mouth "but of two witneſſes. What's *Phlegon* and *Apollo-*"*phanes?* or if the firſt be one, the notice is ſo ſingle, "that it will not ſerve to celebrate, but bring the won-"der into doubt. The Sun was not totally eclipſed to "all the world. One hemiſphere of his body ſhined "ſtill. And the *face of the whole earth* is to be meant "of the Land of Judea, as it is elſewhere. By the "ſame Spirit I would know why the Greek and He-"brew Scripture ſhould differ ſo vaſtly in account, and "how the *Cainan* Κυτρος got into Saint Luke's Goſ-"pel intolerably (Joſeph Scaliger hath ſaid more) a-"gainſt all original truſt. But I may poſſibly tell "you the manner of that hereafter, and that the "Jews did not cut off (as the *Arabic Catena* would "have it) but the *Helleniſts* or *Græciſts* (ſo it ought to "be read, not *Grecians*, Act. vi. 1.) added what is "ſupernumerary to theſe Epilogiſms. And Cainan "came in too at this back-door, as I think I ſhall be "able to ſhew you at ſome other time, and from an "inconſiderable Ground (but for this it were ſo) of the "Helleniſtical Chiliaſts. But if by this or any other "Spirit whatſoever (that of God only excepted) you "can declare what was *Melchizedeck's* generation, I "ſhall think you try'd here too much." Mr. Gregory afterwards obſerves, that he was aſk'd once by an able and underſtanding man, whether the Alcoran as it is in itſelf, had ſo much in it, as to work any thing upon a rational belief. He ſaid, Yes. "Thus much only, "*ſays he*, I require, that the believer ſhould be "brought up firſt under the engagement of that Book. "That which is every where called Religion, hath "more of intereſt and the ſtrongeſt impreſſions of e-"ducation, than perhaps we conſider of otherwiſe. For "the Book itſelf, it is taken for the greater part out "of our Scripture, and would not hear altogether ſo "ill, if it were looked upon in its own text, or thro' "a good Tranſlation. But (not to gain any thing by "this) the *Alcoran* is ſcarcely tranſlated yet. The "beſt diſguiſe of it is that in Arragonois by *Joannes* "*Andreas* the Moor; but the intire copy of it is not "eaſily met with." He then tells us, tho' we meet not yet with any piece of Scripture tranſlated into the China Tongue, yet there is extant even in that a very full tradition of our Goſpel, as it was found written upon a ſtone, wrought in the form of a long ſquare, and dug out of the ground at the building of a wall in *Sanxuen* in the year 1625. The title of the ſtone is written upon with nine characters in the Chineſe, ex-

life. But his conſtitution being broken with an hereditary gout, with which he had been troubled for above twenty years, and which at laſt ſeized his ſtomach, he died at Kidlington March the 13th 1646 (*l*), and his body by the contribution of his friends was conveyed to Chriſt Church Oxford, and interred there (*m*). He was honoured by the acquaintance and favour of the greateſt men of that age; and held a correſpondence with ſeveral eminent perſons abroad, as well Jeſuits and Jews, as others (*n*). Beſides his *Poſthumous Works* publiſhed by his friend Mr. John Gurgany, B. D. of Merton College [*C*], and his Treatiſes abovementioned, he wrote a Tract, intitled *Alkibla* (*o*), in which he endeavoured to vindicate the antiquity of worſhipping towards the Eaſt. There is a manuſcript of his intitled, *Obſervationes in loca quædam excerpta ex Johannis Malelæ chronographia*, in the public Library at Oxford (*p*); and he intended to have publiſhed a Latin Tranſlation of that Author with Annotations (*q*). He tranſlated likewiſe from Greek

(*l*) *Short Account, ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) Wood, col. 101.

(*n*) *Short Account, ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) A very ingenious and learned Diſcourſe was publiſhed at London 1728 in 8vo, under this title: *Alkibla: A Diſquiſition upon worſhipping towards the Eaſt. By a Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford.*

(*p*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 101.

(*q*) *Short Account &c.*

preſſing as follows: *Lapis in laudem & memoriam æternam Legis, Lucis, & Veritatis portatæ de Judæa, & in Chinâ promulgatæ, erectus.* "The ſtone ſaith, that "our Saviour, aſcended up into Heaven about noon, "*& relinquens ſeptem viginti tomos doctrinæ ad portam* "*magnæ converſionis mundi aperiundam*; and left be"hind him twenty ſeven Books of Doctrine *(ſo many* "*there are in the New Teſtament)* to ſet open a gate "for the great converſion of the world. *Baptiſmum inſti*"*tuit ex aquâ & Spiritu ad abluenda peccata, &c. Ex*"*citat omnes voce charitatis, reverentiam exhibere ju*"*bens verſus Orientem, ne pergant in viâ vitæ glorioſæ:* "i. e. He inſtituted Baptiſm by Water and the Spirit "to waſh away ſins: he ſtirred all men up in the "voice of charity, and gave command that they "ſhould worſhip towards the Eaſt, that they might "go forward in the way of a glorious life." The ſtone itſelf could not ſo well be brought off from the place; but one like it was ſhewn at Rome *in Bibliothecâ Domûs profeſſæ*. Mr. Gregory remarks, that we muſt not think, that all, or any, of the Apocryphal Books were firſt written in Greek; that the Hebrew Edition by the Jews at Conſtantinople is the undoubted Text of *Tobit*, and St. Jerom ſaith the ſame of *Judith*; and with regard to the *Wiſdom* of the ſon of *Sirach*, it is confeſſed in the Preface to have been a Tranſlation from the Hebrew, and the Book itſelf was formerly accounted among the *Hagiographa*. The *Wiſdom of Solomon* was written in Chaldee, for Rabbi Moſes Ben Nachman quotes it ſo out of chapt. 7. v. 5. &c. and v. 17. &c. in the preface to his Comment upon the *Pentateuch*. "One of the Books of the *Mac*"*chabees* is known to be in Hebrew; and the worſt "of all the company, (and excepted againſt by Bel"larmin himſelf, tho' appointed to be read in our "churches,) that is, the *Fourth* of *Eſdras*, will be "clearly of another credit and reputation to you, if "you read it in the Arabic. The ſtory of the woman "taken in adultery hath met with very much adver"ſity. St. *Hierom* noteth it wanting in ſeveral co"pies of his time. The Paraphraſt *Nonnus* had no"thing to ſay to it; nor is it noted upon by *Theophy*"*lact*, &c. The *Armenian* Church, as one of their "Prieſts informed me, allow it not a place in the body "of the Goſpel, but reject it to the latter end as a ſuſ"pected piece. The *Syriac* Paraphraſt leaveth it out, "(that is, the printed Paraphraſt,) but in ſome of the "manuſcripts it is found to be, tho' not received as "the reſt of Scripture, but written upon with this "aſteriſm, רלא איתוהי בפשישא, *that it is not* "*in the text*. But the *Arabic* hath it; and in the "*Greek* manuſcripts it wanteth but in one of the ſe"venteen; *ſed ita*, ſaith Beza, *ut mira ſit ſectionis* "*varietas*, enough to make me (he ſaith ſo too) *ut de* "*totius iſtius narrationis fide dubitem*. But *Euſebius* "noted long ago, that the *ſetter forth of this Hiſtory* "*was the ancient Papias*; ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον "περιέχει; and that *it was to be had in the Goſpel* ſe"cundum Hebræos. *Et ſuſpicari merito quis poſſit* (tho' "ſaith Druſius) *ex Evangelio illo ad noſtra exemplaria* "*dimanâſſe*; but I ſhall conclude from hence but as "he doth, with a *nihil affirmo*." Our Author obſerves then, that our account of *David's Pſalms* is 150; but the Arabic and ſome other Tranſlations ſet down one more. *Joſephus Hypomneſticus* ſaith that David made ψαλμοὺς ἀπείρους, *an infinite number of Pſalms*. *Athanaſius* ſaith, πρὸς τὸν Γολιὰθ ὁ ρνά, &c. In the Greek Pſalters it is no rare thing to meet with it in the manuſcripts: it is extant in more than one or three in the public Library at Oxford. One hath it in Magdalen College, and a third in Corpus Chriſti College given them by Claimund their firſt Preſident. In the old Editions, eſpecially that of *Aldus*, it is to be found; and *Juſtine Decaduus*, who wrote the Epiſtle to the Reader, tells us, that having gotten ſo excellent an aſſiſtant as *Aldus* indeed was, they were reſolved to begin to the world (printing was not very ancient then) with τὴν θεοπίνευστον Βίβλον τῶν θείων ψαλμῶν, *the Book of Pſalms inſpired by God*. And yet they reckon this ſupernumerary for one of the company. *The* Revelation *of St. John*, continues our Author, *you know what himſelf hath ſaid of it, and how little* Beza *hath ſaid to that. . . . Judicious* Calvin *being once aſked his opinion concerning the Apocalypſe, made anſwer*, ſe penitus ignorare quid velit tam obſcurus ſcriptor, qui qualiſque fuerit, nondum conſtat inter eruditos: "That for his "part he was altogether ignorant what that obſcure "Author would have: and that no body yet knew "who or what he was." *For the firſt part of the anſwer, it will paſs well enough.* Cajetan *ſaid right*, Exponat qui poteſt. *The latter words (if they were his) do not become the Writer of the Revelation, or the man that ſpake them. . . . The leaving this Book out of ſome copies is juſt nothing againſt it. You may ſay as much (and as juſtly too) of the canonical Epiſtles, and there is the ſame reaſon for all. Theſe were more lately written, and therefore not ſo ſoon received into the Canon as the reſt.* With regard to the conſervation and incorruption of the Text of the Scriptures, he obſerves, that "the "*Alcoran* itſelf hath had much better luck. That of "the Old Teſtament, how tenable ſoever it hath been "made by their encompaſſing and inacceſſible *Maſora*, "I do not find it ſo altogether (though wonderfully "enough) entire. But for the New, there is no pro"fane Author whatſoever, *cæteris paribus*, that hath "ſuffered ſo much at the hand of time. And what of "all this? Certainly the Providence was ſhewed to be "greater in theſe miſcarriages (as we take them) than "it could have been in the abſolute preſervation. God "ſuffered tares to be ſowed in the Genealogies, while "men ſlept, and in ſome elemental parts, that we "might not inſiſt upon thoſe פשברת שאלות (ſee "*Ben. Bar Jonah's* Itinerary) *Extracta Quæſtionum*, "as theſe things are called and kept by the Jews them"ſelves. It is an invincible reaſon for the Scripture's "part, that other eſcapes ſhould be ſo purpoſely and infi"nitely let paſs, and yet no ſaving or ſubſtantial part at "all ſcarce moved out of its place. To ſay the truth, "theſe varieties of readings in a few by-places do the "ſame office to the main Scripture, as the variations "of the compaſs to the whole magnet of the earth. "The Mariner knows ſo much the better for theſe to "ſteer his courſe." With reſpect to the ſtyle of the Scriptures, he tells us, that it is *unſpeakably good, but not admirable in their ſenſe, who reckon the height of it from the unuſualneſs of the phraſe. The Majeſty of that Book ſits upon another Throne. He that was among the* Herdſmen of Tekoah, *did not write like him, that was among the* Prieſts at Anathoth.

[*C*] *His* Poſthumous Works, *publiſhed by his Friend Mr.* John Gurgany, *B. D. of Merton College.*] They were printed at London 1650, 1664, 1671, and 1683 in 4to. The Edition of 1671 has the following title: *Gregorii Poſthuma; or certain learned Tracts written by* John Gregory, *M. A. and Chaplain of Chriſt Church in Oxon. Together with a ſhort Account of the author's Life and Elegies on his much lamented death. Publiſhed by his deareſt Friend* J. G. *B. D. of Merton College.* This vo-

MS. Arab. in Arch. Bibl. Bodl.

Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 3. fol. 32, 6.

Joſeph. Chriſtian *Græc. MSS.* Athanaſ. in Synop.

Greek into Latin, 1. *Palladius de Gentibus Indiæ & Brachmanibus*: 2. *S. Ambroſius de Moribus Brachmannorum*: 3. *Anonymus de Brachmanibus*: which Tranſlations came after his death into the hands of Mr. Edmund Chilmead, Chaplain of Chriſt Church Oxford, and then into thoſe of Edward Byſshe Eſq; who publiſhed them in his own name at London 1665 in 4to (*r*).

(*r*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 11. col. 101, and 649.

dume contains, I, *A Diſcourſe of the LXX Interpreters; the Place and Manner of their Interpretation.* II. *A Diſcourſe declaring what time the Nicene Creed began to be ſung in the Church.* III. *A Sermon upon the Reſurrection from* 1 *Cor.* 15. *verſ.* 20. IV. Καινὸν δεύτερον, *or, a Diſproof of him in the third of St. Luke, verſ.* 36. V. *Epiſcopus Puerorum in die Innocentium.* VI. De Æris & Epochis, *ſhewing the ſeveral accounts of time among all Nations from the creation to the preſent Age.* VII. *The Aſſyrian Monarchy, being a deſcription of its Riſe and Fall.* VIII. *The Deſcription and Uſe of the Terreſtrial Globe.* H.

☞ GREGORY (JAMES), a very eminent Mathematician in the ſeventeenth Century. was born in Scotland. He had an admirable genius, and entered early into the moſt ſublime parts of the Mathematics with prodigious ſucceſs. He ſpent ſome part of his life in foreign countries, eſpecially in Italy, and afterwards was appointed Profeſſor of Mathematics at St. Andrews in Scotland. In the year 1663 he publiſhed at London his *Optica promota* [*A*]; and in 1667 at Padua his *Vera Circuli & Hyperbolæ Quadratura* [*B*]. In the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, Number XXXVI for the month of June 1668, he gave an account of the controverſy concerning the motion of the earth between Stephano de Angelis and John Baptiſta Riccioli. In the ſame *Tranſactions* Numb. XXXVII, for July 1668 he publiſhed an anſwer to Mr. Huygens's Animadverſions, printed in the *Journal des Savans* of July the 2d 1668, upon his book *Vera Circuli & Hyperbolæ Quadratura*. In the ſame *Tranſactions* Numb. XLIV for February 166$\frac{8}{9}$ he gives ſome Conſiderations upon Mr. Huygens's Letter printed in the *Journal des Savans* of Nov. 2d 1668, in vindication of his Examen of our Author's *Vera Circuli & Hyperbolæ Quadratura*. This Controverſy was carried on with ſome warmth, as appears by a Letter of Mr. Gregory from St. Andrews to Mr. John Collins, F. R. S. an extract of which we ſhall give the reader [*C*]. In 1668 our Author publiſhed his *Exercitationes*

[*A*] *In the year* 1663 *he publiſhed at London his* Optica promota.] The whole title is, *Optica promota, ſeu abdita Radiorum reflexorum & refractorum myſteria, Geometricè enucleata; cui ſubnectitur Appendix, ſubtiliſſimorum Aſtronomiæ Problematôn reſolutionem exhibens. Authore Jacobo Gregorio, Abredonenſi Scoto.* It contains many admirable propoſitions in Optics and Aſtronomy. In the 59th propoſition he gives the conſtruction of a reflecting Teleſcope with a perforated Object-Metal, to tranſmit the light to an eye-glaſs, placed behind it. This happy thought has given occaſion to the moſt conſiderable improvements made in Optics ſince the firſt invention of the Teleſcope; and induced Sir Iſaac Newton, as may be ſeen in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N°. LXXXIII, to conſider that ſort of conſtructions and all their diſadvantages. This raiſed a very uſeful controverſy, which was carried on in the years 1672 and 1673 by the epiſtolary correſpondence of Mr. John Collins F. R. S. with Mr. Gregory and Mr. Newton; the original Letters of whom are now in the poſſeſſion of William Jones Eſq; F. R. S.

[*B*] *His* Vera Circuli & Hyperbolæ Quadratura.] It was printed in 4to at Padua under this title: *Vera circuli & Hyperbolæ Quadratura in propriâ ſuâ proportionis ſpecie inventa & demonſtrata a Jacobo Gregorio Scoto.* In this Book the Author gives a new Analytical method for ſumming up of an infinite or indefinite converging ſeries, and applies his method to the ſquaring of the Circle, Ellipſis, and Hyperbola by an infinite ſeries; and gives the way of computing their dimenſions to any degree of exactneſs. And from the Areas of the Hyperbola he finds the Logarithms of Numbers with great facility and expedition. Mr. Gregory printed only 150 copies of this book for his own uſe and that of his friends; but another impreſſion of 500 copies was printed at Padua with the privilege of the State of Venice in the year 1668, to which he added another treatiſe, intitled, *Geometriæ pars univerſalis, inſerviens quantitatum curvarum tranſmutationi & menſuræ. Authore Jacobo Gregorio Abredonenſi Scoto.* In this book he treats of the moſt difficult ſubjects with great ſagacity and skill. He gives general methods of meaſuring moſt ſolids. All that Archimedes, Lucas Valerius, Paulus Guldinus, John de la Faille, and Andrew Tacquet have done upon that ſubject, are but as Corollaries to his method; by which he meaſures the ſurfaces of Solids and ſpiral Spaces, not attempted by the Antients, nor touched upon till very lately by any of the moderns. He determines the lengths of Curve Lines in a moſt elegant manner. Towards the latter end of the book he has ſeveral Optical Propoſitions concerning the imperfection of the eye, and the confuſion of the ſight; the apparent magnitude of the ſun low and high; the tails of Comets; what proportion the earth's illumination by the ſun bears to its illumination by the moon at full; and the like compariſon between the ſun and fixed ſtar *Sirius*. He ſhews that Viſion by the help of a Teleſcope or Microſcope is not deceitful; and gives an obſervation of the ſimilitude between the earth and moon. The titles of his ſeveral Heads are theſe. I. *De ſiderum ſcintillatione & magnitudine apparente.* II. *Quod ſol ſit realiter et formaliter calidus.* III. *De Solit humilis & ſublimis magnitudine apparente.* IV. *De Viſibilium Picturâ ſub tecto obſcuro.* V. *De Cometarum Caudis.* VI. *De Stellarum fixarum diſtantiâ.* VII. *Quod Viſio ope Teleſcopii vel Microſcopii non ſit fallax.* VII. *Quod omne Viſibile in infinitum ſit diviſibile.* IX. *De Obſervatione ſimilitudinis inter Terram & Lunam.*

[*C*] *This controverſy was carried on with ſome warmth, as appears by a letter of Mr. Gregory from St. Andrews to Mr. John Collins F. R. S. an extract of which we ſhall give the reader.*] The letter is dated January the 6th, 1670, and in it Mr. Gregory writes thus: "In April laſt I had an anſwer to Mr. "Oldenburg's queries from Mr. Bruce; but being ac- "cidentally at Edinburgh at that time, and ſeeing "the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (N° XLIV.) of Fe- "bruarylaſt, I was altogether diſcouraged by the Lines "prefixed to my Anſwer to Huygens, from enter- "taining any ſuch correſpondence. I have ſince re- "ceived an anſwer to the ſame queries from one "Mr. Gordon; but am not ſo much a Chriſtian as "to help thoſe who hurt me. I do not know, (nei- "ther do I deſire to know) who calleth in that "Preface Hugenius's *Animadverſions* of November "the 12th 1668, *judicious*; but I would earneſtly "deſire, that he would particulariſe (if he be not an "ignorant) in what my Anſwer, which is contra- "dictory to Hugenius's *Animadverſions* is faulty; for "in Geometrical matters, if any thing be judicious, "its contradictory muſt be nonſenſe. I do not know "what

Exercitationes Geometricæ [*D*], and in 1672 a ſmall Treatiſe in 8vo intitled, *The great and new Art of weighing Vanity: or a Diſcovery of the ignorance and arrogance of the great and new Artiſt in his Pſeudo-Philoſophical Writings. To which are annexed ſome* Tentamina de Motu Penduli & Projectorum. This book is pretended to be written by Mr. Patrick Mathers, Arch-Bedel of the Univerſity of St. Andrews; but it is ſufficiently known to have been written by Mr. Gregory [*E*]. He held a correſpondence with Mr. Collins abovementioned, who made extracts of our Author's Letters [*F*], which, with the original letters, came into the hands of the learned and ingenious William Jones Eſq; F. R. S. who gave theſe extracts and ſome of the letters, which related to Sir Iſaac Newton's Analytical Inventions, to be repoſited in the Archives of the Royal Society. It appears from the epiſtolary correſpondence between Mr. Collins and Mr. Vernon, then at Paris, that in the beginning of the year 1671 the Royal Academy there had ſo great an eſteem for our Author, as to reſolve to recommend him to the King of France for a penſion. And Mr. Huygens himſelf approved of it, though he ſaid, that he had reaſon to think himſelf diſobliged by Mr. Gregory on account of the controverſy then between them. Several members of the Royal Academy wrote about the affair to Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society, deſiring him to acquaint the Council of that Society with it, and likewiſe that the King of France was willing

" what need there was of any apology for inſert-
" ing my anſwer, but to complement Hugenius, and
" violently (if it be poſſible) to bear down the truth.
" I imagine ſuch actions below the meaneſt mem-
" ber of the Royal Society. However I hope I
" may have permiſſion to call to an account in
" print the penners of that Preface. I hope you
" will excuſe my freedom in this particular, which
" concerneth me ſo near. I thank you kindly for
" your civil proffer of publiſhing any of my Lucu-
" brations... I intreat you to advertiſe me upon
" what account my books are ſuppreſſed in Italy."

[*D*] *His* Exercitationes Geometricæ.] This book contains the following curious articles. I. *Appendicula ad veram Circuli & Hyperbolæ Quadraturam.* II. *N. Mercatoris Quadratura Hyperbolæ Geometricè demonſtrata.* III. *Analogia inter Lineam Meridianam Plani-ſphærii Nautici & Tangentes Artificiales Geometricè demonſtrata; ſeu, quod Secantium Naturalium additio efficiat Tangentes Artificiales.* IV. *Item, quod Tangentium Naturalium Additio efficiat ſecantes Artificiales.* V. *Quadratura Conchoidis.* VI. *Quadratura Ciſſoidis.* VII. *Methodus facilis & accurata componendi Secantes & Tangentes Artificiales.*

[*E*] *It is ſufficiently known to have been written by Mr.* Gregory.] In a letter of his to Mr. John Collins dated July the 2d 1672, he gives this account of the occaſion of writing that book. " There is one " Maſter *Sinclare*, that writ the *Ars magna & nova*, " a pitiful ignorant fellow, who hath lately written " horrid nonſenſe in Hydroſtatics, and againſt Mr. " *Boyle*, for weighing water in water; and hath in " print abuſed Mr. *Sanders*, a Maſter in the Univer- " ſity here, a perſon very knowing in the Mathema- " tics, and who is reſolved to get the Bedel of the " Univerſity to write againſt him; and upon this " account hath deſired me to write to you for *Ste-* " *vinus*'s Mathematics, which I entreat you to ſend. " We reſolve to make excellent ſport with him."

[*F*] *Extracts of our author's letters.*] In his letter to Mr. Collins dated at St. *Andrews* January the 29th 1670 he writes thus. " I received the books you " ſent unto me, for which I render you my very " hearty thanks. Mr. *Barrow* in his *Optics* ſheweth " himſelf a moſt ſubtle Geometer, ſo that I think " him ſuperior to any that ever I looked up- " on. I long exceedingly to ſee his *Geometrical* " *Lectures*, and I intreat you to ſend them to me " preſently as they come from the preſs; for I eſteem " the author more than you can eaſily ima- " gine." Mr. Collins in a letter to our author, dated December the 24th 1670, ſends him, as a ſpecimen of what improvements had been made in England, three ſeries of Mr. Newton, viz. *the Arc being given, to find the Sine, and the Coſine; and the Sine being given, to find the Arc*; Mr. Gregory in his letter of February 15, 1671 returns ſeveral Series no leſs curious; as, a Series for finding the Arc, whoſe Tangent is given; another for finding the Tangent of a given Arc; and a Series for finding the Secant of a given Arc; together with Series for finding the Logarithm Tangent and Logarithm Secant of a given Arc, and *vice verſâ*; as alſo Series for meaſuring the Length of the Elliptic and Hyperbolic Curve. In his letter to Mr. Collins of the 9th of April 1672 from St. Andrews, he writes thus: " I am much " obliged to you for thoſe excellent improvements of " learning you advertize me of. I was exceedingly ſur- " prized with thoſe experiments of Mr. *Newton*. " They will cauſe great changes throughout all the " Body of Natural Philoſophy, by all appearance, " if the matter of fact be true, which I have no " ground to queſtion. I would gladly ſee what Mr. " *Hook* can ſay againſt the Doctrine raiſed upon them." In the ſame letter he ſends Mr. Collins the ſolution of the famous *Keplerian* Problem by an infinitely converging Series; " which, he ſays, in all Aſtrono- " mical uſes may be much exacter than any Table " of Sines. And farther, thoſe infinite Series have " the ſame ſucceſs in Equations, which they have in " other Problems, only this, becauſe in Equations " there are many indetermined Quantities, the Series " are exceedingly tedious; but when theſe are deter- " mined, the Series are abundantly ſimple." Moſt of the Series, which were ſent by our Author to Mr. Collins, were afterwards publiſhed by his Nephew Dr. David Gregory in his treatiſe, intitled, *Exercitatio Geometrica de dimenſione Figurarum*, printed at Edinburgh in the year 1684. And the Series for the *Keplerian* Problem was printed by him in the fourth Propoſition of the third Book of the Doctor's *Elements of Aſtronomy*. Mr. Gregory in his letter to Mr. Collins dated at St. Andrews May the 17th 1671 gives ſeveral inſtances of the uſe of his method of Infinite Series; as a Series for meaſuring the ſecond Segments of the Sphæroid; a Series for the Length of the Curve of the common Hyperbola, the ſame being applicable with a little alteration unto the Curve of the Ellipſis; a Series for meaſuring the length of the Logarithmic Curve; and a moſt elegant Series for meaſuring the Segments of Circles. And in anſwer to ſome inquiries of Mr. Collins in the ſame letter he obſerves, that " as to the matter of Equations, " either in taking away what terms may be taken " away, or reducing all Equations, when it is poſ- " ſible, to pure Equations; or finding their Limits; " or reducing all of them to Infinite Series, may " entertain you more at length with theſe things af- " terwards; for your intelligence ſhewing me, that ſo " many perſons of vaſt learning were upon that ſub- " ject, hath engaged me to look over my notes to " theſe purpoſes, where I find great improvements " can be made. I am now much taken up, and " have been ſo all this winter paſt, both with my public " lectures, which I have twice a week, and in re- " ſolving doubts, which ſome gentlemen and ſcho- " lars propoſe to me. This I muſt comply with: " nevertheleſs that I am often troubled with great " impertinences, all perſons here being ignorant of " theſe things to admiration; ſo that I have but lit- " tle time to ſpare on thoſe ſtudies my genius leads me " to. I reſolve, when the College riſeth, to apply " myſelf ſeriouſly to the doctrine of Equations." Mr. Collins's collection of extracts from our author's

willing to allow penſions to one or two learned Engliſhmen, whom they ſhould recommend. But no anſwer was ever made to that propoſal. And upon Mr. Collins's writing to Mr. Gregory about what he had heard from Paris, he received in a letter dated the 17th of May 1671 at St. Andrews this anſwer: "I have not ſo much vanity as to perſuade myſelf, that you are ſerious, having never heard any thing relating to that before. I have had ſufficient experience of the uncertainty of things of that nature before now, which maketh me, ſince I came to Scotland, how mean and deſpicable my condition, to reſt contented, and ſatisfy myſelf with this, that I am at home in a ſettled condition, by which I can live. I have known many learned men far above me upon every account, with whom I would not change my condition." He died about the end of the year 1675, under the age of forty years.

letters was addreſſed to Mr. *Oldenburg*, Secretary of the Royal Society, and is intitled, *Extracts from Mr.* Gregory's *Letters to be ſent to Mr.* Leibnitz *to peruſe, who is deſired to return the ſame to you* (1). And Mr. Collins wrote the following letter to Mr. *Oldenburg*. "Sir, Foraſmuch as you have much preſſed me "yourſelf, being incited thereto by the earneſt deſires "of Mr. *Leibnitz* and others of the Royal Academy at Paris, to give an account of the great "pains and attainments of Mr. *James Gregory* deceaſed, there being a great friendſhip and frequent "correſpondence between us in his life-time; I ſhall, "for the honour I bear to his memory, impartially "give you an account of the moſt material paſſages in his letters." It appears likewiſe from Mr. Collins's letter of the 11th of Auguſt 1676 to Mr. *David Gregory*, the brother of the deceaſed, in anſwer to his of the 10th of June 1676 concerning ſome of his brother's letters, that Mr. Oldenburg on the 26th of June 1676 ſent the collection of extracts to Paris together with Mr. Newton's letter to him of the 13th of June 1676. T.

(1) Mr. Oldenburg.

☞GREGORY (DAVID) nephew of the preceding, was born at Aberdeen in Scotland, and educated there and at Edinburgh, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*a*), and was Profeſſor of Mathematics (*b*). In 1684 he publiſhed at Edinburgh in 4to, *Exercitatio Geometrica de dimenſione Figurarum*] [*A*]. Afterwards coming to England he was incorporated in the degree of Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford February the 8th 1691; and on the 18th of the ſame month accumulated the degrees in Phyſic; and afterwards became a Maſter Commoner of Baliol College there (*c*). The ſame year he was choſen Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford upon the reſignation of Mr. Edward Bernard (*d*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage by his *Aſtronomiæ Phyſicæ & Geometricæ Elementa* [*B*], printed at Oxford 1702 in fol. and by

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 225. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) *Vita Clariſſ. & Doctiſſ. Viri* Edwardi Bernardi *S. T. D. Scriptore* Thomâ Smith, *S. T. D.* pag. 47. edit. Londini 1704, in 8vo.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Smith, *Vita Edward Bernardi*, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *In* 1684 *he publiſhed at Edinburgh in* 4*to.* Exercitatio Geometrica de dimenſione Figurarum.] The whole title is, *Exercitatio Geometrica de dimenſione Figurarum; ſive Specimen Methodi generalis dimetiendi quaſvis Figuras. Authore* Davide Gregorio, *in Academia Edinburgenſi Matheſeos Profeſſore.* There is an account of this book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* Numb. 163 for September the 20th 1684. In this treatiſe Mr. Gregory gives us a variety of examples for finding the lengths of the Curve Lines, the Surfaces of Curved Figures, and their ſolid contents. Among theſe are all the Series for that purpoſe ſent to Mr. John Collins F. R. S. by our author's uncle Mr. James Gregory. He performs theſe by a rule well known even at that time, which is, "that if "the Elements of any Magnitude be expreſſed by "a ſimple term affected by the power of ſome variable Quantity, the Magnitude itſelf is expreſſed "by the ſame term affected by the next ſuperior power "er of that variable Qantity divided by its exponent."

[*B*] *His* Aſtronomiæ Phyſicæ & Geometricæ Elementa.] There is an account of this book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* Numb. 283. It was tranſlated into Engliſh, and the ſecond edition of this tranſlation was printed at London 1726 in 8vo in two volumes under this title. *The Elements of Phyſical and Geometrical Aſtronomy. By* David Gregory, *M. D. late Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, and Fellow of the Royal Society. Done into Engliſh, with Additions and Corrections. The ſecond Edition. To which is annexed Dr.* Hall y's *Synopſis of the Aſtronomy of Comets. The whole newly reviſed, and compared with the Latin, and corrected throughout by* Edmund Stone *F. R. S.* In the *Preface* Dr. Gregory obſerves, that his deſign in this book was, "that the Celeſtial Phyſics, which "the moſt ſagacious *Kepler* had got the ſcent of, "but the Prince of Geometers, Sir *Iſaac Newton*, "brought to ſuch a pitch as ſurpriſes all the world, "might, by my care and pains in illuſtrating them, "become eaſier to ſuch as are deſirous of being acquainted with Philoſophy and Aſtronomy. The "title informs you ſufficiently, that the Arithmetical or calculatory part of Aſtronomy is here "omitted, though that perhaps may be publiſhed "hereafter in its proper place." He afterwards remarks, that we ſtill tread in the ſteps of the Antients in this Phyſical Aſtronomy, ſince they knew that the Celeſtial Bodies gravitated towards each other, and were retained in their Orbits by the force of Gravity and were alſo apprized of the law of this Gravity. For if we look back to the firſt riſe of Aſtronomy, and take a view of it in its infancy, as it were, we ſhall find nothing better approved of, nothing more univerſally entertained among the ſeveral Sects of Philoſophers, than this notion of the Gravity of the Celeſtial Bodies. That ſaying is well known, ſo often uſed by *Anaxagoras*, and his ſcholars, *Achelaus*, and *Euripides*, namely, "that the Sun and Stars were "*fiery or red hot ſtones, and golden clods.*" Of the ſame mind were alſo *Democritus*, *Metrodorus*, and *Diogenes*. By theſe expreſſions they meant no more, than that they were heavy, denſe, and fixed Bodies (ſuch as ſtones are,) ſo as to bear a conſiderable degree of heat. And that this was really their meaning, will evidently appear, if we do but inquire more narrowly into the firſt authors of this opinion. For, as we are told by *Democritus* (1), theſe notions concerning the Sun and Moon are not aſcribed to *Anaxagoras* as their Original, for he had really borrowed them of the antients. Nor is it a difficult matter to find out who they were, of whom he borrowed them, or from whom they were handed down to him. He had them from his Maſter *Anaximenes* (2), whoſe opinion was, that the Stars were of a fiery nature and ſubſtance; and that there were alſo mingled with them earthly bodies, which were carried round about them, though not viſible to us; by which words he plainly meant Planets of a Terreſtrial nature, performing their revolutions in the Syſtem of every fixed Star. Theſe notions *Anaximenes* received from *Anaximander*, and *Anaximander* from *Thales* himſelf, who was Head and Founder of the *Ionic* Philoſophy, and ſpread this opinion of the Gravity of the fixed Stars among this ſect. Nor did his doctrine concerning the Stars ſtop here, but afterwards diffuſed itſelf through the *Italic* Philoſophy, the followers of which taught (3), that each Star was a world in the infinite Æthereal Space, containing Earth, Air and Æther; and that the moon was not only like our earth, but inhabited by animals of a larger ſize, and furniſhed with plants of a beautiful

(1) Diogen. Laert. *in Democrito.*

(2) Stob. *Eclog. Phyſ.* cap. 25.

(3) Plutarch. *de Placit. Philoſophor.* lib. 2. cap. 13.

by his other writings [C]. He died at Maidenhead in the County of Bucks on the 12th of October 1708, and was ſucceeded in his Profeſſorſhip by Dr. John Keil. He left ſeveral

a beautiful appearance (4). Nor were they ſo abſurd in their conceptions about Gravity, as to think, that it was done by the virtue of any point within the earth, or of a Center, to which all heavy Bodies placed any where tended; but they thought (5) it was done by the power of the whole matter in the Terreſtrial Globe, attracting all things to itſelf; and as the power of a Loadſtone is compoſed of the powers of the ſeveral parts combined together, ſo they believed, that the Gravity towards the whole earth reſulted from the Gravity towards each ſingle part of it. Beſides they thought (6), that there was a Gravity towards the Moon and the Sun, acting in the ſame manner as it does towards the earth; and that each Planet, like a ſtone whirled in a ſling, was kept in its Orbit by the ſame principle, and for the ſame reaſon revolving always about us. From ſome things, mentioned by *Diogenes Laertius* (7) concerning *Plato*, which are alſo obſcurely hinted at in the *Timæus* of the latter, Dr. *Gregory* is apt to believe with *Galileo* (8), that the divine Philoſopher ſuppoſed that the Mundane Bodies, when they were firſt formed, were moved with a rectilinear motion (by means of Gravity) but after they had arrived to ſome determined places, began to revolve by degrees in a Curve, the rectilinear motion being changed into a curvilinear one. It is from this doctrine of Gravity, that all Bodies gravitate mutually to each other; it is by this, that *Lucretius* (9), taught by *Epicurus* and *Democritus*, labours to prove that the Univerſe has no Center or loweſt place, but that there is an infinity of worlds like ours in the immenſe Space. His argument runs thus: if the nature of things were bounded any where, then the outmoſt Bodies, ſince they have no other beyond them, towards which they may be made to tend by the force of Gravity, would not ſtand in an Æquilibrium, but move towards the inner and lower Bodies, being neceſſarily inclined that way by their Gravity; and therefore having moved towards one another, during an infinite ſpace of time, would have long ſince met, and lie in the middle of the whole, as in the loweſt place. It is evident therefore from hence, that *Lucretius*, and thoſe whom he followed, believed that all Bodies gravitated towards the matter placed around them; and that every ſingle Body was carried by the more prevailing Gravity towards that place, where there was moſt matter. As it is manifeſt, that the antients were appriſed of and had diſcovered the Gravity of all Bodies towards one another; ſo alſo they were not unacquainted with the law and proportion, which the action of Gravity obſerved according to the different meaſures and diſtances. For that Gravity is proportional to the Quantity of matter in the heavy Body, *Lucretius* ſufficiently declares (10); as alſo that what we call light Bodies, do not aſcend of their own accord, but by the action of a force underneath them, impelling them upwards, juſt as a piece of wood is in water (11); and further, that all Bodies, as well the heavy as the light, deſcend *in vacuo* with an equal celerity (12). It is plain likewiſe, that the famous Theorem about the proportion whereby Gravity decreaſes in receding from the Sun, was not unknown at leaſt to *Pythagoras*. This ſeems to be that which he and his followers intimate by the harmony of the Spheres; that is, they feigned Apollo playing upon an harp of ſeven ſtrings; by which Symbol, as is evident from *Pliny* (13), *Macrobius* (14), and *Cenſorinus* (15), they meant the Sun in conjunction with the ſeven Planets; for they made him the leader of that Septenary Chorus, and moderator of nature; and thought that by his attractive force, (which they called Jupiter's Priſon, becauſe it is by this force that he retains and keeps the Planets in their Orbits from flying off in right lines,) he acted upon the Planets in their Harmonical Ratio of their diſtances. For the forces, whereby equal Tenſions act upon ſtrings of different lengths (being equal in other reſpects) are reciprocally as the ſquares of the lengths of the ſtrings. For Pythagoras (6), as he was paſſing by a Smith's ſhop, obſerved, that the ſounds of the hammers were more acute or grave in proportion to the weights of the hammers. Afterwards, ſtretching ſheep's guts, and faſtening various weights to them, he learned, that here likewiſe the ſounds were proportional to the weights. Having ſatisfied himſelf of this, he inveſtigated the numbers, according to which conſonant ſounds were produced. Whether the whole of the ſtory be true, or only a fable, it is certain that Pythagoras found out the true Ratio between the ſound of the ſtrings and the weights faſtened to them. The ſame Tenſion acts upon a ſtring as ſhort again, four times more powerfully; for it produces an octave, and an octave is ſounded by a force, that is four times greater; for if a ſtring ſtretched by a given weight generates a given Tone, the ſame ſtring ſtretched by a weight four times greater will ſound an octave. Thus likewiſe the ſame Tenſion upon a ſubſeſquialteran Chord acts in a double ſeſquiquartan Ratio; for it produces a fifth or Diapente. And a ſtring, that ſounds a given note with a given weight, ought to be ſtretched by a weight that is a double ſeſquiquartan to ſound a fifth. And univerſally the weights, which produce all Tones in ſtrings equally thick, are reciprocally as the ſquares of the lengths of thoſe of equal Tenſion, producing the ſame ſound in any muſical inſtrument. *Pythagoras* afterwards applied the proportion, which he had thus found by experiments, to the Heavens, and from thence learned the harmony of the Spheres. And by comparing theſe weights with the weights of the Planets, and the Intervals of the Tones produced by the weights, with the Interval of the Spheres; and laſtly the lengths of the ſtring with the diſtances of the Planets from the Center of the Orbs; he diſcovered, as it were by the harmony of the Heavens, that the Gravity of the Planets towards the ſun (according to whoſe meaſures the Planets move) were reciprocally as the ſquares of their diſtances from the Sun. The Publiſher of the Engliſh tranſlation in his Preface to the Reader ſtiles this work of our author *the moſt valuable and finiſhed piece of Aſtronomy now extant*, and tells us, "that it is generally "reckoned to be a book, that contains not only all "the diſcoveries and Philoſophical ſentiments of the "great *Kepler*, , and the various Hypotheſes of the "moſt noted Aſtronomers before and ſince his time; "but is chiefly valued by the beſt judges for the large "and inſtructive comments delivered in it on the "writings of the illuſtrious Sir *Iſaac Newton*, as well "as on the ſeveral Aſtronomical Diſſertations of the "ſagacious Dr. *Halley*, which the Reader will find "here every where interſperſed."

[C] *His other Writings.*] They are as follow: *Solutio Problematis Florentini de Teſtudine veliformi quadribili*; publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N°. 207, for the month of January 169¾. *A Letter to* Sir Robert Southwell *aſſerting ſome Mathematical Inventions to their true Authors*, dated at Oxford November 15th, 1694, and publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N°. 214. *Catoptricæ & Dioptricæ Sphæricæ Elementa*. Oxford 1695 in 8vo. This Book is highly eſteemed by thoſe, who are converſant in Optics, being written with great accuracy and judgment. A piece addreſſed to Dr. Henry Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, concerning the properties of the Curve-Line, called *Catenaria*; publiſh'd in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N°. 231, for Auguſt 1697. In the ſame *Tranſactions* N°. 256 for September 1699 he publiſhed a Scheme of the Phaſes with his Obſervations of the Eclipſe of the Sun on the 13th of September 1699. In the ſame *Tranſactions* N°. 259 for December 1699 he gives in a Letter to Dr. John Wallis ſome improvements relating to the Quadrature of the Parts of the *Lunula* of Hippocrates Chius. In the ſame *Tranſaction* there is likewiſe a paper of his intitled, *Reſponſio ad Animadverſionem ad Davidis Gregorii Catenariam, Act. Eruditorum Lipſiæ, Menſe Februario Ann.* 1699. In the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* N°. 293 for September and October 1704 he publiſhed a paper *De Orbitâ Caſſinianâ*; and in N°. 308 another paper intitled, *Vindiciæ Matheſeos univerſalis Gregorianæ contra ſecundos Abbatis Galloyſii impetus in Hiſtoriâ Acad. Scient. Ann.* 1703. In 1703 Dr. Gregory publiſhed at Oxford

(4) Idem, lib. 2. cap. 30.

(5) Idem, *de Facie in Orbe Lunæ.*

(6) Ibid.

(7) *In Platone.*

(8) In his *Syſtema Coſmicum.*

(9) Lib. 1. ver. 986.

(10) Lib. 1. ver. 415.

(11). Lib. 2. ver. 178.

(12) Lib. 2. ver. 228.

(13) Lib. 2. cap. 22.

(14) Lib. 1. cap. 19.

(15) Cap. 11.

(16) *See* Macrobius, lib. 2. *in Somn. Scipion.* cap. 1.

(e) Ibid.

(f) *Peritiſſimus & ſubtiliſſimi ingenii Mathematicus.*

ſeveral children, one of whom, Dr. David Gregory, was lately Profeſſor of Modern Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Oxford, and is now Canon of Chriſt Church there. Dr. Thomas Smith (*e*) ſtiles our Author *a very able Mathematician, and of a moſt ſubtle genius* (*f*); and Sir Iſaac Newton had a great eſteem for him [*D*].

ford in fol. a beautiful edit. of Euclid's Works in Greek and Latin, with a very learned and inſtructive Preface. This Edition contains the following diſtinct Works of Euclid. 1. *Elementorum Libri XV.* 2. *Data, cum Præfatione Marini.* 3. *Introductio Harmonica.* 4. *Sectio Canonis.* 5. *Phænomena.* 6. *Optica.* 7. *Catoptrica.* 8. *De Diviſionibus Liber.* 9. *De Levi & Ponderoſo Fragmentum.* In the *Sixth* volume of the *Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions* by Mr. John Eames, F. R. S. and *John Martyn* F. R. S. in the chapter of *Mechanics*, there is publiſhed a piece of our Author intitled, *E Prælectionibus de Motu a Davide Gregorio in Acad. Edinburg. Matheſeos Profeſſore dictatis Anno Dom.* 1686. Dr. Gregory left unpubliſhed ſeveral valuable Manuſcripts upon various parts of the Mathematics, as *a Treatiſe of Trigonometry plain and ſphærical*; a *Treatiſe of Mechanics and Hydroſtatics*; and another of *Fluxions*; with a large Commentary upon Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*.

[*D*] *Sir* Iſaac Newton *had a great eſteem for him.*] That great Man's opinion of him will appear from the following original Letter of Sir Iſaac to Mr. *John Flamſteed*, the Royal Aſtronomer.

London, Auguſt 10th 1691.

(*) Maſter of the Royal Mathematical ſchool in Chriſt's Hoſpital London.

" Sir,

" 'Tis almoſt a fortnight ſince I intended with Mr. " Paget (*) and another friend or two to have given " you a viſit at Greenwich; but ſending to the Tem- " ple Coffee-houſe, I underſtood you had not been in " London of two or three weeks before, which made " me think you were retired to your living for a time. " The bearer hereof Mr. *Gregory*, Mathematic Profeſ- " ſor of Edinburgh-College in Scotland, intended to " have given you a viſit with us. You will find him " a very ingenious perſon, and good Mathematician " worth your acquaintance. I hope it will not be " very long before you publiſh your Catalogue of the " fixt Stars. In my opinion it will be better to pub- " liſh thoſe of the firſt ſix magnitudes obſerved by o- " thers, and afterwards by way of an Appendix to " publiſh the new ones obſerved by your ſelf alone, than " to let the former ſtay too long for the latter. I " would willingly have your obſervations of Jupiter " and Saturn, for the four or five next years at leaſt, " before I think farther of their Theory. But I had " rather have them for the next twelve or fifteen years. " If you and I live not long enough, Mr. *Gregory* and " Mr. *Halley* are young men. When you obſerve the " Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellits, I ſhould be glad to " know, if in long Teleſcopes the light of the Satellit, " immediately before it diſappears, incline either to " red or blue, or become more ruddy, or more pale " than before. Sir, I am

" Your moſt humble Servant,

" *Iſ. Newton.*"

T.

GRENAILLE (FRANCIS DE) born at Uzerche in Limouſin anno 1516, wrote a great number of very indifferent French books [*A*]. He had aſſumed a religious habit at Bourdeaux, and afterwards thrown it off at Agen (*a*). He was appointed Hiſtorio- grapher to the Duke of Orleans. See the *Sorberiana* [*B*]. He prefixed to his works a copper plate, repreſenting himſelf, with a haughty inſcription [*C*]. He tells us in a Preface (*b*), that he was impeached of high treaſon, and had like to have ſuffered death.

(a) *See* Guerre des Auteurs, pag. m. 169. and the remark [*C*].

(b) That of tom. 2. of the *Sage reſolu contre la Fortune.*

[*A*] *He wrote a great number of French Books.*] He publiſhed the following one upon another. *L'honnête Fille*; *l'honnête Garçon*; *l'honnête Veuve*; *l'honnête Marriage*; *l'honnête Maitreſſe*; *la Bibliotheque des Dames*; *le Plaiſir des Dames*; *le Sage reſolu contre la Fortune* (1); *La Revolution du Portugal*; *Le Théatre du Monde*; *la Mode ou le Caractere de la Religion.*

(1) This is a verſion of *Petrarch.* See the remark [*C*].

[*B*] *See the* Sorberiana.] We there find the following words (2). " There was at Paris about this time, " one Grenailles, Sieur de Chatonnieres (*), born in " Limouſin, and twenty ſix years of age, who, on a " ſudden, publiſhed a prodigious number of Books, " ſome of which he entitled, *l'honnête Fille*, *l'honnête* " *Veuve*, *l'honnête Garçon*; and others, *La Bibliotheque* " *des Dames.* What appeared to me commendable, " in his Book entitled *les Plaiſirs des Dames*, was that " this young man, in all probability, had confined " himſelf to his cloſet, in order to compoſe ſeveral " Books, and thereby had kept from indulging him- " ſelf in riot and debauchery; but with regard to the " work itſelf, there are very few good things in it, and " what are good, had been ſaid ſo often, that he would " not expect to gain much glory by repeating them. " The ſtyle was ſo flat and inſipid, that the Reader " would naturally ſuppoſe he wrote merely for the ſake " of writing. His Book entitled *Des Plaiſirs des Dames* " *(of the Pleaſures of the Ladies)* is divided into five " parts, *Du Bouquet*, *du Bal*, *du Cours*, *du Concert*, *de* " *la Collation*; i. e. " Of the Noſegay, the Ball, the " Ring, the Concert, the Collation." He firſt exa- " mines the queſtion, viz. whether it is the *Bouquet* (the " noſegay) that adorns the boſom, or the boſom the " noſegay? and he determines in favour of the latter; " he being of opinion, that from the hemiſpheres of " a Lady a certain influence proceeds, which enlivens " and revives the noſegay, and gives it not only a " greater beauty, but makes it more laſting."

(2) Pag. 105.

* It ſhould be *Chateaunieres.*

[*C*] *He prefixed to his Works a copper plate, repreſenting himſelf, with a haughty inſcription.*] Sorbiere proceeds as follows: " It is from theſe fine thoughts that " he flatters himſelf with the hopes of Immortality; " and this is the ſenſe in which he would have the fol- " lowing motto, under the Print before his Works, be " underſtood; *hac mortales evadimus immortales.*" Gueret cenſures him ſtill more. *I will ſpare*, ſays he to him (3), *Sage reſolu* (reſolute Sage), *for the ſake of Petrarch whom I honour; and I alſo will ſpare your* Relation of the revolution of Portugal, *upon condition that you take away your picture from it, the Inſcription of which is too vain-glorious for a Writer of your ſtamp. Had you only mentioned your native place there, and barely added that you had turned Monk in Bourdeaux, and afterwards thrown off the habit at Agen, this might have been borne with. But as you add, that you made yourſelf immortal in Paris, this is an untruth; and therefore, with Apollo's good leave, it ſhall be erazed.*

(3) *Guerre des Auteurs*, pag. 168, 169, Dutch edit.

GRENVILLE (DENIS), *Greenville*, or *Granville*, was a younger ſon of the moſt loyal and valiant (*a*) Sir Bevil Greenville of *Kilhampton* in *Cornwall* Knt. and brother to Sir *John Greenville* firſt Earl of *Bath* of his name, was born in *Cornwall*, admitted Gentleman Commoner of Exeter College September 22, 1657, actually created in Convocation Maſter of Arts September the 28th 1660, and about that time married *Anne* the daughter of Dr. *Coſin* Biſhop of *Durham*, who conferred ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical preferments on him, as the Rectories of (*b*) *Eaſington* and *Elwick* in the County Palatine of Durham; the Archdeaconry of Durham, to which he was collated on the death

(a) Wood. *Ath. Oxon.* edit. 1721.

(b) At the Revolution he held the Rectories of Eaſington and Sedgefield, the latter being reckoned the beſt Living in the Biſhoprick.

death of Dr. *Gabriel Clarke* September the 16th 1662, and to the firſt Stall of Prebendaries of the Church of *Durham* September the 24th 1662, from whence he was removed to the ſecond April the 16th 1668 (*c*). On December the 20th 1670, he was created Doctor of Divinity, being then one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King *Charles* II. And on the 14th of December 1684, he was inſtalled *Dean* of *Durham* in the place of Dr. *John Sudbury* deceaſed. In the Regiſter of Eton College we find that immediately after the Reſtoration Dr. Greenville was recommended in very ſtrong terms to the Maſter and Fellows for a Fellowſhip, by three ſeveral Letters from the King, but for what reaſon this recommendation did not take effect, does not appear; probably he might wave his intereſt on account of other preferment which was more acceptable to him. (*d*) On the firſt of February 1690, he was deprived of all his preferments upon his refuſal to comply with the *new Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to the Prince of Orange then in poſſeſſion of the Throne. Soon after the Prince of *Orange's* landing he left [*A*] *Durham* in order to retire into France; and ſometimes lived at Corbeil (from whence it is ſuppoſed his family originally ſprung) but more frequently at (*e*) Paris and St. Germains, where he was very civilly treated and much countenanced by the Queen-mother, as we find in ſeveral of his own Letters, notwithſtanding what has been falſely aſſerted by one Mackay in an account of the Court of St. Germains. He owns he was ſometimes attacked by the Prieſts, but with much good manners and civility. Mr. Wood ſays, that during his retirement, he was, on the death of Doctor Lamplugh, nominated to the See of York, by King James the Second, tho' never conſecrated: but we are apt to doubt very much Mr. Wood's authority in this particular, there appearing to us many very ſtrong reaſons for believing the contrary. In April 1695 he came *incognito* into *England*; but ſoon returned. For ſome time before his death he enjoyed but a very indifferent ſtate of health, having been much troubled with a *Sciatica*, and other infirmities [*B*]. He

(*c*) Idem.

(*d*) Idem.

(*e*) Not at Rouen, as Mr. Wood ſays, for he lived but a ſmall time there, and that immediately after his firſt arrival in France.

[*A*] *Left Durham in order to retire into* France.] He ſays in his (1) Letter to his brother the Earl of Bath, that having done all in his power by the moſt vigorous endeavours towards the ſupport of the *Crown* and the *Ch. of England*, and ſeeing himſelf incapable of doing any thing farther for his Majeſty's ſervice, after earneſt prayer to God to direct him .... (2) he bethought himſelf of flying away ſecretly to the *King*, to own his *cauſe* when he could not otherwiſe ſerve him: the defection being already become general, and he not likely to do ſervice either by ſermons or example — (3). On Dec. 11, at midnight, by the help of two faithful ſervants, which he did dare truſt, he got his horſes prepared, and was conducted by one of them that night to (4) Heſcam, where he procured an honeſt guide to Carliſle the neareſt of the King's Garriſons. — Where he was kindly received by Mr. *Howard* the Governor,— who being a Roman Catholic, he adviſed him, as being moſt prudent, and not diſpleaſing to his Majeſty, to retire, and leave the Government to the old Governor Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave; who came into the town accordingly, and entered on the Government (5). He goes on, and ſays that he viſited the Biſhop of Carliſle at *Roſe* Caſtle, craved his *benediction*, and he depoſited with his Lordſhip ſome ſolemn aſſurances of living and dying in the *Right Church* of England Religion? — He departed from Carliſle on Wedneſday 19th towards *Scotland* with a ſingle ſervant, a Scotſman, whom he had entertained to conduct him to Edinburgh, hoping at *Leith* or ſome other Sea-port to procure ſhipping for *France*. But reſting a day or two at a place called Aliſonbank upon the Borders, to confer with an honeſt loyal Gentleman, he fell into the hands of the rabble, who were then raging up and down, believing the reports of the *Landing of Iriſh Papiſts, Burning of towns, and Maſſacring of people wherever they came*. Here he was ſeized by one *Palmer, a notorious rogue*, for a *Popiſh Prieſt*, about eleven at night, pulled out of his bed, his pockets rifled, his horſes (two geldings worth 40 *l.*) and Portmantua carried away, himſelf being mounted on a little jade not worth forty ſhillings. Being thus diſgracefully conducted to a poor little alehouſe on the Engliſh ſide, where they ſearched his portmantua and plundered him of a bag of money and ſome ſmall pieces of plate, they left him in the hands of the Watch and a Conſtable, who led him away on foot, in a ſevere cold froſty night, with a heavy riding-coat and great boots (ill accoutrements, ſays he, for walking) to Carliſle to be examined before one Capt. Bull and other Officers then in the Garriſon, by whom they hoped to have been rewarded. But being well known in the city, and travelling with the Governor Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave's paſs, they miſſed of their expectation and received a rebuke. He had his horſes and part of his money reſtored; but the fellows were let go without any further notice (6). Being now at liberty a ſecond time (he ſays by a happy providence to go where he pleaſed) and promiſed a paſs if he would go home to *Durham*, he thought it moſt prudent to continue a while in that city, to remove the ſuſpicion of his pretended flight out of England; and accordingly lived unconcernedly there for fourteen or fifteen days, conſtantly attending God's public ſervice and preaching in the Cathedral on Chriſtmaſs-Day, whereby (he ſays) he hoped, he convinced the people that he was no *Popiſh Prieſt* or *Jeſuit*. — The Country being more quiet and no more noiſe of *Iriſh Papiſts*, he adds (7): He left the town and ventured back towards *Durham*, as far as *Hexam*, but with no intention to go home; deſigning after he had ſhifted off his guide and ſome ſervants who were ſent with Letters to him, to ſtrike out of the road by Berwick towards Scotland; and on the 26th of January arrived ſafe at Edinburgh; endeavouring as ſoon as he could get admittance into the Caſtle, to wait on the Duke of Gordon, to whom he communicated his deſign of going to the King; and by whom he was informed of a veſſel then in the road ready to depart for France. Which opportunity he made uſe of, and was after many tempeſts and a tedious voyage ſafely landed at *Honfleur* on the 19th of March, the very day after the King's departure from *Breſt* for *Ireland*. Which miſſing of the King, he ſays, was matter of great mortification to him.

(1) *Let.* pag. 9.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Perhaps Hexam.

(3) *Let.* pag. 10.

(6) Ibid. pag. 11.

(7) Ibid.

[*B*] *He died at Paris ... and was buried &c.*] Dr. Taylor, a deprived Clergyman, who performed the office at his funeral, gives the following account of it to a friend June 19th 1713. "Dr. Granville ſickened "on Thurſday the 12th of April 1703. N. S. contiued ill that night, and the next day (at Corbeil ſeven leagues from Paris upon the Seine, in the way "to Fountainbleau, where he commonly reſided and "was much delighted with the place, and the rather "becauſe he there diſcovered the original of his anceſtors.) On Saturday the fourteenth finding himſelf "ſomething better, he went to his lodging at Paris, "upon the Foſſée *St. Victor*. On Sunday the 15th the "ague or fever returned, continued the 16th and 17th, "and on Wedneſday the 18th he died at ſix in the "morning, and was privately buried in conſecrated "ground, within the city of Paris, either that or next "night; attended by Mr. Thomas Higgons his nephew and ſome few of his acquaintance of the "Church of England."

[C] *He printed ſeveral ſmall Tracts &c.*] The titles of the pieces which he publiſhed before the Revolution are as follow: 1. *The compleat Conformiſt: or ſeaſonable advice concerning ſtrict Conformity and frequent Celebration*

(g) Dr. Taylor says the 18th. See the note [B].

He died at *Paris*, after a ſeries of many ſufferings, on April (*g*) the 7th 1703, N. S. and was buried at the lower end of the Holy Innocents Church in that City. He printed ſeveral ſmall Tracts, an account whereof we ſhall give in the Note [*C*]. Much more might be ſaid of this eminent perſon with regard to his noble and diſtinguiſhing perſonal virtues, but we chooſe to conclude the preſent account with a character given of him by the late Lord Lanſdown in a (*b*) Letter to a nephew of his who was going to enter into Holy Orders, which is as follows: "You had an uncle whoſe memory I ſhall ever "revere: make him your example. Sanctity ſate ſo eaſy, ſo unaffected, and ſo grace- "ful upon him, that in him we beheld the very beauty of holineſs. He was as chear- "ful, as familiar, as condeſcending in his converſation, as he was ſtrict, regular, and "exemplary in his piety; as well bred and accompliſhed as a Courtier, and as reverend "and venerable as an Apoſtle. He was indeed *Apoſtolical* in every thing, for *he aban-* "*doned all to follow his Lord and Maſter.*"

(b) Publiſhed in the preface to a Pamphlet intitled, *An Enquiry whether the Chriſtian Religion is of any benefit &c.* 8vo, Lond. 1732, printed for Weaver Bickerton.

bration of the Holy Communion, preached on the 7th of January, being the firſt Sunday after the Epiphany 1682, in the Cathedral Church of Durham, on John i. 29. Lond. 1684 in 4to. To which is added *Advice: or a Letter written to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham* to the ſame purpoſe. 2. *A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, upon the revival of the ancient and laudable practice of that and ſome other Cathedrals, in having Sermons on* Wedneſdays *and* Fridays *during* Advent *and* Lent, on Rom. xiii. 11. Lond. 1686 4to. This Sermon was preached on the 2d of December 1685. being the firſt Wedneſday in *Advent*. 3. *Counſels* and *Directions* divine and moral: in plain and familiar Letters of Advice to a (*) young Gentleman his nephew, ſoon after his admiſſion into a College in Oxford. Lond. 1685 8vo. Beſides theſe pieces which we have juſt mentioned, our Author, immediately after his retiring into France, publiſhed ſome ſmall Tracts at Roüen, which are very ſcarce and not very correctly printed; and indeed it is pretty remarkable that ſuch an unuſual favour ſhould be permitted in a Popiſh Country to a dignified Clergyman of the Church of England. The titles of the pieces printed at Roüen are, viz. 1. *The reſigned and reſolved Chriſtian and faithfull and undaunted Loyaliſt:* In two plaine Farewell-Sermons, and a loyal Farewell-Viſitation-Speech. Both delivered amidſt the lamentable confuſions occaſioned by the late Foreign Invasion and Home-Defection of his Majeſties Subjects in England. By Denis Granville D. D. *Deane and Archdeacon of Durham*, now in exile, *Chaplaine in Ordinary to his Majeſtie*. . . . Whereunto are added certaine Letters to his Relations and Friends in England, ſhewing the reaſons and manner of his withdrawing out of the Kingdom. 1. *A Letter to his Brother the* Earl *of* Bathe. 2. *A Letter to his Biſhop the* Bishop *of* Durham. 3. *A Letter to his Brethren the* Prebendaries. 4. *A Letter to the Clergy of his* Archdeaconry. 5. *A Letter to his* Curates, *at* Easington *and* Sedgefield. Printed at Roüen by William Machuel ruë S. Lo, near the Palace, for John Baptiste Besongue, ruë Eſcayer, at the Royal Sun, and are to be ſold by Augustin Besongue in the great Hall of the Palace at Paris. In the yeare of our Lord God M. DC. LXXXIX. II. *The chiefeſt matters contained in ſundry Diſcourſes made to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham, ſince his Majeſties coming to the Crown* Summed up and ſeaſonably brought again to their view in a loyal *Farewell-Viſitation-Speech on the 13th of November laſt* 88. *being ten days after the Landing of the Prince of Orange*. By Denis Granville D. D. &c. . . . This is dated from his ſtudy at Roüen Nov. 15. 1689. With a Preface to the Reader and an Advertiſement. III. A copy of paper penned at Durham, by the Author, Aug. 27. 1688, by way of reflection on the then diſmal prognoſtics of the time. — Things which portend very fatally to the *Government* and *Church* of *England*. In one of the articles of the above mentioned paper the Dean obſerves that "moſt men, "even Divines, manifeſting an exceſſive fear that Popery "will come in, and yet all the while neglect to betake "themſelves to the moſt aſſured means to keep it out; "to wit, Amendment of life, and exact Conformity "to the *Churches Rules*, and training up the young "generation by the due exerciſe of Cathechiſme. . . . "*Too many flying to unjuſtifiable means to preſerve their* "*Religion . . . are reſolved to rebell rather than let it* "*go.*" IV. Directions which Dr. Granville, Archdeacon of Durham, Rector of *Sedgefield* and *Eaſington*, enjoins to be obſerved by the Curates of thoſe his Pariſhes, given them in charge at Eaſter-Viſitation held at Sedgefield, in the year 1669. — We have ſeen a very curious Print of Dean Granville, graved by the famous Edelink: The Painter's name is Beaupoille. Impenſis Thomæ (*) Hacquet, *Rotomagenſis Hoſpitis ſui Anno Dom.* 1693. Round the Print is this Inſcription, Dionysius Granville Decanus Dunelmensis. Æt. SUÆ 54. At the bottom the Arms of his Family are placed; one ſide whereof is inſcribed, *Sereniſſimum Dominum Jacobum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem ſecutus eſt in Galliam Anno* 1688. On the other, *Propter fidelitatem ſuam Domino Regi, Principe Arauſiacenſi Coronam Angliæ Uſurpante, deprivatus fuit Anno* 1691. W.

(*) Thomas, a younger ſon of Sir Thomas Higgons Knt. by Bridget his ſecond wife, ſiſter to Dr. Granville.

(*) Mr. Hacket was an Engliſh Merchant; at whoſe houſe the Dean lodged, while he ſtaid at Rouen; and of whom he ſpeaks very handſomely in ſeveral of his Letters.

☞GRENVILLE, or GRANVILLE (GEORGE), Lord Lanſdown. See LANSDOWN.

(a) *Indignatus ille eſt ubi reſciuit, monuitque tum demum illos ſuam imaginem habituros ſi pictum in tabulæ aſinum haberent.* Sotuel, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 369.

GRETSERUS (JAMES) a very learned man, born at Marcdorf in Germany, entred among the Jeſuits at ſeventeen years of age, in 1577. He was Profeſſor a great many years in the Univerſity of Ingolſtad [*A*]. It is related, that notwithſtanding his cloſe application to his ſtudies, he nevertheleſs was very conſtant at prayers; and that his great erudition was attended with a ſurpriſing modeſty. The inhabitants of Marcdorf were deſirous of having his picture to hang it up in their town-houſe; but the inſtant Gretſer was informed of the earneſt application they had made to his ſuperiors for that purpoſe, he was vexed; and told them, that if they wanted his picture, they need but draw that of an aſs. To make themſelves amends, they purchaſed all his works, and devoted them to the uſe of the Public. He would never employ his credit and intereſt, to procure ſome mark of diſtinction for his nephew who was a ſtudent. He died at Ingolſtad the 29th of January 1625 (*b*). He ſpent his whole life in writing againſt Proteſtant Authors, and in defending the Order to which he belonged. He wrote ſomewhat ſharply againſt them, and was anſwered in the ſame ſtrain. He tranſlated or compoſed a prodigious number of books [*B*]. Some Authors have beſtowed very great encomiums

(b) Extracted from Nat. Sotuel. ibid.

(1) Natan. Sot. *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 369.

[*A*] *He was profeſſor a great many years at Ingolſtad.*] He taught Philoſophy there three years, morality ſeven, and School-Divinity fourteen years. (1).

[*B*] *He compoſed a prodigious number of books*] The catalogue of them was publiſhed at Munich, 1674, in 4to, by George Heſerus the Jeſuit. This is a very accurate catalogue, and was publiſhed from the author's original (2). [This catalogue conſiſts of near 153 articles, as given by father Niceron, which he tells us was copied by him from the propoſals or plan, publiſhed

(2) *Ex* Natan. Sotuelo, *Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jeſu*, pag. 372.

encomiums on him (c). Cardinal du Perron acknowledged, that he was a man of wit and ſenſe; but added a very unmannerly particular, ſince it reflected on a very illuſtrious and very learned Nation [C]. A modern Author carried this impiety ſtill farther than the Cardinal, but was cenſured very juſtly for it (d).

(c) In the Remark [B].

(d) In the Remark [C].

publiſhed in 1733, for printing an edition of all Gretſer's works at Ratiſbon, in 17 volumes folio. Father Niceron obſerves, that this is a very exact catalogue. *Add. by the Tranſl* *.] I ſhall give a catalogue of but part of his works. *De Sancta cruce*, Tom. III. [This is a collection of ſeveral treatiſes on the croſs, written by Greek Authors, the greateſt part of which had not been publiſhed till then, or had been printed only in Greek or Latin ſeparately. *Add. by the Tranſl* †.] *De ſacris Peregrinationibus, Libri IV.* Three apologies for the founder of the Jeſuits. The refutation of the hiſtory of the Jeſuits. This hiſtory was written by one Haſenmullerus. [This Haſenmullerus, who had been a Jeſuit, had left his ſociety and turned Lutheran. Being then deſirous, according to the practice of proſelytes, to ſignalize his zeal for the religion he had embraced, by ſlandering thoſe he had left; he wrote, in very ſharp terms, a work againſt them, intitled *Hiſtoria Jeſuitici Ordinis*; but died before it was put to preſs. *Add. by the Tranſl* §.] *De Jure & More prohibendi Libros noxios* Libri II. [Gretſer compoſed this work, which is curious enough, on occaſion of the *Index Expurgatorius*, drawn up by the command of Philip II King of Spain, and printed at Antwerp in 1571. *Add. by the Tranſl.*] *Controverſiam Roberti Bellarmini Defenſio*, Tom II. in folio. *Baſilicon doron, ſeu Commentarius exegeticus in Sereniſſimi Magni Britanniæ Regis Jacobi Præfationem monitoriam; & in Apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis.* Many books againſt Goldaſt, and one among the reſt intitled, *Arnoldi Brixienſis in Melchiore Goldaſto Calviniſta redivivi vera Deſcriptio & Imago* (3). Notes on Thuanus's Hiſtory. [The title of this work is, *In Jacobi Auguſti Thuani Hiſtoriarum libros Notationes. Authore Joanne Baptiſto Gallo* J. C. *Ingolſtadii* 1614, 4*to*. The vehemence and fire with which this work is written (very much in Gretſer's manner) might induce the public to believe that it was compoſed by him; and the authors of the *Bibliotheque* of the Jeſuits, ſeem to favour this belief, by inſerting the title of this book in the catalogue of his works. But it may be pronounced that this is a miſtake, ſince Southwell declares in the article of John de Mauchault, a Jeſuit of Paris, that he wrote the remarks publiſhed under the name of John Baptiſt Gallus. *Add. by the Tranſl* §.] A treatiſe on the *Compelle intrare, an Heterodoxi ad fidem cogendi ſint.* An anſwer to du Pleſſis Mornai's book, intitled *le Myſtere d' Iniquité*. This anſwer is cloſer and leſs inſtructive than that of Coeffeteau; but it was eaſier to anſwer Coeffeteau than James Gretſer. The latter has examined in a moſt unmerciful manner the quotations, and the ſmalleſt chronological errors. I have taken notice elſewhere of what he wrote in favour of Gregory VII (4). Some Romiſh authors have called him the ſcourge of heretics, and the terror of the ſlanderers of the Jeſuits. *Magnus Lutheranorum domitor, ac malleus Hæreticorum, & calumniatorum Societatis terror* (5). He was very well verſed in the Greek tongue, and publiſhed ſome grammatical pieces in that language, together with notes on ſome Greek authors, as George Codinus, Curopalata, on John Cantacuzenus &c. I muſt not omit that he procured the impreſſion of a conſiderable number of manuſcripts. [Dupin ſays of Gretſer, "that he was certainly a "man of vaſt abilities, and had wrote a great deal "on antiquity both ſacred and profane. It is pity "he was not a better critick, and that he adopted "pieces and incidents which were either ſpurious or "doubtful. It is pity too, as Gretſer was ſo able to "treat of matters thoroughly, that controverſies ſhould "have engaged him in perſonal and particular diſ-"putes. It nevertheleſs may be affirmed that he was "one of the ableſt controverſial writers of his age. "He had a great facility in writing, and refuted his "adverſaries with a vaſt vehemence. The circum-"ſtance which ought to be moſt eſteemed in his "works, is the prodigious variety that is found in "them, and the accuracy with which he collected, "on each ſubject, whatever bears any relation to it. To "conclude, it may be affirmed that his Books will fur-"niſh very good materials to thoſe who would write on "the ſame ſubjects as Gretſer has treated." Father Niceron ſays, "It were to be wiſhed that Gretſer had "ſhewed greater moderation in his controverſial Wri-"tings; that he could have therein reſtrained his na-"tural impetuoſity; and that his ſtyle had been not "ſo ſharp and vehement. (Addit. by the Tranſl. *)

(*) *Hommes illuſtres*, vol. 28. pag. 45, 46.

(†) Ibid. pag. 9.

(§) Ibid. pag. 5.

(3) See the title of a little work, againſt Mr. Arnauld quoted in citation (40) of the article ARNAULD (Anthony) Doctor of the Sorbonne.

§ *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 28. pag. 45.

(4) In the Article of this Pope, remark [R].

(5) Nat. Sotuel, *Bibliotb. Script. Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 368.

[C] *Cardinal du Perron acknowledged that he was a man of wit; . . but added a very unmannerly particular, ſince it reflected on a . . Nation.*] Gretſer is greatly to be applauded; he has a great deal of wit for a German (6) (a). Theſe are Cardinal du Perron's words. Father Bouhours enforced his aſſertions with this teſtimony, when he called in queſtion the wit of the Germans. But there aroſe a Frenchman who took the part of the injured nation. Here follows the manner in which he criticiſed father Bouhours. "It is in the ſame "dialogue that this author aſks, *whether it be poſſible for a German to be a wit?* In my opinion, the "poſſibility of this was never doubted before; and "this author in all probability is the firſt who ever "ſtarted this queſtion. He anſwers it, by ſaying, "*that it is a kind of prodigy, for a German to be "a very witty man*; and he cites Cardinal du Per-"ron on this occaſion . . . But it does not follow "from all this, that he ſhould have carried the "matter ſo far as to make it a queſtion, whether it "be poſſible for a German to be a wit; and it is "the way to draw a great many injurious expreſſions "upon himſelf from the Germans (7)." In another place (8) he ſpeaks as follows: "This is no very "great ornament, any more than his queſtion *whe-"ther it be poſſible for a German to be a wit?* I "can aſſure you, Sir, that this queſtion has diſpleaſed "many prudent perſons, who obſerved to me, that "were the author of the *Entretiens* more judicious, "he would ſhow greater reſpect to a nation who "have a ſtrong propenſion to, and love for letters "and arms; who have made wonderful diſcoveries "in arts and ſciences, as artillery, printing and the "ſector; and the greateſt part of whom are our "friends, our allies and neighbours." Cleanthe was thought to have not ſufficiently revenged the Germans: Mr. Cramer has made a noble apology for his countrymen in this particular, in a book (9) that was publiſhed laſt year, and of which an extract was given by Mr. Beauval (10).

(*) *Hommes illuſtres*, vol. 28. pag. 2. 3.

(6) *Perroniana*, pag. m. 163.

(7) Barbier Dancour, *Sentimens de Cleanthe ſur les Entretiens d'Ariſte & d'Eugene*, pag. 91, 92. Bruſſels edit.

(8) Ibid. pag. 78.

(9) Intitled, *Vindiciæ Nominis Germanici contra quoſdam Obtrectatores Gallos*, Amſterdam 1694.

§ (a) I dare almoſt affirm, that this expreſſion of Cardinal du Perron is not ſo unmannerly as our Mr. Bayle imagined it to be. What the French call *de l'Eſprit* (wit) is a certain talent for trifling things, or at moſt a certain vivacity which, in general, ſuits very little the German gravity, and the ſerious turn of mind of that nation. When therefore this Cardinal ſaid of father Gretſer, that he had a great deal of *Eſprit* for a German, he ſeems to have meant only, that a German has ſeldom ſo much of the French vivacity as father Gretſer, although the latter Jeſuit was a German. I ſay the ſame with regard to the queſtion, *viz.* if a German can be a wit. No one denies the German nation to be maſters of the moſt refined good ſenſe, the moſt delicate ſagacity, and the nobleſt ſallies of wit and genius; and ſatisfied with theſe qualities they do not look upon the French fire and vivacity as a great prerogative. REM. CRIT.

(10) In July 1694, pag. 499, & *ſeq.*

☞ GREVIL (FULKE or FOULK) Lord Brook, was deſcended from an antient family, and ſon of Sir Fulke Grevil of Beauchamp Court in Warwickſhire (a), where he was born in the year 1554, and ſpent ſome time as a Gentleman Commoner in Oxford, either before he went to Trinity College in Cambridge, or at his return from

(a) Fuller's Worthies, *in Warwickſhire*, and David Lloyd's *State Worthies*, pag. 727. 2d edit. London 1670.

from thence. After he had left the Univerſity, he travelled, and, upon his return, being well accompliſhed, was introduced to the Court by his uncle Robert Grevil, ſervant to Queen Elizabeth, where he was univerſally eſteemed on account of his excellent parts and learning (*b*). He obtained an honourable office under her Majeſty (*c*), and became one of her principal favourites, which he held for no ſhort time, "but had the longeſt "leaſe, the ſmootheſt time, without rubs of any (*d*)." In the beginning of 1588 he, among other perſons of honour and quality, was created Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford (*e*). In 1603 he was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King James I, and ſoon after obtained the grant of the ruinous caſtle of Warwick. In the 12th year of that King's reign, being conſtituted Under-Treaſurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was appointed one of his Majeſty's Privy Council. And having diſcharged theſe places with great fidelity, he was advanced, by Letters Patents dated the 9th of January 1620, to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Brook of Beauchamps-Court (*f*). In September 1621 he was made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-Chamber; whereupon reſigning his Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, he was ſucceeded in it by Richard Weſton (*g*), afterwards Earl of Portland. He wrote ſeveral works both in Proſe and Verſe [*A*]. At length neglecting to reward one Haywood, who had ſpent the greateſt and chiefeſt part of his time in his perſonal ſervice, for which he expoſtulated with his maſter, but was ſharply rebuked, the ſaid Haywood being alone with him in his bed-chamber at Brook-Houſe in Holbourn, gave him a mortal ſtab in the back, of which he died in September 1628 [*B*], aged ſeventy four. The aſſaſſin immediately locked himſelf into another room, where he killed himſelf with his ſword (*h*). His Lordſhip was interred on the 27th of October following in the Collegiate Church at Warwick (*i*), wherein he had in his life-time erected a monument

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 521. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) Idem, ibid.

(d) *Fragmenta Regalia*, written by Sir *Robert Naunton*, Maſter of the Court of Wards. *pag.* 36. *edit.* 1641.

(e) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(f) Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, tom. 2. pag. 442, b.

(g) *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I.* pag. 74. ſubjoined to *G. Camdeni & illuſtrium Virorum ad G. Camdeni Epiſtolæ*, edit. London 1691, in 4to.

(h) Fuller, *ubi ſupra, and* Lloyd, pag. 728. *and* Wood, col. 522.

(i) Wood, ibid.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral Works both in Verſe and Proſe.*] He wrote two Tragedies, viz. *Alaham* and *Muſtapha*. The former ſeems to be an imitation of the ancients. The Prologue is ſpoken by a Ghoſt, one of the Old Kings of Ormus, an Iſland ſituated at the entrance of the Perſian Gulf, where the Scene of the Drama lies. This ſpectre gives an account of each character; which perhaps was done in imitation of Euripides, who uſually introduces one of the chief Actors as the Prologue, whoſe buſineſs was to explain all thoſe circumſtances, which preceded the opening of the Stage. Our Author has been ſo careful in obſerving the rules of Ariſtotle and Horace, that whereas Horace ſays (1),

(1) *De Arte Poeticâ.*

——— *nec quarta loqui perſona laboret,*

he has in no Scene introduced above two Speakers, except in the Chorus between each Act; and even there he obſerves all the rules laid down by that great Maſter in the Art of Poetry, part of whoſe directions to the Chorus are as follow (2);

(2) Ibid.

Ille dapes laudet menſæ brevis, ille ſalubrem
Juſtitiam, legeſque & apertis otia portis.

The Tragedy of *Muſtapha* is written upon the ſame model of the ancients. An imperfect copy of this Play appeared in print at London 1609 in 4to, tho' probably without the Author's knowledge, ſince it may rather be ſtiled a Fragment than a Tragedy (3). Both theſe Tragedies were printed together at London 1633 in fol. with ſeveral Poems, as *A Treatiſe of human learning*; *An Inquiſition upon Fame and Honour*; *A Treatiſe of Wars*; all which poems are written in ſtanza's of ſix lines, four interwoven, and a couplet in baſe, which the Italians called *Seſtine* (4). This volume contains likewiſe *Cælica* conſiſting of one hundred and nine ſonnets of different meaſures on different ſubjects; a Letter to an honourable Lady, the ſubject of which is how to behave herſelf in a married ſtate; and another Letter written to his couſin Grevil Verney, then in France, containing directions for travel. Beſides theſe works he wrote, *The five Yeares of King James; or the Condition of the State of England and the relation it had to other Provinces. Written by Sir* Foulk Grevill, *late Lord* Brook. London 1643 in 4to. This is principally an Hiſtory from the year 1611 to 1616, and contains chiefly an account of matters relating to Sir Robert Carr Earl of Somerſet; the divorce of Frances Howard from Robert Earl of Eſſex, and her marriage to the Earl of Somerſet; the poiſoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, and the execution and ſequeſtration of thoſe, who were concerned in that affair. This Book was reprinted in 1651 in 4to with this title; *The narrative Hiſtory of King* James *for the firſt fourteen years, in four Parts, &c.* with Sir Thomas Overbury's picture before it. To which are added, *Truth brought to light by time, the Proceedings touching the Divorce between Frances Howard and Robert Earl of Eſſex, &c.* with the Pictures of the Earl of Somerſet and the ſaid Frances. 2. *The Speech of Sir* Francis Bacon *at the Arraignment of the Earl of Somerſet*, which is likewiſe inſerted in the ſaid *Five Years of King James.* 3. *An Abſtract or brief Declaration of the preſent ſtate of his Majeſty's Revenues, &c.* 4. *A true Relation of Commiſſions and Warrants for the condemnation and burning of* Bartholomew Legatt *and* Thomas Withman, *the one in Weſt-Smithfield, the other in Litchfield* 1611, *&c. whereunto are added the Pardons of* Theophilus Hyggens Clerk, *and Sir* Euſtace Hart *Knt.* The Lord Brooke wrote alſo *The Life of the renowned Sir* Philip Sidney, *with the true Intereſt of England, as it then ſtood in relation to all foreign Princes, &c.* publiſh'd by *P. B.* at London 1652 in 8vo. to which is added *A ſhort Account of the Maxims and Politics uſed by Queen* Elizabeth *in her Government.* In 1670 there was printed at London in 8vo, *The Remains of Sir* Fulk Grevill *Lord* Brooke; *being Poems of Monarchy and Religion; never before printed.* In the *Advertiſement* by Henry Herringham the Bookſeller we are informed, that "the Author dedicated all "his Monuments to the memory of Sir *Philip Sidney*, "whoſe Life he did write as an intended Preface to "theſe: and when he grew old he reviſed the Poems "and Treatiſes he had wrote long before, and at his "death committed them to his friend Mr. *Michael* "*Malet*, an aged Gentleman, in whom he moſt con-"fided, who intended, what the Author purpoſed, to "have had them printed all together; but by copies of "ſome parts of them, which happened into other "hands, ſome of them came firſt abroad, each of his "Works having had their fate, as they ſingly merit "particular eſteem, ſo to come into the world at ſe-"veral times. He, to whom they were firſt deliver-"ed, being dead, the moſt of theſe remaining pieces "devolved on Sir *J. M.* who hath given me the li-"cenſed copy of them." Mr. Edward Philips (5), and Mr. William Winſtanley (6) aſcribe to our Author a Tragedy intitled, *Marcus Tullius Cicero.* But Mr. Langbaine (7) conceives this to be a miſtake, and tells us, that "this Play was not written, at leaſt not print-"ed, till long after his Lordſhip's death."

(3) *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets. By Gerard Langbaine*, pag. 38, 39. edit. Oxford 1691, in 8vo.

(4) Idem, ibid. pag. 40, 41.

(5) Theatrum Poetarum. *Modern Poets*, pag. 46. edit. London 1675.

(6) *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, pag. 87. edit. London 1687.

[*B*] *Of which he died in Sept.* 1628.] Wood tells us (8), that he died on the 30th of that month. But Mr. Richard Smith in his *Obituary* publiſhed by Francis Peck M. A. (9), obſerves, that it was on the firſt of that month he *was ſtabbed to death with a knife by his ſervant Ralph Hayward, who with the ſame knife ſtabbed himſelf.*

(7) *Ubi ſupra.*

(8) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 522.

(9) *Deſiderata Curioſa*, vol. 2. lib. 14. pag. 12.

ment with an epitaph, in which he is ſtiled, *Servant to Queen* Elizabeth, *Counſellor to King* James, *and Friend to Sir* Philip Sidney (*k*). He was ſucceeded in his honour by his kinſman *Robert Grevil* [*C*]. He was never married, though *a conſtant courtier of the Ladies* (*l*); and purſued his ſtudies rather than his ambition, being more contemplative than active. One great argument of his merit was his regard to that of others, deſiring to be known to poſterity under no other character than that of *Shakeſpear's* and *Ben Johnſon's* Maſter, Lord Chancellor *Egerton's*, and Biſhop *Overal's* Patron, and Sir *Philip Sidney's* Friend (*m*).

(*k*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Naunton, *ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) Lloyd, pag. 728.

[*C*] *Succeeded in his honour by his kinſman* Robert Grevil.] He was then one and twenty years of age, and was educated at Cambridge. He adhered to the Parliament during the civil wars, and was appointed by them Lieutenant of Warwickſhire, and a Colonel and Commander in their Army (10). He was killed by a ſhot in the left eye in attacking the Church cloſe at Lichfield on Tueſday March 2d 164$\frac{2}{3}$ (11). He wrote, I. *The Nature of Truth, its union and unity with the ſoul, which is one in its eſſence, faculties, acts, one with truth.* London 1640 in 12mo, written by way of Letter to a private friend *J. S.* by whom it was publiſhed with a Preface. This Book was animadverted upon by Mr. John Wallis, a Miniſter in London, afterwards Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford, in a Book intitled, *Truth tried; or Animadverſions on the Lord* Brooke's *Treatiſe called,* The Nature of Truth. London 1643 in 4to. II. *A Diſcourſe opening the Nature of that Epiſcopacie, which is exerciſed in England, wherein with all humility are repreſented ſome conſiderations tending to the much deſired peace and long expected Reformation of this our Mother-Church. By the Right Honourable* Robert *Lord* Brooke. London 1641 in 4to. Dedicated *to the moſt noble Lords, with the honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes now aſſembled in Parliament.* In this *Diſcourſe* he obſerves (12), that he aims not at words, but things; and it is not the look, much leſs the name of a Biſhop that he fears or quarrels with; "it is his nature, his office, that diſpleaſeth "me. Nor yet his nature or office in general, but "ſuch and ſo cloathed, or rather veiled, with ſuch "and ſuch adjuncts. For to me the word *Biſhop* ſig-"nifies, either one that is to preach, adminiſter the "Sacraments, exhort, reprove, convince, excommu-"nicate, &c. not only in ſome one diſtinct congrega-"tion, his own *Pariſh*, but in many ſeveral Congre-"gations crowded up together in one ſtrange (and for "long unknown) word, a *Dioceſe*. Or one who hath "to all this added not only the name of a Civil Lord, "(with which bare name or ſhadow I fight not,) but "alſo a vaſt unwieldy (I had almoſt ſaid unlimited) "power in Civil Government, which muſt needs draw "on a mighty train, and cloath itſelf with glorious "robes of long extended and magnifique ſtiles, ſcarce "to be marſhalled by a better Herald than Elihu, who "could give no titles. Or in the laſt place (which "ſhould be the firſt) a true faithful *Overſeer*, that over "one ſingle Congregation hath a joint care with the "Elders, Deacons, and the reſt of the Aſſembly, who "are all fellow-helpers, yea ſervants to each other's "faith. This *laſt* is a Biſhop of the firſt Inſtitution, "of Chriſt's allowance, ſettled in divers Churches, "even in the Apoſtles times. The *firſt* is of the ſe-"cond Century, when doctrine, diſcipline, and all "Religion began to waine. For even then myſteri-"ous Antichriſt was not only conceived, but began to "quicken. The *ſecond* roſe laſt, (though firſt intend-"ed by the Church's enemy) riſing up while the "world was buſy, looking all one way, as amazed at "the new beaſt, ſucceſſor to the dragon. This is "now our adverſary; one monſtrouſly compounded "of different, yea oppoſite offices, and thoſe the great-"eſt, both eccleſiaſtic and civil; for which he ſeems "no way able, no way fit, and that for many reaſons, "which may be brought from *Scripture, Church-Anti-"quity, State-Policy.*" *I ſhall begin with the laſt, as that I now aim at moſt. Here let us view our Biſhop a while as a private man, before his office. Next as a Lord over Church and State, in his office. Then with ſome neceſſary conſequents to his office, as now it is exerciſed in this Kingdom. Thus ſhall we quickly judge how ſuitable to true Policy of State are either antecedents, concomitants, or conſequents of this too officious two-headed Biſhop. Antecedents to his office are his birth, education, election, ordination, &c. Concomitants (or rather ingredients) we may call that almoſt unlimited power, both intenſive, in ſole ordination; Juriſdiction directive, by Injunctions, Canons, &c. corrective by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Deprivation, &c; as alſo extenſive over ſo vaſt a Dioceſe. Hither alſo we may refer his Power Juridical or Legiſlative in Parliament, judicial in many great, yea civil Tribunals; and (of all monſters moſt ugly) his power delegative; than which this Sun hath ſeen nothing more monſtrous, at leaſt, as of late it hath been exerciſed. By conſequents I mean his relations, acquired by his office, both upward to his ſovereign, Creator, benefactors; as downward to his own family, creatures, and hang-by dependants.* This is the ſubject of the *firſt Section*; and in the *ſecond* he conſiders how conſonant ſuch Epiſcopacy is either to ſound Antiquity or Scripture. III. *Two Speeches ſpoken in Guild-Hall in London concerning his Majeſty's Refuſal of a Treaty of Peace.* London 1642 in 4to. IV. *An Anſwer to the Speech of* Philip *Earl of* Pembroke *concerning Accommodation*; which Anſwer was ſpoke in the Houſe of Lords Dec. 19. 1642, and printed in one ſheet in 4to by order of the Houſe. V. *A Speech at the Election of his Captains and Commanders at Warwick Caſtle.* London 1643 in 4to. T.

(10) Wood, col. 522, 523.

(11) See the *Diary of Archbiſhop Laud*, and Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, vol. 2. Part 1. B. 6. pag. 148, 149. edit. Oxon 1707 in 8vo.

(12) Pag. 1, 2.

GREVIUS (JOHN) an Arminian Miniſter, and born in the Dutchy of Cleves, was depoſed and baniſhed for refuſing to ſubſcribe the Canons of the Synod of Dort; and becauſe he did not continue in his exile, he was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment [*A*]. He eſcaped from priſon in 1621. He had begun a work which he publiſhed afterwards [*B*], and wherein he condemns the cuſtom of putting perſons impeached of crimes

[*A*] *He was . . . baniſhed . . . and becauſe he did not continue in his exile, he was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment.*] He declared, that tho' his baniſhment ſeparated him from his flock, he nevertheleſs took care of it; and that as his flock had deſired him to give them ſpiritual food, he thought himſelf obliged to labour at their ſalvation, rather than obey the ſentence of the Magiſtrates, which forbid his return. He accordingly came back into Holland, and held private Aſſemblies in Campen, for the inſtruction of his flock, which being made public, he was ſeized and ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment. In this manner he himſelf relates theſe particulars (1), which is all I know of the matter; but this I am ſure of, that Grevius ought, on this account, to be conſidered as a perfectly honeſt man who diſcharged the duties of his functions. I appeal to thoſe who maintain, that ſuch Miniſters as return to France, in order to inſtruct the Proteſtants in private, in oppoſition to the Edicts of the Sovereign, perform a very glorious action. It may be obſerved, by the way, that the principle of perſecution is inconſiſtent with the maxim, Do as you would be done by, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.* You puniſh a man, and at the ſame time blame thoſe who act in the ſame manner.

(1) In the preface to his Treatiſe *de Tortura.*

Revius, in his Hiſtory of Deventer, obſerves that our Grevius had diſcharged the ſacerdotal functions in Heuſden, and came to Campen in Nov. 1619, and preached eleven times there in the houſes of the Remonſtrants (2).

(2) Revius, *Daventriæ illuſtratæ* lib. 6. pag. 626.

[*B*] *He had begun a Work which he publiſhed afterwards.*] Here follows the title of it. *Tribunal reformatum*

crimes to the torture. He pretends that reaſon ſpeaks in his favour [C], though the moſt general practice is otherwiſe. He gives an account of his deliverance in his Letter to Vorſtius (a). He continued in priſon a year and half (b). He had been admitted to the miniſterial functions the 10th of May 1605, and preached his firſt ſermon that very day in the Church of Arnheim. This particular I read in a Letter written by him in 1620 to Balthaſar Brantius (c), who had ſtrongly exhorted him to leave the Remonſtrants.

(a) It is the CDV among the *Letters of the Arminians.*

(b) *Præfat. diſſert. de Tortura.*

(c) It is the CCCLXXVI among thoſe of the *Arminians*, edit. of 1684.

matum, in quo ſanioris & tutioris juſtitiæ via judici Chriſtiano in proceſſu criminali commonſtratur, rejecta & fugata TORTURA, *cujus iniquitatem, multiplicem fallaciam, atque illicitum inter Chriſtianos uſum libera & neceſſaria Diſſertatione aperuit* JOANNES GREVIUS *Clivenſ. quam captivus ſcripſit in Ergaſtulo Amſterodamenſi.* This Work was publiſhed at Hamburg in 1624 (3). It is upon a very nice and delicate ſubject, where, as one would imagine, there is no declaring for the negative, without condemning a practice authorized by the Laws of the State. Perſons impeached of crimes are put to the torture in moſt countries of the world. But it is to be particularly obſerved, that ſuch Sovereigns as authorize it, and even ordain it to form a conſiderable part of criminal proſecutions, do not impoſe upon their ſubjects a neceſſity of believing that it is agreeable to the dictates of juſtice. There have been found in all ages and countries, ſeveral learned men who have taken the freedom to cenſure the abuſes and injuſtice of it. Our Grevius is one of theſe, and his Treatiſe is worthy of our peruſal. This ought to teach certain perſecuting ſpirits, that they have no right to perſecute their enemies, upon pretence that they do not approve all the uſages and cuſtoms of their country, or all the principles of thoſe who preſide in the Government. Subjects are indeed bound to obey the Magiſtrates, but not to believe that they always act in conformity to the rules of juſtice; and that of two practices or uſages, they may not ſometimes have choſen the worſt. A ſubject may even be allowed to write, and exhibit in a reſpectful manner the ſeveral abuſes, which he takes notice of, in order to prompt the Sovereign to reform them.

(3) Konig is in an error in ſaying, *Grævius (Joh.) JCtus de Tortura quædam meditatus eſt ann.* 1635. Beſides, Grevius was not a Civilian. See his preface.

[C] *He pretends that . . . in cenſuring the cuſtom of putting perſons impeached of crimes to the torture, reaſon ſpeaks in his favour.*] The Author of the Philoſophical Commentary (4) cites a very beautiful paſſage from Montagne, wherein the two inconveniencies or difficulties of putting people to the torture are taken notice of; the one, that thoſe who have ſtrength enough to bear up under torments, do not declare the truth; the other, that thoſe who are too ſenſibly affected with pain, confeſs things that are falſe. This paſſage of Montagne deſerves to be all tranſcribed here, but nevertheleſs I ſhall only hint at it (5). The ſame Commentator obſerves, that Saintmars, who was beheaded at Lions for high-treaſon, anno 1642, *died with great reſolution, and diſcovered the utmoſt contempt for life, and yet dreaded the rack ſo much, that he very probably would have confeſſed all they were deſirous of extorting from him, had he been put to the torture.* It would be an eaſy matter to collect many authorities and examples, to ſhew the injuſtice of putting perſons accuſed of crimes to the torture: many moderns having publiſhed Collections on this ſubject. See, among others, Ramirez de Prado, in chapter IX of the *Pentecontarchos*, Segla in the 36th Annotation on an Arreſt of Parliament of Toulouſe, and Rupert on chapter IV and VII of Valerius Maximus. I omit thoſe Civilians who have wrote profeſſedly on this ſubject. There is no one but will call to mind, on this occcaſion, a paſſage in St. Auſtin (6), where the injuſtice of putting perſons to the torture is, at one and the ſame time, ſtrongly repreſented and faintly excuſed. Ludovicus Vives, in his Commentary on this paſſage, declares ſtrongly againſt the practices of racking people; but Leonard Coquæus, in his Commentary on the ſame words of St. Auſtin, condemns this opinion of Ludovicus Vives; and declares that the Fathers of the Canon Law approve torture to be employed, in order to extort words from perſons accuſed. Nor are the following words of Quintilian forgot (7). *Sicut in tormentis quoque, qui eſt locus frequentiſſimus, cùm pars altera quæſtionem, vera fatendi neceſſitatem vocet, altera ſæpe etiam cauſam falſa dicendi, quod aliis patientia facile mendacium faciat, aliis infirmitas neceſſarium.* i. e. "As alſo in the caſe "of giving the torture, which is a very common topic, "when one party calls the putting on the rack a neceſſity "laid on the perſon impeached of confeſſing the truth; "the other party, the occaſion likewiſe of often ex- "torting untruths; becauſe patience makes ſome eaſily "utter falſhoods, and infirmity makes it neceſſary to "others." Nor that of Ulpian the Civilian (8). *Statutum eſt non ſemper fidem tormentis, nec tamen nunquam adhibendam fore. Etenim res eſt fragilis* (quæſtio) *& periculoſa, & quæ veritatem fallat: nam plerique patientiâ, ſive duritiâ tormentorum ita tormenta contemnant, ut exprimi eis veritas nullo modo poſſit; alii tantâ ſunt impatientiâ, ut quævis mentiri, quàm pati tormenta velint. Ita fit, ut etiam vario modo fateantur, ut non tantùm ſe, verùm etiam alios criminentur.* i. e. "It is "agreed, that we muſt not always give credit to what "is forced out by torture; nor always diſbelieve what "is extorted that way. Racking is an uncertain and "dangerous practice, and ſometimes does not diſcover "the truth; for multitudes are ſo hardned againſt pain, "that they contemn the rack, and the truth can never "be extorted from them: whilſt others are ſo little "proof againſt torments, that they will tell any falſ- "hoods rather than ſubmit to them. There it is, that "they firſt ſay one thing and then another, and not "only accuſe themſelves, but other people alſo." I have ſpoke elſewhere (9) of the great ſtrength of mind with which the Cappadocians could ſubmit to torments, and the ſame has been obſerved of the Egyptians (10) and Spaniards (11). It is to be obſerved, that no perſons impeached are put to the torture in England, not even thoſe charged with high treaſon. Barclay has made this obſervation in the 4th chapter of his *Icon Animorum.* I conclude that Grevius had a noble field to range in, and that as he had a great variety of materials, he made a very good uſe of them.

(4) *Comment. Philoſophique ſur contrain les d'entrer*, tom. 2. pag. 251, 252.

(5) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 2. chap. 5. pag. m. 61. See alſo the *Menagiana*, pag. 374, 375. the firſt Dutch edition.

(6) Auguſtin. *de Civitat. Dei*, lib. 19. cap. 4.

(7) Quintil. *Inſtit. Orat.* lib. 5. cap. 4.

(8) Ulpian. in l. 1. §. *Quæſt. de Quæſt.*

(9) Citation (19) of the article CAPPADOCIA.

(10) Ælian. *Var. Hiſt.* lib. 7. cap. 18. Ammian. Marcell. lib. 22.

(11) *See* Rupert. *in Valer. Max.* lib. 3. cap. 3. pag. 218.

☞ GREW (NEHEMIAH), a learned Engliſh Writer and Phyſician in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Obadiah Grew, D. D. [A], Miniſter of St. Michael's in Coventry. He took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic in one of the foreign Univerſities, and was admitted Honorary Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London September the 30th 1680 (a). He had a very conſiderable practice in London, where he died ſuddenly March the 25th 1711. He wrote ſeveral works, which are greatly eſteemed.

(a) From the Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians in London.

[A] *Son of Obadiah Grew, D. D.*] The Doctor was born at Atherſton in the pariſh of Manceter in Warwickſhire in November 1607, and admitted a Student of Baliol College in 1624, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and was ordained at twenty eight years of age by Dr. Robert Wright, Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield. In the beginning of the civil wars he adhered to the intereſt of the Parliament, and took the Covenant, and became Miniſter of St. Michael's in the City of Coventry (1). October the 10th 1651, he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (2). He died October the 22d 1689 (3), and was interred in the Chancel of the ſaid Church of St. Michael (4). He wrote, I. *A Sinner's Juſtification by Chriſt: or the Lord Jeſus Chriſt our Righteouſneſs: delivered in ſeveral Sermons on Jer.* xxiii. 6. London 1670 in 8vo. II. *Meditations upon our Saviour's parable of the prodigal ſon, being ſeveral Sermons on the* 15*th chapter of St. Luke's Goſpel.* London 1678 in 4to.

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 837. 2d edit. London 1721.

(2) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 96.

(3) *Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory of his own times*, pag. 360. edit. London 1702.

(4) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 838.

eſteemed [B]. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society; and upon the death of Henry Oldenburg Eſq; Secretary of that Society in Auguſt 1678, he continued the publication

[B] *He wrote ſeveral works, which are greatly eſteemed.* I. Muſæum Regalis Societatis: *or a Deſcription of the natural and artificial rarities, belonging to the Royal Society, and preſerved at Greſham College.* London 1681 in fol. II. *The Comparative Anatomy of Stomachs and Guts begun by* Nehemiah Grew, *M. D. Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the College of Phyſicians,* London 1681 in fol. III. *The Anatomy of Plants: with an idea of a Philoſophical Hiſtory of Plants, and ſeveral other Lectures.* London 1682 in fol. IV. *Obſervations touching the Nature of Snow:* printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions,* Num. 92. pag. 5193. V. *The Deſcription and Uſe of the Pores in the Skin of the Hands and Feet:* printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions,* Num. 159. pag. 566. for May 1684. VI. *Tractatus de Salis Cathartici amari in agris Ebaſhamenſibus & hujuſmodi aliis contenti Naturâ & Uſu.* London 1695 in 12°. VII. Coſmologia ſacra: *Or a Diſcourſe of the Univerſe as it is the Creature and Kingdom of God: chiefly written to demonſtrate the truth and excellency of the Bible, which contains the Laws of his Kingdom in this lower world. In five books.* London 1701 in fol. In the firſt book, which is divided into five chapters, Dr. Grew propoſes to ſhew that God made the corporeal world. In the firſt of theſe chapters he treats of God, whom he defines to be "a neceſſary ſelf-exiſtent, eternal, immenſe, omnipotent, omniſcient, and beſt being; and therefore alſo a being, who is and ought to be eſteemed moſt ſacred and holy; and that as ſuch he is of neceſſity eternally and omnipotently energetic, ſo as to beget the divine images of himſelf, and by theſe to make the world." From the contemplation of God he leads us on to that of the corporeal world, of which he ſays, "That though the world being made, cannot be ſelf-exiſtent, nor therefore eternal, nor any other way infinite; yet being made by God, we are to look upon it in every way of made perfection to be indefinite, ſince we can never define the utmoſt or anſwerable effect of an infinite cauſe." That the world is in this ſenſe made perfect in the whole or in its extent, he tells us, appears partly from the diſtance of the viſible fixed Stars, and partly from the diſtance of thoſe which are viſible only with the help of glaſſes. From this vaſt, and to us unlimited extent of the Univerſe he concludes it to be indefinite; and though it has bounds, as not being infinite, yet thoſe bounds to us are undefinable. He further obſerves, that the world is no more admirable in the *whole*, than in its *parts*, and in thoſe innumerable relations which they have to each other, whether thoſe parts are great or little. He treats of the greater bodies, the Planets, in the ſecond chapter; and from the regularity of their motions and their great variety, from the ſubſtance and ſplendor of the Sun, from the command it has over all the primary Planets, and the command theſe have over their Satellites, with ſeveral other noble conſiderations, he infers the unſearchableneſs of the wiſdom of God in this admirable contrivance and furniſhing of the world with ſo many large bodies, the nature of which, with their motions and rotations, we are in a great meaſure ſtrangers to, and cannot fully comprehend. He then proceeds to conſider the leſſer parts of the world, and in the beginning of the third chapter, wherein he treats of the principles of bodies, he ſays, *That as there is no* Maximum, *whereunto we can go, but only God; ſo there is no* Minimum, *but a point, which hath no dimenſions, but only a Whereneſs, and is next to nothing. For as the whole is extenſible, ſo far the parts are alſo diviſible, both indefinitely, or, as the Mathematicians ſpeak, infinitely, that is, beyond any human obſervation or conception.* To prove the infinite diviſibility of matter he produces ſeveral inſtances out of the Mathematics; and then tells us, that the conſideration thereof will enable us to think as we ought of the principles of bodies; which, as they muſt of neceſſity have their dimenſions, and therefore their ſolid figures, ſo withall they may be infinitely ſmall, not only beyond all naked or aſſiſted ſenſe, but beyond all Arithmetical operation or conception. He proceeds next to prove the principles of bodies to be unalterable both in thoſe, which are conſiſtent, and thoſe which are fluid; and alſo regular, which he likewiſe proves in fluids and conſiſtents. And as the principles of bodies taken ſingly are regular, ſo he remarks in his fourth chapter, that in the compoſition of them there is an extraordinary regularity. In the laſt chapter of the firſt book he treats of the uſe of compounded or organized bodies. In the ſecond book, which is divided into eight chapters, he undertakes to ſhew, that there is a vital world, which God hath made, and what it is. In the firſt chapter he treats of *Life*, and ſhews that there is a *Vital Subſtance* in nature, diſtinct from a body. He then conſiders the ſeveral ſpecies of life, as they are reducible to three heads, viz. *Vegetable Life*, *Senſe*, and *Thought*. On the firſt of theſe, which is the loweſt ſpecies of life, he beſtows the remaining part of the firſt chapter, and ſhews, that it is that, by which all bodies have their radiations and mutual inclinations, and are in a ſort animated ſo as to make one moiety of the Univerſe. He obſerves, that this is more remarkable in Plants and Animals in their generation and nutrition, and in ſundry of their motions. The next ſpecies of life above the Vegetable is that of *Senſe*, treated of in the ſecond chapter, where he tells us, "That all ſenſe is "a certain mode of life in a vital ſubſtance anſwer"able to a certain mode of motion in a body; and "that the difference between vegetable and ſenſible "life ſeemeth to be this, that in the former the im"preſſion ariſing from the motion is entirely reflected "and loſt in an inſtant; in the latter it is immerſed "and retained." He remarks further, "that the "modes of motion, on which the modes of ſenſe de"pend, are *ſimple* or *compounded*. That the ſimple "are two in general, *Magnitude* and *Celerity*, that is, "as any one motion is made in more or leſs ſpace, "or in more or leſs time. That the compounded are "likewiſe two in general, either as one mode of mo"tion is repeated over again, or as ſeveral modes of "magnitude, celerity, or both, are mixed together. "Laſtly, that every motion ſtrong enough to affect "the organ produceth ſome ſenſe; but that all ſenſe, "ſo far as it is grateful, dependeth upon the equality "or the proportionality of the motion or impreſſion "which is made." In the next chapter he obſerves, that the vital principle, which we call *Mind*, is that which hath the power of thought, diſtinct from ſenſe and above it; and that the two general ſpecies of it are *Fantaſtic* and *Intellectual*. Of the former he diſcourſes at large in the whole third chapter, in which he takes notice of the power and uſe of *Fancy*, which he ſays is great even in brute-animals, in which it is their chief faculty; but ſhews, that the actions, paſſions, and operations in them do not amount to *Intellection*. He then paſſes on to the *Human Fancy*; and in this reſpect obſerves, that fancy ſtrictly taken is mind immediately occupied about ſenſible things, and its own ideas of thoſe things. *Intellection* he defines to be, *The operation of the mind about inſenſible things and its own ideas of theſe things.* After he has treated of the intellectual mind in general, with its ſeveral acts and the modes of them, he proceeds to an account of the endowments of it, viz. *Science*, *Wiſdom*, and *Virtue*. The third book is divided into ſix chapters, wherein he undertakes to ſhew, that God governs the Univerſe, which he hath made, and in what manner; and in order to this treats, in the firſt chapter, of the nature of God's government, or of Providence. In the ſecond, of the ends of Providence. In the third, of Providence over public States. In the fourth, of the Celeſtial Life. In the fifth, of the Rules of Providence, and firſt of the Law of Nature. In the ſixth, of the poſitive Law. The fourth book is divided into eight chapters, in which he treats, 1. Of the integrity of the Hebrew Code. 2. Of the Truth and Excellency of it, as they appear from foreign proof. 3. As they appear in itſelf. 4. Of the Contents of it, and firſt of the Hiſtory. 5. Of the Miracles. 6. Of the Prophecies. 7. Of the Laws; and firſt of thoſe given to Adam and Noah. 8. Of the Moſaick Law. In the fifth book divided into ſix chapters, he ſhews, that the New Teſtament is likewiſe God's poſitive Law.

T

lication of the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* from January following, beginning with Number 137, and ending with Number 142 incluſive. Monſieur Le Clerc has given an Abridgment of his *Coſmologia ſacra* in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie* (*b*); and defended ſome of our Author's principles againſt Mr. Bayle (*c*).

(*b*) Tome 1. pag. 228, & *ſeqq.* Tome 2. pag. 352, & *ſeqq.* and Tome 3. pag. 278, & *ſeqq.*

(*c*) Ibid. tome 3. pag. 283, & *ſeqq.*

GRIBALDUS (MATTHEW), a learned Civilian of Padua, left Italy in the 16th Century, in order to make a public profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion; but, like ſome other Italians who turned Proteſtants, he imbibed the hereſy of the Anti-trinitarians. After having been Profeſſor of the Civil Law in Tubingen for ſome time, he quitted the employment, in order to eſcape the puniſhment he would have incurred, had he been convicted of his errors. He was ſeized in Berne, where he would have met with very ſevere treatment, had he not feigned to renounce his opinions; and as he relapſed again, and openly favoured the heretics who had been drove from Geneva, and particularly Gentilis, whom he harboured at a country ſeat he poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood (*a*), he would certainly have been put to death [*A*], had not the plague, which ſnatched him away in September 1564, ſecured him from being proſecuted for hereſy. In a journey he made to Geneva, during the trial of Servetus, he deſired to have a conference with Calvin, but was not allowed that advantage. Some time after Calvin ſent him word that he would admit him to a conference, at which his collegues, together with three antients of the conſiſtory ſhould aſſiſt. Gribaldus came to the place appointed, but left it abruptly, when he found that Calvin refuſed to give him his hand. He would not hear the excuſes which were made to him, viz. that Calvin could not give him his hand in an amicable way, till after they ſhould be agreed (*b*) on the principles of faith, viz. the Trinity, and the Divinity of Chriſt (*c*). He was cited to appear before the Magiſtrates, in order to give an account of his faith; and as his anſwers were not found agreeable, he was commanded to leave the City. This may be inferred from the letter I now quote (*d*). He wrote ſeveral works which are eſteemed by the Public [*B*].

(*a*) *Erat Fargiarum Dominus.* Beza, *in Vita Calvini, ad ann.* 1555, *& Bibliotth. Antitrinit.* pag. 17.

(*b*) *Confer quæ Sylla erga Mithridatem, apud* Plutarchum *in Sylla*, pag. 467.

(*c*) See the remark [*C*].

(*d*) It is the 238th of Calvin's Letters. It is dated the 2d of May 1557.

[*A*] *He would certainly have been put to death.*] I only ſpeak this after Beza, whoſe words, which prove ſeveral of the aſſertions I have here advanced, are as follow. *Domi verò Serveti cineres pullulare cœperunt; cujus blaſphemiis favere deprehenſus Matthæus Gribaldus, non incelebris juriſconſultus, quum Genevam fortè veniſſet .... deductus ad Calvinum à quibuſdam Italis, quos Patavii docuerat, recuſante Calvino dextram illi porrigere, niſi prius de primario Chriſtianæ fidei articulo, id eſt de ſacra Triade & Deitate Chriſti inter eos conveniret, nullum poſtea locum ullis admonitionibus vel argumentis reliquit. Itaque quod ei jam tum prædixit Calvinus, grave nimirum Dei judicium pertinaci ipſius impietati imminere, hoc reipſa poſtea expertus eſt, Tubinga primum profugus, quò fuerat Vergerii favore introductus: Bernæ poſtea captus, ſimulatâque abnegatione liberatus, ad ingenium poſtea rediens, & Gentilis illius de quo mox dicemus fautor & hoſpes, ſuperveniente demum peſte correptus, paratum ſibi in terris ſupplicium antevertit* (1). i. e. "The aſhes of Servetus began to "riſe up again, at home: for Matthew Gribaldus, an "eminent Civilian, who was found to favour the blaſ"phemous tenets of that man, arriving accidentally "at Geneva ... was introduced to Calvin by ſome "Italian Gentlemen who had been his pupils in Pa"dua; but upon Calvin's refuſing to put forth his "hand to him in an amicable way, till they ſhould "be firſt agreed on the chief article of the Chriſtian "Faith, the holy Trinity and Divinity of Chriſt, he "left no farther room for admonitions or arguments. "Gribaldus afterwards, as Calvin then foretold him, "experienced the judgment of God on his obſtinate "impiety, being drove firſt out of Tubingen, where "he had been introduced by the favour of Vergerius; "being afterwards ſeized in Berne, he was releaſed on "a pretended recantation, but returning to the ſame "opinions, and patronizing and entertaining Gentilis, "of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak, he was infected with "the plague, and by that means prevented the pu"niſhment which was prepared for him in this world." We don't here find the year in which Gribaldus died, but it is known that he was dead when Valentinus Gentilis went to viſit him in the territories of the Canton of Berne, anno 1566 (2), and there are proofs that he died in September 1564 (3). See a paſſage of Languet at the end of the remark [*E*] of the Article GOVEA.

(1) Beza, *in Vita Calvini, ad ann.* 1555, pag. m. 378. *See alſo* Calvin's 238th Letrer, pag. m. 440.

(2) *Veluti tradente illum ad pœnam ipſius Chriſti manu in Sabaudiam ad ſuum Gribaldum venit* (Gentilis.) *At illam peſtem altera jam peſtis ſuſtulerat.* Idem, ibid. pag. 308.

[*B*] *Gribaldus wrote ſeveral Works.*] Their titles are as follow: *Commentarii in legem de rerum miſtura, & de jure fiſci.* Theſe were printed in Italy (4). *Commentarii in Pandectas Juris*, printed at Lions. *Commentarii in aliquot præcipuos Digeſti, Infortiati novi, & Codicis Juſtiniani titulos atque leges utiliſſimis concluſionibus illuſtrati*, at Frankfort 1577 in folio. *Hiſtoria Franciſci Spiræ* (*cui anno* 1548 *familiaris aderat*) *ſecundum quæ ipſe vidit & audivit*, Baſil 1550. *De omni genere homicidii*, at Spire 1583, 8vo. *De methodo ac ratione ſtudendi in jure civili libri tres*, Lions 1544 and 1556. It is very probable in this laſt piece that he aſſerted, that a Civilian ought to be ſkilled in Hiſtory; and pointed out the errors which ſome Civilians have committed thro' ignorance (5). He wrote this Book in a week (6).

(3) Beza's preface prefixed to Calvin's Commentary on Joſhua, pag. m. 24.

(4) See the *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*, pag. 18. and the *Bodleian Catalogue.*

(5) *See* Albricus Gentilis, *de Juris Interpretibus*, folio 54 *verſo.*

It is to be obſerved that Sleidan declares, that Gribaldus was a ſpectator of the ſad condition of Spira, and that he wrote and publiſh'd an account of it. *Multi præterea Spiram in eo ſtatu viderunt, magni nominis viri, & in his, Matthæus Gribaldus, Jureconſultus Patavinus, qui & rem omnem, quam ipſe coram vidit & audivit, ſcripto complexus, in lucem edidit* (7).

(6) Idem, ibid. folio 65.

(7) Sleidan. lib. 11. fol. m. 590.

GRILLON, a Gentleman of Provence, one of the moſt valiant men of his age, in the reign of Henry III and Henry IV. See his hiſtory in Varillas's Preface to the Life of Henry III. This Hiſtorian always calls him Crillon, which is the true orthography of his name, although unknown to moſt authors (*α*).

§ (*α*) This Gentleman uſed to ſign his name *Crillon*, agreeably to the orthography of the antient records of his family; but he probably called himſelf *Grillon*, in like manner as, notwithſtanding the etymology, we pronounce *gril*, *grotte*, *migraine*. REM. CRIT.

☞GRINDAL (EDMUND), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the ſixteenth Century, was born about the year 1519 in a little angle of the County of Cumberland, called Cowpland or Copland, in the pariſh of St. Beghs. Having paſſed through his grammar ſtudies, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was firſt entered into Magdalen

Magdalen College, and afterwards became a member of Chriſt's College, and thence was removed to Pembroke Hall, of which he was choſen Fellow in 1538. In 1541 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and in 1548 was declared Proctor of the Univerſity (*a*). Before he was taken notice of in the Church, he made a figure in the Univerſity, as one of the ripeſt wits and learnedſt men there (*b*) [*A*]. In 1549, being now Bachelor of Divinity, he was admitted the Lady Margaret's public Preacher in Cambridge. In 1550 he became Chaplain to Dr. Ridley, Biſhop of London; and on the 24th of Auguſt 1551 was collated to the Chantorſhip of the Cathedral of St. Paul's. In December the ſame year he was appointed one of the King's Chaplains [*B*]. In July 1552 he had a grant of a Prebend of Weſtminſter for life (*c*). In November following he was nominated for a Biſhopric in the North, but did not obtain it [*C*]. Upon the death of King Edward VI in 1553 he retired into Germany, to avoid the perſecution under Queen Mary, and ſettled at Straſburg, and applied himſelf to learn the German language, in order that he might preach in the Churches there. In 1554 he was engaged in the diſputes amongſt the Engliſh at Francfort concerning a new model and form of worſhip, varying from the laſt corrected Liturgy under King Edward VI. He was employed likewiſe in collecting the writings and accounts of the ſufferers in England for the Proteſtant Religion, and aſſiſting Mr. John Fox in his Martyrology (*d*). Upon the death of Queen Mary in 1558 he returned to England, and was employed in the Reformation of Religion, and in a public diſputation againſt the Popiſh Prelates. He was likewiſe one of her Majeſty's Commiſſioners in the North for the Royal Viſitation to require the oath of ſupremacy, to inſpect Cathedrals and the manners of the Clergy, &c. In 1559 he was made Maſter of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; and the ſame year he was nominated to the Biſhopric of London; but labouring under ſome ſcruples with regard to the habits and certain ceremonies required to be uſed by ſuch as were Biſhops, he conſulted Peter Martyr, then Profeſſor of Divinity at Zurich in Swiſſerland [*D*]; and at

(*a*) *Life of Archbiſhop Grindal, by John Strype, M. A.* pag. 1-4. edit. London 1710, in fol.

(*b*) Idem, pag. 308.

(*c*) Idem, pag. 5, 6, 7.

(*d*) Idem, pag. 7-22.

[*A*] *Before he was taken notice of in the Church, he made a figure in the Univerſity as one of the ripeſt Wits and learnedeſt Men there.*] When an extraordinary Act was commenced in the year 1549 for the entertainment of King Edward VI's viſitors there, viz. Goodrich Biſhop of Ely, Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr. Mey, and Dr. Wendey, all very learned Men, and the queſtions to be diſputed were, "Whether Tranſubſtantiation could be proved by plain and manifeſt words of Scripture: And, Whether it might be collected and confirmed by the conſent of Fathers for *theſe thouſand years paſt* (1):" at this diſputation one of the four ſelected out of the whole Univerſity, who aſſerted the negative, was our Grindal, then Fellow of Pembroke Hall; the other three Diſputants being Pern, Gueſt, and Pilkington (2).

(1) *Fuller's Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge*, pag. 127. Mr. Strype, who miſtakes in quoting *Fuller's Church Hiſtory* for this paſſage, thinks theſe laſt words ſhould rather be, *for a thouſand years after Chriſt*. See *Strype's Life of Grindal*, pag. 5.

[*B*] *In December the ſame year he was appointed one of the King's Chaplains.*] A reſolution was taken by the King's Council, that the King ſhould retain ſix Chaplains, whoſe employment was thus fixed. Two of them were always to be with his Majeſty in waiting; and the other four to be ſent over the Kingdom, eſpecially the remoter Counties, to preach to the common people, and to inſtruct them in the principles of true Religion and Obedience to their Prince. Theſe ſix were afterwards reduced to four; and Grindal was one of theſe, the others being Dr. Bill, Dr. Harley, afterwards Biſhop of Hereford, and Dr. Pern. Their annual ſalaries were 40 *l.* each (3).

(2) Fuller, *ubi ſupra, and* Strype, pag. 5.

(3) Idem, ibid. pag. 7.

[*C*] *In November following he was nominated for a Biſhopric in the North, but did not obtain it.*] What this Northern Biſhopric was, we are left to conjecture. It was concluded in the year 1552 by the King and his Council, that the Biſhopric of Durham, then void by the deprivation of Dr. Cuthbert Tonſtal, ſhould be divided into two. And conſideration was now had of placing fit men in them, as appears by the King's Memorial publiſhed by Mr. Strype in the *Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer* (4). It is very probable, that Mr. Grindal being a North-Countryman, was pitched upon for one of theſe Biſhops. The date likewiſe agrees very well with this ſuppoſition; for the King's Memorial was written in October 1552, and Biſhop Ridley's Letter to Sir John Gate, Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, wherein is mentioned this nomination of Mr. Grindal to a Northern Biſhopric, was dated juſt the month after. "But all this, *ſays Mr. Strype* (5), came to nothing, there being then a great topping Courtier, that put an end to this pious purpoſe of ſupplying thoſe parts, where ignorance and ſuperſtition moſt prevailed, with two Biſhops. For by his ſway he got the whole Biſhopric diſſolved, and ſettled as a temporal eſtate upon himſelf."

(4) Lib. 2. cap. 3.

(5) *Life of Archbiſhop Grindal*, pag. 8.

[*D*] *Labouring under ſome ſcruples with regard to the habits and certain ceremonies required to be uſed by ſuch as were Biſhops, he conſulted Peter Martyr, then Profeſſor of Divinity at Zurich in Swiſſerland.*] He wrote a Letter to Martyr in Auguſt 1559, which came to his hands in October following. In that Letter Grindal communicated to his friend his doubts, deſiring his ſpeedy reſolution of them, that he might, according to the light which he ſhould give him, accept the Epiſcopal Office, or refuſe it. One of theſe doubts was concerning *Impropriations*, which were to be annexed to Biſhoprics. For the Queen now, chiefly to gratify ſome of her Courtiers, made exchanges with her Biſhops, by the authority of a late Act of Parliament, taking to herſelf their antient good Manours and Lordſhips, and making over to them in exchange Tithes and Impropriations. This was extremely regretted by thoſe firſt Biſhops, who ſcrupled whether they ſhould comply in a point ſo injurious to the revenue of their reſpective Sees, which muſt ſuffer conſiderably by theſe exchanges, and by which all hope would be cut off of reſtoring the Tithes ſo long unjuſtly detained from the reſpective Churches, for the maintenance of the incumbents. Another point, at which Grindal ſtuck, was wearing certain peculiar garments, whether *extra ſacra*, or *in ſacris*. Peter Martyr in the beginning of November wrote him an Anſwer. And firſt with regard to *Impropriations*, he thought that Grindal had no occaſion to be ſollicitous; ſince it was a thing not in his power, whence or how the Queen thought proper to provide a ſupport for her Biſhops and the Pariſh Miniſters. With reſpect to wearing a cap whether round or ſquare, and a gown upon ordinary occaſions, when they were not employed about holy things, his judgment was, that they ſhould not diſpute more than was neceſſary about them, ſince ſuperſtition ſeemed not properly concerned in them. But as for the habits to be uſed in the Miniſtry of holy things, ſince they carried an appearance of the Maſs, and were mere remains of Popery, he obſerved, that it was the opinion of Bullinger, the chief Miniſter of Zurich, that they were to be refrained from by Grindal, leſt by his example a thing, which was ſcandalous, ſhould be confirmed. But Martyr ſaid, that tho' he was always againſt the uſe of ſuch ornaments, yet he ſaw the preſent danger, leſt they ſhould be excluded the office of preaching; and that perhaps there might be ſome hopes, that as altars and images were already taken away, ſo thoſe appearances of the Maſs

at last accepted of the See of London, to which he was consecrated December the 21st 1559 (*e*). In 1560 he was made one of the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners (*f*). In August the same year he received an order from Archbishop Parker to forbear ordaining any more artificers, and others, who had been in secular employments, and were unlearned; which the Bishops had been obliged to do at first, when these persons were qualified with sobriety and religion and skill in reading, for the supply of the vacant Churches (*g*). The same year he in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely, wrote a letter to the Queen to persuade her to marry (*h*). In 1561 he held his primary visitation of his Diocese (*i*). In 1563 he assisted the English Merchants in their settlement at Embden in East-Frizeland (*k*). The same year he wrote Animadversions upon Justus Velsius's *Christiani Hominis Norma* [*E*]. In 1564 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge (*l*); and the same year, agreeably to the Queen's letter to him, he began to press the Clergy to Uniformity [*F*]. October the 3d the same year he

(*e*) Idem, pag. 22-23.

(*f*) Idem, pag. 39.

(*g*) Idem, pag. 40.

(*h*) Idem, pag. 41.

(*i*) Idem, pag. 58, *& seqq.*

(*k*) Idem, pag. 86, 87, 88, 89.

(*l*) Idem, pag. 94, 95.

might in time be likewise removed, if Mr. Grindal and others, who had taken upon them Episcopacy, would use their endeavours. But notwithstanding if it came not to good effect, yet, if he should decline the office, another might succeed in his place, who would not care to have those relicks rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them. He was therefore, he said, more backward to advise him rather to refuse the Bishopric than to submit to the use of the vestments. But because he saw that scandals of that kind were by all means to be avoided, he more easily had yielded to Bullinger's opinion abovementioned. But if altars and images had been continued and preserved, then he plainly thought, as he had written in other Letters, that Grindal ought not by any means to engage in the Episcopal Office. In general he advised him to do nothing against his conscience. He acknowledged the questions, which he sent him, had difficulty in them; and therefore excused himself, that he had no sooner imparted his Counsel, since it could not so easily be given. He added, that when he was at Oxford, though he was a Canon, he would never wear a surplice in the Choir. He knew that his example was no just confirmation of Grindal; but that which moved him then, and still did, might perhaps have some force with him, viz. that that was not to be done, which might confirm the practice of what his conscience did not approve. The same year in October and November Mr. Grindal wrote other Letters to Martyr for his advice. One of his questions was, Whether seeing he was not left at liberty with regard to the vestments, he shonld accept of the Episcopal Function offered him, because of the imposition of the matters abovementioned? Martyr's Answer came too late; for Grindal had accepted of the Bishopric before he received it. But Martyr's advice was agreeable to what Grindal had done, that he should not decline it, because of the great want of Ministers (6).

(6) Ibid. pag. 28, 29, 30.

[*E*] *He wrote Animadversions upon* Justus Velsius's Christiani Hominis Norma.] This Velsius was of the Hague in Holland, a man of learning, but enthusiastical, and held some peculiar opinions, and had several followers and admirers. He drew up at London a Summary of his Religion under this title, *Christiani Hominis Norma, ad quam se explorare perpetuo quivis debet:* i. e. "The Rule of a Christian Man, according to which every one ought continually to try "himself." It was composed by way of question and answer. The first question was, *What is a Christian?* The answer to which was, *One, who by participation and grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which Christ was, and is, of himself, and by nature.* The next question was, *What Christ was and is of himself and by nature?* To which is answered, *God in Man, and afterwards Man-God.* Velsius affirmed likewise in this piece, that *while the Word was made flesh and dwelt in us, he brought down God from Heaven to us, joined and united him to our passible nature. And that by his glorious Resurrection the Flesh was made the Word, and dwelt in God, and lifted up man to God.* He spoke of a double Regeneration, one of the internal man, and the other of the external; and asserted, that the one made Christians *God in Man* in this world, and the other made them *Men-Gods* in the world to come. Mr. Strype has published this piece in the *Appendix* N°. VIII. to the first Book of his *Life of Grindal.* In March Velsius wrote bold Letters to Sir William Cecil the Secretary, and to the Queen herself, sending likewise his *Norma* to them; which he had also done two months before to our Bishop; who thought fit, upon the Secretary's advice to write animadversions upon that piece, extant in the Paper-Office, and published by Mr. Strype in the *Appendix* N°. IX. to the first Book of his *Life* of our Bishop. Velsius fancied himself endued with the Spirit of Prophecy, and that Christ dwelt in him. By this authority he took upon him to denounce judgments upon persons and places, and particularly upon the Queen and the Kingdom in his Letter to her, unless she and her subjects received his doctrine. He solemnly by a writing excommunicated Peter Delæne, Minister of the Dutch Congregation in London, and delivered him up to Satan, because he would not allow of a challenge to a public disputation, which he made to one Nicholas a Preacher there. Velsius being cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, Bishop Grindal, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Dean of St. Paul's, represented to him the erroneous doctrine of his *Norma*, which he obstinately defending, they at last charged him in the Queen's name to depart the Kingdom. This he complained of in very rude terms to the Queen, telling her, that he could not obey their order, pretending some miracle from God to confirm his doctrine (7).

(7) Ibid. pag. 91, 92, 93, 94.

[*F*] *Agreeably to the Queen's Letter to him, he began to press the Clergy to Uniformity.*] Hitherto an Agreement and Uniformity among the Clergy in wearing the same habits, and using the same Rites in divine service, was neglected, especially in London, not a few rejecting the orders of the Book of Common Prayer. And the plague of late spreading itself in London and other places, the Bishops could not take that cognizance, and exercise the discipline requisite for this purpose. But towards the latter end of this year by a peremptory command from the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, uniformity in the habits and ceremonies were required of the Clergy; whereas many hitherto, she said, had taken a liberty of varying from her injunctions in this regard. The Archbishop therefore having this order, immediately dispatched his Letter to our Bishop to signify the Queen's mind and resolution to the rest of the Bishops of the Province; and that they should see the Laws and Ordinances already established, set forth and complied with every where, and to send up those of their Clergy, who were incompliant. The greatest difficulty was to correct these neglects in London, where there were many, who wore neither surplice, tippet, nor square cap, and did not use the other ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. This work was incumbent upon our Bishop, who found great difficulty in redressing these matters among the City Ministers, after whose example the Clergy in the other parts of the Nation would be apt to govern themselves. So that throughout this and some part of the next year Bishop Grindal frequently sate in Ecclesiastical Commission with the Archbishop and other Commissioners, for the regulating the City Clergy, and trying by all gentle methods to bring them to conformity. The Bishop reduced many to compliance, but some were deprived. "A work in truth, *says Mr.* "*Strype* (8), this was, the Bishop went tenderly about, "knowing the scarcity of Ministers at that time; "and therefore used all gentleness and meekness with "them. But afterwards observing the ignorance and "obstinacy of some, and the dangerous principles of "others, striking at the very Ecclesiastical Order it-"self; he proceeded with more resolution." In the beginning

(8) Ibid. pag. 97.

he preached at St. Paul's at the celebration of the Emperor Ferdinand's funeral, and his ſermon was afterwards printed (*m*). In 1566 he again urged his Clergy to Conformity, and wrote to Bullinger and Jerom Zanchy upon this matter. In 1567 he convented ſome Separatiſts before him [*G*]; and prohibited unlicenſed Preachers (*n*). In

(*m*) Idem, pag. 99-106.

(*n*) Idem, pag. 120, 121.

beginning of this work the Archbiſhop of Canterbury thought fit to excite and quicken our Biſhop now and then, to ſet diligently upon reforming his London Clergy, as he was otherwiſe ſlow in his proceedings againſt them. And by the Secretary's means the Archbiſhop procured a ſpecial Letter from the Queen to him to look particularly after Uniformity in thoſe under his charge in London; which accordingly, ſeeing the neceſſity of it, he did. In January the plague abating, Archdeacon Mullins, by the Biſhop's Commiſſion, viſited at Sepulchre's Church; whither the Miniſters being cited and appearing, he ſignified to them the Queen's pleaſure, which was, that all perſons in holy Orders ſhould wear the ſquare cap, ſurplice, and gown; and required them to ſubſcribe their hands, that they would obſerve thoſe directions. Accordingly an hundred and one, all Miniſters of London, ſubſcribed, and eight only refuſed. On the 24th of March following this reformation in Miniſters habits began, when the uſe of the ſcholars gown and cap were enjoined from that day forward; and the ſurplice to be worn at all divine Adminiſtrations, and the Book of Common-Prayer to be obſerved, agreeably to the Statute and the Rubric of the ſaid Book. And ſubſcription of all this was required; or elſe a ſequeſtration was immediately to follow, and after three months refuſal, deprivation *ipſo facto*. Many upon this were ſequeſtered, and afterwards ſome depoſed and deprived. Among theſe the principal were Dr. Turner Dean of Wells, who had revived the conteſt by a Book written, and copied, and diſperſed abroad; Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Brakelſby, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Wyburn. Mr. Whittenham or Whittingham, and Mr. Becon refuſed at firſt, but afterwards ſubſcribed, and were preferred; as were others, who did the like. The number of thoſe, who appeared at Lambeth on the 24th of March before the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of London, and others of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, were one hundred and forty, of whom thirty did not ſubſcribe. But ſeveral of them afterwards complied and ſubſcribed. Many of thoſe, who were ſuſpended and deprived, were ſuch as had wives and children, who, upon theſe cenſures, laboured under great poverty. Some of thoſe, who were deprived, betook themſelves to ſecular employments, as did one Sheriff; ſome to huſbandry, as Allen and Wyburn. Some went beyond Sea; and theſe were Papiſts chiefly, for among theſe non-ſubſcribers were ſome Papiſts. Some had favour ſhewn them upon the requeſts of noble and eminent perſons. And ſome were afterwards put into priſons for their diſobedience (9). In 1566 the London Clergy, tho' they had been before ſo vigorouſly excited to conformity, were, many of them, ſtill backward towards it; ſo that the Archbiſhop warned our Biſhop in this matter, and giving him notice of a ſeſſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion at Lambeth, adviſed him to be there, and the rather, in order to the dealing with ſome Miniſters of his own Dioceſe. The Biſhop ſoon after ſitting in Commiſſion at Lambeth with the Archbiſhop and others, all the London Miniſters, who had been cited before, now made their perſonal appearance, and were aſked, whether they would conform themſelves to the Eccleſiaſtical Orders preſcribed. Sixty one promiſed; and thirty ſeven denied, who were immediately ſequeſtered and ſuſpended *ab officio*, and within three months after to be actually deprived, unleſs they would comply. Within that time many ſubmitted, but ſome were deprived. The Archbiſhop now ſupported this attempt for Conformity by a Book, called, *The Book of Advertiſements*, which conſiſted of divers articles, which the Clergy ſhould be obliged to obſerve, by virtue of a Letter from the Queen. Theſe articles were, for their doctrine and preaching, for adminiſtration of Prayers and Sacraments, for certain Orders in Eccleſiaſtical Policy, for outward apparel of Perſons Eccleſiaſtical; with a proteſtation to be made, promiſed, and preſcribed by the ſaid perſons, as not to preach without licence, to uſe ſobriety in apparel according to order; and to obſerve and keep order and uniformity in all external policy, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, as by laws and good uſages were already provided and eſtabliſhed.

(9) Ibid. pag. 98, 99.

This Book of *Advertiſements* the Archbiſhop ſent to Biſhop Grindal, that copies thereof might be diſperſed and conveyed to all Biſhops, to ſee them duly executed. He likewiſe required the Biſhop to be diligent in puniſhing all Recuſants in his Dioceſe by cenſures eccleſiaſtical, ſince the Biſhops had power and authority by Act of Parliament to uſe them. And this the Archbiſhop required and charged him to do, as he would anſwer it to God. *The Archbiſhop*, ſays Mr. Strype (10), *thought fit now and then thus to call upon our Biſhop, who was not forward to uſe extremities. And becauſe of this the Puritan party confided much in him, and gave out, that my Lord of London was their own, and all that he did was upon a force and unwillingly, as they flattered themſelves.* However Biſhop Grindal was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the Nonconformiſts to be ſatisfied with what was enjoined. And among other means he publiſhed a Letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief Miniſter in Swiſſerland, addreſſed to him and two other Biſhops, viz. Dr. Horn of Wincheſter, and Dr. Parkhurſt of Norwich, concerning the lawfulneſs of wearing the habits; but drawn up for the ſatisfaction of Samſon and Humfrey, two Oxford Divines of great eminence, the former Dean of Chriſt Church, and the latter Preſident of Magdalen College. "The letter was written with ſuch a clearneſs "of reaſon, ſuch evidence from Scripture, and in "ſuch a fatherly compaſſionate ſtyle; that it had a "very good effect upon many, that before were "ready to leave their miniſtry; but having read it, "were ſatisfied (11)." This Mr. Strype collects from a letter of Biſhop Grindal to Bullinger, written in Auguſt 1566, the original of which is ſtill extant at Zurich with many others from our Biſhop in thoſe times ſent to the learned men there. In this letter the Biſhop related, "How ſome Miniſters, as "*Samſon* and *Humfrey*, continued incompliant, and "that the Queen was highly offended with them. "But that if they ſhould comply, it would be eaſy "to reconcile them to her. But otherwiſe they, the "Biſhops, could prevail little with her to give them "countenance. That many of the common ſort had "taken up reſolutions to ſeparate from the national "Church, and had ſet up meetings diſtinct by themſelves. But that now of late the greater part were "come to a better mind, to which his (Bullinger's) "letter had greatly contributed. He added, that "when the Biſhops, who had been exiles in Germany, "could not perſuade the Queen and Parliament to "remove theſe habits out of the Church, though they "had long endeavoured it, by common conſent they "thought it beſt not to leave the Church for ſome "rites, which were not many, nor in themſelves "*wicked*; eſpecially ſince the purity of the Goſpel "remained ſafe and free to them. Nor had they to "this preſent time repented themſelves of this counſel. "For their Churches, God giving the increaſe, were "augmented much, which otherwiſe had been a prey "to *Lutherans* and *Semi-Papiſts*.

(10) Pag. 105.

(11) Ibid. pag. 105.

(12) Pag. 114.

[*G*] *In* 1565 *he convented ſome Separatiſts before him.*] Mr. Strype obſerves (12), that the refuſers of the orders of the Church, who by this time were commonly called *Puritans*, were now grown into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanor, who indeed would not uſe the habits, nor ſubſcribe to the ceremonies enjoined, as kneeling at the Sacrament, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage; but held the communion of the Church, and willingly and devoutly joined with the common prayers. But another ſort there was, who diſliked the whole conſtitution of the Church lately reformed, charging upon it many groſs remainders of Popery, and that it was ſtill full of corruptions not to be tolerated, and Antichriſtian; and eſpecially the habits, which the Clergy were enjoined to uſe upon ordinary occaſions and in their miniſtration. Theſe latter ſeparated themſelves into private aſſemblies, meeting together not in Churches, but in private houſes, where they had Miniſters of their own. At theſe meetings they rejecting wholly the Book of Com-

(o) Idem, pag. 120, 121.
(p) Idem, pag. 135, 136.
(q) Idem, pag. 161.
(r) Idem, pag. 165, & ſeqq.
(s) Idem, pag. 181, 182.
(t) Idem, pag. 190-193.
(u) Idem, pag. 193, & ſeqq.
(w) Idem, pag. 211, & ſeqq.
(x) Idem, pag. 217.

In 1568 he made ſearch for ſtrangers, eſpecially thoſe who maintained Anabaptiſtical principles, againſt whom a proclamation was publiſhed by her Majeſty, forbidding all ſecret congregations (*o*). In 1569 he procured the liberty of ſeveral Puritan Separatiſts, who had been in priſon (*p*). The ſame year he was complained of to the Privy Council by the Separatiſts in London; which occaſioned him to write a vindication of himſelf to the Council [*H*]. May the 1ſt 1570 he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick of York (*q*); and May the 15th 1571 began his Metropolitical Viſitation, and gave forth his own injunctions to the Clergy and Laity, conſiſting of twenty five articles, in which he ſhewed a great zeal for the diſcipline and good government of the Church (*r*). In 1572 he wrote to the Queen for the renewing the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion (*s*); and in 1573 he interceded for the Clergy oppreſſed by concealments [*I*]. In May 1574 he rejected a Clerk, who came for inſtitution, on account of his ignorance [*K*]. Upon the death of Dr. Matthew Parker in 1575 he was advanced to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, in which he was confirmed February the 15th (*t*). The ſame year a Convocation of the Province of Canterbury was held under him (*u*). May the 16th 1576 he began his Metropolitical Viſitation (*w*), and applied himſelf to the Reformation of his Courts (*x*). The ſame year he fell under her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, on account of his favouring the *Exerciſes* or *Propheſyings* [*L*]; upon which he was ſequeſtered from his office.

mon Prayer, uſed a book of prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of Engliſh Exiles lately ſojourning there. This book had been reviſed and allowed by Calvin and the reſt of the Divines there, and indeed was for the moſt part taken out of the Geneva form. At theſe private congregations they had not only Prayers and Sermons, but the Lord's Supper likewiſe ſometimes adminiſtred. This gave great offence to the Queen, who iſſued out her letters to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, which letters were ſubſcribed by the Privy Council, and were to this effect; that they ſhould move theſe Nonconformiſts by gentle means to conformity, or elſe for their firſt puniſhment to loſe their freedom of the City, and afterwards to ſuffer what would follow. About an hundred of theſe Separatiſts having hired Plummers Hall, upon pretence of keeping a wedding there, but in reality for a religious meeting, on the 19th of June, they were diſturbed by the Sheriffs, and about fourteen or fifteen of the chief of them ſeized, and examined the next day before the Lord Mayor, the Biſhop of London, and others of the Queen's Commiſſioners. The Biſhop argued with them with great mildneſs, but was treated by ſome of them with reproaches and rude language; *inſomuch*, ſays Mr. Strype (13), *that much notice was taken of it; and finding them ſo irreclaimable, it abated much of the favour, which he was inclinable to ſhew them. Beza, the chief Miniſter of Geneva, otherwiſe a great favourer of this ſort of men, liked not of their behaviour, and ſignified his diſallowance of it in an Epiſtle to this our Biſhop, wherein he commended his lenity and his patience. They were very ſevere upon him afterwards in their prints by ſtandering of him in a moſt high manner. And therefore it is the leſs wonder, that this mild and patient man was ſome years after provoked (obſerving alſo their unquiet diſpoſition) to expreſs himſelf ſomewhat ſeverely againſt them.*

(13) Pag. 119.

[*H*] *The ſame year he was complained of to the Privy Council by the Separatiſts in London, which occaſioned him to write a Vindication of himſelf to the Council.*] In his Letter to the Council, dated January the 4th 1569, he writes thus: "Mine opinion is, "that all the heads of this unhappy faction ſhould "be with all expedition ſeverely puniſhed to the ex"ample of others, as people phanatical and incura"ble; which puniſhment, if it proceed by order of "your Lordſhips, ſhall breed the greater terror. "And becauſe all priſoners for any colour of any Re"ligion, be it never ſo wicked, find great ſupporta"tion and comfort in London, in my opinion (under "your Lordſhips correction) it were not amiſs, that "ſix of the moſt deſperate of them ſhould be ſent to "the common goal of Cambridge, and ſix likewiſe to "Oxford, and ſome other of them to other goals near "hereabouts, as to your wiſdoms ſhall be thought ex"pedient."

[*I*] *In 1573 he interceded for the Clergy oppreſſed by concealments.*] He had obſerved great abuſes offered to the Clergy of his dioceſe by a company of neceſſitous unjuſt men, who pretended commiſſions from the Queen to recover from them penalties incurred. Her Majeſty had indeed by her Letters Patents to her Gentlemen Penſioners granted the penalties forfeited by the Clergy, under pretence of concealment of lands and rents given for ſuperſtitious uſes, belonging now by Act of Parliament to the Crown. Upon this they ſent Deputies through the Kingdom, who being indigent men uſed great extortion, and extremely oppreſſed the Clergy. This occaſioned our Archbiſhop to make complaint thereof to the Lord Treaſurer; who, though he approved not of the thing it ſelf, yet the Letters Patents being paſſed, wrote back to the Archbiſhop, that the Gentlemen Penſioners might enjoy the penalties forfeited by the Clergy, ſince it was ſo appointed by the Queen, and beſtowed upon them. The Archbiſhop then ſhewed his Lordſhip, that he intended not that they ſhould be abridged of it, but that he found fault with their manner of proceeding, which was troubleſome, chargeable, and diſhonourable, ſince they ſummoned all the Clergy as well innocent as faulty, as others of good reputation, to appear before them, as the Queen's Commiſſioners, whereas they had no ſuch Commiſſion; and that they compounded with the Clergy for offences paſt and to come; which tended not to the reſtraint of abuſes, but was rather a means to encreaſe them. And laſtly, that they were men noted formerly for evil dealing and bribery. He deſired therefore, that for the preventing of theſe troubles, the Gentlemen Penſioners would ſend him down in articles a form of proceeding to be obſerved by their Deputies, by which the inconveniences abovementioned might be avoided (14).

(14) Idem, pag. 182, 183.

[*K*] *In May 1574 he rejected a Clerk, who came for inſtitution, on account of his ignorance.*] Mr. Strype mentions this ſtory (15), to ſhew *what groſs ignorance ſometimes ſuch as pretended to ſerve God in his Church, were in theſe times guilty of.* One William Ireland was preſented to the Rectory of Harthil, who coming to the Archbiſhop, was examined by the Archbiſhop's Chaplain. In his preſentation were theſe words, *Veſtri humiles & obedientes*, which the Chaplain requiring him to tranſlate, in order to know how well he was ſkilled in Latin, he expounded them, *Your Holineſs and Obedience.* The Chaplain aſked him again, who brought up the people of Iſrael out of Egypt? He anſwered, King Saul. And being aſked, who was firſt circumciſed, he could not anſwer. Upon this the Archbiſhop rejected him; and one Hugh Caſſon was preſented to and obtained the benefice of Harthil, and lived to the year 1624, and ſo was Rector there fifty years.

(15) Ibid. pag. 188.

[*L*] *The ſame year he fell under her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, on account of his favouring the* Exerciſes *or* Propheſyings.] The method of theſe *Propheſyings* was thus. The Miniſters of a particular diviſion at a ſet time met together in ſome Church belonging to a market-town, or other large town; and there each in their order explained, according to their ability, ſome

office. In 1579 we find him at Croyden, where he conſecrated Dr. John Wolton Biſhop of Exeter; ſo that either his confinement was taken off, or elſe he had leave for the ſake of his health to retire to his houſe there (*y*). In 1580 he conſecrated Dr. John Watſon and Dr. Will. Overton to the Sees of Wincheſter and Coventry and Lichfield (*z*). The Convocation held this year petitioned her Majeſty in favour of the Archbiſhop; but in vain (*aa*). In 1582 his ſequeſtration appears to be taken off, which probably might be occaſioned by a ſubmiſſion made by him (*bb*). In the latter end of the ſame year he loſt all hopes of recovering his ſight, which had failed before; upon which, at his deſire, the Queen gave him leave to reſign his See, granting him a penſion for life. He died July the 6th 1583, aged ſixty three (*cc*), and was interred in the Chancel of the Church

(*y*) Idem, pag. 242.

(*z*) Idem, pag. 256.

(*aa*) Idem, pag. 257.

(*bb*) Idem, pag. 269, 270.

(*cc*) Idem, pag. 289.

ſome particular portion of Scripture allotted them before. And after all of them had done, a moderator, who was one of the graveſt and beſt learned amongſt them, made his obſervations upon what the reſt had ſaid, and determined the true ſenſe of the place. All this was to be diſpatched within ſuch a ſpace of time. At theſe Aſſemblies there was commonly a great conflux of people to hear and learn; and by this means the Miniſters and Curates were obliged to read Authors, and conſult Expoſitors and Commentators, and to follow their ſtudies, that they might ſpeak to the purpoſe, when they were to appear in public; and thus they conſiderably profited themſelves in the knowledge of the Scripture. But the inconvenience was, that at theſe meetings there happened at length confuſion and diſturbances, ſome affecting to ſhew their parts, and to confute others, who ſpake not ſo appoſitely as perhaps themſelves. They would likewiſe ſometimes advance heterodox opinions; and ſome, who had been ſilenced from their preaching for their incompliance with the eſtabliſhed worſhip, would intrude themſelves here, and declaim againſt the Liturgy and Hierarchy; and ſome would ſpeak againſt States and particular perſons. The people alſo fell to arguing and diſputing much about Religion; and ſometimes a layman would take upon him to ſpeak. In ſhort the *Exerciſes* degenerated into factions, diviſions, and cenſurings. Hence they began to be diſliked by ſome (16). Our Archbiſhop upon this laboured to redreſs theſe irregularities by ſetting down rules and orders for the more uſeful management of theſe *Exerciſes*, which are extant in the *Cotton* Library, and publiſhed by Mr. Strype (17). However the Queen ſtill diſapproved of the *Exerciſes*, and would not have them continued, as ſeeing probably how very apt they were to be abuſed. She did not like, that the Laity ſhould neglect their ſecular affairs by repairing to theſe meetings; which ſhe likewiſe thought might fill their heads with notions, and ſo occaſion diſſenſions and diſputes, and perhaps ſeditions in the State. And the Archbiſhop being at Court, ſhe particularly declared herſelf offended at the number of preachers as well as at the *Exerciſes*; and ordered him to redreſs both, urging, that it was good for the Church to have few Preachers; that three or four might ſuffice for a county; and that the reading of the Homilies to the people was ſufficient. In ſhort ſhe required him to do theſe two things, viz. to abridge the number of Preachers, and to put down the religious Exerciſes. This did not a little afflict the Archbiſhop, who thought the Queen made ſome infringement upon his office, to whom the higheſt truſt in the Church of England, next to herſelf, was committed; and therefore that ſhe was ſomewhat too peremptory to require this to be done without adviſing at all with him, in a matter ſo directly regarding Religion. Nor could he in conſcience comply with her commands. When he came home therefore, he reſolved to write at large his mind to her, which he did in a letter dated December the 20th 1576, publiſhed by Mr. Strype in the *Appendix* Num. VIII. of the *ſecond* book of his *Life of Archbiſhop Grindal*. In this letter he expoſtulates with her about keeping in the Church but a few Preachers; ſhewing her, "that nothing was more plain in the Scriptures, than that the Goſpel of Chriſt ſhould be "plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers "ſhould be ſent into the Lord's Harveſt. That public and continual preaching of God's Word was "the ordinary means and inſtrument for the reconciliation of men unto God. That by preaching, "due obedience to Chriſtian Princes and Magiſtrates "was planted in the hearts of ſubjects. For obedience, he ſaid, proceeded from conſcience, and conſcience was grounded upon the Word of God; and "the Word of God wrought its effect by preaching. "That if her Majeſty came to the City of London "ever ſo often, what gratulation, what joy, what "concourſe of people was there to be ſeen? Yea, "what acclamations and prayers to God for her long "life? Whence comes this, Madam, ſays he, but of "the continual preaching of God's Word in that "City, whereby that people have been plentifully "inſtructed in their duty towards God and you? On "the contrary, what bred the rebellions in the "North? Was it not Papiſtry and ignorance of "God's Word, through want of often preaching? "And whereas it was thought, that the reading of "the godly Homilies might ſuffice; he acknowledged "it had its uſe, but was nothing comparable to the "office of preaching. That the Preacher could apply his ſpeech according to the difference of times, "places, and hearers, which could not be done in "Homilies. That exhortations, reprehenſions, and "perſuaſions were uttered with more affection to the "moving of the hearers in Sermons than in Homilies. Beſides the Homilies were deviſed in King "Edward's time only to ſupply neceſſity for want of "Preachers, and were by his ſtatute not to be preferred, but to give place to Sermons, whenever "they might be had. And laſtly, that they never "were thought in themſelves alone to contain ſufficient inſtruction for the Church of England." With regard to the ſecond point, concerning learned exerciſes and conferences amongſt the Miniſters, he wrote to her Majeſty, "that he had conferred with "divers of his brethren, the Biſhops, by letters, who "thought as he did, that it was a thing profitable to "the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And he hoped, that her Majeſty would alſo "think the ſame, when ſhe ſhould be informed of "the manner and order thereof, and what authority "they had from the Scripture; what uſe they were "of; and what inconveniences would follow, if they "ſhould be abſolutely taken away." Then he proceeded to give her an account of theſe *Exerciſes*, and obſerved, that many Biſhops, as of London, Wincheſter, Bath and Wells, Lichfield, Glouceſter, London, Chicheſter, Exeter, St. David's, had ſignified by letters to him the profit and advantage, which had accrued by theſe Exerciſes: particularly, "that the "Miniſters of the Church became more ſkilful and "ready in the Scriptures. That it reſtrained them "from idleneſs; and that ſome ſuſpected in doctrine "were brought to open confeſſion of the truth. That "ignorant Miniſters were induced to ſtudy, if not "for conſcience, yet for ſhame. That the opinion of "the Laymen concerning the ignorance of the Clergy "was removed. That nothing was ſo ſucceſsful in "demoliſhing of Popery. That where before there "were not three able Preachers, there were now "thirty qualified to preach at Paul's Croſs, and forty "or fifty beſides capable of inſtructing their own "Cures. That only men backward in Religion and "contemners of Learning ſet themſelves againſt thoſe "*Exerciſes*. That the diſſolution of them would occaſion the adverſary to triumph. That abuſes "might be reformed, and what was good be retained. That with regard to the inconvenience urged "by ſome, that one and the ſame place of Scripture "had divers ſenſes put upon it according to the various "underſtandings of the Miniſters; this appeared "worſe than it really was, if all the ſenſes were agreeable to the analogy of faith; ſince the antient

(16) Idem, ibid. pag. 219, 220.

(17) Ibid. pag. 220.

Church of Croyden, where a monument was erected to him. He left ſeveral charitable legacies [*M*]. He lived and died unmarried. He had a brother, whoſe name was Robert, and who, with his wife Elizabeth, and Edmund his only ſon, died, in 1567, leaving four daughters orphans; the ſecond of whom, *Anne*, married Will. Dacres, ſon of Richard Dacres Gent. (*dd*). The Archbiſhop had likewiſe ſeveral nieces by his ſiſter Elizabeth Woodhal. We ſhall give his character in the note [*N*]. He wrote *A Dialogue between Cuſtom and Truth*, printed in Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments* (*ee*); and "written, ſays Mr. Strype (*ff*), in a clear method and with much rational evidence, "againſt the *Real*, that is, the groſs and corporal preſence in the Sacrament." Mr. Fox conceals his name, and only ſignifies, "that it was written by a certain learned and "reverend perſon of this Realm, and who under the perſons of *Cuſtom* and *Verity* mani-"feſtly laid open before our eyes, and taught all men, not to meaſure Religion by "cuſtom, but to try cuſtom by truth and the word of God. For elſe cuſtom may ſoon "deceive, but the word of God abideth for ever." Our Author wrote this piece ſoon after

(*dd*) Idem, pag. 3.

(*ee*) Pag. 1263.

(*ff*) Pag. 313.

"Fathers and Doctors of the Church did the ſame, "and commonly expounded one text of Scripture di-"verſly, yet all to the good of the Church. That "he could not with a ſafe conſcience, and without "the offence of the Majeſty of God, give his aſſent "to the ſuppreſſing of theſe Exerciſes; much leſs "could he ſend out any injunction for the utter and "univerſal ſubverſion of the ſame." He then recommends to her Majeſty the two following petitions: "Firſt, that ſhe would refer all theſe Eccleſiaſtical "matters, which touched Religion, or the Doctrine "and Diſcipline of the Church, unto the Biſhops "and Divines of the Realm, according to the ex-"ample of all godly Chriſtian Emperors and Princes "of all ages. Secondly, that when ſhe dealt in mat-"ters of Faith and Religion, or that touch the "Church of Chriſt, which is his ſpouſe, bought with "ſo dear a price, ſhe would not pronounce ſo reſo-"lutely and peremptorily, *quaſi ex authoritate*, as "ſhe might do in civil and external matters; but al-"ways remember, that in God's cauſes the will of "God, and not the will of any earthly creature, is "to take place." Fuller has publiſhed this letter (18), but very incorrectly and imperfectly; and is miſtaken in aſſigning the time when it was written, which he is confident to have been in 1580, whereas it appears to have been written four years before, viz. in December 1576. And here we may correct him in one error more, which is, that he affirms, that about the time of writing of this letter, the Earl of Leiceſter took occaſion to quarrel with the Archbiſhop, and would have gotten Lambeth Houſe from him; and that this was indeed the reaſon of the Queen's diſpleaſure, the Earl having ſecretly exaſperated her Majeſty againſt him. But it appears that the Earl and Archbiſhop were then good friends, ſince the Archbiſhop made him deliverer of his letter to the Queen. However there was a conjecture, which was current ſince that time, that the Queen was provoked againſt our Prelate by that Earl, who had taken offence at him for denying to give a favourable ſentence in behalf of one Dr. Julio, the Earl's Phyſician, who had married another man's wife. This is related by Camden (19); who ſeems, ſays Mr. Strype (20) too lightly to have taken it up from the malicious Author of *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*, who ſays, that "this Archbiſhop's overthrow "was principally wrought by this Tyrant for contra-"rying his will in ſo baſe a command." In May 1577 the Queen ſent her Letters to the Biſhops to do what the Archbiſhop could not be perſuaded to do, viz. to forbid all *Exerciſes* and *Propheſyings*, and all Preachers and Teachers not lawfully called, of which there was no ſmall number. In June the Archbiſhop refuſing any compliance, which the Queen and ſeveral of the Lords in the Star-Chamber had required of him, the ſaid Lords confined him to his houſe, and ſequeſter'd him for ſix months. In the latter end of November the Lord Treaſurer wrote to him about making his ſubmiſſion, which he did not think fit to comply with; ſo that his ſequeſtration was continued; and in January following there were thoughts of depriving him; but this deſign was laid aſide (21).

(18) *Church Hiſtory of Britain*, B. 9. pag. 123.

(19) *Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth*, pag. 287. edit. 1675.

(20) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 224.

(21) Idem, ibid. pag. 230-239.

[*M*] *He left ſeveral charitable Legacies.*] He left by his laſt Will 30 *l. per ann.* for the maintenance of a free Grammar School at St. Beghes in Cumberland, where he was born. To Pembroke Hall in Cambridge 22 *l. per ann.* To Queen's College in Oxford 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per ann.* To Magdalen College in Cambridge for the maintenance of one Scholar 100 *l.* For the building and furniſhing of St. Beghes School 366 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* For the purchaſe of lands and other profits for the relief of the poor Alms-houſes in Croydon 50 *l.* For reparations of the Pariſh-Church there 5 *l.* (22).

(22) Idem, ibid. pag. 287, 288.

[*N*] *We ſhall give his character in the Note.*] Mr. Strype tells us (23), that he was of a mild and affable temper; a ſincere lover of Religion; a great Preacher; and zealous againſt Popery; that he provided the Church with Preachers, and endeavoured to make a learned Clergy. That he was a man of great firmneſs and reſolution, and not at all elated by his preferments. That *his zeal and affection to the State of the Reformed Church of England ſhewed itſelf, as upon every occaſion, ſo particularly in endeavouring to reclaim thoſe they ſtiled* Preciſians *and* Puritans, *who for ſome few ceremonies made a breach in Chriſtian Communion. For tho' his ſpirit was eaſy and complaiſant, and liked not rigour; yet when he ſaw that no other means would bring them to obedience, he approved of reſtraint, eſpecially of the Heads of the Faction, whom he ſtiled* fanatical *and* incurable (24). Camden ſtiles him *an excellent Divine* (25). Hollinſhed obſerves (26), that "this good man in his "life-time was ſo ſtudious, that his Book was his bride, "and his ſtudy his bride-chamber, whereupon he ſpent "both his eye-ſight, his ſtrength, and his health &c. "Of whom much might be ſpoken for others imita-"tion; but this ſhall ſuffice, that as his learning and "virtues were inſeparable companions, ſo the reward "of both is the good name, that he had left behind "him, as a monument perpetual." Mr. Thomas Rogers Chaplain to Archbiſhop Bancroft, in the *Preface* to his Book intitled, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion profeſſed and protected in the Realm*, printed in 1607, ſtiles Archbiſhop Grindal *a zealous Confeſſor and tried Soldier, and right famous and worthy Prelate*; and obſerves, that his *care was great to further the glory of God; but that thro' the envy and malice of his ill-willers his power was but ſmall; his place high, but himſelf made low through ſome diſgrace brought upon him by his potent adverſaries, which he meekly and patiently endured.* He remarks, that there were two inconveniencies, which our Archbiſhop's troubles and ſequeſtration occaſioned; the one, *the flocking of Jeſuits into the Kingdom*; the other, *the inſolence and boldneſs of the Home-Faction*; by which Mr. Rogers means the Puritans. Sir John Harington, who lived in theſe times of Queen Elizabeth, undertakes to give ſome ſtrictures of her Biſhops; but they are commonly, ſays Mr. Strype (27), *but light rumours of Court, and often idle and trifling*. Yet what Sir John ſays of Archbiſhop Grindal (28) points not to any miſgovernment of the Church; but whereas it was commonly ſaid, that he was blind ſome years before his death, Sir John would make a myſtery of it, telling us, that he was not blind, but that when Queen Elizabeth enjoined him to keep his houſe, his friends gave out that he was blind, and that he kept at home the better to conceal his puniſhment, which the Queen had laid upon him. "Very "likely, *ſays Mr. Strype* (29), had the report of his "blindneſs happened at the time that the Queen had "commanded his confinement; but he was not blind "till five years after at leaſt. And that he was then "blind, I have ſeen the ſubſcription of his name, that "evidently ſhews it to be written by a blind man.

(23) Ibid. pag. 255, *& ſeqq.*

(24) Ibid. pag. 302.

(25) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 30. edit. 1675.

(26) *Chron.* pag. 1354, a.

(27) Pag. 306.

(28) *Brief View of the State of the Church of England, as it ſtood in Q. Elizabeth's and K. James's Reign, to the year* 1608, edit. London 1653.

(29) Pag. 306.

"Some

after his return to England; and after he has explained thoſe words of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, he proceeds to produce divers paſſages out of the antient Biſhops and Doctors of the Church to confirm his interpretation.

" Some other paſſages he ventures to write of the " Archbiſhop ſo ſlight and improbable, that I ſhall " not repeat them. But this Author writes not one " word of his remiſsneſs in government or countenance " towards ſuch as oppoſed the conſtitutions of the " Church." Mr. Fuller appears to have been the firſt, who vented this notion concerning our Prelate. His accounts ſeem to be rather hear-ſays, than built upon any good authority, either of Records or Manuſcripts. He tells us (30), that Grindal was *generally condemned for remiſsneſs in parting with more from the See, than ever his ſucceſſors thanked him for.* Mr. Strype obſerves (31), that this is an hard charge, but ſpoken in general terms; and that if Fuller means exchanges with the Queen, Grindal and all the reſt of the Biſhops were obliged to make theſe exchanges by an Act, which paſt for that purpoſe in the beginning of her reign; but that he and two or three others of the firſt Elects wrote a private Letter to her Majeſty, and made a voluntary proffer of a large yearly equivalent to forbear making uſe of that power, which the Parliament had before given her. Fuller likewiſe ſpeaks (32) of ſome, " who ſtrained a parallel between *Eli* " and *Grindal*, in reſpect of his being guilty of dan- " gerous indulgence to offenders; and as a Father of " the Church, he was accuſed of too much conniving " at the factious diſturbers thereof." Mr. Strype vindicates the Archbiſhop from this charge (33). Dr. Heylin (34) ſpeaking of thoſe Engliſh Proteſtants, who in the beginning of our Reformation ſtood affected to the diſcipline of Geneva, writes, that they made uſe of Biſhop Grindal to bring about their purpoſes, by making him inſtrumental to the ſetting up of a Church in London for the French Proteſtant Refugees to worſhip God, according to the manner uſed in their own Reformed Churches at home. Dr. Heylin obſerves, that Calvin wrote a Letter of Thanks to Grindal for his favour in this point. There is a Letter indeed among Calvin's Epiſtles (35), whence Dr. Heylin took his account, dated May 15th 1560, the import of which is only this, that Calvin returned our Biſhop thanks for his care of the poor French Proteſtants, who had ſettled in London, by his obtaining for them a liberty from the Queen of worſhipping God purely, [i. e. without the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh Church,] and that they might have a faithful Miniſter of their own to preach God's word, and perform other miniſterial offices among them. And it appears, that to this civil Letter of Calvin the Biſhop wrote as reſpectful an Anſwer; and deſired him to recommend ſome fit Miniſter to that Congregation. And not long after Calvin ſent, by conſent, Nicholas Galaſius, to ſupply that place. T.

(30) *Church Hiſtory*, B. 9. pag. 130.

(31) Pag. 306.

(32) B. 9. pag. 163.

(33) *Life of Grindal*, pag. 306, 307.

(34) *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, pag. 305.

(35) *Epiſt. Calvini* 295.

☞GRONOVIUS (JOHN FREDERIC), a very learned Critic in the ſeventeenth Century, was born at Hamburg in the year 1613 [*A*], and having travelled through Germany, Italy, and France, was made Profeſſor of polite Learning at Daventer, and afterwards at Leyden, whither he removed in 1658. He publiſhed ſeveral works [*B*], and died at Leyden in December 1671. He had two ſons, both eminent in the Republic of Letters, JAMES GRONOVIUS, of whom we ſhall treat in the following article; and

[*A*] *Born . . . about the year* 1613.] We are informed by Jo. Klefeker (1), that he was twenty four years of age, when he publiſhed his *Diatribe in Statii Poetæ Sylvas* in 1637.

(1) *Bibliotheca Eruditorum Præcocium, ſive ad ſcripta hujus Argumenti Spicilegium & Acceſſiones*, pag. 111. edit. Hamburgi 1717.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] Beſides his Edition of Caſaubon's Epiſtles, printed at the Hague 1638 in 4to, he publiſhed the following Works. I. *Diatribe in Statii Poetæ Sylvas.* Hague 1637 in 8vo. This being attacked by *Emeric Crucæus*, who under the name of *Mercurius Frondator* publiſh'd an *Anti-Diatribe* at Paris 1639 in 24°, Gronovius publiſh'd, II. *Elenchus Anti-Diatribes Mercurii Frondatoris ad Statii Sylvas.* Paris 1640 in 8vo. To which he added a *Letter of Salmaſius.* This occaſioned Crucæus to publiſh *Muſcarium ad Statii Sylvas*, Paris 1640 in 8vo. III. *De Seſtertiis, ſive ſubſecivorum Pecuniæ veteris Græcæ & Romanæ Libri IV. Acceſſerunt Lucius Voluſius Mæcianus, J. C. & Balbus Menſor de Aſſe. &c.* Daventer 1643 in 8vo. Amſterdam 1656 in 8vo, and Leyden 1691 in 4to, in which laſt Edition, publiſhed by his ſon James Gronovius, are added *Paſchaſii Groſippi* (i. e. *Caſparis Schioppii*) *Tabulæ Numerariæ; Johannis Freder. Gronovii Mantiſſa pecuniæ veteris, & tres* Ἀντιξηγήσεις *de Fœnere Unciario & centeſimis Uſuris; item de Hyperpyro; Salmaſii Epiſtola & ad eam Reſponſio; & Λογαριϰὴ Παλαιὰ ϰ᾽ Νέα, Græcè & Latinè.* IV. *Notæ in Senecam Philoſophum & Rhetorem*; firſt printed ſeparately at Leyden 1649 in 12mo, and afterwards reprinted in the Elzevir Edition of *Seneca cum Notis Variorum*, 1673, in three volumes in 8vo. V. *Monobiblos Eccleſiaſticarum Obſervationum*, 1651 in 12mo. VI. *Obſervationum Lib. IV.* Daventer 1652 in 12mo. VII. *Statius ex recenſione J. F. Gronovii, cum ejuſdem Notis.* Amſterdam 1653. Thomas Reineſius in a Letter to Chriſtian Daumius (2) ſpeaks thus of this Edition: *Valde me delectarunt Notæ tam accuratæ & in pondere non magno ſatis ponderoſæ viri ad reſtituendum genuinum auctoris ſenſum peculiari quopiam genio nati, a Charitibuſque educati.* Our Author's Notes were reprinted in the Edition of Statius publiſhed *cum Notis Variorum* by John Veenhuſius at Leyden 1671 in 8°. And Statius as reviſed by him was publiſhed by Chriſtian Daumius with the Commentaries of Barthius in 2 vol. in 4°, at Zwickaw in 1664. VIII. *Senecæ Tragœdiæ cum Notis Johannis Frederici Gronovii & variis aliorum.* Leyden 1661 in 8vo. His Notes were reprinted with improvements in the Edition of Seneca's Tragedies publiſhed by his ſon James Gronovius at Amſterdam 1682 in 8vo, under the following title: *L. Annæi Senecæ Tragœdiæ cum Notis Joh. Frederici Gronovii, auctis ex Chirographo ejus & variis aliorum.* IX. *Obſervationum Libri tres.* Leyden 1662 in 8vo. X. *Plautus ex recenſione Joh. Fred. Gronovii, cum Notis Variorum.* Leyden 1664 and 1684 in 8vo. Dr. Richard Bentley in his *Emendationes in Menandri Reliquias* (3) obſerves, that our Author did not ſufficiently underſtand the meaſures of *Verſus ſenarii.* XI. *Titus Livius ex recenſione & cum Notis Joh. Frid. Gronovii, additis integris Caroli Sigonii & ſelectis Variorum Notis.* Amſterdam 1665 and 1679 in 8vo, three volumes; which laſt Edition of 1679 is preferable to the former, on account of the Notes of Henry Valeſius and James Gronovius, which were added to it. Our Author had publiſhed an Edition of Livy reviſed by him at Leyden 1645 and 1654 in three volumes in 12mo, and in 1661 and 1678 in one volume in 12mo. His Notes upon Livy were printed ſeparately at Leyden 1645 in 12mo, which Reineſius having read, wrote thus to Rupertus (4): *Ut ad ſolem luna, ſic ad Gronovium Sigonius viſus eſt diſparere.* But ſeveral things in his Notes in this Edition of 1645 are omitted in the larger Editions of 1675 and 1679. XII. *Plinii Hiſtoria Naturalis ex recenſione Johannis Frederici Gronovii, & cum ejuſdem & Variorum Commentariis & Annotationibus.* Leyden 1669 in 8vo three volumes. Father Harduin ſays of our Author's Notes that " he could not wiſh " his own conjectures and emendations happier than " thoſe of Gronovius." XIII. *Tacitus ex recenſione & cum Notis Johannis Frederici Gronovii & Variorum.* Amſterdam 1673, two volumes in 8vo. This edition was reprinted at Amſterdam 1685, in two volumes in 8vo, under the following title: *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera, quæ extant, integris J. Lipſii, Rhenani, Urſini, Mureti, Pichenæ, Merceri, Gruteri, Acidalii, Grotii, Freinſhemii, & ſelectis aliorum Commentariis illuſtrata. Joh. Fred. Gronovius recenſuit, & ſuas Notas paſſim adjecit. Accedunt Jacobi Gronovii Excerpta ex variis Lectionibus MS. Oxonienſis.* XIV. *Notæ in Hugonis Grotii Libros tres de Jure Belli & Pacis.* Amſterdam 1680 in 8vo.

(2) Pag. 152.

(3) Pag. 54.

(4) Reineſii *Epiſt.* pag. 604.

and LAURENCE THEODORE GRONOVIUS, who died young, and publiſhed *Emendationes Pandectarum juxta Florentinum Exemplar examinatarum*, Leyden 1685 in 8vo. And wrote a Vindication of the *Marble Baſe of the Coloſſus erected in honour of Tiberius Cæſar*, printed at Leyden 1697 in fol. and reprinted in James Gronovius's *Theſaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum*, Tome 7.

Theſe Notes were reprinted afterwards in ſeveral of Grotius's Work. XV. *Obſervationes ad Bened. Paulini Petrocorii de Vitâ B. Martini Carminum Libros ſex*, publiſhed in Chriſtian Daumius's Edition of Petrocorius with his own Notes and thoſe of Francis Juretus and Caſpar Barthius, at Leipſic 1682 in 8vo. XVI. *Auli Gellii Noctes Atticæ cum Notis & Emendationibus Joannis Frederici Gronovii*. Leyden 1687 in 8vo. His Notes are reprinted in his ſon's Edition of Gellius *cum Notis variorum*, at Leyden 1706. XVII. *Notæ in Phædri Fabulas*, publiſhed by his ſon James in the Edition of Phædrus printed at Leyden 1703 in 8vo, under the following title; *Phædri Fabulæ cum Joan. Fred. Gronovii & Jacobi Gronovii Notis & Nicolai Diſpontini collectaneis.* XVIII. *De Muſæo Alexandrino Diſſertatio*, inſerted in the *Theſaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum*, by James Gronovius. XIX. *Oratio de Lege regiâ, pro Concione quum Faſces Academicos ſecundum deponeret, recitata die ſolenni VIII Feb. MDCLXXI.* Leyden 1678. A Tranſlation of this in French was publiſhed by Monſr. Barbeyrac with Noodt's Treatiſe upon *Liberty of Conſcience*, at Amſterdam 1714 in 8vo. A great many of his Letters are publiſhed by Burman in the *Sylloge Epiſtolarum*, printed at Leyden in five volumes in 4to. T.

☞GRONOVIUS (JAMES), one of the moſt learned men of his age [*A*], and ſon of the preceding, was born October the 20th 1645 at Daventer in the Province of Overiſſel, where he learned the elements of the Latin tongue. His father removing to Leyden

[*A*] *One of the moſt learned men of his age.*] This appears from his writtings, a Catalogue of which is as follows: I. *Macrobius cum ſuis & Variorum Notis.* Leyden 1670 in 8vo. London 1694 in 8vo. II. *Polybius cum ſuis ac ineditis Caſauboni, utriuſq; Valeſii & Palmerii Notis, Græce & Latine.* Amſterdam 1670 two Volumes in 8vo. III. *Cornelius Tacitus cum ſuis & Variorum Notis.* Amſterdam 1672 in 8vo. two Volumes. *Editio ſecunda*, Amſterdam 1685 in 8vo. *Editio tertia*, Utrecht 1721 in 4to. two Volumes. This laſt edition is greatly enlarged by *Abraham Gronovius*, ſon of our Author, with his own notes as well as thoſe left him by his father. IV. *Supplementa Lacunarum in Æneâ Tactico, Dione Caſſio, & Arriano.* Leyden 1675 in 8vo. V. *Diſſertationes Epiſtolicæ.* Amſterdam 1678 in 8vo. This work turns upon the criticiſm and correction of Authors, which was the peculiar talent of Gronovius. What he ſaid relating to Livy occaſioned a warm conteſt between him and Raphael Fabretti, who having attacked ſome of his corrections in his book *De Aquis & Aquæductibus veteris Romæ*, printed at Rome in 1680, Gronovius anſwered him in a book intituled, VI. *Reſponſio ad Cavillationes Raphaelis Fabretti.* Leyden 1685 in 8vo. Fabretti is treated in this piece with great ſeverity; but he made repriſals in a defence of himſelf, which he publiſhed under the name of *Jaſitheus*; *Jaſithei ad Gronovium Apologema, in ejuſque Titivilitia ſeu de Tito Livio ſomnia Animadverſiones.* Naples 1686 in 4to. VII. *Fragmentum Stephani Byzantini Grammatici de Dodone, cum triplici nuperâ Latinâ verſione & Academicis Exercitationibus Jacobi Gronovii.* Leyden 1681 in 4to. VIII. *Henrici Valeſii Notæ & Animadverſiones in Harpocrationem & Philippi Mauſſaci Notas. Ex Bibliotheca Guilielmi Pruſteau, Anteceſſoris Aurelianenſis.* Leyden 1682 in 4to. Gronovius publiſhed theſe Notes of Valeſius, which were reprinted the year following in *Harpocrationis Lexicon decem Oratorum, cum Latinâ verſione, & Philippi Jacobi Mauſſaci ac Henrici Valeſii Notis editum a Nicolao Blancardo.* Leyden 1683 in 4to. IX. *L. Annæi Senecæ Tragœdiæ cum Notis Johannis Frederici Gronovii, auctis ex Chirographo ejus, & variis aliorum.* Amſterdam 1682 in 12mo. John Frederic Gronovius had publiſhed an edition of Seneca in 1661, and was preparing a ſecond edition when he died; upon which his ſon James Gronovius ſupplied what was wanting, and publiſhed that edition. X. *Jacobi Gronovii Exercitationes Academicæ de Pernicie & Caſu Judæ τῦ Προδότυ.* Leyden 1683 in 4to. Our Author endeavouring to reconcile the accounts of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* concerning the death of Judas, is of opinion, that Judas ſtrangled himſelf, and afterwards being caſt into the Place, which was the receptacle of the Faith, and falling upon the points of the Rocks there, burſt aſunder. This Tract was attacked by Joachim Feller, who being diſpleaſed to ſee ſo many learned men treated with contempt by our Author, publiſhed under the name of *Francis Dermaſius* a Letter entitled, *De intolerabili Faſtu quorundam Criticorum, ſpeciatim Jacobi Gronovii.* Leipſic 1687 in 4to. Gronovius in a ſecond edition of his Tract printed at Leyden in 1702 in 4to defended himſelf againſt Feller in a manner which ſhewed his impatience of contradiction, and at the ſame time fell upon James Perizonius, who in his notes upon *Ælian's Varia Hiſtoria*, printed at Leyden 1701 in 8vo, had given a Greek word a ſenſe, which did not favour what he had aſſerted concerning Judas. Perizonius returning an anſwer under the title of *Diſſertatio de Morte Judæ & verbo ἀπάγχεσθαι, in quâ explicantur & conciliantur loca Matt. xxvii. 5. & Lucæ Actor. I. 18. ac vindicantur quæ ad Æliani variam Hiſtoriam 5. 8. erant notata.* Leyden 1702 in 8vo. Gronovius publiſhed, XI. *Notitia & Illuſtratio Diſſertationis nuperæ de morte Judæ & verbo ἀπάγχεσθαι.* Leyden, 1703 in 4to. Perizonius upon this publiſhed *Reſponſio ad nuperam Notitiam de variis Æliani aliorumque Auctorum locis*, Leyden, 1703 in 8vo. and *Reſponſio ſecunda ad Notitiam ſecundam de Lucæ Actorum I. 18. & variis Æliani aliorumque Auctorum locis.* Leyden 1703 in 8vo. This diſpute growing very ſharp, tho' upon no very important ſubject, the Curators of the Univerſity of Leyden interpoſed, and commanded both Parties to put an end to it. XII. *Caſtigationes ad Paraphraſim Græcam Enchiridii Epicteti ex Codice Mediceo.* Delft 1683 in 8vo. XIII. *Diſſertatio de Origine Romuli recitata 23 die Octobris, cum alterum ſtationis ſuæ quinquennium commendaret*, Leyden 1684 in 8vo. In this oration he treats as fabulous what is commonly ſaid concerning the origin of Romulus and Remus, and the Wolf which nurſed them. XIV. *Gemmæ & ſculpturæ antiquæ depictæ a Leonardo Auguſtino Senenſi, additâ earum Enarratione, in Latinum verſa a J. Gronovio.* Amſterdam 1685 in 4to. Franeker 1694 in 4to. Leonardus Auguſtinus of Sienna wrote a deſcription of theſe Antiquities in Italian, which Gronovius has here tranſlated into Latin, and prefixed a very learned Preface. XV. *Pomponii Melæ Libri III. de ſitu Orbis, recenſiti & illuſtrati.* Leyden 1685 in 8vo. Gronovius ſeems to have publiſhed this work, to which he has not prefixed his name, merely to fall upon Iſaac Voſſius, and attack his obſervations on that Author, which had been printed at the Hague in 1658. Voſſius having vindicated himſelf in an *Appendix* to his *Obſervationes ad Melam*, printed at London 1686 in 4to, Gronovius wrote a reply under the title of, XVI. *Epiſtola de Argutiolis Iſaaci Voſſii.* 1687 in 8vo. We may imagine, that he did not ſpare his Antagoniſt in this Letter. But this is nothing in compariſon of the fury with which he attacked him in a new edition, which he publiſhed of Pomponius Mela in 1696 at Leyden in 8vo. This edition, beſides the Extracts of the Coſmography of *Julius* and *Honorius*,

Leyden in 1658, our Author profecuted his ſtudies in that Univerſity, and made a prodigious progreſs in polite Literature. He applied himſelf likewiſe to the ſtudy of the Civil Law. About the year 1670 he went over to England, and viſited the Univerſities of

Honorius, and that aſcribed to *Æthicus*, which were inſerted in the former edition, contains the *anonymous Geographer of Ravenna*. XVII. *Epiſtola ad Johannem Georgium Græviuм V. Cl. de Pallacopâ, ubi Deſcriptio ejus ab Arriano facta liberatur ab Iſaaci Voſſii fruſtrationibus*. Leyden 1686 in 8vo. XVIII. *Notæ ad Lucianum*, printed in Grævius's edition of Lucian in two Volumes. Amſterdam 1686 in 8vo. XIX. *Variæ Lectiones & Notæ in Stephanum Byzantinum de Urbibus* : inſerted in the edition of that Author publiſhed by *Abraham Berkelius* at Leyden 1688 in fol. XX. *Cebetis Thebani Tabula Græcè & Latinè multis in locis reſtituta ex MSS. Codicibus, unde etiam Græca in fine repoſita ab Jacobo Gronovio, cujus accedunt Notæ & Emendationes*. Amſterdam 1689 in 8vo. XXI. *Auli Gellii Noctes Atticæ cum Notis & Emendationibus Johannis Fredericii Gronovii*. Leyden 1687, 8vo, 1706 in 4to. John Frederic Gronovius had publiſhed an edition of this Author in 1651. His ſon James added ſome remarks in the edition of 1687. But that of 1706 is much larger and more beautiful. XXII. *M. T. Ciceronis Opera quæ extant omnia, cum integris Notis Jani Gruteri, ex recenſione Jacobi Gronovii adjectis ejuſdem Notis*. Leyden 1692, four volumes in 4to, and eleven in 12mo. XXIII. *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum geſtarum, qui de XXXI. ſuperſunt Libri XVIII. ope MSS. Codicum ab Frederico Lindenbrogio & Henrico Valeſio, cum eorundem integris obſervationibus & annotationibus. Item Excerpta vetera de Geſtis Conſtantini & Regum Italiæ. Omnia nunc recognita ab Jacobo Gronovio*. Leyden, 1693 in fol. & 4to. XXIV. *Johannis Frederici Gronovii de Seſtertiis ſeu ſubſicivarum Pecuniæ veteris Græcæ & Romanæ Libri IV*. &c. Leyden 1691 in 4to. James Gronovius publiſhed this work of his Father, and made ſeveral additions to it. XXV. *De Icunculâ Smetianâ quâ Harpocratem indigitarunt*. Leyden 1693 in 4to. XXVI. *Memoria Coſſoniana id eſt, Danielis Coſſonii Vita breviter deſcripta, cui annexa nova Editio veteris Monumenti Ancyrani emendatior & auctior cum Notis J. Gronovii, & inſcriptionibus nonnullis ab eodem Coſſonio collectis*, Leyden 1695 in 4to. XXVII. *Abrahami Gorlæi Dactylotheca cum Explicationibus Jacobi Gronovii*. Leyden 1695 in 4to. XXVIII. *Harpocrationis de Vocibus Liber, cum notis & obſervationibus Jacobi Gronovii. Accedit Diatribe Henrici Stephani ad locos Iſocrateos*. Leyden 1696 in 4to. XXIX. *Oratio de primis Incrementis Urbis Lugduni & appellatione ejuſdem, habita die* 14 *Novembris* 1696, *notis quibuſdam illuſtrata*. Leyden 1696 in 4to. XXX. *Theſaurus Græcarum Antiquitatum*. Leyden thirteen volumes in fol. 1697 &c. This Collection is very curious, tho' all the pieces inſerted in it are not equally valuable. Gronovius cannot be ſufficiently commended for having undertaken this work after the example of Grævius, who publiſhed a Body of the Roman Antiquities. Laurent Beger having found ſome things to object to in the three firſt volumes of this Work publiſhed at Berlin 1702 in fol. *Colloquii quorundam de tribus primis Theſauri Antiquitatum Græcarum voluminibus ad eorum Auctorem Relatio, amico Dulodori* (1) *calamo eum in finem ſcripta & publicata, ut juſtæ defenſioni locus detur, tantique operis dignitas diſcuſſis utrinque dubiorum nebulis eo clarius pateſcat*. XXXI. *Geographica antiqua, hoc eſt, Scylacis Periplus Maris Mediterranei ; Anonymi Periplus Mæotidis Paludis & Ponti Euxini ; Agathemeri Hypotypoſis Geographiæ. Omnia Græco-Latina. Anonymi Expoſitio totius Mundi Latina. Cum Notis Iſaaci Voſſii, Jacobi Palmerii, Samuelis Tennulii. Edente Jacobo Gronovio, cujus accedunt Emendationes*. Leyden 1697 in 4to. XXXII. *Appendix ad Geographiam antiquam, quâ continetur Examen Diſſertationis Dodwellianæ de Scylacis Ætate, & excerptum ex Ephoro, antiquo Hiſtoriarum Scriptore*. Leyden 1699 in 4to. XXXIII. *Manethonis Apoteleſmaticorum Libri ſex, nunc primum ex Bibliothecâ Mediceâ eruti, curâ Jacobi Gronovii, qui etiam Latinè vertit ac notas adjecit*. Leyden 1698 in 4to. Manetho the Egyptian in this Greek Poem treats of the influence, which the Stars preſiding at the birth of men have upon their actions. It is addreſſed to Ptolemy King of Egypt. XXXIV. *De duobus Lapidibus in agro Duyvenvoordienſi repertis*. Leyden 1696 in 4to. XXXV. *Rycquius de Capitolio Romano, cum Notis Gronovii*. Leyden 1696 in 8vo. XXXVI. *Q. Curtius cum Gronovii & Variorum Notis*. Amſterdam 1696 in 8vo. XXXVII. *Suetonius a Salmaſio recenſitus cum Emendationibus J. Gronovii*. Leyden 1698 in 12mo. XXXVIII. *Phædri Fabulæ cum Joan. Fred. Gronovii & Jac. Gronovii Notis & Nicolai Diſpontini collectaneis*. Leyden 1703 in 8vo. James Gronovius having treated *M. Gudius* with great ſeverity in this Edition, *John Chriſtopher Wolfius* vindicated him in his Edition of *Phædrus* printed in 1709. XXXIX. *Arriani Nicomedienſis Expeditionis Alexandri Libri ſeptem, & Hiſtoria Indica. Operâ Jacobi Gronovii*. Leyden 1704 in fol. This Edition is a very beautiful one ; and Gronovius diſplays in it the ſame extent of learning, which he does in all his other Writings. But he is very ſevere upon all the men of learning, who are not of his opinion. XL. *Minutii Felicis Octavius cum integris Variorum Notis ex recenſione Jac. Gronovii. Accedunt Cæcilius Cyprianus de Idolorum Vanitate, & Julius Firmicus Maternus de Errore profanarum Religionum*. Leyden 1709 in 8vo. XLI. *Infamia Emendationum in Menandri Reliquias nuper editarum. Trajecti ad Rhenum, auctore Phileleuthero Lipſienſi. Accedit Reſponſio M. Lucilii Profuturi ad Epiſtolam Caii Veracii Philellenis, quæ extat parte IX Bibliothecæ ſelectæ Jo. Clerici*. Leyden 1710 in 12mo. In this Book he attacks Dr. Richard Bentley, who had aſſumed the name of *Phileleutherus Lipſienſis*, and Monſr. le Clerc, who had publiſh'd an Edition of the Fragments of Menander and Philander, and to whom he aſcribes the Letter inſerted in the *Bibliotheque choiſie*, which he animadverts upon. XLII. *Decreta Romana & Aſiatica pro Judæis ad cultum divinum per Aſiæ Minoris urbes ſecure obeundum, a Joſepho collecta in Libro XIV Archæologiæ, ſed male interverſa & expuncta, in publicam lucem reſtituta. Accedunt Suidæ aliquot loca a vitiis purgata a J. Gronovio*. Leyden 1711 in 8vo. The Notes on *Suidas* are levelled againſt Ludolfus Kuſter, who had publiſhed an Edition of Suidas at Cambridge 1705 in three volumes in fol. and who wrote in vindication of himſelf. *Diatriba L. K. in quâ Editio Suidæ Cantabrigienſis contra Cavillationes Jacobi Gronovii Ariſtarchi Leydenſis defenditur :* inſerted in the 24th Tome of the *Bibliotheque choiſie*, p. 49, and printed ſeparately in 12mo. There was likewiſe a new Edition with Additions publiſhed at Amſterdam 1712 in 8vo under the title of *Diatriba Anti-Gronoviana*. XLIII. *Ludibria malevola Clerici, vel Proſcriptio pravæ Mercis ac Mentis praviſſimæ, quam exponit in Minutio Felice Joannes Clericus Tom.* 24. *Bibliothecæ ſelectæ*. Leyden 1712 in 8vo. XLIV. *Recenſio brevis Mutilationum, quas patitur Suidas in Editione nuperâ Cantabrigiæ anni* 1705, *ubi varia ejus Auctoris loca perperam intellecta illuſtrantur, emendantur, & ſupplentur*. Leyden 1713 in 8vo. XLV. *Severi Sancti, id eſt, Endeleichii Rhetoris de Mortibus Boum Carmen ab Eliâ Vineto & Petro Pithœo ſervatum, cum Notis Job. Weitzii & Wolfgangi Seberi*. Leyden 1715 in 8vo. Our Author publiſhed this Work, and added a Preface, tho' without his name. XLV. *Herodoti Halicarnaſſei Hiſtoriarum Libri IX. Græcè & Latinè cum Interpretatione Laurentii Vallæ ex Codice Mediceo, cum Notis Jac. Gronovii*. Leyden 1715 in fol. This Edition had not the general approbation of learned men, who diſcovered very groſs errors in it. The Reader may ſee upon this ſubject a piece of *Kuſter*, intitled, *Examen Criticum Editionis noviſſimæ Herodoti Gronovianæ*, inſerted in the 5th tome of Monſr. le Clerc's *Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne*, p. 383. and another of *Stephen Bergler* in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic for the year 1716 p. 201, 337, and 417. Gronovius in this Edition has attacked in the moſt furious manner ſeveral of the greateſt men in the Republic of Letters, particularly Laurentius Valla, Æmilius Portus, Henry Stephens, Holſtenius, Dr. Thomas Gale, Ezechiel Spanheim, Salmaſius, Iſaac Voſſius, Tanaquil Faber, John le Clerc, Kuſter, Bochart, Grævius, &c. He had a very extenſive correſpondence with the men of learning in Europe. The following Letter of his to Dr. Thomas Gale was communicated by the very learned Roger Gale Eſq;.

" Galeo ſuo Gronovius S. P. & Officia,
" Nihil jucundius, nihil gratius mihi ad Aures acci-
" dere poſſit quam de te aliquid, præſertim ſi fauſtum

(1) This is the name, which *Beger* aſſumed.

of Oxford and Cambridge, conſulting the curious manuſcripts, and forming an acquaintance with ſeveral great men there, particularly Dr. Pocock, Dr. John Pearſon, and Dr. Meric Caſaubon, who died in his arms. After ſome months ſtay in England, he returned to Leyden, and began to prepare an edition of Polybius. In 1670 the City of Deventer offered him the place of Profeſſor Hogerſius, which he refuſed, though Hogerſius, in order to engage him to accept it, offered to continue in his poſt, till Gronovius had finiſhed his travels. In his journey to France he viſited the principal Cities of Brabant and Flanders. Upon his arrival at Paris, the reputation of his father and his own merit ſoon made him known, and he contracted a friendſhip with Monſieur Chapelain, d'Herbelot, Thevenot, and ſeveral other learned men. But the pleaſure which he enjoyed at Paris, was interrupted by the death of his father, which happened in December 1671. He went from thence in the ſpring of the year 1672 to attend Mr. Paets, Embaſſador Extraordinary from the States General to the Court of Spain. From that Kingdom he went to Italy, and ſtopped in Tuſcany, where the Grand Duke received him with great civility. Among other marks of eſteem, that Prince choſe him to one of the vacant Profeſſorſhips at Piſa, vacant by the death of the learned Chimentel, with a very conſiderable ſtipend. Gronovius had there for his collegue Henry Noris, who was afterwards Cardinal. From Piſa he frequently went to Florence to viſit Magliabecchi, to whom he owed his poſt, and to conſult the Manuſcripts in the Medicean Library. After he had reſided two years in Tuſcany, he departed to Venice and Padua; and having paſſed through Germany arrived ſafe at Leyden, from whence he went ro Deventer, in order to take poſſeſſion of an eſtate left him by James Tennuil, his mother's father, and to apply himſelf intirely to his ſtudies. He was engaged in reviſing Livy, when in the year 1679 he was invited by the Curators of Leyden to a Profeſſorſhip in that Univerſity; which he accepted. His inaugural Oration was ſo highly approved of, that the Curators immediately, with an unanimous conſent, added four hundred florins to his ſtipend; and this augmentation continued to his death. The Univerſity of Padua ſoon after offered him the place of Ottavio Ferrari; but he was too much attached to his country to accept of it. In 1696 he was invited to Kiel in the Duchy of Holſtein, by Prince Frederic Duke of Sleſwic, who offered him a very conſiderable ſtipend; but he excuſed himſelf from accepting of it. In 1698 the Embaſſadors of Venice at the Hague made him noble offers to engage him to remove to Padua; but he could not be induced to quit Leyden. In 1702 he was appointed Geographer of that Univerſity, and his ſalary was augmented as it had been done to Philip Cluverius. He was engaged in a new edition of Tacitus, when he loſt the youngeſt of his daughters September the 12th 1716. This loſs touched him ſo ſenſibly, that a few days after he fell ſick with regret, and died October the 21ſt following, after eleven days illneſs, being ſeventy one years of age (*a*). He left two ſons, the elder of whom is a Phyſician, and the younger, whoſe name is Abraham, is Profeſſor of Hiſtory at Utrecht, and eminent for his Learning. The ſeverity with which our Author treated other great men, who differed from him, expoſed him to the juſt cenſure of all perſons of humane and generous minds, and occaſioned him to be compared to Schioppius for the virulency of his ſtyle (*b*).

(*a*) See *Acta Eruditorum, Anni MDCCXVII,* pag. 189, 190. *Nouvelles Liter.* du 21 Novemb. 1716. *Hiſt. Critique de la Republique des Lettres,* tom. 13. pag. 391.

(*b*) See *Joann. Kleſtkeri Bibliotheca Eruditorum præcocium, ſive ad ſcripta hujus argumenta ſpicilegium & acceſſiones,* pag. 116. edit. Hamburgi 1717. *Menckenius de Charlatana Eruditorum,* pag. 40. and *Acta Eruditorum Anni* 1703, pag. 15.

GROPPER

" ac venuſtum ſit, audire; nec ſi quid te mihi impo-
" natur, onus illud, ſed debitum tibi, & honorem me-
" um me interpretari, & voluptati eſſe non modicæ,
" ſicubi notitiæ noſtræ aliquid præſtandi detur mihi
" opportunitas, ſemper teſtatus ſum; & ſi in eo adhuc
" confirmari deberes, nunc multis facerem, niſi diſceſ-
" ſionis prohiberet anguſtia. Quin ſolus id fatebitur
" *Jamblichus* (de hoc enim maximè agatur) quem ſi-
" mul ac regalium librorum copia mihi data eſſet,
" meis omnibus relictis, ut diligentiſſimè potui in illis
" locis quos nominâras, & inſpexi, & ubi partem ali-
" quam ſuppleſſem, tibi tranſmiſi, quam & te accepiſ-
" ſe jam mihi ſignificas. Neque ſanè hunc tuis uti-
" litatibus ſerviendi curſum interrupiſſem, ſi quid a-
" liud illic expediendum aut præſenti mandaviſſes, aut
" ita vigilare voluiſſes, ut poſt acceptas *Jamblichi* la-
" cunas, mihi id literæ ſtatim tuæ indicarent, quod
" quidem, niſi fallor, tum à te petii, & facilè factum
" fuerit, quum jam tres menſes ab eo tempore præ-
" terierint, & manſionem meam tibi diſtinctiſſimè
" ſignificarim. Poſtquam in hoc voluntati tuæ ſatis à
" me factum putarem, volui *Plauudis* verſionem Græ-
" cam commenti *Macrobiani in Somnium Scipionis,* quod
" mihi forte occurrebat, raptim deſcribere; non quod
" eam labore hoc dignum putarem, quippe in quâ
" nihil ſingularis doctrinæ abſconditum facilè ſcirem,
" ſed ut mihi placerem volenti noſſe quî loca ea, quæ
" nuper notâram, Planudis tempore fuiſſent lecta.
" Vix unum Libro iſto diem uſus ſum, quum Præfec-
" tus negavit licere ullo extraneo librum MS. qui nun-
" quam impreſſus fuerit, deſcribere, & ſic ejus ulterio-
" rem uſum mihi adimit. Nolo apud te in hunc ho-
" minem invehere; tantum ſcias ex eo die non modo
" fugi, vitavique conſpectum ac memoriam hominis
" ejus ac loci, ſed ſimul omnium quæcunque in hac
" urbe prius me demerebantur, odium me ac faſtidium
" cepit vehementiſſimum; & nunc nihil aliud quam à
" Patre meo contendo, ne hanc hyemem me hic facere
" faciat. Tu exiſtimes quod libet; ego inter maxi-
" mas ægritudines meas numerabo tam pulchro me tibi
" approbandi tempore non licere mihi frui, vel ob ſi-
" lentium tuum diuturnum, vel ob inſcitiam imperiti
" cuſtodis. Quippe quum negaret integri deſcribendi
" facultatem, conferendi alicujus moleſtiam nolui pro
" me ſuſcipere, ſatius exiſtimans aut plenum accipere
" beneficium, aut ob excerptam aliquam diverſam lec-
" tionem homini huic me non obligare. Nihil igitur
" ſecus de me cogites obteſtor. Hæc ſcripſi quum eſ-
" ſem in ſumma expectatione Parentis mei Literarum,
" ut, ubi mihi eſſet hyemandum, ſcirem. Quouſque
" in locis *Jamblichi* ſupplendis venerim oblitus ſum;
" propterea a principio omnes hic Emendationes ſub-
" notavi. Vale, obſervande Gali, & Συνθιασώτας tuos,
" ac imprimis longe mihi reverendiſſimum D. *Pearſo-*
" *num* peramenter à me ſaluta. Pariſiis die XII Sep-
" tembris 1671.

" Noſtin' à *Scutellio* hanc ipſam *Jamblichi* operam
" Latinè verſam prodiiſſe Venetiis anno 1546? Id
" mihi *Bullialdus* dixit. Si ad hæc mihi aliquid ſigni-
" ficare velis, inſcribe literas tuas eodem modo quo
" nunc; licet abſim, benè curabuntur.

" Hoc ipſum *Jamblichi* opus jam longè ante de-
" ſcripſerat ſibi *Iſmael Bullialdus.* Id quum viderem,
" rogavi illum, nihilne ſciret de *Porphyrii* Epiſtola,
" aut de Teſtimonii Scriptore? Sed reſpondit, planè
" nihil. *Tenulium* audio in Angliam tranſiiſſe paulo
" ante Ferias Caniculares: an tibi non adfuit?"

T.

GROPPER (JOHN) Archdeacon of Colen in the ſixteenth Century, and created Cardinal by Pope Paul IV. See his Article in Moreri, and add, that he was greatly offended at Sleidan, for endeavouring to bring him under a ſuſpicion of favouring the Lutheran principles [*A*].

[*A*] *He was greatly offended at Sleidan, for endeavouring to bring him under a ſuſpicion of favouring the Lutheran Principles.*] Sleidan affirms (1), that Gropper had always recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms Martin Bucer to Herman de Wida Archbiſhop of Cologne, who made uſe of Bucer for eſtabliſhing of the reformation in his Dominions, Anno 1543. But as Gropper threw obſtacles in the way of it, Sleidan endeavours to make him paſs for a Deſerter, who after having carried on an amicable correſpondence with that Miniſter, had oppoſed him very ſtrongly. *Hujus libri* (2) *fuit author, ut aiunt, & architectus, Gropperus. Nam is, etſi Bucero fuerat admodum familiaris ante biennium in commitio Ratisbonæ, quamquam inde domum reverſus, vehementer eum non Archiepiſcopo tantùm, ſed paſſim apud omnes prædicaverat, licet crebras ad eum dediſſet & amiciſſimas literas: tamen, quum res in eum eſſet deducta caſum, ab ejus amicitia ſe totum avertit, & principe relicto, cui fortunam omnem debebat, in adverſariorum caſtra tranſiit* (3). I ſhall now cite a Copiſt of Surius, to ſhew Gropper's Reſentment, " *Sleidan* — would make us believe that ... " John Gropper was a Heretic, and had ever greatly " commended and eſteemed Martin Bucer. But this " very laudable man ſhowed plainly, that what was " ſaid of him was mere Calumny, in a book dedicated " by him to the Emperor Charles V. And he likewiſe " declares in another place, that Sleidan, whom he " repreſents as maliciouſly ignorant of the affairs of the " Empire, has told a falſhood in his Hiſtory ſtuffed " with lies, when he affirmed that particular of him; " and that Bucer inſinuated himſelf by inſenſible de- " grees into the Dioceſe of Cologne, not only un- " known to him, and to all good Catholicks, but " even in deſpite of them; and at the ſame time he " expreſly calls Bucer a very deteſtable wretch. 'Tis " certain, that Sleidan would not have been allowed " to advance ſuch a thing uncenſured, had he not died " before Gropper could anſwer him, as he had re- " ſolved to do." (4).

Maimbourg does not deny but that Gropper, who was one of the three Catholic Doctors that conferred with Bucer and two other Proteſtants in the Conference of Ratisbon, Anno 1541, had correſponded after that time with Bucer; but the reaſon of this added he (5), is, *this preacher of Strasburg, convinced by the reaſon which this excellent man gave in the Conference, gave him occaſion to believe by the Letters he wrote to him, that he was preparing to renounce Luther, as he had already done Zwinglius, and to return into the boſom of the Catholick Church.* Be this as it will, the Copiſt of Surius obſerves that Gropper, at his return from the Conference of Ratisbon, *caſt his eye on Bucer's Books; and to examine the conſtancy of the man, compared them with the articles which had been agreed upon in the ſaid Conference. He then found a numberleſs multitude of Points directly repugnant to thoſe which Bucer had admitted and approved in this Conference: And he took notice of ſome horrid Inconſiſtencies of the ſaid Bucer, and ſuch notorious errors, lies, and blaſphemies, that the Manichees never uttered the like. That if any Perſon deſires to be more particularly informed in this matter, he may read what the learned Everard de Billy* (6) *has written, in defence of the judgment of the univerſity and clergy of Cologne* (*Colen*), *in oppoſition to the calumnies of Melanchthon, Bucer, and others, where he will find this Subject treated at large* (7). This is alledged by Surius and his Copiſt in order to have an opportunity of aſſerting that Sleidan was a liar. They exclaim very furiouſly againſt him, in this and an hundred other places.

(1) Sleidan, lib. 15. fol. m. 367.

(2) i. e. the *Antidagma*, which I mentioned in the remark [C] of the article WIDA.

(3) Sleidan, lib. 15. folio 367, *verſo*.

(4) Du Preau, *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe*, tom. 2. fol. 475. *See* Surius, *ad ann.* 1543, m. 384.

(5) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Luther.* tom. 1. pag. 269, Dutch edit.

(6) Everardus Billicus, *or rather* Billichius. He was a Carmelite.

(7) Du Preau, *verſo*.

GROTIUS (CORNELIUS) in Flemiſh *de Groot*, i. e. *the Great*, was born the 25th of July 1544, at Delft, where his family had made a very conſpicuous figure for four hundred years [*A*]. He went through his firſt ſtudies in that City, and was afterwards ſent to Louvain, where he ſtudied Philoſophy four years. He applied himſelf chiefly to that of Plato [*B*]. He alſo learned the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and even the Mathematics. At twenty years of age he went to Paris, and there continued the ſtudy of polite Literature and Philoſophy, and was extremely well beloved by John Daurat, the Regius Profeſſor. He afterwards went to Orleans to learn the Civil Law; and when the Profeſſors judged him qualified for his Doctor's degree, he only took that of a Licentiate, and would never paſs higher. Being returned to his native country he devoted himſelf to the Bar. The City of Delft appointed him Counſellor and Echevin at the ſame time; and as he gave many ſhining proofs of his virtue, integrity and erudition, Prince William created him Maſter of the Requeſts. He diſcharged the functions of this employment in the moſt laudable manner, till that, in 1575, he was invited to others, he being then appointed Profeſſor in the Univerſity, newly eſtabliſhed in Leyden. He there taught Philoſophy for ſome years, and afterwards the Civil Law. He was ſo well pleaſed with this employment, that he could not be prevailed upon to quit

[*A*] *Was born ... at Delft, where his family had made a very conſpicuous Figure for four hundred years.*] Here follow the words of the Author whom I have cited in the Text of this Article. *Patrem habuit Hugonem Grotium virum antiqua virtute & opibus pollentem, ex patricia Grotiorum familia, quæ in repub. Delphenſi totis quadringentis annis continuis illuſtris, etiam hucuſque conſulatibus & ſummis reipub. honoribus decoratur* (1). i. e. " Hugo Grotius was his father, a man " of great virtue and riches, ſprung from the illu- " ſtrious family of the Grotii, which having been " renown'd for four hundred years in the republic " of Delft, ſtill continues to fill the moſt exalted em- " ployments in the Commonwealth." This Author is not accurate, and wants to be explained. Theſe words evidently import, that the antient family of De Groot continued in the male line till our *Cornelius Grotius*; but this is a falſity; for about the year 1430, DIEDERIC *de* GROOT, Burgomaſter of Delft, and illuſtrious for many deputations in which he was engaged, had but one daughter, who marrying Cornelius Cornetz, ſtipulated, that the children who ſhould be born from her, ſhould aſſume the name of Groot, which accordingly began in the perſon of Hugo de Groot, father of Cornelius. The Cornetz were deſcended from a French Gentleman who ſettled in the Low-Countries in the time of the Dukes of Burgundy. See the paſſage I quote in the Remark (*E*).

(1) *Academia Leidenſis*, p. 76.

[*B*] *He applied himſelf chiefly ... to the Philoſophy ... of Plato.*] The Author of his Elogium ſpeaks as follows of him (2). *Philoſophiam Platonicam, quippe, quam ſolam inter humanæ ſapientiæ ſectas magis divinam (ut revera eſt) judicavit, adeo avide amplexus eſt, ut omnia Platonicorum ſcripta perſcrutatus fuerit, memoriæ infixerit, ac per totam vitam manu ac mente volutaverit.* i. e. " He was ſo fond of the Platonic " Philoſophy, which he judged (as it really is) the moſt " divine among the Sects of Philoſophy, that he care- " fully ſtudied all the writings of the Platoniſts, got " them almoſt by heart, and meditated upon them ſo " long as he lived."

(2) *Academia Leidenſis*, p. 77.

quit it for that of Counſellor of the Supreme Council, which was offered him ſeveral times. He died in 1601, without iſſue. He left behind him ſome Manuſcripts on the Civil Law, which have not been printed yet (*a*) [*C*]. He had a brother named JOHN DE GROOT [*D*], the father of Hugo Grotius, of whom I ſhall now ſpeak. They both were ſons of HUGO DE GROOT, the firſt of that family who went by this name [*E*], and who died in 1567 (*b*), being the fifth time Burgomaſter of Delft.

(*a*) Extracted from a book intitled, *Illuſtrium Hollandiæ & Weſt-Friſiæ Ordinum Alma Academia Leidenſis*, Printed at Leyden anno 1614.

(*b*) Ibid. *in* Jano Grotio.

[*C*] *He left behind him ſome manuſcripts in the Civil Law which have not been printed yet.*] The ſame Author goes on as follows, "*Libros nullos edidit, ſed* "*elaboratos quoſdam commentarios ad diverſas Juris* "*partes conſcripſit. Inter quos* Abſolutiſſimum Com- "mentarium ad quatuor libros Inſtitutionum juris "civilis. Ad omnes titulos quatuor primorum libro- "rum digeſtorum. Duos Tomos Commentariorum "& Obſervationum feudalium. Singularem Tracta- "tum continentem quinquaginta differentias feudorum, "à feudis Hollandicis." i. e. "He did not publiſh "any Books, but wrote ſome elaborate Commenta- "ries on various parts of the Law, among which one "entitled by him, *Abſolutiſſimus Commentarius ad* "*quatuor Libros Inſtitutionum*, &c." Konig did not take notice of this; he ſaying that moſt of theſe works were publiſhed by the Anthor of them (3), and cites for this purpoſe Swertius and Meurſius who ſay no ſuch thing (4).

(3) *Edidit Comm. ad 4 Libros Inſtitutionum Juris Civilis; item 2 tomos Obſervationum feudalium.* Konig. *Bibliotb. vet. & nova*, pag. 366.

(4) Swertius ſays expreſly, *Libros nullos edidit, ſed elaboratos ... conſcripſit.* Meurſius does not ſpeak of books either publiſhed or written.

[*D*] *He had a brother named John de* GROOT.] Who, after having gone through his ſchool-learning at Delft, compleated his ſtudy of Philoſophy and the Civil Law in Doway. He returned into Holland as ſoon as the Univerſity of Leyden had been founded; and lived, till the year 1582, with his brother Cornelius de Groot, Law-Profeſſor in that Univerſity. He afterwards was raiſed ſucceſſively to the employments of Echevin (a ſort of Sheriff) and Burgomaſter of Delft, and that of *Curator* of the Univerſity of Leyden (5); and did not ſcruple to take his Doctor's degree in Law after his being Curator (6). According to Moreri, *Some of his works, written in a very polite ſtyle and manner, are publiſhed*; but Moreri is miſtaken, he enlarging too much on a particular which had already been a little too much amplified by Meurſius (7), whoſe words are as follow: *Pater* (Hugonis) *erat Joannes Grotius, cujus extant carmina, & Lipſii ad ipſum literæ, Douſæque verſus, nec pauca aliorum monumenta ipſius inſcripta nomini.* Theſe words ſignify evidently, that John Grotius had compoſed Verſes which had been printed. But as the whole paſſage of Meurſius, except the following words *cujus extant carmina* (8), is found in the Life of Grotius, it is highly probable that Meurſius was miſtaken in that article. Beſides, it is very certain that John Grotius was a judge of Poetry, as is evident from Lipſius. *Negas agnoſcere te Deas, idque carmine quod agnoſcant ipſæ Deæ .... Carmen totum approbum, nec critica illi à me nota* (9). i. e. "You deny your own- "ing that there are Goddeſſes, and this in a Poem "which the Goddeſſes themſelves might own. .... "The whole Poem is very fine, nor will I preſume to "criticize upon it."

(5) He was Burgomaſter four times ſucceſſively, before he was appointed *Curator* of the Univerſity. *Academ. Leidenſ.*

(6) Ibid.

(7) *Athen. Batav.* pag. 205.

(8) *Patrem habuit Joannem de Groot .. ad quem extant Lipſii epiſtolæ, illuſtris viri Jani Douzæ verſus, & non pauca aliorum monumenta ejus nomini inſcripta.* Vita Grotii *init. apud* Bateſium, pag. 420.

(9) Lipſ. *Epiſt.* 17. Cent. 1. *Miſcell.*

[*E*] HUGO DE GROOT .. *was the firſt of his family who went by this name.*] This we find in the Life of Grotius prefixed to his Works, and among the Lives collected by Dr. Bates. The whole paſſage deſerves to be tranſcribed, *Avus ei fuit ille Hugo* de Groot, *qui ex illuſtri Cornetziorum gente prognatus, primus Grotianum nomen in familiam ſuam tranſtulit. Quippe cùm circa annum trigeſimum ſæculi decimi quinti in Diderico* de Groot *ejuſdem itidem civitatis conſule, & non paucis deputationibus ſatis claro, defeciſſet ſtirps maſculina, filia ejus Ermgarda* de Groot, *domûs ſatis opulentæ hæres, viro nobiliſſimo Cornelio Cornetzio, qui genus ſuum ex ea Cornetziorum proſapia ducebat, qui ſub Ducibus Burgundiæ ex Gallia in Belgium migraverant, nuptura, matrimonium non iniit, niſi factâ conditione, ne, qui ex eo naſcerentur maſculini ſexus liberi, alio quam Grotiano nomine nuncuparentur; ita natus Hugo* de Groot, *ejus Hugonis, de quo loquimur, avus, vir ſupra quam ea tempora ferebant, Latinarum, Græcarum, & Hebræarum quoque literarum ſciens.* We find, by the ſequel of this paſſage, that this Hugo was Burgomaſter of Delft, and that he married Elſelinge Heemſkerk, a maiden of very noble extraction.

GROTIUS (HUGO) one of the greateſt men in Europe, was born in Delft the 10th of April 1583. He made ſo rapid a progreſs in his ſtudies, that he compoſed verſes before he was nine years old; and, at fifteen, had attained a very great ſkill in Philoſophy, Divinity and the Civil Law. He had made a ſtill greater proficiency in polite Literature, as appeared from the Commentary he made at that age on a very difficult Author (*a*). He accompanied, in 1598, the Dutch Embaſſador (*b*) into France, and was there honoured with ſeveral marks of the eſteem of Henry IV. He alſo took his degree of Doctor of Laws in that Kingdom, and at his return to his native country he devoted himſelf to the Bar, and pleaded before he was ſeventeen years of age. He was not twenty four years of age when he was appointed Attorney-General. He ſettled in Rotterdam in 1613, and was nominated Syndic of that City (*c*), but did not accept of that employment till a promiſe was made him that he ſhould not be removed from it. He acted thus prudently, becauſe he foreſaw that the quarrels of the Divines, on the doctrine of Grace, which had already given riſe to a thouſand factions in the State, would occaſion many revolutions in the chief Cities. The ſame year he was ſent into England, on account of the diviſions that reigned between the traders of the two Nations, on which he had written a Treatiſe [*A*]. He had ſo great a concern in the affairs which proved the ruin of Barnevelt, that he was ſeized in Auguſt 1618, and ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment the 18th of May 1619, and to forfeit all his goods and chattels. He was confined in the caſtle of Louveſtein the 6th of July of the ſame year. Every one knows the manner in which he made his eſcape [*B*], after having been treated with

(*a*) Martianus Capella. *See* Baillet, *Enfans celebres*, pag. 232, *& ſeq.* where the reader will find every particular relating to the books of Grotius's learning, before he was twenty.

(*b*) This was the famous Barnevelt.

(*c*) The Dutch give the name of *Penſionaries* to thoſe who exerciſe this employment.

[*A*] *On which he had written a Treatiſe.*] I ſhall employ Meurſius's words. *Cum intelligeret navigationem in Indiam fœderaque ejus orbis ingentia eſſe præſidia patriæ ſuæ, quo magis populares ſuos excitaret ad eas res magno animo ſuſcipiendas*, de Jure Commercii Indicani *libellum compoſuit* (1). i. e. "Knowing the "navigation to India, and the alliances with that part "of the world to be the higheſt advantage to his na- "tive Country; to excite his countrymen to engage "in theſe things with the greater ſpirit and vigour, he "compoſed a Book concerning *the Right of Commerce* "*to India.*" This piece was entitled, *Mare Liberum, ſive de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indicana Commercia Diſſertatio*, and was printed in 1609. See Colomeſius's *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, pag. 157.

(1) Meurſius, *Athen. Batav.* pag. 206.

[*B*] *Every one knows the manner in which he made his eſcape.*] "It was by the advice and artifice of "Mary de Regelſberg (2) his wife, who obſerving that "his

(2) Her true name was *Mary Reygersbergen.*

with great rigour for above a year and half in this caſtle (*d*). He retired into France, and there met with a gracious reception from that Court, who ſettled a penſion upon him. It was to no purpoſe the the Dutch Embaſſadors endeavoured to prejudice the King againſt him; this Prince refuſing to liſten to their artifices, gave a glorious teſtimony to the virtue of this illuſtrious refugee [*C*]. Grotius applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies, and to writing of books. The firſt he publiſhed, after his being ſettled in France, was an apology for thoſe Magiſtrates of Holland who had been removed from their employments [*D*]. He left France after having reſided eleven years in that Kingdom, and returned to Holland, where he flattered himſelf with mighty matters, upon his having received a very kind letter from Prince Frederic Henry; but his enemies prevented all the happy effects which might otherwiſe have reſulted from it [*E*]. He therefore was obliged to leave his native country once more, and reſolved to go to Hamburgh,

(*d*) *Ubi poſtquam ultra ſeſquiannum ſuſtentatus bonis uxoris, aſpernantis judicum largitionem, qui vicenos & quatuor in diem aſſes captivo totique ipſius familiæ aſſignaverant, ſtudiis præcipuè impendiſſet, plurimaſque ab iis qui cuſtodiæ ejus præerant injurias perpeſſus fuiſſet, &c.* Vita Grotii, *apud* Bateſium, pag. 423.

[*C*] Lewis XIII . . . . *gave a glorious teſtimony to the virtue of this illuſtrious Refugee.*] Grotius, tho' he had met with ſuch ill treatment from his native Country, could not forbear loving it, nor obliterate it from his remembrance. This Lewis XIII admired; and it doubtleſs was one of the reaſons which prompted him to reject the evil Counſels of the Miniſters of the Republic, the particular enemies of Grotius, who endeavoured to make him odious to the Court of France. *Semper intentus patriæ & popularibus ſuis, ubi quid negotii illis apud aulam eam eſſet, conſilio, operâ, & quâ pollebat apud nonnullos Miniſtros regios gratiâ inſervire ac prodeſſe; quamvis non ignoraret, eos, qui ibi res fœderatorum curabant, nihil intentatum relinquere, quo Regis animum ipſi infeſtum redderent, ſed fruſtra laborabant apud Principem nihil ignorantem eorum, quæ annis* cIↃ IↃC XVIII and cIc IↃC XIX. *in Hollandia acta erant; quin dixiſſe non ſemel fertur, mirari ſe virtutem hominis, qui tam malè in patria habitus, non deſineret tamen ei, ſubditiſque ejus bene velle, imò quocunque etiam poſſet modo benefacere* (5). i. e. "For ever ready to aſſiſt his "countrymen, who had affairs at that Court, by his "counſel and the credit he had with ſome of the "French King's Miniſters; altho' he was not ignorant, that the Envoys of the United Provinces in "the Court of France, ſet every engine at work to "alienate the King from him. But they had to do "with a Monarch, who was informed of every thing "that had been tranſacted in Holland, in the years "1618 and 1619: nay his Majeſty was heard to ſay "more than once, that he admired the virtue of the "man, who, tho' he had met with ſuch ill treatment "in his native country, and from his countrymen, did "yet wiſh them well, and endeavoured to ſerve them "on all occaſions." Grotius ſhewed by this conduct, that he had made a good uſe of the illuſtrious examples he had read in antient Roman Authors (6). Read what I have obſerved with regard to Camillus (7).

(3) Du Maurier, *Memoires de Hollande*, pag. m. 404. See the Letters *Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, pag. 654, & *ſeq.*

(4) *Eorumque* (novem menſium) *ſex elapſi eſſent in conquirendo infenſiſſimos quoſque, quibus judicum munus tuto committerent.* i. e. "And ſix of the "nine months "had been em- "ployed in "ſearching for "his moſt inve- "terate enemies, "whom they "might with "ſafety appoint "his judges. *Vita Grotii*, pag. 423. See in the remark [*F*] of the article GRANDIER, what Menage ſays on ſentences paſt by ſelect commiſſioners.

(5) *Vita Grotii*, apud *Bateſium*, pag. 423.

(6) See the *Letter* he wrote to *Erycius Puteanus*. It is the 388th among the *Epiſt. Eccleſiaſtic. & Theolog.* in folio.

(7) See the article CAMILLUS, in the text, between the citations (*d*) and (*e*).

[*D*] *The firſt Book he publiſhed, after his being ſetled in France, was an apology for thoſe Magiſtrates of Holland, who had been removed from their employments.*] This Book greatly diſpleaſed thoſe of the contrary party. They imagined that Grotius made it appear, that they had violated the Laws, and therefore ſet new engines at work to ruin him; but the protection of the Court of France ſhielded him from their attempts. I only tranſlate into Engliſh the ſubſtance of the following Latin (8). *Primum operum, quod poſt receptam libertatem edidit, fuit Apologeticus ſive Defenſio, non tam ſua, qui non potuerat peccare in exequendis iis, quæ ſibi à ſuperioribus ſuis mandata erant, quam eorum, qui legitimo modo creati, legitimo jure Reip. Hollandiæ annis decimo octavo & nono præfuerant. Quo comperto Fœderatorum Delegati, neque ignorantes ſuas in eo libro artes, illatamque Hollandiæ vim* (9) *detegi, cum nihil haberent, quo expreſſam in eo veritatem redarguere aut refutare poſſent, uſitatâ jamdiu violentiâ utentes, proſcriptionibus eum perſecuti ſunt: quod brutum fulmen, cùm per Chriſtianiſſimi Regis tutelam, qui eum in fidem ſuam receperat, evanuiſſet, nihil aliud eo actum eſt, quam quod &c.* i. e. "The firſt Book publiſhed by him, "after his being reſtored to his liberty, was an apo- "logy or defence, not ſo much of himſelf, who could "not offend in the execution of thoſe affairs which his "Superiors had commanded him to do; as of thoſe "who being created legally, ſuperintended legally the "Republic of Holland, in the years eighteen and "nineteen. This being diſcovered, the Delegates or "Commiſſioners of the States, being ſenſible that their "artifices, and the violence offered to Holland were "laid open in that Book; and not being able to re- "fute the truths advanced by him, employed the "uſual violence, and endeavoured to get him attainted; which impotent malice being defeated by the "protection indulged him by the moſt Chriſtian King, "nothing farther was done except that &c.

(8) *Vita Grotii*, pag. 424.

(9) We are told pag. 423. what this violence was: *Delegatos illis judices dare, illegitimo modo accuſare, indefenſos damnare; Oldenbarneveldium ſeptuageſimum ſecundum ætatis annum agentem capitali ſupplicio plectere, reliquos duos ad perpetuos carceres mittere, & omnia eorum bona publicare: nitentibus contra & vim auctoritati ſuæ inferri fruſtra clamantibus ipſis Hollandiæ Ordinibus, donec optimis quibuſque à muneribus ſuis dimotis, noviſque in eorum loca contra leges impoſitis, omnia pro libidine eorum agi cœpêre qui iſtius novitatis auctores erant.*

[*E*] *His enemies prevented all the happy effects, which might otherwiſe have reſulted from it.*] The Letter which Prince Frederic Henry wrote to Grotius in 1622, is filled with the higheſt offers of ſervice. It has been printed at the cloſe of Grotius's Life; and it is very probable that this Prince would have thought it glorious to reſtore ſo great a man, had it not been repreſented to him that this might be of dangerous conſequence. The following Latin paſſage explains the whole affair. *Mortuo Mauritio Arauſionenſium principe, frater ejus Fredericus Henricus ad gubernaculum Reipublicæ admotus, non mitioris tantùm regiminis, ſed & priſtinæ in adminiſtranda Republica libertatis ſpem dederat, ipſique jam pridem Grotio animi ſui affectum per literas teſtatus erat, credebaturque à non paucis, quæſiturus ſibi gloriam ex tanti viri tam injuſtè damnati in integrum reſtitutione; ſed ut plerumque apud animos eorum, qui Principum conſiliis præſunt, utilia honeſtis prævalent, neque deeſſent qui ipſi ante oculos ponerent, quam periculoſum rebus ſuis foret, hominem tam pertinaciter libertatis ac patriæ ſuæ amantem iterum ad rempublicam admittere, potentiæ ſuæ quàm exiſtimationi conſulere maluit, & proceribus ſuper manſione Grotii, in Hollandiam reverſi circa finem anni* cIc IↃCXXXII *deliberantibus, iis acceſſit, qui interdicendam illi in patria habitationem opinabantur* (10). i. e. "Maurice Prince of Orange being dead, Frede- "ric Henry his brother preſiding at the helm of affairs "in the Commonwealth, gave hopes, not only of a "milder adminiſtration, but likewiſe of reſtoring the "antient liberty in the Government, and ſoon diſco- "vered his affection for Grotius by a letter. It was "judged by many, that he was ambitious of the glory

(10) *Vita Grotii*, pag. 424.

Hamburgh, where he ſtaid till he accepted of the offers which were made him by the Crown of Sweden, anno 1634. Queen Chriſtina appointed him one of her Counſellors, and ſent him in quality of Embaſſador of France to Lewis XIII. After having diſcharged the duties of this employment about eleven years, he left France, in order to give an account to the Queen Chriſtina of his Embaſſy. He took Holland in his way, and received many honours in Amſterdam. He was introduced to her Swediſh Majeſty at Stockholm, and after having diſcourſed with her about the affairs which he was to negotiate, he moſt humbly beſought her to grant him his diſmiſſion. It was with difficulty that he obtained it, and this Princeſs gave Grotius many teſtimonies of the high eſteem ſhe had for him. He had a great many enemies in this Court [*F*]. The ſhip on which he embarked was beaten ſo prodigiouſly by a ſtorm, that he was caſt away on the coaſt of Pomerania. Grotius, who was now ſick and uneaſy in his mind, continued his journey by land; but his indiſpoſition forced him to ſtop in Roſtock, where he died in a few days, on the 28th of Auguſt 1645. His body was carried to Delft, and interred in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors (*e*). Notwithſtanding the Embaſſy in which he was employed, he yet compoſed many books on various ſubjects [*G*]. He drew himſelf into an unpleaſing

(*e*) Extracted from his *Life*, prefixed to his *Theological Works*, printed in Amſterdam *anno* 1679; and in the Collection printed in London *anno* 1681, intitled, *Vitæ ſelectorum aliquot Virorum.*

" of reſtoring ſo great a man who had been ſo unjuſtly " condemned; but as moſt of thoſe who preſide over " the affairs of Princes, pay a greater regard to profit " than honour; and as there were not wanting ſome " who repreſented to him the danger he would run, " ſhould he admit again into the Republic a man to " whom liberty and his conſcience were ſo dear, he " conſulted his power and intereſt rather than his re- " putation; and when it was debated whether Grotius, " who was returned to Holland about the cloſe of " 1632, ſhould be permitted to continue in it, the " Prince joined with thoſe who voted for the nega- " tive."

[*F*] *He had a great many enemies in the Court of Sweden.*] The Queen did not give him a poſitive anſwer, when he deſired leave to retire from buſineſs, which gave umbrage to ſome of the Grandees, they being afraid that ſhe would keep him in her Council. Grotius perceived their diſguſt, and therefore was ſo earneſt to have his diſmiſſion, that it was granted him at laſt. *Neque dubitavit hoc unum ſufficere ad irritandam invidiam illam, quàm à principio adventûs ſui in nonnullis Regni proceribus animadverterat. Quare, cùm nihil minùs propoſitum ei eſſet, quàm in ea terrarum parte habitationis ſuæ ſedem figere, ubi non minus cum ingeniis hominum tam malè ſibi volentium, quàm cum aëris inclementia luctandum quotidie foret, non deſtitit coram Regina, quoties ad eam accederet, dimiſſionem ſuam & veniam ad ſuos revertendi efflagitare* (11). i. e. " Nor " did he doubt but that this ſingle circumſtance would " inflame that envy, which he had perceived in ſome " of the Nobles upon his firſt arrival in this Kingdom. " As he therefore intended nothing leſs than to fix his " abode in it, ſince he muſt have been for ever " ſtruggling, not only with the tempers and humours " of a ſett of men to whom he was ſo obnoxious, " but likewiſe with the inclemencies of the air; he " never failed, whenever he approached the Queen, to " ſue for his diſmiſſion, and to deſire leave to retire " into his native Country." Du Maurier relates (12), that Chancellor Oxenſtern would have got Grotius diveſted ſooner of his character of Embaſſador of Sweden, had he not kept him in on purpoſe to diſoblige Cardinal Richelieu. This Cardinal (13) had ſtruck off the penſion of three thouſand livres which had been paid Grotius for ten years together, which obliged that illuſtrious Refugee to leave France. The French Miniſter abovementioned who put this affront on Grotius, hearing that he was returning to France with a noble character, was extremely vexed at it; and earneſtly and frequently deſired the Court of Sweden to recal an Embaſſador who did not love him, and whom he did not love. Oxenſtern being determined to mortify the Cardinal, would never indulge him that favour; but as ſoon as the Cardinal was dead, he was no longer deſirous of protecting the Embaſſador, but, on the contrary, treated him with ſo much unkindneſs, that Grotius was forced to deſire leave to retire, and he accordingly was taken at his word. Du Maurier adds (14) that Grotius, " finding he was no ways eſteemed in " *Sweden*, left Stockholm, without taking leave of " the Queen or any of her Miniſters, and was arrived " at the Dalles to take ſhipping; but the Queen hav- " ing ſent for him back, gave him twelve thouſand " rixdollars by way of preſent." This does not agree with the Life of Grotius. I ſhall here quote ſome particulars from the *Menagiana* (15) Arnauld gives us a Letter, in which it is ſaid, that Grotius " being greatly " diſſatisfied with the Swediſh Court, tho' very well " pleaſed with the Queen, left it, to return to France, " where he was to reſide as Embaſſador from the King " of Poland; but that before he had advanced far in " his journey, the Queen had ſollicited him to come " back, in order to have one conference more with " him. That he obeyed; and having ſet out a- " gain &c (16)."

[*G*] *Notwithſtanding the embaſſy in which he was employed, he yet compoſed Books on various Subjects.*] I will here ſpeak of the works of this Author, in whatever time they were writ or publiſhed.

During his abode in Paris, before he had the character there of Embaſſador from Sweden, *he tranſlated into Latin Proſe his work on the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, which he had compoſed in Flemiſh Verſe for the uſe of the Sailors who go to India, in order to divert them by ſinging ſo pious a Poem.* Thus du Maurier ſpeaks (17); and he is very much to blame for giving the publick ſo mean an Idea of the Author's deſign, Grotius having a much nobler object in view, which was, to furniſh ſuch Dutchmen as ſail into India with a piece that might be of Service for converting the Heathens. *Propoſitum enim mihi erat omnibus quidem civibus meis, ſed præcipuè navigantibus, operam navare utilem, ut in longo illo marino otio impenderent potiùs tempus, quàm, quod nimium multi faciant, fallerent. Itaque ſumto exordio à laude noſtræ gentis, quæ navigandi ſolertia cæteras facilè vincat, excitavi eos, ut hac arte, tanquam divino beneficio, non ad ſuum tantùm quæſtum, ſed & ad veræ, hoc eſt Chriſtianæ religionis propagationem, uterentur* (18). i. e. " My intention was, to write a " work, which might be of Service to my Country- " men in general, and particularly to our Sailors; in " order that, during the long leiſure they have at " Sea, they might employ their time in a proper man- " ner, rather than miſpend it as too many of them " do. Beginning therefore with an encomium on our " Nation, which ſurpaſſes all other in the art of Na- " vigation; I exhorted them to employ this art, as a " Bleſſing from Heaven, not only to their own imme- " diate Profit, but to the propagation of the true, that " is the Chriſtian Religion." This is a moſt excellent work. The Notes with which it is illuſtrated are extreamly learned. It has been tranſlated into Engliſh, French, Flemiſh, German, Greek, Perſian, and Arabic; but I know not whether all theſe Tranſlations have been publiſhed. The Greek verſion was not publiſhed in 1637 (19). Grotius ſpeaks the year following of the Perſian tranſlation only as a piece which was preparing by the Pope's Miſſionaries. *Liber meus de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ .... qui Socinianus eſt Voetianis, adeo hic pro tali non habetur, ut ſtudio Religioſorum Pontificiorum vertatur in ſermonem Perſicum ad convertendos, ſi Deus cæpto annuat, ejus imperii Mahumetiſtas* (20). i. e. " My Book *of the Truth* of the Chri- " ſtian Religion, is ſo far from being conſidered as a " Socinian piece, that the Romiſh Monks are tranſlating " it into Perſian, to convert, if Heaven ſhall pleaſe to fa- " vour their Endeavours, the Mahometans of that Em- " pire,

(11) Ibid. pag. 420.

(12) *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. du Hollande*, pag. 412, *& ſeq.*

(13) Ibid. pag. 409.

(14) Ibid. pag. 430.

(15) It is ſurprizing that Queen Chriſtina, who had ſo publickly declared herſelf the Patroneſs of learned men, ſhould have begun her reign by recalling Grotius, at that time Embaſſador of Sweden to the French Court, and by removing him from his employment: ſhe was an ungrateful woman, and the moſt a woman of any of her ſex. *Menagiana*, pag. m. 404.

(16) *Calviniſme convaincu de nouveau*, pag. 146.

(17) *Memoires de Hollande*, pag. 408.

(18) Grotius, *de verit. Religionis Chriſtianæ*, pag. 3. edit. Par. 1640 in 12mo.

(19) *Etiam Græcè verſus eſt, ſed nondum editus.* Grot. *Epiſt.* 411. Part 2. pag. 872.

(20) Grot. *Epiſt.* 444. pag. 881.

unpleaſing diſpute, by his endeavouring to reconcile theological controverſies. A Divine of Leyden (*f*), born in France, oppoſed him on that account; and ſet every engine at work in order to make the Proteſtants ſuſpect him, and exaſperate the crown of Sweden. This diſpute verified the following maxim, that *a man's good nature may miſlead his underſtanding*. Grotius having wiſhed for a reunion among Chriſtians imagined it to be poſſible; the earneſt deſire he had on this occaſion did not ſuffer him to ſee the unſurmountable obſtacles, which the obſtinacy of ſome private perſons would not fail to raiſe, though there had been none in the cauſes of the diviſion. The calumnies which his enemies ſpread concerning his death, are invincibly refuted by the relation that was given of it by the Proteſtant Miniſter who prepared him for death [*H*]. Theſe falſe reports are

(*f*) Andrew Rivet.

" pire." In 1641 an Engliſhman who had tranſlated this Book into Arabick, was deſirous of having his verſion printed in England. *Fuit apud me his diebus Anglus vir doctiſſimus, qui diu in Turcico vixit imperio & meum librum de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ in Arabicum vertit ſermonem; curabitque, ſi poteſt, typis in Anglia edi. Is nullum librum putat eſſe utiliorem aut inſtruendis illarum partium Chriſtianis, aut etiam convertendis Mahumetiſtis, qui ſunt in Turcico imperio aut Perſico, aut Tartarico, aut Punico, aut Indiano* (21) i. e. " I was viſited not long ſince by a very learned Engliſhman, who had reſided many years in the Turkiſh " Empire, and tranſlated into Arabic my Book concerning *the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion*; and he " intends, if poſſible, to get it printed in England. " In the opinion of this Gentleman, no work is more " uſeful, either for inſtructing the Chriſtians in thoſe " parts of the world, or even for converting the Mahometans of Turky, Perſia, Tartary, Barbary, or " India." This Verſion, made by the famous Dr. Edward Pocock, was printed at London Anno 1660, in 8vo. The Reader will find in the Article HENICHIUS, that Grotius was accuſed of being a Plagiary. There are three German Tranſlations of this work (22), two in Proſe, and the other in Verſe; and two French Tranſlations in Proſe. The laſt was compoſed and publiſhed at Utrecht in 1692 (23); and the other had been publiſhed long before. I have ſeen two editions of it, the one in 12mo, printed in the uſual Letter; and the other in 8vo, in a Character like that of a Writing-maſter: and therefore it is ſaid in the Title, that it was performed *at Paris in the Printing Houſe of the new ſort of types invented by Peter Moreau Writing-maſter in Paris*. I do not find any Date either in the Title page, or at the end of the Epiſtle dedicatory. The Author of this verſion dedicated it to Mr. Bignon, Counſeller of State, and only ſubſcribed an M to denote his name. I have been told that his name is Mr. de Courcelles.

(21) Idem, ibid. Epiſt. 534. pag. 914.

(22) Scheffer. *in Suecia Literata*, pag. 301. ſays that the German verſion of this piece by Valentinus Muſculus, was printed at Stockholm in 1651.

(23) By a French Refugee named *le Jeune*. He died in Utrecht ſome time after.

The incomparable work de *Jure Belli & Pacis*, was publiſhed at Paris in 1625 (24), of which I ſhall make large mention in the Remark (*O*).

(24) *See* Grotius Epiſt. 534. Part 2. *ad fin.*

With regard to the Commentary *de Imperio ſummarum Poteſtatum circa Sacra* (25); the Treatiſe *de Satisfactione Chriſti contra Fauſtum Socinum* (26); Notes on the Goſpels (27); *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiæ* (28); the Deſcription entitled *de Cœnæ Adminiſtratione ubi Paſtores non ſunt, & an ſemper communicandum per Symbola* (29); *Epiſtolæ ad Gallos* (30); I refer my reader to a book of Colomeſius, (quoted by me in the margin) where they will meet with ſome curious Particulars. With regard to the folio Edition of the Letters, conſult Vol. I. of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, and Morhofius's *Polyhiſtor* (31). As to the *Hiſtoria Belgica*, I refer you to the Remark (P). 'Tis to be obſerved, that we meet in Vol. IV. of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle* (32) a large Extract of the Treatiſe *de Cœnæ Adminiſtratione ubi Paſtores non ſunt, &c.* which was reprinted with other pieces at London in 1686.

(25) *See* Colomeſius's *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 23.

(26) Ibid. pag. 160.

(27) Ibid. pag. 76.

(28) Ibid. pag. 117.

(29) Ibid. pag. 182.

(30) Ibid. pag. 186.

(31) Pag. 294.

(32) Pag. 93, & ſeq.

There are ſeveral Miſtakes in the following words of du Maurier. " Grotius during his long embaſſy " of twelve years continuance, compoſed ſeveral " works, and among others a Latin Diſpenſation " againſt the Sieur de la Perrere (33), who had written " a Treatiſe on the Preadamites. This Diſſertation is " entitled, *de Origine Gentium Americanarum Diſſertatio*, in which he ſays, that the People of America " are not of very great Antiquity; and that they " came from Europe, by land, or were driven " upon it by ſome Storm: *Niſi*, ſays he, *quis Præ-* " *adamitas eſſe dixerit, ut nuper quidam in Gallia ſomniavit*. But one Laetius, a Doctor in the Low- " Countries, having writ againſt him, he compoſed a " ſecond Diſſertation entitled, *De Origine Gentium* " *Americanarum Diſſertatio altera*, in which he amply " *refutes Laetius* (34)." 'Tis certain that Grotius did not write the Diſſertation *de Origine Gentium Americanarum againſt the* Sieur de la Peyrere, and the Treatiſe concerning the Preadamites was not then publiſhed. The words cited by du Maurier are not found in this Diſſertation, but the following Paſſage is found in de Layet's Reply, *Cui conſequens eſt ut credantur . . . aut aliquos ante Adamum fuiſſe conditos homines, ut nuper quis in Gallia ſomniavit.* i. e. " Whence we conſe- " quently muſt believe . . . or that men were created " before Adam, as a man in France lately ſuppoſed." I indeed believe that la Peyrere is hinted at in theſe words; but I perſiſt in aſſerting, that the piece on the Preadamites was not then printed (35). Grotius knew the opinions of this writer, which made him juſt glance at 'em occaſionally, but we do not call this refuting an Author's work.

(33) It ſhould be *La Peyrere*.

(34) Du Maurier, *Mem. de Hollande*, pag. 417.

(35) *See* Sarrau's 52d Letter, pag. 50. edit. 1697.

[*H*] *The Calumnies which his Enemies ſpread concerning his Death, are invincibly refuted by the relation that was given by the Proteſtant Miniſter who prepared him for Death.*] This Miniſter whoſe name was John Quiſtorpius was Divinity-Profeſſor in Roſtoch. According to the relation (36) he gives, he waited upon Grotius, who had ſent for him, and was then almoſt in his expiring moments; that he exhorted him to prepare for Death, that he might go to the enjoyment of a more happy Life; to confeſs his Sins, and repent of 'em; that having mentioned the Publican who acknowledged himſelf to be a Sinner, and who begged Mercy from God, Grotius anſwered, I am that Publican (37); that he went on, and ſaid that he muſt have recourſe to Jeſus Chriſt, without whom there is no Salvation; and that Grotius replied (38), *I place all my hopes in Jeſus Chriſt only*; that he began to repeat aloud in German, the Prayer that begins thus; *Heer Jeſu, wahrer Menſch und Gott, &c.* (39), and that the dying Grotius repeated ſoftly after him, his hands being claſped; that having ended, he asked Grotius whether he underſtood him, to which he anſwered, *I underſtood you very well* (40); that he continued to repeat to him thoſe paſſages of Scripture, which dying Perſons are commonly put in mind of, and to ask, *do you underſtand me*; and that Grotius replied, *I hear your Voice, but do not underſtand all you ſay* (41); that Grotius after making this Anſwer, was ſpeechleſs, and expired a little after.

(36) It was printed among the *Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, pag. 828. of the folio edit. 1684.

(37) *Ego ille ſum publicanus.*

(38) *In ſolo Chriſto omnis ſpes mea eſt repoſita.*

(39) i. e. Lord Jeſus, true Man and God.

(40) *Probe intellexi.*

(41) *Vocem tuam audio, ſed quæ ſingula dicas difficulter intelligo.*

'Twould be ridiculous in any man to doubt of Quiſtorpius's Sincerity. He could not be prompted by intereſt to tell a Falſhood; and 'tis well known, that the Lutheran Miniſters were as much diſſatisfied at the particular Opinions of Grotius, as the Calviniſts (42). The Teſtimony of the Profeſſor of Roſtock is therefore an authentick Proof; and if ſuch a Proof is not allowed of in facts or incidents, it would be opening a door to Scepticiſm, and it would almoſt be impoſſible to prove any thing. Let us therefore look upon it as indiſputably true; I. that Grotius, in his expiring moments was in the ſame frame of mind as the Publican in the Goſpel. He confeſſed his Sins, repented of them, and had recourſe to the Almighty's mercy. 2. That he placed all his hopes in Jeſus Chriſt only. 3. That his laſt thoughts were thoſe contained in the Prayers of dying Perſons, according to the ritual of the Lutherans (43). Now 'tis my opinion, that there cannot be found a Prayer that includes more pious Thoughts, ſuch as a true Chriſtian ought to have, when he is preparing to appear before the tribunal of God, than the Prayer in Queſtion.

From what is here ſaid, it reſults manifeſtly; I. That

(42) Patin, Letter 7. pag. 31. of vol. 2. ſays, *that the Lutherans were ſuſpected to have poiſoned Grotius*, on account of what he has wrote concerning Antichriſt, in the Pope's favour.

(43) This is tranſlated into French in the Book intitled, *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande ſur l'Hiſtoire Critique du Pere Simon*, pag. 397.

are nevertheleſs revived from time to time ; but no one has carried this accuſation to ſuch violent lengths as the Author of *L'Eſprit de Mr. Arnaud* [*I*]. This Writer has preſumed to publiſh, that Grotius died in atheiſtical ſentiments. Many perſons have been ſurprized at his grandſons, becauſe they did not demand ſatisfaction for this injurious report ; and for not ſhewing as much reſentment on that account, as the relations of Janſenius (*g*) did, for a ſlander infinitely leſs heinous: but ſome perſons of great wiſdom highly approve of their having waved all judicial proſecution [*K*]. A very ſolid anſwer

(*g*) See the beginning of the remark [*K*].

that thoſe who declare Grotius to have died a Socinian (44), would be too gently treated, ſhould they be only told, that they are guilty of having pronounced a raſh Judgment; ſuch Perſons deſerve to be called Calumniators. II. That the following Story related by Du Maurier is intirely fabulous (45) ; *I have been told*, ſays he, *that during his Sickneſs, a Romiſh Prieſt and ſeveral Lutheran, Calviniſt, Socinian, and Anabaptiſt Miniſters came to viſit him, in order to perſuade him to die in their reſpective Perſuaſions; but whilſt they were entertaining him with controverted points, and each endeavoured to prove his Religion to be the beſt, he made no other anſwer but this*, non intelligo, *and when they had done ſpeaking, he ſaid to them*, hortare me ut Chriſtianum morientem decet, (exhort me as a dying Chriſtian ought to be exhorted) III. That the following report, which was ſpread *immediately after his Death*, is alſo fabulous, viz. *that he had refuſed to hear a Miniſter who would have ſpoke with him* (46). IV. That 'tis a falſity to aſſert, *That a Lutheran Miniſter having begun to entertain him with religious Subjects . . . . the dying Grotius anſwered him only by theſe words*, non intelligo, *intimating thereby, that his preaching and exhortations were no ways grateful to him, and that accordingly* the Miniſter *withdrew* (47). V. That there is a Falſity in a little Engliſh Book(48), where 'tis aſſerted, that *Grotius ſaid as he was dying*, multa agendo, nihil egi, i. e. Tho' I attempted ſo many things, I yet profited nothing. VI. That thoſe who *a little after the Death of this great man . . . ſpread a report that he was killed with a thunderbolt* (49), aſſerted a falſity that was more ſtupid than malicious.

(44) *See* Patin's *Letter* 7. pag. 31 of vol. 1.

(45) Du Maurier, *Mémoires, . . de Hollande*, pag. 431.

(46) *See* Arnauld's *Calviniſme convaincu de nouveau*, pag. 145.

(47) Ibid. pag. 146.

(48) It contains a collection of ſeveral ſtories. See *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande*, pag. 402.

(49) See ibid.

I conclude this Remark with a Paſſage in which Andrew Rivetus, one of the moſt violent Adverſaries of Grotius, is concerned. He publiſhed that Grotius died venting nothing but menaces ; fired with paſſion and bitter gall, without giving a ſingle Mark of Repentance. However, added he, we will not judge another's Servant. Theſe laſt words include a caution that appeared ridiculous to an Arminian Profeſſor, becauſe good ſenſe will not ſuffer a principle to be admitted, without admitting the conſequences which reſult neceſſarily from it : now eternal Damnation is an infallible conſequence of final Impenitence ; ſo that it can be nothing but a groſs Artifice, to ſay ſuch a man died without repenting of his enormous Crimes, and yet I will not pretend to pronounce what was his fate. In this light the Profeſſor in queſtion has taken the thing, (50), and I ſhan't examine whether he was in the right for ſo doing, but here follows the Paſſage I promiſed ; *Paulo apertius egit A. Rivetus, de illuſtri viro Hugone Grotio loquens : ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς, inquit*, & totus in fermento jacens, imo in felle amaritudinis, videtur ad plures abiiſſe, nullo pœnitentiæ, quod ſciamus, ſigno exhibito, &c. *Ubi nihil aliud ſuperfuit, niſi ut adderet, Actum eſt de ejus ſalute. Licet ad emolliendum tam inclementem ſententiam, ita concludat:* Sed tamen non judicamus ſervum alienum, qui Domino ſuo ſtetit & cecidit. *Sed quorſum moderationis ſpeciem præ ſe ferre circa conſequens, cum tota difficultas ſit in antecedente ? Ego contra, ſi mihi conſtaret, vel Grotium, vel Blondellum, in aliquo gravi delicto ſine pœnitentia obiiſſe, non verever, etſi dolens, dicere, Damnatus eſt. Non enim ipſe ſententiam ferrem, ſed Deus in verbo ſuo, quod cælo & terra firmius eſt.* i. e. Andrew Rivetus " acted a little more openly, for ſpeaking of the illuſtrious Hugo Grotius, *breathing Menaces*, ſays he, " *and being in a violent paſſion, and even in the* " *gall of bitterneſs, he ſeemed to many to have died* " *without the leaſt ſigns of Repentance that we know* " *of*, &c. to which he had nothing to add, but that " he deſpaired of his Salvation, altho' to mollify ſo " harſh a Sentence, he concludes thus: *yet we judge* " *not another man's Servant ; to his Maſter he ſtandeth* " *or falleth.* But why is there this ſpecious ſhow of " moderation as to the conſequent, when the whole " difficulty lies in the antecedent ? On the con- " trary, were I ſure that Grotius or Blondel had " died impenitent in ſome enormous Sin, I ſhould " not ſcruple, tho' with grief, to pronounce that he " is damned. For 'tis not I who paſs Sentence, but " the word of God, which is more immoveable than " Heaven and Earth." I have read in Arnaud a like cenſure againſt the caution with which Daillé behaved towards St. Ambroſe (51). But this is foreign to my Purpoſe. I ſhall only obſerve, that Rivetus advances an aſſertion, on the pretended Impenitence of Grotius, which is abſolutely contradicted by the Lutheran Miniſter's relation. Mareſius, who refuted the Paſſage I have quoted, does not diſapprove in any manner of Rivetus's conduct.

(50) Stephanus Curcellæus, *in Præfat. Apologetica præfixa* Anacriſi Davidis Blondelli de Johanna Papiſſa, *apud* Mareſium *in* Johanna Papiſſa reſtituta, pag. 329.

(51) See vol. 1. of *la Pérpetuité défendue*, pag. m. 128, & *ſeq.* Arnauld wonders at Daillé's extraordinary civility, and exceſſive moderation with regard to St. Ambroſe, of whom he only ſays, *that he was cunning or ſagacious* ; after having laid down principles, according to which he ought to have called him, *a cheat, an impoſtor and ſeducer.*

[*I*] *No one has carried this accuſation to ſuch violent lengths, as the Author of* l'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld.] He was not content himſelf with ſaying, that Grotius is a violent Arminian, a Socinian, a Papiſt (52), things which are inconſiſtent in the ſame perſon ; he adds (53) that Grotius died " without profeſſing any Religion ; " and made no other anſwer to the perſon who exhort- " ed him to die in a Chriſtian manner than *non intelligo*, " *(I don't underſtand you)* (54) turning his back to " him." The only teſtimony and proof he produces on this occaſion is Mr. Arnaud, that is, from a man whom he draws in ſuch monſtrous colours in the ſame work, that there is no equitable Court of Juſtice would ſo much as fine a man, who ſhould be accuſed of murther by twenty witneſſes of a character like to that which he gives of Mr. Arnauld. Now can there be a more unaccountable blindneſs ? Muſt we not confeſs, that, of all paſſions, a deſire of ſlandering is moſt apt to blot out the ideas of ſenſe and reaſon ? But, to wave ſuch moral reflections, I ſhall content myſelf with the following remark, viz. that Mr. Arnauld was firmly perſuaded, that Grotius was juſtly accuſed of dying an Atheiſt. To reject every Religion on one's death-bed, to die without profeſſing any kind of Religion, or to die an Atheiſt, are three ſynonymous propoſitions : So that, were the accuſer to be proſecuted, the whole affair muſt be reduced to the following determinate queſtion, DID GROTIUS DIE AN ATHEIST ? This charge the accuſer aſſerts clearly and expreſly, he therefore muſt prove it ; and it would be to no purpoſe for him to demonſtrate, that Grotius was neither a Lutheran, a Calviniſt, a Papiſt, or an Arminian. Now is it not a dreadful thing, to hear that a man, who died in the manner publiſhed by Quiſtorpius, ſhould be accuſed of dying an Atheiſt? Is not the impudence of ſuch a ſlanderer monſtrous ? Can any perſon who peruſes his book believe it, without calling to mind the prodigious corruption of the human heart, and firmly believing theſe words of Scripture, *the heart of man is deſperately wicked* (55) ? I before obſerved (56), that we have no reaſon to doubt of Quiſtorpius's ſincerity ; and I here add, that the incident, the truth of which he affirms, is of ſuch a nature that he could not be miſtaken in it. He heard the anſwers which Grotius made to him, and he ſaw his penitent move his hands and lips, all the time he was repeating an excellent prayer. The eye and ear are authentic witneſſes in an incident of this nature. I confeſs that he did not know whether Grotius might not repeat to himſelf, particulars different from thoſe which he (Quiſtorpius) ſpoke aloud. Now Mr. Arnauld did not bluſh to ſtart ſuch an objection (57) ; but it is unworthy of the leaſt anſwer ; ſince, at this rate, we might doubt of the faith of all dying perſons ?

(52) *Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld*, tom. 2. pag. 307.

(53) Ibid. pag. 308.

(54) This is not found in the letter given by Mr. Arnauld, pag. 145. of *Calviniſme convaincu* ; but is a ſpurious addition made by the author of *L'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld.*

(55) Jer. xvii. 9.

(56) The remark [*H*] above.

(57) *Calviniſme convaincu*, pag. 147

[*K*] *Some perſons of great wiſdom, highly approve of their having waved all judicial proſecution.*] The examples of Janſenius's relations, which ſome perſons would

ſwer has been publiſhed to this paſſage of *L'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld* [*L*], to which, as no reply has ever been made, it is manifeſt that the accuſer is conſcious of his having been convicted of calumny. Now hence ariſes a double ſcandal; ſince, on one ſide, the writer in queſtion has not made the leaſt ſtep in order to atone for ſo heinous an injury; and, on the other ſide, his eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors have never cenſured him for venting

would have had Grotius's family follow, is one of the circumſtances that can beſt juſtify their behaviour in deſpiſing calumny. The Janſeniſts had flattered themſelves with the hopes of mortifying Father Hazart a famous Jeſuit, who had aſſerted in one of his books, that Janſenius's father had been a Proteſtant, and that Janſenius himſelf had lived a profeſſed Catholic till he was come to a certain age. Very fine caſes were publiſhed (58), to ſhew that this Jeſuit was a notorious ſlanderer; and he was ſummoned with the uſual formalities, to atone for that injurious treatment, by a ſolemn recantation. They had recourſe to the Tribunals whoſe right it was to judge of this diſpute; but after writing a multitude of things, and making a mighty buſtle, they had the diſſatisfaction to ſee the affair come to nothing; for Father Hazart had ſo much credit, and invented ſo many chicanes, that he quite defeated all the attempts of the complainants. This example ſhews, that Grotius's aſcendants may think themſelves happy, for not having ſollicited, in a legal way, for a reparation from the Author of the calumny; for the Author of *L'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld*, would have invented as many chicaneries as Father Hazart, and would have found as many Protectors, to ſcreen himſelf from the puniſhment he deſerved. He might have been proſecuted in the ſecular Courts, by the law *ſi quis famoſum*; and likewiſe in the eccleſiaſtical Courts. But he would have met with ſuch powerful Protectors, and ſo ſtrong an intereſt in the ſecular Courts, that the whole would have come to nothing. It would have been much worſe had they complained in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, for there his chicanes are an eternal labyrinth, whence he could never be drawn; and where his friends invent every kind of artifice to ſcreen him from cenſure of every kind. Could the Author of the *Thoughts on Comets* obtain any ſatisfaction, for a ſlander reſembling that which was levelled againſt Grotius? Did not the accuſer, by a continual ſeries of frauds, for ever elude the juſt demands, made by the party accuſed, before thoſe who were the proper judges of them? What ſucceſs had thoſe judges who charged this Author with falſe doctrine? Have they not found him out of the reach of the laws of diſcipline and order, notwithſtanding the great pains they took, and tho' they proved his errors ſo evidently? This is another reaſon why Grotius's relations ought to think themſelves happy, for not proſecuting him.

(58) See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 1686, pag. 68, 209, 502, and 1314. Theſe *Factums* have been reprinted in the 8th volume of the *Morale pratique des Jeſuites*.

[*L*] *A very ſolid anſwer has been publiſhed, to this paſſage of* l'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld.] The apologiſt begins thus. "But, Sir, all that this Author and Father Simon relate of Grotius, is nothing in compariſon of what the anonymous Author of a ſcandalous libel entitled, *l'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld*, ſays of him. It is true indeed that he ſlanders every body in this book; and that the palpable falſhoods which are found in it, ought to invalidate the credit of all the reſt. But becauſe ſome people are ſo weak, as to be impoſed upon by the bold way in which he delivers himſelf; and that ſome of thoſe to whom you communicate my Letters, entertain an ill opinion of Grotius from what he ſays of them, you will give me leave to undeceive them here. They perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to find an inſtance of the moſt horrid calumny that ever was known, in an Author whom they ſo highly eſteem. This will ſhew them, that they ought to guard againſt thoſe who diſplay ſo much zeal for the truth; and that this zeal, upon the ſpecious pretence of defending the Church of God, ſometimes conceals ſuch a malicious and calumniating turn of mind as is ſurprizing (59)." After this the Apologiſt examines the four accuſations one after another. I ſhall not take notice of what he ſays on the firſt head (60); but he obſerves, on the ſecond, as follows (61). "*Grotius*, ſays our ſatyrical Author, *is in the ſecond place a Socinian, becauſe it is plain he weakens all the proofs of the Divinity of Chriſt Jeſus.* Deſire your friends, Sir, to read Grotius's Annotations on thoſe paſſages of St. Mark and St. John which I pointed out to you; and if they then don't ſay that this is a moſt abominable ſlander, I myſelf will be contented to paſs for the moſt wicked ſlanderer that ever lived. See alſo Letter DXLVIII, in the *Eccleſiaſtical and theological Letters of ſome great men* (62)." It would carry me too far, ſhould I relate what he ſays on the third head, as well againſt the Author of *L'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld* as Mr. Arnauld himſelf, and therefore ſhall only extract the following paſſage from it. "Whenever Mr. Arnauld advances any thing injurious againſt the Proteſtants, the Author of the Libel inveighs ſtrongly againſt him, and Mr. Arnauld is an inſincere man, an unjuſt accuſer, and an infamous ſlanderer; but when he ſays any thing, which this ſatyrical Writer may make a handle of in order to inveigh againſt any perſon who has not the good fortune to pleaſe him; then all things go right, and this ſerves to ſwell his Book, and prevent his being rank'd in the claſs of *inconſiderable Authors* (63)."

(59) *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande*, pag. 390.

(60) Viz. that Grotius was a violent Arminian.

(61) *Sentim. de quelques Théolog. de Hollande*, pag. 392.

(62) *Epiſt. præſtant. Viror.* pag. 797.

(63) *Sentimens de quelques Theolog. de Hollande*, pag. 395.

I muſt not omit that Arnauld blames the Lutheran Miniſter, for not aſking Grotius *what Communion he deſired to die in* (64). This, ſays Arnauld, is a material queſtion, *with reſpect to a man, who, for a long time, was known to have refuſed all communion with any Proteſtant Church, and to have refuted, in the laſt books he wrote, moſt of the Tenets that are common to them.* The Apologiſt ſays on this occaſion (65) that the circumſtance which miſleads Arnauld, and the Author of his *Eſprit*, is, "their imagining that that man has no Religion, who is not in one of thoſe factions which condemn all mankind, and every one of which pretends ſingly to be the true Church of Jeſus Chriſt. Grotius abſtained from communicating with either the Proteſtants or Romaniſts, becauſe that the Communion eſtabliſhed by Chriſt as a ſymbol of the peace and concord, in which he will have his Diſciples live, is conſidered in thoſe Societies as a ſign or indication of diſcord and diviſion . . . (66). Quiſtorpius acted very prudently, in not aſking in what Communion he deſired to die, ſince he ſaw him die in the Communion of Chriſt Jeſus, by vertue of which only we are ſaved; and not by vertue of that which we may have with the Biſhop of Rome, or the various Societies of Proteſtants."

(64) Arnauld, *Calviniſme convaincu*, pag. 147.

(65) *Sentim. de quelques Theolog. de Hollande*, pag. 398.

(66) Idem, ibid. pag. 393.

Without examining whether Quiſtorpius acted right or wrong in refraining from aſking him this queſtion, I ſhall obſerve, that a man, who is perſuaded of the truth of the fundamental points of the Chriſtian Religion, but abſtains from receiving the Communion becauſe he looks upon this action as a ſign that one damns the other Sects of Chriſtians, cannot be look'd upon as an Atheiſt, by any one but an old dotard, who has forgot not only the ideas of things but the definition of words. I go farther, and aſſert that ſuch a man cannot be denied the name of Chriſtian. I will admit that his opinion, viz. that ſalvation is allowed to all Communions who admit the Goſpel, to be heretical, and dangerous; but can it therefore be ſaid, that thoſe who believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the eternal Son of God, co-eſſential and con-ſubſtantial with the Father; that he died for us; is riſen from the dead, and ſits at the right hand of God the Father; that it is by faith in his death, and by his interceſſion that we are ſaved; that we muſt obey his precepts, and repent of our ſins &c; can it, I ſay, be therefore aſſerted, that ſuch men are not Chriſtians? No man of good ſenſe can pretend this; but no one would be more ridiculous in aſſerting this, than the Author of the *Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld*; ſince he has compoſed another work (67), in which he ſhews, that all thoſe who believe in the fundamental Articles, belong to the true Church, in whatever Sect they may live. I omit ſeveral other maxims laid down by him, the conſequence of which are, that men may be ſaved in all Religions, as an anonymous Writer (68) has proved to him demonſtratively. I ſpeak only of ſuch doctrines as he cannot deny, and according to which he ought to acknowledge that Grotius, by only approv-

(67) Intitled, *Le vrai ſyſtême de l'Egliſe.*

(68) Carus Larebonius, *in Janua Cœlorum reſerata.*

venting ſo palpable a ſlander, nor ever intimated to him, that they did not approve of his publiſhing ſuch works as *L'Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld*. A very copious and inſtructive life of Grotius is now compoſing (*b*), but it is pity it is not wrote in a language that is more univerſally underſtood than the Flemiſh. The Author of this Life will not omit to applaud Grotius for his memory, which was ſo prodigious, that being preſent at the review of ſome regiments, he remembred the name of every individual ſoldier (*i*). A few days ſince a Letter of Salmaſius was publiſhed, in which Grotius is treated very ill [*M*]. He left three ſons and a daughter [*N*]. The eldeſt ſon of one of his ſons is Droſſart (*k*) of Bergopzom.

(*b*) I wrote this in 1695, but Gaſpar Brand, an Arminian Miniſter of Amſterdam, who was writing this work, is ſince dead.

(*i*) Borremans, *Var. Lect.* cap. 3. *apud* Crenium, *Animaaverſ Philolog. & Hiſt.* Part 1. pag. 19.

(*k*) A conſiderable employment in Holland.

As the work *de Jure Belli & Pacis* is a maſter piece, and has been received by the Public with peculiar honour, I ought to enlarge a little more upon it [*O*]. I ſhall

approving the fundamental tenets, that he did not in all things approve of the principles of the Calviniſts, Papiſts &c. was a member of the true Church.

By the way, it would have been very extraordinary, had Grotius eſcaped a Writer, whoſe work has been look'd upon as a Satyr on all mankind. *Homo iſte procaciſſimus in illo ſuo* ARNALDI SPIRITU, *univerſum genus humanum impetit, nec ſacris parcens nec profanis, nec Eccleſiaſtico, nec Civili Statui, Regem ſuum, Regem Chriſtianiſſimum, ſingula Regiæ familiæ capita, familiares Miniſtroſque Regis tam fœdè, tam impudenter carpit; ut vel in ſuo Hollandiæ aſylo vix tutus ipſe* (69), *tutum præſtare id libri monſtrum nequiverit* (70). i. e. "This domineering Writer, in his *Eſprit de Mr. Arnauld*, attacks all mankind; ſparing neither things "ſacred nor prophane, neither the Church nor the "State. He inveighs with ſo much inſolence and "baſeneſs againſt his King, the moſt Chriſtian Monarch, againſt every part of the royal Family and "the King's favourites and miniſters, that he would "ſcarce be permitted to publiſh ſo monſtrous a work "as this is, with impunity, even in Holland which "he made his aſylum." See the margin (71), and judge whether Grotius could eſcape ſuch a Writer, there being ſome particular reaſons which exaſperated him againſt that man. Thoſe who are well acquainted with Rotterdam know my meaning.

(69) This is falſe.

(70) See the book intitled, *Catholica Querimonia*, pag. 9.

(71) See Citation (59) above, where it is affirmed that this author *ſlanders the whole world*. Another expreſſes himſelf thus: *This Satyr is not abominable, chiefly becauſe the author of it, like the evil ſpirit, goeth about ſeeking whom he may devour, but &c.* See the Preface to *Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam démontrée*, pag. 173. See likewiſe *La Cabale Chimerique*, pag. 281.

[*M*] *A Letter of Salmaſius was publiſhed, in which Grotius is treated very ill.*] Crenius publiſh'd this Letter, in Part I of his *Animadverſiones Philologicæ & Hiſtoricæ*, printed at Rotterdam in 1695. Salmaſius wrote it to Sarrau the 20th of November 1645. He is not ſatisfied with preferring Voſſius to Grotius, but goes much farther, leſſening as much as poſſible the merits of the latter; he ſcarce allows him to be indifferently ſkilled in Philoſophy; and declares him to be inferior to every one, in ſtrength of reaſoning. *In Philoſophicis, ſi diſputandi ſolertia ſpectetur, vix mediocribus par eſt; nec unquam vidi qui minore cum vi ratiocinetur.* A Profeſſor of Tranſylvania, adds he, who is writing againſt the *De jure Belli & Pacis*, pretends to point out groſs errors in every page of it, *adfirmavit ſe oſtenſurum eſſe nullam paginam vacare inſignibus erratis.* Grotius, continues he, is a poor critic; ſeveral of his Notes on the New Teſtament are quite infantine: I would not put my name to ſuch a work. *Scimus etiam in Critica quam infelix fuerit & ἀλόχῳ vir alioquin ſummus Grotius. . . Nollem meum nomen adſcriptum eſſe adnotatis in Vetus T. nihil his in multis puerilius invenio, & tanto nomine indignius.* Now how ſhall we reconcile this with the Letters which Salmaſius wrote to Grotius? In one of them he gives him the title *Supereminentiſſimus*; and declares at the ſame time, that he would chooſe to reſemble him, rather than enjoy all the honours and riches of the ſacred College: *Non ſolum Cardinalibus, ſed etiam mihi rem minime gratam facis, qui me dones eo titulo, quo tu dignior, ſupereminentiſſime Groti. Quid enim te non ſic appellem, cujus me multo ſimilem eſſe malim, quàm omnes purpurati illius gregis divitias & honores poſſidere* (72)? See in the margin the paſſage from Juſtus Pacius. A perſon aſked me the other day, whether the letters which great men write to an Author, are in the ſame ſtrain with the expreſſions they employ, when they write concerning that Author to other people? I anſwered, that they ſeldom expreſſed themſelves in the ſame manner, in thoſe two kinds of Letters. When they write to the Author they applaud his work; but when they write to others, they are very ſparing of their applauſes and ſometimes cenſure him. Were they to publiſh their own Letters, they would endeavour to ſuppreſs thoſe which would ſhew their double-dealing; but they generally never appear in print till after their death. Had Salmaſius himſelf publiſhed his Letter dated the 20th of November 1645, he would have ſuppreſſed the reſt, in which he beſtows ſuch high Elogiums on Grotius. He was not his friend in any manner; as he plainly ſhewed when he maſked himſelf, (in order to write againſt Grotius) under the name of *Simplicius Verinus* (73).

(72) *Epiſt. Salmaſii* 21. lib. 1. pag. 45.

(73) Grotius was then dead. See the book in anſwer to this work of Salmaſius. See, I ſay, *Juſti Pacii Reviſionem Judicii*: Salmaſius is there reproached with fickleneſs: *Illum phœnicem ſui ſeculi in tuis literis prædicares; quid te igitur modo impulit virum adeo in te benignum canino dente perſtringere.* p. 3. i. e. "What "could prompt "you to attack "ſo ſeverely, "one who had "been ſo gracious to you; "and whom you "had applauded "in your letters "as the Phœnix "of the age?"

[*N*] *He had three ſons and a daughter.*] The latter was married to a French Gentleman, Mr. Mombas by name, who was very much talk'd of, on account of a troubleſome affair in which he was involved, a little after the French King had croſſed the Rhine in 1672. The eldeſt and youngeſt embraced a military life, and died unmarried. The ſecond, named PETER DE GROOT, became very illuſtrious by his Embaſſies. The Elector Palatine, being reſtored by the Peace of Munſter, appointed him his Reſident to the States General. He was made Penſionary of the city of Amſterdam in 1660, and diſcharged the functions of that employment with great ability, for ſeven years. He was ſent Embaſſador to the Northern Crowns in 1668. The year after he was nominated Embaſſador to the French Court, which employment he diſcharged with great wiſdom and addreſs. Upon the breaking out of the war in 1672, he returned to his native Country, and was removed from being penſionary of the city of Rotterdam, which he enjoyed ſince his return from his embaſſy to Sweden; he was, I ſay, removed from it, during the popular emotions, which occaſioned ſo many changes in the cities of Holland. He withdrew to Antwerp and afterwards to Colen, whilſt the Treaty of Peace was negotiating in that city, and exerted himſelf to the utmoſt for the good of his country. He nevertheleſs was impeached of high-treaſon at his return to Holland; and being tried, he was found innocent. He then retired to a country-ſeat, and died there at ſeventy years of age (74). See his Elogium in Wicquefort (75).

(74) Extracted from Hugo Grotius's *Life*.

[*O*] *I ought to enlarge a little more . . . upon the Work* de Jure Belli & Pacis.] It was printed at Paris in 1625 and dedicated to Lewis XIII. "Guſtavus Adolphus "King of Sweden having read and admired it, reſolv- "ed to employ the Author; judging from this work, "that he was a great Politician; and Chancellor "Oxenſtern, prime Miniſter of this triumphant Mo- "narch, confirmed him in his deſign, he having a won- "derful eſteem for his work entitled *De Jure Pacis & "Belli*, which he was for ever peruſing. But this "Prince having been killed in the battle of Lutzen, "anno 1632, Chancellor Oxenſtern, agreeably to "his own inclination, and the deſign of the late King "Guſtavus, nominated him Embaſſador to France (76)." Colomeſius affirms (77), that it is pretended Grotius *exhauſted all his genius and talents in this work; and that he might ſay of it, as Caſaubon did of his Commentary on Perſius, in a Letter to Mr. Perillau his kinſman, which has not been yet printed:* In Perſio omnem ingenii conatum effudimus. *Grotius's Work is indeed excellent; and I don't wonder that it has been explained and illuſtrated in ſome Univerſities of Germany. Here follows the judgment which Mr. Bignon, that irreproachable Magiſtrate, formed of this work, in a Letter to Grotius dated the 5th of March* 1632. I forgot, ſays he, to thank you for your treatiſe *de Jure Belli*, which is as finely printed as the ſubject deſerves. I have been told that an Auguſt Monarch uſed to have it lying always open before him; and am firmly perſuaded that this is true, becauſe it muſt be productive of infinite advantage; this work ſhewing that there is reaſon and juſtice in a ſubject, which was thought to conſiſt

(75) *Traité de l'Ambaſſadeur*, liv. 2. pag. 454. See alſo pag. 411.

(76) Du Maurier, *Memoires . . de Hollande*, pag. 410.

(77) Colomiés, *Biblioth. Choiſie*, pag. 128.

shall take some notice of Grotius's book concerning the History of the Low Countries.

consist wholly of confusion and injustice. Those who delight in this study, will there find the true maxims of Christian policy, which are the solid foundations of all Government. I have read it a second time with wonderful pleasure. *A very different judgment of it was formed at Rome, it being there inserted in the Index Expurgatorius, the 4th of February* 1627.

(78) In his *Journal des Savans*, written in Berlin, pag. 220, *& seq.* in 1696.

The Memoir which Chauvin has given us (78) on the fate and importance of this work is so beautiful and curious, that I cannot forbear copying many particulars from it. We are there told, that Grotius undertook this work at the sollicitation of the famous Peiresc. *He himself declared this, in the Letter which he sent him, together with a copy of the work, by way of present.* "The subject he treats upon has been thought so important, and so very useful, that occasion has been "taken from thence, for making a particular science "of it, for the explaining of which Professorships have "been purposely established in the Universities." The Elector Palatine Charles Lewis "had so high an esteem "for this work, that he thought proper to make it "serve as the text to the Lectures on the Law of Nature and Nations; and, in order for the expounding it, he appointed, as Professor, in his University of Heidelberg, Mr. Puffendorf, who first exercised "that employment; and, in imitation of this Prince, "the like Professorships have been since established in "several other Universities.... I don't find that any "person attempted to criticize this Book, or write "against the author in his life-time. Some indeed are "of opinion, that Selden wrote his treatise *de Jure Naturali & Gentium juxta disciplinam Ebræorum* "out of emulation to Grotius's work.... The first "author who attempted to criticize it, was *Joannes à Felden*, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Professor of "Mathematics in Helmstadt. He follows close the "three Books of Grotius, and expatiates on such subjects as relate to Civil Law and Morality.... He "contradicts him every where. His Book was published in 1653, and was refuted the year following "by Theodorus Graswinckel." In 1663 "were published Boeclerus's Commentaries on the first Book of "Grotius, which he continued afterwards on the seven "first chapters of the second Book; and has also published five different important subjects of the same "work... He does not follow every where the sentiments of his author, but differs from him entirely "on several subjects.... In 1674, John Philip Mullerus a Civilian reduced Grotius's three Books into Tables... In 1665 Ianus Klencklius (79) published his "Institutions *de Jure Naturali & Gentium*, drawn from "Grotius's work. In 1666 Gaspar Zeigler Professor "of Law in Wittemberg, published his Notes on the "three books of Grotius... He does not seem to have "been actuated by a spirit of contradiction; but he "nevertheless deviates from Grotius's opinion in a "multitude of places." Grotius's younger brother (80) published in 1667 *Enchiridion de Principiis Juris naturalis*. This piece is properly an introduction to the work *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, and was illustrated with Notes, in 1675, by John George Simon, Professor of the Civil Law at Jena (81). About the year 1668, David Mevius, Vice-President of the supreme Court of Wismar, undertook to compose a just System of *the Doctrine concerning the Law of Nature and Nations*; and published an *introduction to it, consisting of nine considerations*. He bestows very high encomiums, in his Preface, on Grotius; *and ascribes to him the glory, of having first guided to the study of the Law of Nations, and that he had explained it with greater solidity and erudition than any person before him.* His voluminous work was to consist of three parts, two of which were finished, and *ready for the press*; but he did not know whether his advanced age, and the multiplicity of business in which he was engaged, would give him an opportunity to complete the third. John Adam Osiander, Divinity-Professor in the University of Tubingen, published observations on Grotius's work an. 1671, and he affected to criticize him on almost every occasion. The year following Puffendorf published his work *De Jure Naturæ & Gentium*. He therein has thoroughly treated all such particulars as had been omitted, or but lightly touched upon by Grotius; *and some persons look upon his work as an ample Supplement to* Grotius; *and others as a continued Commentary* on Grotius. [Mr. Barbeyrac has made the following comparison between Grotius's work and that of Puffendorf. "Grotius's stile, *says he*, is better than "that of Puffendorf, who was much inferior in erudition to Grotius; but if Grotius is more elegant, "he is more obscure, because of the conciseness of his "stile; and therefore Puffendorf in that respect is "is more adapted to all capacities. The great oeconomy of the work of the latter is much better than "that of the former; but in the particular disposition of the materials which compose every chapter, "he sometimes shows an irregularity that is not to "be found in Grotius. In fine, Grotius's system is "not near so compleat and full as that of Puffendorf, "since in writing a system of natural Law, an "author ought necessarily to introduce the knowledge of the principles of morality, of the different "qualities of human actions, and whence it is "that they may be ascribed to good or evil; of the "nature of the Laws in general, and the different "kinds of them. It is this composes Puffendorf's first "book, on which Grotius is wholly silent: but if we "were to judge of the work of the latter from his Prolegomena and the title itself, we should plainly see, "that he did not intend to treat of the Law of Nature "in a compleat and systematic manner; but only to "give a short idea of it." The most correct edition of this work of Grotius, is that published by Mr. Barbeyrac, at Amsterdam, anno 1720, in 8vo, with Gronovius's notes, and some by himself. *Addit. by the Transl.*] *In* 1673 *was published Henry Heniges's Commentaries on Grotius. He adheres to the opinions of this author, and supports them against those who have opposed them.* About the same time John George Simon reprinted Grotius's work with notes, relating particularly to the Civil Law, and that of nations. He sometimes takes part with John a Felden against him. In 1676 Samuel Rachelius published his treatise *de Jure Naturæ & Gentium*, and Valentinus Velthem, *published his introduction* to Grotius's work in three volumes. John George Kulpis published likewise his remarks on the same work of Grotius anno 1682, and Gronovius enriched it with learned notes in 1680. M. le Courtin translated it into French in 1687. [This is a very bad version, but a beautiful one was given by Barbeyrac, and published at Amsterdam anno 1724, in two volumes 4to. *Addit. by the Transl.*] Becman published it in 1691 *cum Notis Variorum*; that is, he extracted them *from the most celebrated authors who had wrote on this subject*, as Boeclerus, Osiander, Puffendorf, Simon, Gronovius, and some others. It is added in Chauvin's memoir, that there was published in 1696, a new edition of this work of Grotius in folio, with Commentaries by Vandemeulen (82). It is to be observed, that this memoir serves as an introduction to the extract which Chauvin has published of a commentary of *Joh. Tesmarius in Hugonis Grotii de Jure Belli ac Pacis libros III* published at Francfort in folio anno 1696, with the notes of Ulric Obrecht on the same work of Grotius. Mr. Tesmar, who died in 1693, had employed twenty years in writing this Commentary (83). The work of Mr. Becman abovementioned was reprinted at Francfort on the Oder anno 1699 in 4to, under the following title. *Hugonis Grotii de Jure Belli & Pacis libri tres, in quibus Jus Naturæ & Gentium, item Juris publici præcipua explicantur cum Annotatis Autoris ex postrema ejus ante obitum cura. Accesserunt excerpta Annotationum variorum virorum insignium in totum opus. Edente Joh. Christoph. Becmanno.* Thus Grotius, fifty years after his death obtained an honour which the antients did not receive till many ages after they had left the world, I mean, that he has been published *cum Notis Variorum*. I just now read in a work of Crenius (84), that Theodore Graswinckel wrote the original of this work of Grotius, he writing whilst the author dictated, *ex ore dictantis Grotii se excepisse, eosque in ordinem demum redegisse*. Christopher Arnoldus was told this particular by Graswinckel himself, and inserted it in a letter which was printed with those of Richterus. [Grotius began this celebrated work anno 1623,

(79) See the *Journal des Savans*, of Jan. 25, 1666, pag. m. 80.

(80) William Grotius.

(81) He is Professor in the new University of Hall, anno 1696.

(82) It should be *Vander Meulen*. See the Extract of his book, in *l'Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, Nov. 1695. pag. 123, *& seq.*

(83) Chauvin, *Journal des Savans de Berlin*, pag. 316, 317.

(84) Thomas Crenius, *Anim.* Part 5. pag. 204.

Countries [*P*]. He compoſed it in his youth, in imitation of Tacitus's Laconic ſtyle.

☞ We ſhall add ſome particulars (many of which, as well as thoſe additional ones given in the Notes, are from Gaſpar Brandt) to this Life of Hugo Grotius by Mr. Bayle [*Q*].

GRUTER

during his abode in France, and made choice of an agreeable retirement to compoſe it in. The Preſident John James de Meſmes had offered him his country-ſeat, called Balagni, near Senlis, whither he went in the beginning of June. As Grotius wanted to recover his health, (he having been afflicted with a fit of ſickneſs) he worked but ſlowly at firſt; but nevertheleſs he made advantage even of his airings, between which and his ſtudies he then divided his whole time. He did not leave Balagni till Auguſt, which he did upon hearing that Mr. de Meſmes was coming to reſide there; and therefore he left it for fear of incommoding him, and removed to Senlis, where he continued his work all that ſummer; and returning to Paris the 21ſt of October, finiſhed it in that city. In June, of the following year 1624, he was employed in tranſcribing his book for the preſs, on which occaſion he made uſe of Theodorus Granſwinckel his friend and countryman. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

[*P*] *I ſhall take ſome notice of Grotius's book concerning the Hiſtory of the Low Countries.*] It contains the tranſactions that happened there, from the departure of Philip II till the year 1608. It is divided into Annals and Hiſtory. The Annals contain V Books, the Hiſtory XVIII, and begin at the year 1588. *Caſaubon, who had read ſome part of it as early as the year* 1613, *ſpeaks advantageouſly of it, in a letter written by him, from London, to Thuanus* (85). He obſerves, that there were XXI Books in this work. However, he had not computed juſtly; but perhaps the two laſt Books were added ſince. The author had not publiſhed this Hiſtory, he having ſhewn it only in manuſcript to Caſaubon. *It was not publiſhed till after the author's death, Grotius having particular reaſons not to let the manuſcript go out of his hands till after his death ...* (86). *Madam Grotius refuſed to let Mr. Sarrau have the manuſcript of this Hiſtory, though he offered two thouſand livres* (87). It was printed at Amſterdam, by John Bleau, anno 1657, in folio, and anno 1658, in 12mo (88). *It was tranſlated into French by l'Heritier* (89). A new edition of the French Tranſlation was made at Paris, Anno 1672 in folio. See the extract which Mr. *Denys* gave of it, in his ſeventh Memoir concerning Arts and Sciences (90). Here follows the judgment of the Author of Parrhaſiana. "We may join to Polybius "a famous modern Hiſtorian, who, tho' he had ſuffered great hardſhips by the injuſtice of a great "Prince, has nevertheleſs related his Actions as "carefully as any indifferent Hiſtorian could have done, "and drawn him every where in ſuch a light, as his "exalted qualities deſerved; without letting one word "eſcape him, which might ſhew that he had juſt "reaſon to complain of his ill treatment, The Per"ſon I ſpeak of is the imcomparable *Hugo Grotius*, "who in his Hiſtory of the Low-Countries, ſpeaks of "Prince Maurice of Naſſau, as tho' he had never "been uſed ill by him. This is a remarkable Inſtance "of impartiality and diſintereſtedneſs; and ſhews that "'tis not impoſſible for a man to conquer his Paſſion and "ſpeak well of his Enemies, as many People imagine "who form a judgment of others from themſelves "(91)." The Author, who has applauded this excellent Circumſtance in Grotius's work, did not do it out of Flattery; he cenſuring him a little afterwards for a thing which deſerves Cenſure. I mean Grotius's Style, which ſhews the goodneſs of his Taſte. "None of thoſe, ſays he 92), who ſpoke with beauty "and propriety at Athens or Rome, expreſſed "themſelves ſo obſcurely in Converſation, as Thucy"dides and Tacitus did in their writings. 'Twas "doubtleſs from an endeavour to raiſe themſelves a"bove the uſual Forms of expreſſion, that they fell "into that obſcurity which has been juſtly cenſured in "their Style. It cannot be denied but that this is an "affected Style, and that thoſe authors thought to give "a merit to their Hiſtories, by a manly eloquence as "it were, in which the writer ſeems to expreſs ma"ny ideas in a few words, and in ſuch a manner, as "is above the capacity of the vulgar. I cannot ap"prehend why ſome learned men propoſed to imitate "them, and could approve of their Style, as Hugo "Grotius, and Dionyſius Voſſius, in his Tranſlation "of Rheide's Hiſtory. For certainly there is no "occaſion that thoughts ſhould be obſcure, in order "for their appearing beautiful to ſuch as are judges of "Diction; and a Reader, who is interrupted every "inſtant, in order to ſeek for the Hiſtorian's mean"ing, does not think himſelf in the leaſt obliged to "him for giving him this trouble. Hence it is, that "many Hiſtories, tho' excellent as to the materials, "are read by few; whereas did ſuch Hiſtorians intend "to write for the inſtruction of thoſe, who are ſuffi"ciently skilled in the Latin Tongue, to read an Hi"ſtorian with Pleaſure; they ſhould endeavour to "make themſelves be eaſily underſtood by ſuch "Perſons: and to make their work uſeful to as ma"ny People as poſſible. The more a Hiſtory is "worthy of being read, on account of the Tranſla"tion contained in it, the more general it ought to "be made. The Authority of the Antients, who "neglected perſpicuity of Style, cannot juſtify ſuch "moderns as imitated them, contrary to the reaſons I "have mentioned, or rather contrary to good ſenſe. There is nothing in Tacitus's writings that deſerve leſs to be imitated than the too Laconick, and conſequently obſcure diction of Tacitus; and yet 'tis in this particular that this great Hiſtorian has been moſtly imitated. I am very ſorry that Grotius did not endeavour to ſhun this fault. The great Mr. *Bignon* who diſapproved of this too conciſe Style, perſuaded the Author to alter it. *Amavit* (*Grotius*) *ubique orationem preſſam, & quadam dignitate gravem, a qua nec in hiſtoria ſibi temperavit. Satis conſtat, virum noſtri ſæculi ſummum, omniſque doctrinæ & auctorem & cenſorem graviſſimum*, Hieronymum Bignonium, *cum ineditas adhuc Grotii Hiſtorias & Annales legiſſet, non probaſſe brevitatem orationis, obſcuritati obnoxiam, in illo genere ſcripturæ quod à perſpicua venuſtate potiſſimum commendationem caperet; peneque Grotio perſuaſiſſe, ut reſcriberet* (93), i. e. "Grotius was every where fond "of a Laconic and majeſtick diction, which he "could not refrain from employing in Hiſtory. 'Tis "well known, that one of the greateſt and moſt "learned men of our age, Jerom Bignon, having per"uſed Grotius's Hiſtories and Annals in manuſcript, "did not approve of the conciſeneſs of the Style; "whereby it was rendered obſcure, in a Species of "writing, whoſe chief beauty and recommendation "are Perſpicuity; and that he had almoſt prevailed "with Grotius to write it anew." Neufville, in the Preface to his Hiſtory of Holland, aſſerts that Grotius had begun to mould his work anew. [Abbé Langlet gives the following character of Grotius's work. This able Hiſtorian (ſays he) has more experience than any of thoſe who have writ the Hiſtory of Holland, and few Authors were more capable of writing on ſo great a Subject. As he imitates Tacitus, he is ſometimes obſcure, and requires a Reader who has ſome Knowledge in this Hiſtory. ADD. REM.

[*Q*] *We ſhall add ſome particulars to this Life of Hugo Grotius.*] His mother was named Alide d'Overſchies, and was born of a conſiderable Family (*). Henry IV. of France was ſo well pleaſed with Grotius, that he preſented him with a gold chain, and a medal with his Picture; at which Grotius was ſo overjoy'd, that he cauſed his own head to be engraved, with theſe Ornaments under it (†). At his return from France to his native Country, his Father fearing leſt the ſtrong Propenſion he ſhewed for polite Literature, ſhould cauſe in him a Diſinclination to Buſineſs, prevailed with his Son to devote himſelf to the Bar (‡). Being appointed Attorney-general of Holland, Zeland, and Weſt-Friezland at but twenty four years of Age, he diſcharged the Function of his employment with

(85) Colomiés, *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, pag. 24. edit. 1699.

(86) Idem, ibid.

(87) Idem, ibid. pag. 25.

(88) There is alſo an edition in 8vo. The 12mo edition is full of typographical errors.

(89) Colomiés, *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, pag. 25.

(90) Pag. 85. of the *Mem. of Mr. Denys*, edit. de Paris 1672.

(91) *Parrhaſiana*, pag. 160.

(92) Ibid. pag. 179.

(93) Boecler. *Præfat. Commentar.* in Grotium, *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, pag. m. 30.

(*) Niceron, *Hommes illuſtres*, vol. 19. pag. 315. Paris 1732.

(†) Ibid. pag. 317.

(‡) Idem, ibid.

GRUTER (PETER) was born in the Palatinate. Thomas Gruter his father, who had fled thither (*a*) on account of the perſecution raiſed againſt the Proteſtants in the Low-Countries, was Profeſſor at Duiſburg [*A*], and had three or four ſons who were all ſcholars [*B*]. Peter Gruter, of whom I now write, practiſed Phyſic in ſeveral cities of Flanders, in Dixmuid, Oſtend, &c. and was not very well pleaſed with the Flemings (*b*). He publiſhed at Leyden, in 1609, a Century of Latin Epiſtles, which met with very ill treatment both from the Printers and Criticks [*C*]. He affected, in thoſe Epiſtles, a ſtyle that was diſguiſed by old words and antiquated phraſes. He left Oſtend in 1620, and withdrew to Middleburg. I know not whether he made a long ſtay in this city; but I believe he endeavoured to make his fortune in ſeveral places, before he ſettled in Amſterdam, where the Magiſtrates were very kind to him (*c*). He there publiſhed a new Century of Epiſtles in 1629 [*D*], and died in that place anno 1634 (*d*). Swertius (*e*) declares that he was born in Ziriczée in Zeland, and reſided ſome years in Italy.

(*a*) Valer. And. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 741.

(*b*) See the 2d Century of his *Letters*.

(*c*) See the Dedication to the 2d Century of his *Letters*.

(*d*) Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 741.

(*e*) *Ath. Belg.* pag. 618.

GRUTER

with ſo much wiſdom and integrity, that the penſion annexed to that office was increaſed in his favour, and he was promiſed a Senator's place in the Dutch wars (‡). Upon his accepting the Poſt of Syndic of Rotterdam, he took the utmoſt care not to offend either Party; but endeavoured to behave ſo well towards both, that no one might have a juſt occaſion to cenſure his conduct; in which he ſeems to have been ſucceſsful at firſt, as he ſome time after was admitted a member of the States of Holland (*). His negotiation with the Engliſh Merchants about the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, proved of advantage to the Dutch, and he had the pleaſure to receive ſome marks of the benevolence and eſteem of King James I. and to contract an intimate Friendſhip with Iſaac Caſaubon, with whom he had correſponded before (*). During his Impriſonment the only conſolation allowed him was his Wife's company, and the Books which his Friends were permitted to lend him. Theſe generally uſed to ſend him a large trunk full at a time, which he ſtudied day and night, and afterwards returned them; and 'twas during his Impriſonment that he tranſlated Stobæus (†). The reaſons commonly given for Grotius's leaving France, are either, that his enemies had prevailed with Cardinal Richelieu to cut off his penſion, or that the ſtate of the French King's Treaſury made it neceſſary for him to retrench his Liberalities (‖). During his ſtay in Hambourg, the Kings of Denmark, Poland, and Spain, invited him into their reſpective Dominions; but not thinking that the propoſals they made, ſuited him, he perſiſted in his firſt deſign of ſerving the crown of Sweden (§). Cardinal Richelieu was ſo much diſguſted to ſee Grotius come embaſſador into a Kingdom where he had been refuſed Subſiſtence, that he obliged him to ſtop at St. *Denys*, till the return of a courier from Sweden, in order to know the final Reſolution of the Chancellor Oxenſtern; but this Miniſter continuing inexorable, the French were obliged to receive Grotius; who accordingly made his entry into Paris (‡). At his return from his embaſſy at the Court of France, great honours were paid him in Holland, in his Journey through it to Sweden; becauſe the face of Affairs was greatly changed in the United Provinces; moſt of his enemies being dead, and many of thoſe reſtored to their employments, who had been removed from them. Hugo Grotius's eldeſt ſon, Cornelius by name, was for ſome time attach'd to the ſervice of Chancellor Oxenſtern. He was a pretty good Latin Poet, but indolent and fond of pleaſure. The ſecond named Dieteric, had been page to Duke Bernard de Weymard; was afterwards his Aid de Camp, and was aſſaſſinated by his Footman in an inn (†) 'Tis to be obſerved that Peter, whom Mr. Bayle declares to have been the ſecond Son of Hugo Grotius, is called his third Son in Father Niceron (*). The husband of Grotius's daughter, Cornelia, owed his ruin to the de Wits (‖).]

(‡) Ibid. pag. 318.

(*) Ibid. pag. 318, 319.

(*) Ibid. pag.

(†) Ibid. pag. 320.

(‖) Ibid. pag. 323.

(§) Ibid. pag. 324.

(‡) Ibid. pag. 326.

(‖) *Hommes illuſtres, ubi ſupra.*

(*) Ibid. pag. 331.

(†) Ibid. pag. 331.

[*A*] *Thomas Gruterus his father . . . was Profeſſor at Duiſburg* (1).] We are informed of this particular by ſome Letters which were printed at the end of the 2d Century of Peter Gruterus his ſon, ſome of which were wrote by that Thomas Gruterus. He had compoſed ſeveral works (2); and, among others, the Hiſtory of David George, and a confutation of his heretical tenets.

(1) In 1560 and 1561. Cent. 2. Epiſt. Petri Gruteri, pag. 197, 198.

(2) They were never printed. A liſt of them is found in *Cent.* 2. *Epiſt. Petri Gruteri*, pag. 200.

[*B*] . . . *and had three or four ſons who were all Scholars.*] JAMES GRUTER, ſon to Thomas, was Hiſtory Profeſſor in the illuſtrious School of Middleburg, anno 1604. Some of his Letters have been printed at the end of the ſecond Century of Peter Gruter his brother, with the catalogue of ſome books, which had been written by him, but were never printed. REINIER GRUTER, ſon to Thomas, was Principal of Caſimir-College in Heidelberg. Some Letters which he had wrote to his brother Peter, are annexed to the ſecond Century abovementioned. The catalogue of his manuſcript compoſitions are not omitted in it. John Gruter, another ſon to Thomas, left his ſtudies, and took a journey into Italy which proved unfortunate; for having been ſo imprudent as to diſpute on the Euchariſt, he was forced to fly, to prevent his falling into the hands of the Inquiſition. He fled in the night to Naples, and ſet out a little after to return into his native Country; but died of ſickneſs before he had ended his journey (3). Some of his Letters have been publiſhed with thoſe of his brothers.

(3) Petri Gruteri, *Epiſt. Cent.* 2. pag. 234.

[*C*] *His Latin Epiſtles met with very ill treatment, both from the Printers and Criticks.*] Here follows the complaint made by him in the beginning of the ſecond Century (4): *Externa quoque fata ſæpe eas involvunt; Typographo alibi ſtertente, & correctoris ignaviâ vacillante; quæ ſors meas certe obruit, nuſquam prælo magis famæ autoris invidente, quibus ſi deſidiam illius aſſocio, cujus fidei typorum curam adſcripſeram, omnem excuſationis cumulum confeci.* i. e. "They likewiſe often in-"fluenced by outward accidents; as thro' the indo-"lence and ſupineneſs of the printer and corrector. "This certainly was the fate of my Epiſtles, no wri-"ter's reputation having ſuffered more by the preſs. "If I add to this the negligence of the perſon whom "I truſted with the impreſſion, I ſhall have apologiz-"ed ſufficiently for my ſelf." The ſame complaint is found in an hundred other places in this work. His reſentment againſt thoſe who cenſured the firſt Century, appears as often, and is no leſs vehement. His ſon hopes, that the ſecond Century will meet with a more favourable reception. *Vario fato prima Centuria fluctuavit, iniqui ſubinde cenſoris aciem experta, prout rudi manu libram hanc vitio-creti judices verſarunt. Sed qui felices adoleſcentiæ tuæ primitias non benignè ventilarunt, fœcundæ virilitatis meſſem admirari diſcant* (5). i. e. "The firſt Century of Epiſtles met with a various "fate, meeting ſometimes with unjuſt criticks, as it "happened to be read by ill judges. But let thoſe "who criticized the happy firſt fruits of your youth, "learn to admire the harveſt of your fruitful man-"hood." The truth is, thoſe Epiſtles were very juſtly ridiculed; and nevertheleſs a great many people ſent the author very fine encomiums upon his work, all which he publiſhed at the head of his ſecond Century. This ſhews, that whoever writes to a vain author, whoſe compoſitions are bad, ought to weigh well his expreſſions. One might juſtly fear, that ſuch a man would publiſh the applauſes that are beſtowed upon him, in caſe he has the originals in his own hands. Peter Gruter foreſaw, that his affecting an antiquated ſtyle would not pleaſe; for which reaſon he made an apology beforehand, and printed it with the firſt Epiſtles (6).

(4) Pag. 4.

(5) P. Gruteri, *Epiſt. Cent.* 2. pag. 184.

(6) *Centuria Epiſtolarum & Apologia pro eadem, quâ inſtituti ſui & ſtyli ab uſu & Latiniſmi puritate abhorrentis rationem reddit.* Val. Andr. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 742.

[*D*] *He publiſhed a new Century of Epiſtles.*] Valerius Andreas is miſtaken, in ſaying that Iſaac Gruter, the author's ſon, publiſhed it. It appears evidently, both by the Dedication and Preface, and a Letter of Giles Snouck, at the head of the reſt, that Peter Gruter put out the ſecond Century. This appears even by a Letter of his ſon Iſaac, printed at the end of the Book with a *Carmen gratulatorium* compoſed by him on that edition, and with ſome other Letters written by him to various perſons.

GRUTER (JANUS) a learned Philologer, and one of the moſt laborious writers of his age, was born at Antwerp the 3d of December 1560. He was but a child, when his father (a) and mother, being perſecuted for the Proteſtant Religion by the Ducheſs of Parma, Governeſs of the Netherlands, carried him into England. His mother, who was a learned woman, was his chief tutor [A]. He ſpent ſome years in the Univerſity of Cambridge, after which he came to that of Leyden [B], to ſtudy the Civil Law. He there took his Doctor's degree, but afterwards applied himſelf wholly to polite Literature, and ſoon publiſhed ſome critical works [C]. Though it is known, in general, that he travelled, it is not poſſible to deſcribe the circumſtances and order of his travels. He was in Pruſſia, when Chriſtian Duke of Saxony offered him the Chair of Hiſtory-Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Wittemberg. He accepted it, but enjoyed it but few months, on account of the demiſe of Chriſtian which happened a little after; and becauſe thoſe who ſucceeded him in the Government, obliged all the Profeſſors to ſubſcribe a formulary, or reſign their employments; but Gruter choſe to reſign his employment, rather than ſubſcribe any confeſſion of faith againſt his conſcience [D]. I find that he read public

(a) I ſpeak of him towards the cloſe of the remark [B].

[A] *His mother, ... was a learned woman.*] She was an Engliſh woman (1), named Catherine Tiſhem (2). She was ſo well verſed in the Greek language that ſhe could read Galen in that tongue, which very few Phyſicians are able to do. *Is ſicut rebus duris conſtantiæ doctores utrumque parentem, ita matrem præcipuè ſtudiorum magiſtram, votum ſimul Agaſiclis conſecutus eſt, ut eorum diſcipulus diceretur, quorum & filius eſſet. Mater enim præter Gallicam, Italicam, Britannicam linguam, Latinas literas optimè, Græcas ita callebat, ut & Galenum, quod milleſimus Medicus vix ſolet, linguâ Galeni legerit.* i. e. "Gruter was taught, by both his "parents, to bear adverſity with patience; and his "mother was his chief Inſtructor, whereby he had "what Agaſicles wiſhed for, viz. the having a parent "for his tutor; for his mother, beſides French, Ita-"lian and Engliſh, was ſo exceedingly well ſkilled in "the Latin tongue &c." I am afraid that thoſe who have publiſhed catalogues of learned women, have omitted Catherine Tiſhem too often.

(1) Fridericus Hermannus Flayderus, *in Vita & Morte Jani Gruteri.*

(2) Balthaſar Venator, *in Panegyrico Gruteri, apud* Henning. Witte, *Memor. Philoſophorum, Oratorum &c.* pag. 227.

[B] *He ſpent ſome years in the Univerſity of Cambridge, after which he came to that of Leyden.*] He ſtudied there ſeven years, if we may credit Valerius Andreas (3), who cites a preface of Gruter himſelf, and adds that Gruter had lived in England from the age of four years to nineteen; and that being deſirous of ſettling in his native country, after taking his Degree of Doctor of Laws, he left it immediately, upon advice being brought that it was going to be beſieged by the Duke of Parma. His father, who was a conſiderable man, and poſſeſſed employments in that city during the ſiege, being unwilling that his ſon ſhould ſtay in it, and partake in the inconveniencies of a ſiege, ſent him to France. Theſe computations are far from exact; for they ſuppoſe that the Duke of Parma beſieged Antwerp in 1586, which is not true. He beſieged it in 1584; ſo that if Gruter had left Leyden to retire to Antwerp before the ſiege; he could not have ſtudied in England till nineteen years of age, and afterwards ſeven years in Leyden. By the way, our Gruter's father's name was Gualtherus, and was a Burgomaſter of Antwerp (4). He ſigned the famous petition which was preſented to the Ducheſs of Parma, and whence the word *Gueux* (beggars) aroſe. After being proſcribed, he ſuffered many hardſhips before he got to Norwich in England, where he made a conſiderable ſtay. He afterwards came to Middlebourg, whence he went to Antwerp when the States had poſſeſſed themſelves of it. He deſired the Senate to grant him an exemption from all offices, which were allowed him till the City was threatned with a ſiege; for then he was not only Captain of his diſtrict or ward, but alſo one of the four Intendants of the proviſions. *Gualtherus vici ſui magiſter delectus eſt; cui muneri minùs gravi ſucceſſit deinde gravius, cum* Parmenſis *obſidionem feciſſet. Rei namque frumentariæ quatuorvir, collegis* Aldegondio, Leſdale, & Roſa, *adſcitus in partem gloriæ illius mittendus eſt, quod annonæ conſcientiam ſic inter paucos ſeptam tenuiſſent, ut citra deditionem nec civi, nec hoſti conſtare poſſet, tantum tridui frumentum ſuperfuiſſe* (5).

(3) In *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 438.

(4) Flayderus, *in Vita & Morte J. Gruteri.*

(5) Venator, *in Panegyrico Gruteri*, pag. 224.

[C] *He ſoon publiſhed ſome critical works.*] The firſt pieces he publiſhed were Latin Verſes. He was then about twenty. *Famæ ſuæ immortalis januam circa annum vigeſimum aperiebat verſibus, quos Ocellos vocabat* (6). He afterwards publiſhed at Wittemberg in 1591, *Suſpicionum Libri IX, in quibus varia Scriptorum loca emendata & explicata*; and then he publiſhed, ſucceſſively, Notes on moſt of the authors of antient Rome; on the two Senecas, Martial, Tully, Livy, Florus, Velleius Paterculus &c.

(6) Flayderus, *in Vita & Morte Gruteri.*

[D] *He choſe to reſign his employment, rather than ſubſcribe any confeſſion of faith againſt his conſcience.*] He was required to ſign the book of Concord; but he anſwered, that he did not know this Book; had never ſeen nor read it; and that it would be the greateſt raſhneſs in him to approve a book he had never examined. *Gruterus, cùm* Librum Concordiæ *nec vidiſſet nec legiſſet unquam abſtinuit à ſubſcriptione, quod temerarium eſſet & fatuum judicare de re, quam non videris, approbare Librum, quem non legeris, firmare ſententiam quam non conſideraveris, ſubſcribere divinis quæ cum divinis nondum contuleris. Miſſionem igitur prætulit* (7). He therefore was removed with two other perſons who refuſed to ſubſcribe; but they came off much cheaper than he; half a year's ſalary being paid them by way of gratification, as is practiſed in thoſe countries with regard to ſuch perſons as are diſcharged honourably; but as to Gruter, ſo far from having this preſent made him, they did not defray even ſo much as the expences of his journey. He was the worſt courtier in the world, thought of nothing but his books, and did not loſe his time in endeavouring to gain the protection of favourites by ſubmiſſions and cringing viſits; and he judged, that all things duly conſidered, it would be more advantageous to him to give up all thoughts of that preſent, than to trifle away his time in tedious ſollicitations. *Causâ ſuperius indicatâ, quod purpuras Aulicas adorare neſcierat, Principi verò tormentum, aut ſupplicationis continuæ fidiculas adhibere ſibi interdixerat. Minus enim moleſtiæ ineſſe videbatur diſpendio expedito, quàm ſtipendio aut præmio intricato* (8). This is the genuine character of a true lover of ſtudy. But I know not whether we may not think it ſtrange, that a man who had read ſuch a multitude of books, ſhould be abſolutely unacquainted with that of *The Concord*. I am of opinion that Gruter was not a man of vaſt genius; but his extraordinary application, his boundleſs deſire to inform his mind with a numberleſs multitude of particulars, and the prodigious induſtry he employed in making collections, gained him a univerſality which nature had denied him. But then, why did he neglect to inform himſelf of a thing, which divided the Churches, and made ſo much noiſe among Divines? Probably he had no manner of inclination to ſtudies relating to controverſy. To ſpeak in a more poſitive way; he did not approve in any manner the diſputes which were carried on between Divines. *Erat noſter alienus ab iſtis velitationibus, quas nec in aliis probavit* (9). He would never concern himſelf with them; he never quarrelled with the Romaniſts about Religion, and on that account was ſuſpected of being inclined to change his Religion. Venator, his Panegyriſt, exclaims a little againſt thoſe who harboured ſuch ſuſpicions, he employing the following terms on that occaſion (10). *Huc accedit quædam alia dementia, quæ frigere eos dicit in Religione, quos in contentiones non vident ardeſcere.* Pontificio *non oblocutus es?* Ponficius *haberis.* Lutherano *non reluctatus?* Lutheranus *audis.* Calviniſtæ *non inſultaſti?* Calviniſta *es. Iſtis enim nominibus invicem diſcedimus. Novi qui de*

(7) Venator, in *Panegyr. Gruteri*, pag. 244.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Idem, pag. 269.

(10) Ibid.

public Lectures in the Univerſity of Roſtock (*b*); but I know not when, nor in what manner he left it. The place where he made the moſt conſpicuous figure as Profeſſor, was the Univerſity of Heidelberg, where he alſo had the direction of that famous Library (*c*) which was carried to Rome ſome time after. This employment ſuited him wonderfully well, and enabled him to publiſh a great number of Commentaries. One of the moſt uſeful works publiſhed by him, is a large collection of inſcriptions [*E*]. Nothing could be

(*b*) See the remark [*D*] citation (10).

(*c*) He began to have it about anno 1602.

GRUTERO propter hanc ipſam cauſam Tranſitionem ſparſerant. Sicut & David Chytræus, *quod in* Academia Roſtochiana *GRUTERO, qui tunc ibidem* Suetonium *legebat, conjunctior erat, & ſtudium rixandi averſabatur,* Calviniani *nominis invidiam ſuſtinuit.* i. e. "We may join another piece of madneſs to this, "*viz.* the calling thoſe cold in matters of religion, "who are not inflamed with a ſpirit of controverſy. "Have you never railed againſt Papiſts? Immediately you are looked upon as a Papiſt. Have "you never had any conteſt with a Lutheran? You "are called a Lutheran. Did you never inſult a "Calviniſt? You are a Calviniſt; for ſuch are the "names that, by turns, divide us. I am acquainted "with ſome perſons, who, on this very account, "ſpread a report that Gruter was gone over. In "the ſame manner David Chytræus, becauſe he was "very familiar, in the Univerſity of Roſtoch, with "Gruter, who at that time read lectures on Suetonius "there, and abhorred ſtrife, was ſtigmatized with "the name of Calviniſt." The Panegyriſt had juſt before ſpoken very judiciouſly againſt ſuch as are fond of diſputing, and on the evil effects which ariſe from controverſies. A man, *ſays the author*, does not grow better, but is thereby more inflamed againſt his neighbour. *Certamina talia ſemper feré iſtis eventibus finiuntur, ut acerbius fiat odium inter partes, & nemo per illa melior. Mira res eſt, quod commiſſionibus factionum, argumentorum verſutiis, clamoribus, convitiis, mutuis execrationibus Deo nos gratiores fieri putamus, cum amor, & pax, & manſuetudo, & præcedentum mater Fides nobis rem conficiant, quorum tamen poſtrema cura habetur, & inter diſceptandum nulla. Hæreſes odiſti? Dicam quæ maxima ſit,* Hypocriſis. *Hanc prius exuamus. Quotus enim quiſque de gloria Dei priùs cogitat, quam de ſua? Quotuſquiſque melius vivit, quàm diſputat* (11)! i. e. "It is ſurpriſing, that we "ſhould think to make our ſelves more acceptable to the "divine Being, by factious controverſies, by clamours, "by railing, and by reciprocal execrations, when "love, peace, mildneſs, and faith, the parent of "them all, are enough for our purpoſes, and ne"vertheleſs are taken care of the laſt of all, and "not the leaſt in diſpute. Do you hate hereſies? "I will tell you which is the greateſt of all He"reſies; it is *Hypocriſy*. Let us firſt root this out of "our minds; for who among us conſiders God's Glo"ry ſooner than his own? How many live better "than they diſpute?" I muſt inform my Readers, that they muſt not too highly credit what Venator advances on this head; for he appears too much exaſperated againſt Divines, and draws them in too odious colours. We ought therefore to read the following words with great caution (12). *Multas inauſpicatas, inimicas & arcentes aves mortales illi ubique fere nanciſcuntur, nullas tamen infeſtiores hodie, quam quæ de ſuggeſtu diris omnibus regnant, & populares animos odiis aſperant, quos vetus Augurum diſciplina ignoravit, niſi, quia de ſummo vocem mittunt,* Supervaganeas *cum antiquis appelles, aut picarum generi adſcribas quodam collegio naturæ, quoniam utriſque par inſolentia, quam illis fabulæ tribuunt, par conviciandi & obtrectandi libido,*

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid. pag. 222.

THE character which Venator gives of Divines.

Raucaque garrulitas, ſtudiumque immane loquendi.

Dicam clariùs. Sunt nonnulli (abſit enim ut omnes eadem cenſura vexem) & in ipſa matre noſtra Germania de ſacro ordine homines ſacerrimi, qui velut divinarum & humanarum rerum, judices atque arbitri tanta confidentia partem illam, quam neſcio quis optimam & peſſimam dixit, exercent, ut quidvis in quoſvis, nullâ curâ verum an falſum, intemperanter effundant, aureſque & fidem Vulgi ignobiliſſima captivitate damnent & ſervitute. Aliquis ipſis non dedit? Avaritia: non ſcrupuloſe ſatis honoravit? Arrogantia: non laudavit? Ambitio: non rudis eſt? Invidia: non aſſentitur? Inimicitia: malum morem tangit, tum vero capitale odium eos facit diſertos. i. e. "Theſe men get, in almoſt all places, many in"auſpicious, envious Birds, yet none more pernicious "at this time, than thoſe which triumph from the "Pulpit with curſes of every kind, and inflame the "minds of the vulgar; ſuch as the antient diſcipline "of the Augurs was wholly ignorant of, except that, "becauſe they declaim from on high, you will de"nominate them, with the antients, *Supervaganeæ*; or "place them among the Magpies, from a certain ſi"militude in their natures, becauſe both have the "ſame inſolence which are aſcribed to them in Fa"ble the like luſt of ſlander and detraction;

"A hoarſe garrulity, and boundleſs thirſt
"Of ſpeaking. ———

"To be plainer. There are ſome, (Heaven forbid "that I ſhould cenſure them all in the ſame manner) "even in our own country (Germany), perſons of the "moſt ſacred character, who, as if they were the only "judges and arbiters of both divine and human "things, act in ſo confident a manner that part, which "ſome one has called the beſt and worſt; that they "publiſh any thing of any perſon without the leaſt "guard or caution, whether it be right or wrong; "and captivate in a moſt ignoble manner the ears "and faith of the vulgar. Does any one refuſe to "be liberal to them? They cry, he is covetous: "does not he pay them ſufficient honour? He is ar"rogant: has he not applauded them? He is ambi"tious: is he not ill bred? He is envious: does he "not aſſent to them? He is their enemy: but if he "blames them for their bad morals, ſo capital an "offence makes them then eloquent." This is ſufficient on this ſubject: but the author ſays much more, which the reader may have recourſe to, in caſe he is deſirous of knowing it.

[*E*] *One of the moſt uſeful works publiſhed by him, is a large collection of Inſcriptions.*] Here follows the Hiſtory of this work (13). Martin Smetius, a native of Bruges, ſpent ſix years in travelling through every part of Italy, in order to collect Inſcriptions; and having added them to thoſe which were communicated to him by ſome learned men, he digeſted them in very good order. Marcus Laurinus, Lord of Watervliet, a great lover of antiquity, deſired from him a copy of thoſe Inſcriptions, promiſing to reward him in a proper manner for his pains. Whilſt Smetius was engaged in this work, his houſe was ſet on fire, which conſumed all his furniture, as alſo his Inſcriptions, about fifty leaves excepted, which he had laid by, in a cloſet. Laurinus, by entreaties and promiſes, encouraged him to reſtore that work in its firſt perfection, which was accordingly done; after which this noble collection was put into the hands of Laurinus, who, after preparing to retire into France, to ſhun the dire effects of a civil war, took with him his Inſcriptions, and the treaſure of antient Medals which Hubert Goltzius had collected with numberleſs difficulties, and at a prodigious expence. But he was plundered of the whole by the Engliſh garriſon at Oſtend. He could not have recourſe to Smetius a ſecond time; for he being a Proteſtant Miniſter in Bruſſels, had been hanged there by the ſoldiers. Goltzius married his widow. During this interval Janus Douza, being ſent into England by order of the States, purchaſed the manuſcript Inſcriptions of an Engliſh Soldier, and gave it to Lipſius, who printed it with ſome ſupplements. Gruter took theſe Inſcriptions, and adding to them all thoſe which he had been able to collect with inexpreſſible pains, digeſted them; publiſhed them in Heidelburg anno 1601; and was ſo happy as to prevail with Joſeph Scaliger to draw up 24 Indexes, upon which that great man beſtowed ten months. *Hoc Gruterus tandem noſter aſinino prorſus labore ex lateritio marmoreum, imo aureum fecit, nam & illas pauciores primo ſervavit, & omnes*

(13) *Extracted from* Flayder's Life of Gruter.

be more affecting to a perſon of his caſt of mind, than the deſtruction of his fine Library which was plundered [*F*] with the city of Heidelberg in 1622. He had left this city before it was taken, and had retired to his ſon-in-law's at Bretten, from whence he went to Tubingen. He returned to Bretten when the affairs of the Palatinate were a little quieted; but being moleſted by the Roman Catholics [*G*], he retired to a country houſe which he bought near Heidelberg. He uſed to go, by intervals, to that city; and was come from it the day he ſickened of the diſtemper of which he died. He ſet out from it the 10th of September 1627, to go to Berkhelden (*d*), where he expired in ten days. He was buried at Heidelberg in St. Peter's Church. Juſt as he was dying, news came that he was invited by the Univerſity of Groningen, to be Profeſſor of Hiſtory and the Greek tongue (*e*). He had received invitations from ſeveral other places [*H*]. No man was

(*d*) A country ſeat belonging to Oſwaldus Smendius, his ſon-in-law, at a league's diſtance from Heidelberg. Moreri ſhould not have aſſerted that he died in Heidelberg.

(*e*) Extracted either from Balthaſar Venator, in Gruter's *Panegyric*, or from Frederic Herman Flayder, *de Vita & Morte Gruteri*.

quotquot unquam in toto orbe ſuperfuerant collegit inſcriptiones, & eaſdem in ordinem coëgit, & denique Cæſari Rudolpho parenti publico perpetuoque Auguſto dedicatum publicavit. Cui ipſemet Joſephus Scaliger in ſenecta ætate, ſolo amore atque ſtudio quo Gruterum proſequebatur compulſus, viginti quatuor Indices decem menſibus continuo illis inſudando adjecit (14). The Emperor beſtowed great encomiums on this work, and gave Gruter the choice with regard to the recompence he deſired. The author anſwered, that he would leave it to the Emperor's wiſdom and diſcretion, provided the reward was not to be pecuniary: and upon hearing that there was a deſign to give him a coat of arms, in order to raiſe the dignity of his extraction in the Empire, he declared, that, ſo far from deſiring a new coat of arms, he was too much burthened with thoſe which had devolved to him from his anceſtors. His Imperial Majeſty was then deſired to grant him a licence for all the books he ſhould publiſh (15). This the Prince conſented to. and would alſo have Gruter inveſted with a character, which might enable him to grant privileges (16). He intended to create him *Count of the ſacred Palace*; but that Monarch dying before he had ſigned the patent, this affair came to nothing. Gruter was too haſty in making his acknowledgment. *Decreta res apud Principem, approbata in Senatu Auguſto, relata ad Principem iterum, ut ſubſcribendo firmaret, quod præſcripſerat communicando. Sed Cæſarem occupavit morbus, deinde fatum, quod bonas actiones plerumque cum authoribus finit. Literæ itaque, quibus ſuperiora Privilegia continebantur, ſicut ejus generis mille alia, more quodam differendi, relictæ ſunt abſque manu Imperatoris, abſque ſignatione, nec poſtea unquam productæ, quia nova poteſtas facilius ſua beneficia orditur, quàm aliena abſolvit, & novis curis occupata rarò ſuccedit in obligationem veteris promiſſi. Itaque* GRUTERUS *luculentiſſimum munus nunquam accepit, & laudes Cæſaris optimi ſic celebravit, quaſi integrum accepiſſet* (17). i. e. "The affair was agreed to "by his Imperial Majeſty, approved by the Imperial "council, and brought back to the Emperor, that he "might ratify by his ſign manual, what he had been "pleaſed to order. But his Imperial Majeſty was "ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, and died; a circum"ſtance which commonly puts a period to good "actions with their authors. Therefore the patent "which contained the privileges abovementioned, "like a thouſand more of the ſame kind, by being "delay'd, § was left without his Imperial Majeſty's "ſignature, nor ever after produced; for a new "Monarch is more diſpoſed to begin with beſtowing "his own favours, than to compleat thoſe of his "predeceſſors; and being buſied in new cares, ſel"dom imagines himſelf obliged to make good for"mer promiſes. Thus GRUTER never received this "very conſiderable privilege: and nevertheleſs he "beſtowed the ſame encomiums on the good Em"peror, as he would have done had he enjoyed it "fully."

§ This affair muſt have been long delay'd, ſince the Emperor Rodolphus II, who is here ſpoken of, did not die till the 23d of January 1612, that is, eleven years after the publication of Gruter's book. "[This "edition of the Inſcriptions, is infinitely exceeded by "that which J. G. Grævius, publiſhed under the fol"lowing title, which expreſſes the contents of it: "*Inſcriptiones antiquæ totius orbis Romani in abſolutiſſi"mum corpus redactæ olim auſpiciis Joſephi Scaligeri "& Marci Velſeri, induſtria autem & diligentia Jani "Gruteri, nunc curis ſecundis ejuſdem Gruteri & notis "Marquardi Gudii emendatæ, & tabulis æneis à "Boiſſardo confectis illuſtratæ, denuò cura J. G. "Grævii recenſitæ. Accedunt Adnotationum Appendix & "Indices* XXV *emendati & locupletati, ut & Tyronis "liber & Senecæ notæ. Amſtelodami* 1707 *in fol.* 4 "*vol.* This is a moſt ſplendid edition in all reſ"pects." *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

(14) Flayder, *in Vita Gruteri.*

(15) Venator, *in Panegyr. Gruteri*, pag. 241, & *ſeq.*

(16) *Annuit igitur Cæſar de privilegio, & in ipſo privilegio de privilegiis ultro cogitavit. Non tantum illis quæ* GRUTERO, *ſed & quæ concederet.* GRUTERUS Comitem *enim* S. Palatii *deſignavit.* Idem, ibid. pag. 243.

(17) Ibid.

[*F*] *His fine library was plundered.*] It had coſt him twelve thouſand crowns (18). Oſwald Smendius, his ſon-in-law, endeavoured to ſave it, but in vain. He wrote for this purpoſe to one of the great officers of the Duke of Bavaria's troops, but the wild licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers prevailed over the good intention of this officer. Smendius hearing that Gruter's houſe had been plundered, went to Heidelberg, and ſaw the wild havock that had been made of his books. He endeavoured to ſave, at leaſt, thoſe which Gruter's Amanuenſis had lodged in the Elector's library, and beſought the Pope's Commiſſioner to give him leave to remove them. It was anſwered him that, as to the manuſcripts, the Pope had ordered them all to be ſought for carefully, and be carried to Rome; but that, with regard to the printed books, leave would be given for them to be reſtored to Gruter, provided that Tilly approved it, by a note ſigned by him. However, this pretended courteſy proved of no effect, becauſe Tilly could not be ſpoke with (19).

(18) Flayder. *in Vita Gruteri.*

(19) *Extracted from* Venator, *in Panegyr. Gruteri*, pag. 265.

[*G*] *He was ... moleſted by the Roman Catholics.*] I already obſerved (20) that he never loved controverſy, or religious diſputes; therefore, upon his being very much troubled and importuned by ſome young Jeſuits, who were mightily for diſputing, he ſoon left Bretten. The firſt time he anſwered them with great mildneſs, and ſet them right with regard to ſome Paſſages in St. Auſtin which they had miſquoted; but when they renewed the attacks he began to be angry; called them a parcel of preſumptuous young fellows; and told them how civilly he was treated by Andrew Schottus and James Sirmond. *Ipſum quoque juvenes quidam ex familia* Jeſuitarum *diſputando ſolicitabant, quibus ille primum placidè reſpondit, & ſemel etiam ſententiam* Auguſtini, *quam non ſatis memoriter ipſi meminerant, ex libro præſenti oſtendit, docuitque aliis verbis, & alio loco extare, quod ab illis & pro illis fuerat allatum. Deinde cùm nec dum deſiſterent, quin ipſum talibus obtunderent, libertate reſumta,* mirari ſe *dixit,* ubi frontem reliquiſſent ſemibarbatuli juvenes, ut ſperent docere ſenem ſexagenarium, qui plures Patres in vita legerit, quàm ipſi ſaltem vidiſſent. Jeſuitas ſenes & primarios (SCHOTTUM *nominabat &* SIRMONDUM) ſibi mutuo honore litterarumque commercio coli: nullam tamen ab iſtis de Religione ſibi moleſtiam exhiberi. *Erat enim noſter alienus ab iſtis velitationibus, quas nec in aliis probavit* (21). 'Twas not the buſineſs of a critic like Gruter, to diſpute about controverted points with young Jeſuits brought up in ſubtleties of the Schools; and he did not find any other way to rid himſelf of their importunities than to go and live at a diſtance from them.

(20) The remark [*D*] above.

(21) Venator, *in Panegyr. Gruteri*, pag. 268, 269.

[*H*] *He had received Invitations from ſeveral other Places.*] The moſt remarkable was that made by the univerſity of Padua. He (22) was there offered the Profeſſorſhip which was vacant by the death of Riccoboni. The ſalary was very conſiderable, and they offered him liberty of conſcience; but he refuſed all theſe advantages, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of Pinellus and Velſerus. He was afraid, in caſe he ſhould accept of ſo profitable and honourable an employment, that it would expoſe him to the attacks of envy; and he would not deprive himſelf of the publick exerciſe of his Religion. *Erat ei religioni religio, ſed*

(22) Idem, ibid. pag. 239.

was ever so laborious as Gruter, as I have already observed in the beginning [*I*]. He possessed a quality that is seldom found, I mean a disregard for wealth. He was not desirous of enlarging his fortune, bestowed alms with a very liberal hand, and used to lend money without making much enquiry whether the borrower would be able to pay him [*K*]. He

sed & erat religioni ipsa pecuniæ summa, quæ cæteroqui paucis nimia est, & multis oportuna ad impietatem merces. . . . Cultus enim divini libertatem publicam (quamvis privatim recepturus) pro quibuscunque divitiis sibi negabat esse venalem ; præterea tam humanum sciebat esse invidere alienæ felicitati, quàm alienæ virtuti, & hanc quidem propter invidiam non esse deserendam ; illum verò feliciorem esse, qui non sit infelix, quam qui cum invidia felicissimus (23). i. e. "Gruter made a conscience " of religion, and did the same of the money (salary), " which, to a few, is too great, and to many is an " opportune occasion of Impiety . . . . for he declared " that all the riches in the world should not bribe him " to leave the publick exercise of the religion he " professed, notwithstanding that he should be permit- " ed in private ; besides, he knew men are apt to " envy another's felicity, as well as virtue ; and that " the latter ought not to be forsaken on account of " envy ; but that he is more happy who is not un- " happy, than he who is most happy with envy." This is more meritorious in a critic than it would be in many others. I find that Gruter was invited to Denmark ; that constable d'Esdiguieres invited him by letter into his service ; and that Claude d'Expilli and Charles Perinet, Lord of Maugarniac, exhorted him to comply with the Constable's desire (24). The Curators of the University of Franeker offered him, in 1624, the Professorship in History (25).

(23) Ibid.

(24) Idem, ibid. pag. 275.

(25) Gruter. *Epist. ad Hofmannum* inter *Richterianas*, pag. 549.

[*I*] *No man was ever so laborious as Gruter*] How many very learned men might be called indolent, if their labours should be compared with that of Gruter? *Cum quo etiam doctissimi hujus ævi, si laboris emensi respectu comparentur, desidiosissimi vocabuntur* (26). Spizelius, who says this, had borrowed it from Flayder, who adds : *Cum etiam illi qui tota sua vita literis assident huic collati, quasi sommo & inertiæ dediti erubescere cogantur, nisi Gruteri labores callidius dissimulare velint, quam candidius æstimare.* i. e. "When even such as " pass all their lives in study, if put in comparison " with Gruter, are forced to blush as tho' they were " devoted to sleep and idleness ; unless they more " artfully dissemble, than ingenuously enumerate the " Labours of Gruter." The abovementioned Spizelius observes, that Gruter published a book almost every month. *Nullus ferè author sive Græcus sive Latinus extabat ex antiquis, quem non notis ac commentariis suis aut illustravit, aut illustrare potuerat ; nemo plura veterum recensuit monumenta & restituit ; imò singulos suæ vitæ annos, ac propemodum menses, libris singulis à se editis distinxit.* i. e. There was hard- " ly any Greek or Latin Author among the an- " tients, whom he did not illustrate with notes and " commentaries, or could have done it ; no man ever " revised and restored a greater number of antient " Monuments, insomuch, that he distinguished " each year, and almost each month of his life by " the Treatises he published." He used to study all day, and a great part of the night, and always standing : *Die toto, maximam sæpe noctium partem stans literis operam navabat . . . stans scribebat, stans legebat, stans studebat* (27). The reader will believe this extraordinary application of Gruter to be true, when he considers the number of books he either wrote or collected into a Body. His *Thesaurus Criticus* (28) is of the latter sort, wherein he collected, in six thick Octavo Volumes, a vast number of Treatises written by the most excellent Criticks, which it would have been extreamly difficult to find, had he not collected them. [In 1623, Daniel Paræus added a 7th Volume, which is far inferior to the rest. *Addit. by the Transl.*] He did the same service to many modern Poets whose works he has collected under the title of *Deliciæ Poetarum Gallorum, Italorum, Belgarum*, in nine Volumes (29). He assumed, in that compilation, the name of Ranutius Gerus, the anagram of his own (*a*). He published two Florilegia. The first in three volumes 8vo, contains a large collection of proverbs of almost all Nations, with Notes. The second is a continuation of Langius's Polyanthea. The first volume of this Continuation was printed in Strasburg anno 1624 in folio. *Composuit* (30) *quoque Polyantheæ tomum tertium & quartum, nondum tamen editos, qui si referantur ad Langianum sunt Oceanus ad guttulas.* i. e. " He also " drew up the third and fourth volume of the Poly- " anthea, not yet published, which, when put in com- " parison with that of Langius, are like an Ocean " to some drops of water." He published a *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum & Politicum*, in four thick volumes in 8vo, at Frankfort anno 1614, where, instead of his own name, he put that of *Joannes Gualterus*, in remembrance of his father (31). [Among other pieces pieces of Gruter, (the complete catalogue of which is found in vol. 9th of Father Niceron's *Hommes illustres*) is the following, *Christophori Pflugii Epistola monitoria novæ editioni Plauti quæ modò adornatur præfigenda, in qua fatuitas Apologiæ Joannis Philippi Paræi contra Janum Gruterum detegitur. Wittebergæ* 1620 *in* 8*vo.* Gruter, who did not love Pareus, having attacked the explications he had given of some passages of *Plautus*, who was his favourite Author ; the latter defended himself, and this defence drew upon him this Work of Gruter, the title of which shews the spleen with which it is written. And indeed Gruter attacks him with the most opprobrious expressions, he calling him an ass, a packhorse, a hog, a goat, an owl, a distracted wretch, &c. Gretser, for his amusement, collected from this work, 136 equally injurious invectives, which hurt the author more than the person to whom they are addressed. Pareus answered by a book intitled *Provocatio ad Senatum Criticum pro Plauto & Electis Plautinis*, 1620, and employed the like virulent terms against Gruter, who wrote another piece against Pareus. *Addit. by the Transl.*] Gruter was too passionately desirous of writing a great number of Books, for which reason they are not so perfect as one could wish, with regard to choice and judgment. *Non curat*, said Scaliger (32), *utrum charta sit cacata, modo libros multos excudat . . . quod fecit Gruterus in Senecam*, is a School-boy or a Printer's work. Amelot de la Houssaye (33) has spoke with great contempt of this critick's performance on Tacitus, and Baudius had, long before, passed the same judgment on it. *Vidi quæ J. Gruterus ad eum auctorem annotavit. Diligentiam ejus in colligendis varie sententiis improbare nefas sit. Sed (quod libere liceat) commissiones meræ sunt, &, ut flagitiosissimi Caligulæ non absonum dictum in re simili usurpem, arena sine calce. Videtur sibi proposuisse ad imitandum rationem illam, quam secutus est Lipsius in admirabili & præstantissimo opere* De civili Doctrina. *Sed Dii boni ! quam longo intervallo, quam non passibus æquis vestigia sectatur* (34). i. e. "I have seen Janus Gruter's annotations " on that Author. It would be unjust to discommend " the diligence he has employed in collecting the opi- " nions of various writers. But I cannot forbear ob- " serving, that they are a mere medley ; and, to em- " ploy an apt expression of the most wicked Caligula " on the like occasion, they are sand without lime. " Gruter seems to have proposed for his imitation, the " manner and method which Lipsius observed in his " admirable and most excellent work entitled *De ci- " vili Doctrina*. But Heavens ! how wide a difference " is there between the two Authors." The Reader will find another passage of the same Author in the remark [*M*].

(26) Spizelius, *in Felice Literato*, pag. 1042.

(27) Flayder. *in Vita Gruteri.*

(28) It is intitled, *Lampas sive Fax Artium liberalium, hoc est Thesaurus Criticus.*

(29) Printed anno 1608, 1609, 1614.

(30) These words are in the *Catalogue of Gruter's Works*, at the end of his *Life*, written by Flayder.

(31) Flayder, *ubi supra.*

(32) *Scaligerana*, pag. m. 100, 101.

(33) Preface to his Translation of Tacitus.

(34) Baudius, Epist. 13. Cent. 2. pag. m. 171.

(*a*) Mr. Bayle should have said *Gherus* ; for thus it is written in the titles of the Books in question. Father Vavasseur has writ with an *h*, but erroneously, *Grutherus*, pag. 209, *de Epigrammate Liber & Epigrammatum Libri tres, Parisiis* 1669 in 8vo. REM. CRIT.

Gruter's excessive application to Books, might probably occasion some wild flights in him, which made Commelinus say, that *Gruter was a perfect madman : When he meets with something he does not understand, he frets and fumes, and throws his book upon the floor* (35).

(35) *Scaligerana*, pag. 101.

[*K*] *He used to lend money, without making much enquiry whether the borrower would be able to pay him.*] Tho' he had been cheated on these occasions, he nevertheless would lend with great pleasure, and thought

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He ſubmitted with patience to adverſe fortune; and though he was not inſenſible at the death of his four wives, it was however obſerved, that it was not extremely difficult to comfort him on thoſe occaſions [L]. The moſt violent Literary quarrel in which he was engaged was with Philip Pareus, which I have ſpoken of elſewhere (f). That which he had with Dionyſius Godofredus was like a flood [M]; violent, but of ſhort continuance.

(f) In the remark [C] of the article PAREUS (PHILIP).

it a happineſs that he was not a woman; for then, would he ſay jokingly, I ſhould not have denied any body. *Et egenis benignè dedit, & indigis prompte credidit; utrumque virtute indolis, cum tam crudele putaret non dare eſurienti, quam inhumanum negare mutuanti. Et quamquam ipſius argentum non ſemel in mala nomina inciderat, & obliviosam fidem, facientibus ex commodato donum, quibus dignum erat ultra ſortem etiam uſuræ loco reddere gratias. Non tamen deſiſtebat ille, quoties rogaretur, pecunias promere auxiliares, cum interim ſubinde confiteretur damnoſam facilitatem ſuam, dicere per jocum ſolitus*; Bene ſecum actum, quod puella non eſſet natus, haud dubiè enim nemini ſe fuiſſe negaturum (36). i. e. "He relieved the poor in a kind manner, and readily "lent to thoſe who wanted to borrow; on both theſe "occaſions he followed his natural propenſion, he "judging it as barbarous not to feed the hungry, as "inhuman to refuſe one who wants to borrow. And "notwithſtanding that he often truſted his money in "bad hands, thoſe whom he favoured on ſuch occa"ſions looking on the monies he lent them as a gift; "whereas they ought, over and above the principal, "to have returned him thanks by way of intereſt; "yet Gruter did not leave off lending money, as of"ten as he was deſired to do it; declaring always at "the ſame time, that his too eaſy temper was preju"dicial to him; and ſaying jokingly of himſelf, that "it was happy for him he was not of the fair ſex, "for then he certainly could not have refuſed any per"ſon." Neither the ingratitude or improbity of ſome of his debtors, made him more aware of others, and require from them a ſecurity or bond. He neglected thoſe formalities in law, even when he paid his daughters portions. *In ſe itaque potius facetè luſit, quam ingratos aſperè perſtrinxit, aut propter hos inhumaniter alios rejecit, aut eoſdem ſponſoribus, teſtibus aut ſcriptis publicis ſtipavit, ut & ipſi in ære eſſent, & fides in cuſtodia. Quem morem vulgò receptum noſter ne tunc quidem adhibuit, cùm majoris etiam momenti pacta forent condenda, cum filiabus generos daret, & dotem, nulla teſtium conſcientia, nulla Formulariorum curioſitate, nullâ cerâ, quam ſocerì generique opus eſſe cenſebat* (37). i. e. "He therefore rather joked upon himſelf, than "exclaimed againſt the ingratitude of his creditors; "or inhumanly refuſed others becauſe of the ill-uſage "he had met with, or even required ſuch ſecurity "from them as might prevent his loſing the money. "This common form of proceeding he even neglected, "when he was to engage in contracts of much greater "moment, viz. when he was to beſtow his daughters "in marriage and give them portions; he imagining "that there was no occaſion of witneſſes, deeds, ſign"ing and ſealing between father and ſon in law."

(36) Venator, *in Panegyr. Gruteri*, pag. 254.

(37) Idem, ibid.

[L] *It was not extremely difficult to comfort him on thoſe occaſions, (the death of his wives.)*] This we may gather from the words of his Panegyriſt, who probably did not reveal all he knew on that head; he not looking upon inſenſibility as a commendable quality. He tells us, that one of Gruter's four wives came to a fatal end, for ſhe fell from the top of the houſe and was killed; nevertheleſs her huſband ſupported courageouſly this diſaſter, which the circumſtances of it ſhould naturally have made more grievous; he not afflicting himſelf as men commonly do on thoſe occaſions. *Doluit ille quidem magnopere morte uxoris, doluit ipſâ ſpecie mortis, doluit inopinâ viduitate, ſed poſt amiſſionem tamen uxoris multum abfuit ab amiſſione ſui, multum ab impatientia vulgari, quæ plerumque cùm corrigere non poſſit mala ſua, corrigere vult Deum* (38). i. e. "He indeed was "greatly afflicted for the death of his wife, as well "as for the particular circumſtances of it, and his ſud"den widowhood; but tho' he loſt his wife he yet "was not loſt as to himſelf; nor did he diſcover that "uſual impatience, which, when it cannot remedy its "own evils, is apt to quarrel with Heaven itſelf."

(38) Ibid. pag. 256.

[M] *The quarrel he had with Dionyſius Godofredus was like a flood.*] This learned Civilian had corrected ſome places in Seneca in a different manner from him, upon which Gruter immediately publiſhed the following piece againſt it, *Confirmatio ſuſpicionum extraordinariarum contra Dionyſii Godofredi conjecturas & varias Lectiones in Senecam Philoſophum.* He publiſhed it at Frankfort in 1591. The fire of youth carried Gruter too far; and he afterwards heartily repented of what he had done on this occaſion, when Godofredus became his collegue (39), and they were reconciled. The Panegyriſt pretends, that this diſpute is of ſuch a nature, that, conſidering the learning it contains, it would have been a pity had not theſe two criticks quarrelled; and, that, on the other ſide, one would have wiſhed they had never fallen out, on account of the paſſion and fury that appear in it. The turn of Venator's Latin is more happy than the above tranſlation, as the learned Reader will here ſee. *Quod certamen inter ipſos certatum vix poſſis nolle, quin velis, vix velle, quin nolis. Adeò multum excidebat inter diſceptandum humanioris doctrinæ, adeò multum rurſus inhumanioris cenſuræ. Gruterus ipſe calorem illum juventutis ſæpe poſtea deteſtatus eſt. Cum enim optimus & doctiſſimus ille, quem Gruterus paulò vehementiùs antea tetigerat, Heidelbergam ipſe quoque docendi cauſa veniſſet, reconciliatio primùm inter ipſos facta eſt, deinde ſecuta propior notitia, & tandem apud Gruterum pœnitentia ſcriptionis, ut ita loquar, piperatæ. Nam ſi mihi conſtitiſſet, inquiebat noſter, Dionyſium virum eſſe tam bonum, nunquam quicquam mihi tanti fuiſſet, ut contra illum manum tam ſeriò miſiſſem* (40).

(39) He was Law Profeſſor in Heidelberg.

(40) Venator, *in Panegyr. Gruteri*, pag. 261.

To prove that he was ſincerely reconciled to Godofredus, I ſhall mention a circumſtance which I find in Baudius's letters. The latter had deſired him to give his ſervice to that Civilian; but Gruter did not perform the commiſſion, becauſe Baudius, in his opinion, had not given Godofredus ſufficient encomiums; and he therefore obſerved to him, by letter, that it was not enough to give ſuch a man the title of laborious, and applaud him as having done no little ſervice to the Civil Law; but that he ought to praiſe him as one from whom that ſcience had received important ſervices; or rather employ more emphatical expreſſions. Baudius was diſpleaſed at this hint, and ſpoke in very unhandſome terms of Gruter, in a letter he wrote to a learned man of Hamburg. *Quemadmodum Grutero non fuit animus ſalutandi meo nomine Dionyſium Godofredum, quia nimis parca manu laudes & virtutes ejus eram perſecutus: quod & ſignificavit per literas adjuncto noſtro elogio, ſi forte me ratio fugiſſet. Erat autem tale,* vir laborioſus, & non male de jure meritus. *Dicere debueras, inquit,* optime, *aut ſi quid aliud efficacius. Vide quid oneris nobis injungatur, ut faſces ſubmittamus ſcilicet iis, quibus οὐκ ἐστι νὲς ἀρτίφρων. Omnes hominis dotes abunde complexus eſſe videor, ſi dicam* Sarcinatorem eſſe probum fuere centones optime. *Ego malim in æternum ejerare omnem ſcribendi copiam, quam tali pacto me poſteritati æſtimandum proponere, etſi hæc via & ad opes & ad æſtimationem ducit, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αἰχύνομαι ἢ ἐμαυτὸν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐπομένων δόξας. Quamquam bonum illum Gruterum (eſt enim vir minime malus, imo vix capax malitiæ) prorſus habeo excuſatum, ſi id ætatis homo non poteſt ablegare vaniſſimam illam gloriæ cupiditatem, quæ nunquam ſeneſcit, & (uti incomparabilis meus Tacitus ait) ſapientiam profeſſis, noviſſima exuitur* (41). i. e. "In the ſame manner as Gruter "did not care to make my compliments to Denys "Godofredus, becauſe I had beſtowed too little en"comiums on his virtues; which he likewiſe ſig"nified by letter, adding the elogium I gave, for fear "it ſhould have ſlipt my memory. It was in the "following terms: *A laborious man, and who did not "deſerve ill of the Law.* You ought, *ſays he,* to "have ſaid, *One who was moſt deſerving, &c.* or any "ſtronger expreſſion. What a fine taſk he impoſes "upon me, to pay obedience to perſons who are not "fit judges? Methinks I expreſs ſufficiently all the "qualifications of the man, If I declare, *that he is "a good compiler, and patches up Cento's admirably "well.* With regard to my ſelf, I would ſwear ne-

(41) Baudius, Epiſt. 9. Cent. 2. pag. m. 164, 165.

ance. He made a very good uſe of the misfortunes which he met with in the latter part of his life, as appears by the moral Reflections he publiſhed (*g*). His curioſity, though exceedingly great, had no other object but erudition; he not amuſing himſelf with town news, as ſo many other Literati do [*N*], who never go to bed till they have heard all the flying ſtories. Nor did he trouble himſelf about controverſies (*h*); and this doubtleſs was one of the motives which prompted an adverſary of his to charge him with profeſſing no Religion: and yet he gave ſo many proofs of his attachment to the Proteſtant Church, that many paſſionate and ſlanderous controverſial Writers have not piety enough to give the like [*O*].

(*g*) Intitled, *Bibliotheca Exulum, ſive Enchiridion divinæ humanæque Prudentiæ.*

(*h*) See the remarks [*D*] and [*G*].

" ver to take up the pen ſo long as I live, rather than " have my character tranſmitted to poſterity in ſuch " a light, notwithſtanding that this is the path both " to fame and wealth. Though I excuſe in every " reſpect Gruter, (who is a good ſort of a man " enough) if, though he be ſo far advanced in years, " he cannot eradicate from his mind that moſt empty " thirſt of glory, which never decays; and, as Ta- " citus moſt happily expreſſes it, is the laſt paſſion of " which a Philoſopher diveſts himſelf." I preſume that none of my readers will be diſpleaſed to know on what occaſion Baudius wrote this, " Should any " one aſk after me, (he had ſaid a little before) " be ſo good as to give my ſervice to ſuch a per- " ſon, though I ſhould not have made any men- " tion of him; for I don't think that people are ſo " very miſtruſtful of you; or are ſo very ſilly in your " country, as to believe nothing but what they read." *Quæſo te quoties in quempiam incideris cui veniat in mentem noſtri, ne graveris eum verbis noſtris impartiri ſalute, tametſi nihil ea de re nominatim caveam. Non enim arbitror aut tibi tam parum eſſe fidei, aut veſtros homines adeo ineptire, ut nihil niſi inſpectis ſignis & tabellis credere ſuſtineant* (42). He then relates, how Gruter had refuſed to give his ſervice to Godofredus; not being willing to do it without ſhewing Baudius's own words. Now ſuch a ſervitude as this is never found among learned men who have the leaſt honour or politeneſs.

(42) Idem, ibid. pag. 164.

[*N*] *He not amuſing himſelf with town-news, as ſo many other Literati do.*] The author whom I quote, cenſures ſuch learned men as have ſuch a curioſity. In his opinion, men of that caſt muſt be fond of hearing a thouſand calumnies; of knowing the evil deſigns of ſtep-mothers, and the temptations of widows; temptations did I ſay; it ſhould be *big-bellies*, as the Latin expreſſes it. *Nec prius in dulcem declinent lumina ſomnum*, niſi exactiſſime à ſui ſimilibus congerronibus cognôrint, *Quid toto fiat in orbe, Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, ſecreta novercæ Et pueri, quis amet, quis decipiatur adulter?* Imo *quis viduam prægnantem fecerit & quo Menſe* (43) Gruter was praiſeworthy for not loving ſuch ſort of news (44). *Quamquam in omni artium ac ſcientiarum indagine curioſiſſimum ſemper ſe exhibuerat, alieniſſimus tamen fuerit ab omni reliqua curioſitate, ſive* πολυπραγμοσύνη, *quæ haud raro doctiſſimis quibuſdam nimis eſt familiaris ac domeſtica, ut ubique tibi obvii, nil niſi novitates aut rumuſculos aniles ad innocentium ac ſimplicium, ut vocant, mortalium vitam macula inurendam fabrefactos, aucupentur, & impetuoſorum inſtar ventorum atque turbinum, non modo veſtes hominum, ſed ædium quoque parietes atque facta intima ſupinent, nec prius in dulcem* &c. (45). See the reſt of this paſſage above.) i. e. " Al- " though he had always diſcovered a very great cu- " rioſity for ſearching into arts and ſciences, he ne- " vertheleſs was void of every other kind of curioſity, " as that impertinent one, which is too frequently " ſeen in moſt learned men, who go in queſt of " news and ſilly rumours, forged purpoſely to preju- " dice the characters of harmleſs and innocent per- " ſons; and like impetuous blaſts or whirlwinds, lay " open and uncover, not only men's garments, but " alſo the walls of their houſes, and moſt ſecret " actions; nor can go to ſleep till &c."

(43) Flayder, *in Vita Gruteri. See* Juvenal. Sat. 6. ver. 400.

(44) See the remark [*H*] of the article ALTING (JAMES).

(45) Flayder, *in Vita Gruteri.*

[*O*] *He was charged ... with profeſſing no religion: and yet he gave ſo many proofs of his attachment to the Proteſtant Church, that many paſſionate and controverſial writers have not piety enough to give the like.*] It is ſaid that Philip Pareus accuſed him of having a greater eſteem for one ſentence of Apuleius or Petronius, than for all the precepts of Jeſus Chriſt: his atheiſm, *added he*, is known, and his indifference with reſpect to religion. *Unum Apuleii aut Petronii effatum pluris facit quam infinita ſervatoris noſtri* παραγγέλματα. *Notus quippe eſt ejus* ἀθυσμὸς, *& in ſacra religione* ψυχρότης *frigus* (46). I have not now an opportunity of examining whether James Gretſer the Jeſuit, who is quoted for this purpoſe, copies exactly the words of Philip Pareus; but I am ſure that the following words are found in the Index of one of Pareus's books (47). *Gruterus ſcurriliter illudit religioſiſſimis Salvatoris myſteriis*; and this other, *Gruterus* ἄθεος *& Theologiæ ſacræ ignarus.* The reader is referred to page 334, in which the following words are found: *Abi, Grutere; & Theologica mitte, quæ nihil ad Criticum tuum umbonem. Tuum eſt, conflictari cum blattis ac tineis, non ſcrutari myſteria ſacra, quæ nunquam didiciſti; immò quæ adſpernari ſolitus es, Critico planè & aſinino ſupercilio.* i. e. " Go, go, Gruter, and med- " dle not with divinity, which has nothing to do with " your critical ſkirmiſhes. It is your buſineſs to fight " with moths and worms, and not to dive into ſacred " myſteries, which you never learnt; nay, which " you were wont to contemn, with the ſupercilious " ſneer of a ſtupid critic." Thoſe perſons who ſhall be informed that Gruter, for conſcience ſake, refuſed to ſubſcribe a formulary (48), at a time when his refuſal loſt him his employment; and that he rejected a Profeſſor's chair in the Univerſity of Padua (49), becauſe he could not profeſs his religion publickly there; what I ſay, will ſuch perſons think of that man's boldneſs, who dared to charge him with atheiſm? What will they think when they find, that this pretended atheiſt made the following anſwer to thoſe who aſſured him, that *he muſt change his religion, or leave the country*; I will ſooner do the latter than the former: in caſe I am not permitted to ſpend my days in cities, I will paſs them in the fields or groves; the Almighty will there provide for me ſome herbs or roots, to ſupport me during the few years I have to live. *Cum juberetur ad aliam Religionem tranſire, aut exire foras*, hoc malo, *inquit*, quàm illud. Si non licebit vivere in urbe, licebit in agris aut in ſilvis. Aliquid ſemper Deus ſuppeditabit radicis aut herbæ, quod ſpiritum hunc alat, non diu moraturum (50). Are theſe indications of atheiſm, or indifference with reſpect to religion? Are they not rather ſo many proofs of a genuine and ſincere zeal, that ought to be much ſooner credited than all the reports and clamours of controverſial writers, who damn all other communions?

(46) Philipp. Pareus, *teſte* Jacobo Gretſero. See Part 4. of Crenius's *Animadverſiones*, pag. 142.

(47) Intitled, *Analecta Plantina.* It was printed at Frankfort in 1623.

(48) See the remark [*D*].

(49) See the remark [*H*].

(50) Venator, *in Paneg. Gruteri*, pag. 272.

(*a*) I know not why Moreri calls him GRINER.

GRYNÆUS (*a*) (SIMON), ſon to a peaſant of Suabia, was born at Veringen in the county of Hohenzollern anno 1493. He purſued his ſtudies in Pfortſheim at the ſame time with Melanchthon, which gave riſe to a friendſhip between them that was of long continuance. He continued his ſtudies at Vienna in Auſtria, and there took his degree of Maſter of Philoſophy, and was appointed Greek Profeſſor. Having embraced the Proteſtant Religion, he was thereby expoſed to many dangers, and particularly in Baden, where he was ſome years Rector of the School. He was thrown into priſon at the inſtigation of the Friars; but at the ſollicitation of the Nobles of Hungary he was ſet at liberty, and retired to Wittemberg, where he ſaw Luther and Melanchthon, and had a conference with them. Being returned to his native country, he was invited to Heidel-

berg, to be Greek Profeſſor in that city anno 1523. He exerciſed this employment till the year 1529, when he was invited to Baſil to teach publickly in that city. He explained ſeveral authors there, and even the epiſtle of the Romans. He was employed, in conjunction with ſome other perſons, anno 1534, in reforming the Church and School of Tubingen. He returned to Baſil in 1536, and was there appointed, anno 1540, to go to the Conferences of Worms with Melanchthon, Capito, Bucer, Calvin, &c. He died of the plague in Baſil the 1ſt of Auguſt 1541 (*b*). He had taken a journey into England in 1531, and received the higheſt civilities from the Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas More [*A*], to whom Eraſmus had recommended him. He was a learned and laborious man, and did great ſervice to the Commonwealth of Learning [*B*]. See his Elogium in Verheiden's Collection (*c*), and in Joachim Camerarius's Preface to Theophraſtus. SAMUEL GRYNÆUS his ſon, born at Baſil in 1539, was there appointed Profeſſor of Eloquence at twenty five years of age, and had afterwards the Profeſſorſhip of Civil Law. He died the third of April 1599 (*d*).

(*b*) *Extracted from* Melchior Adamus, *in Vit. Philoſoph.* pag. 118, *& ſeq.*

(*c*) Verheiden, *Elogiis præſtant. aliquot Theolog.* pag. 61.

(*d*) Melch. Adam. *in Vitis Juriſconſ.* pag. 338, *& ſeq.*

[*A*] *He received the higheſt civilities, from the Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas More.*] This particular is not found in Melchior Adamus, for which reaſon I am the more careful in relating it. It is extracted from the dedication to Plato's work, printed in Greek at Baſil, *apud Joannem Valderum* anno 1534 in folio. It is there that Grynæus, as a teſtimony of his gratitude, addreſſes John More the Chancellor's ſon as follows (1). *Annus eſt (ut noſti) tertius jam, cum in Angliam . . . veniens ac Eraſmi noſtri commendatione velut vento ſecundo ad illas muſis totas ſacras ædes veſtras delatus, humanitate mira acciperer, majori tractarer, maxima dimitterer. Non ſolum enim ampliſſimus vir pater tuus ac tum quidem conditione, per cætera vero rebus omnibus egregiis facile toto regno princeps, privatum hominem ignotumque me, literarum tanto ergo, ad colloquium inter tot publica privataque negotia admiſit: menſæ ſuæ ſceptra regni gerens adpoſuit; in aulam abiens rediens ſecum traxit: laterique adjunxit ſuo, ſed omnem meam de religione ſententiam locis non paucis diverſam ab ipſius eſſe haud difficulter præſentiens, placide benigneque cognovit: ac cum ab illa non parum tum diſcreparet opera conſilioque ſic juvit nos tamen, ut omne mihi negotium ſumptibus etiam ſuis confecerit. Nam & itineri comitem Harriſium doctum juvenem addidit, & Oxonienſis Gymnaſii Proceribus ſic literis inſinuavit, ut ad earum conſpectum omnes nobis collegiorum omnium non ſolum bibliothecæ, ſed ſtudioſorum etiam animi velut mercuriali quadam virgula tacti pateſcerent.* i. e. " It is three years " ſince (as you may remember) that arriving in England, " and being recommended moſt auſpiciouſly by my " friend Eraſmus to your houſe, the ſacred ſeat of the " muſes, I there met with a very humane treatment, " was entertained with greater, and diſmiſſed with " the greateſt of all. For that great and excellent " man your father, who was ſo conſpicuous for his " exalted rank and noble talents, not only allowed " me, a private and obſcure perſon, (ſo fond was he " of Literature) to the honour of converſing with him " in the midſt of ſo many public and private affairs; " gave me a place at his table, though he was the " greateſt man in England; took me with him when " he went to Court or returned from it, and had me " ever by his ſide; but alſo, with the utmoſt gen- " tleneſs and candor, enquired, in what particulars " my religious principles differed from his; and " though he found them to vary greatly, he yet was " ſo kind as to aſſiſt me in every reſpect, and even " defrayed all my expences. He likewiſe ſent me to " Oxford with one Mr. Harris a learned young Gen- " tleman, and favoured me with ſo advantageous a " recommendation to the Heads of that Univerſity, " that at the ſight of his letters, I was admitted into " the Libraries of the ſeveral colleges, and to the " moſt intimate familiarity (as though a magical " wand had been employed on this occaſion) of the " Students." Some manuſcripts of Proclus were ſhewn him in Oxford; and he was allowed to take them with him, which favour was heightened by Sir Thomas More, he making him a preſent of them (2). The paſſage of Eraſmus I am now going to quote, mentions the abovementioned journey of Grynæus.

(1) Simon Grynæus, *Epiſtola ad Jo. Morum* Operibus Platonis *præfixa.*

(2) *Quibus de velut theſauro invento gratulantem pater tuus donatum liberaliter ac beneficiis ſuis plane cumulatum in patriam remiſit.* S. Grynæus, *Epiſt ad J. Morum* Operibus Platonis *præfixa.*

[*B*] *He was a learned . . . man, and did great ſervices to the commonwealth of Letters.*] Eraſmus gave the following teſtimony of his merit, in 1531. *Simon Grinæus . . . . . eſt homo Latinè Græcèque ad unguem doctus, in Philoſophia & Mathematicis diſciplinis diligenter verſatus; nullo ſupercilio, pudore penè immodico. Pertraxit hominem iſthuc* Britanniæ *viſendæ cupiditas, ſed præcipuè bibliothecarum veſtrarum amor* (3). i. e. " Simon Grynæus, . . . is perfectly well ſkilled in the " Latin and Greek tongues, and is a good Philoſo- " pher and Mathematician; no ways proud, and " modeſt almoſt to a fault. A deſire of ſeeing Eng- " land brought him thither, but principally for the " ſake of their Libraries." We are obliged to him for the editions of ſeveral ancient authors. He was the firſt who publiſhed the Almageſt of Ptolemy in Greek (4), to which he added a preface, concerning the uſe of that author's doctrine. He alſo publiſhed a Greek Euclid with a preface (5), and Plato's works with ſome Commentaries of Proclus (6). He corrected, in ſome places, Marſilius Ficinus's Latin verſion of Plato. See the edition of Plato 1539, at Baſil *apud* Froben. Thoſe who deſire to know the particulars of his verſions, prefaces, and other writings, may conſult the Abridgment of Geſner's *Bibliotheque*, pag. 755, and 756, printed at Zurich anno 1583.

(3) Eraſmus, *Epiſt.* 39. lib. 26. pag. 1464. C.

(4) At Baſil, *apud* Jo. Valderum, 1538.

(5) At Baſil, *apud* Hervagium, 1533.

(6) At Baſil, for John Valderus, anno 1534.

The Bodleian Catalogue aſcribes ſome works to him which muſt certainly be of other authors, *de Cometa qui fulſit annis* 1577-78. *De inuſitata magnitudine & figura Veneris annis* 1578-79. We have ſhewn that he died in 1541. I don't doubt but that the Treatiſe *de ignitis Meteoris & de Cometarum cauſis ac ſignificationibus*, which is aſcribed to him in the abovementioned Catalogue, is, as well as the other two, the compoſition of SIMON GRYNÆUS, Phyſician and Mathematician in Heidelberg, and ſon of one THOMAS GRYNÆUS, who was nephew to the perſon whoſe article we are now writing. The reſt of the works which the Bodleian Catalogue aſcribes to Simon Grynæus, really belong to the Grynæus of the preſent article.

GRYNÆUS (THOMAS) nephew of the foregoing, was born in Veringen in Suabia about the year 1512. He ſtudied under his uncle in Heidelberg and Baſil, and taught the Latin and Greek tongues eleven years in the city of Berne; after which, a love of tranquillity, and an averſion to diſputes prompted him to quit that employment, becauſe he was drawn into the Controverſies in which the Miniſters were engaged. He returned to Baſil, where he was made one of the Profeſſors in 1547. He read public Lectures, and uſed to preach ſometimes in the villages. The Marquiſs of Baden having introduced the Proteſtant Religion in his dominions, appointed him Miniſter of Rotelen (*a*). He diſcharged worthily the duties of his function, for eight years, till his death, that is, till the 2d of Auguſt 1564. He left four ſons, viz. THEOPHILUS, SIMON (*b*), JOHN JAMES, and TOBIAS, who were all famous for their erudition (*c*).

(*a*) In the Upper Marquiſate of Baden, within a mile of Baſil.

(*b*) See the cloſe of the remark [*B*] of the preceding article.

(*c*) *Extracted from* Melchior Adamus, *in Vitis Theolog.* pag. 398.

GRYPHIANDER (JOHN) born in the territory of Oldemburg, was Profeſſor of Poetry and Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Jena after Reuſnerus, who died in 1612. He took his degree of Doctor of Laws in the ſame Univerſity, anno 1614; and returned four years after into his country, there to exerciſe a poſt of Judicature. He died in December 1652 (*a*). Some of his compoſitions are extant [*A*].

(*a*) *Extracted from* P. Freherus's *Theatrum*, pag. 1130.

[*A*] *Some of his Compoſitions are extant*] A Treatiſe concerning Iſlands, the compleat Title of which is as follows: *Joannis Gryphiandri ICti de* INSULIS *Tractatus ex ICtis, Politicis, Hiſtoricis, & Philologis collectus, ut omnibus hiſce uſui eſſe poſſit, in quo plurimæ cognatæ quæſtiones de mari, fluminibus, lacubus, littoribus, portubus, aquæ ductibus, aggeribus, navigationibus, alluvionis, alveique incremento &c. excutiuntur.* It was printed at Frankfort in 4to Anno. 1624. Nothing can be more inſtructive than a particular Treatiſe on a certain queſtion, when it is undertaken by a learned man, who propoſes to exhauſt it. There are a numberleſs multitude of Quotations in this work of Gryphiander. He wrote one on the Phœnix in 1618. That which he publiſhed in 1625, is very curious, the ſubject whereof is, a certain right belonging to ſome cities of Saxony, viz. the ſetting up in them coloſſal Statues of Roland. Here follows the title of the Book: *Commentarius de Weichbildis Saxonicis, ſive Coloſſis Rulandinis urbium quarundam Saxonicarum.* Konig aſcribes to Gryphiander a Treatiſe *de œconomia legali*, which is not mentioned by Freherus.

GRYPHIUS (SEBASTIAN) a famous Printer of Lyons in the ſixteenth Century, was a German. He performed the duties of his profeſſion with ſo much honour, that he was publickly applauded for it by ſeveral very learned men; and among the reſt Julius Cæſar Scaliger, and Conrad Geſner, the latter of whom dedicated one of his books to him [*A*]. It is pretended that the former inſcribed his work, *De Cauſis Linguæ Latinæ*, but it is a miſtake [*B*]. One of his moſt beautiful editions is a Latin Bible. He publiſhed it in two volumes folio, anno 1550, and *employed the largeſt types that had been ſeen till then (a). It does not yield in beauty to any Bible, that excepted which was printed at the Louvre anno* 1642 *in nine volumes folio* (*b*). *The great number of books printed by him are valued by thoſe who are judges of the art and perfection of printing.* He dealt very fairly with regard to his *Errata* [*C*], and employed able correctors [*D*]. *He likewiſe printed the Hebrew in the utmoſt perfection* (*c*) [*E*]. I muſt not omit obſerving that

(*a*) *Majoribus & auguſtioribus typis.* Gryphius *in præfat. apud* Chevillier, *Origine de Imprimerie de Paris*, pag. 150.

(*b*) Chevillier, *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, pag. 151.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] Conrad Geſner *dedicated one of his books to him.*] The twelfth of his Pandects, on which occaſion he beſtows the following Elogium upon him. *Tu inter primos, humaniſſime Gryphi, minime prætereundus in mentem mihi veniſti πολλῶν ἀνταξιος ἄλλων, cui non poſtremus inter eximios ætatis noſtræ chalcographos locus deberetur: idque eò magis, quoniam non ſolum inter externos in Gallia innumeris optimis libris optima fide ſummaque diligentia elegantiaque procuſis, maximam tibi gloriam peperiſti: ſed noſtras etiamnum eſſe videris, qui Germanus in Galliam veneris* (1). i. e. "You, moſt humane Gryphius, were one of the firſt who came into my "mind; you who merit not the laſt place among "the moſt celebrated Printers of our age; and eſpecially on this account, becauſe you have not only "gained greater fame than any Foreigner in France, "by the vaſt number of the moſt excellent works, "printed by you with the greateſt beauty and accuracy; but becauſe you ſeem to be one of our countrymen, tho' a German, by your coming to reſide "among us." To this Dedication is annexed a catalogue of the Books which Gryphius had printed.

(1) Geſner, *in Pandectis*, folio 117.

"[*B*] *But it is a miſtake*] Julius Scaliger did not "dedicate his Books *De Cauſis Linguæ Latinæ* to Sebaſtian Gryphius, printer in Lyons. He only wrote "a Letter to him concerning this Book which he "was to print, on which occaſion he ſays to him, "*Tuam vero, mi Gryphi, veram pietatem, excellentem eruditionem, inſignem humanitatem, his noſtris lucubratiunculis & præeſſe volui, & moderari, ſi id tibi ita collibuiſſet: ut poſteri intillegerent, ejus frugis proventum, ſi qua ad eorum commoda per nos exculta eſſet, à nobis tantùm commendari, quantùm ex diligentia tua, atque auctoritate gratiæ conſequi potuiſſet.* "i. e. I was deſirous, my Gryphius, that a perſon "of ſuch unfeigned Piety, excellent Erudition, and "remarkable Humanity, ſhould ſuperintend and direct my works, in caſe you are inclined to this: in "order to inform Poſterity, that I tranſmit my compoſitions to you, (in caſe they can be of any ſervice) recommended by your care and authority." Now can this be called a dedication? Julius Scaliger wrote likewiſe a Letter to Vaſcoſan the Printer, to recommend to him the printing of his Book *De Subtilitate*. Not to mention that Julius Scaliger was too proud to dedicate a Book of his compoſing to a Printer; he particularly would not have dedicated his Books *De Cauſis Linguæ Latinæ* to Gryphius, becauſe he inſcribed them before to Silvius Cæſar Scaliger his eldeſt ſon, to whom he alſo addreſs'd his *Ars Poetica*. Julius Scaliger wrote his to Sebaſtian Gryphius in the ſame manner as Quintillian wrote to Trypho, the Bookſeller, to recommend to him his *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, which he had dedicated to Marcellus; and in the ſame manner as Scævola Sammarthanus addreſſed ſome Hendécaſyllabic Verſes to Mamert Patiſſon, to deſire him to be careful in printing his works (2). This is what Menage has obſerved, in a Book printed Anno 1688. Had that judicious enquirer Mr. Chevillier known this, he would not have aſſerted that Julius Cæſar Scaliger dedicated to Gryphius (3), "his Treatiſe *De Cauſis Linguæ Latinæ* printed Anno 1540. in 4to. in which he makes "him the following Compliment, that if his works "have met with a favourable Reception from the "Learned, 'twas owing as much to the beauty and "magnificence of the impreſſion, as to their own "merit; *Cum plerique librorum meorum .... tuis opibus atque apparatibus ea gratia effecti* (4) *ſint, ut "non minus tuum ob beneficium quam propter ſuum meritum eos doctiſſimus quiſque exceperit & probarit.*" The fault cenſured by Menage might be very eaſily committed; for Scaliger's Letter to Gryphius is at the head of the work. The ſame fault is committed in the ſupplement to Moreri.

(2) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 1. pag. 55, 56.

(3) Chevillier, *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, pag. 151.

(4) In my edition in 8vo, *apud Santandreanum* 1597, it is affecti.

[*C*] *He dealt very fairly with regard to his* Errata.] "To ſhew that his Bible was correct, and ſhew his "probity at the ſame time, he did a remarkable thing. "Printers uſed commonly to place the errata in the "leaſt viſible part of the work, whereas Gryphius "printed them in the moſt obvious place; for the "firſt page contains the title of the work, the Printer's "mark, and the date of the impreſſion; the ſecond "page includes the errata, and the third the dedication (5)."

(5) Chevillier, *Orig. de l'Imprim. de Paris*, pag. 151.

[*D*] .... *and employed able Correctors.*] Here follows a proof of their accuracy. The *Errata* of Stephen Doletus's *Commentarii de Lingua Latina* conſiſts but of eight miſtakes, tho' this work is two volumes *in folio*. Since there were ſo very few typographical errors, Gryphius might aſſert very juſtly, that the utmoſt care had been taken in correcting the proofs. *Erratis & mendis in opere tam vario tamque ſpiſſo carere omnino non potuimus, tametſi omni diligentia & cura quanta maxima potuit adhibita* (6). Adam Knouf, a Phyſician of Colen, was one of his Correctors (7).

(6) *Apud* Chevillier, *ibid.*

(7) Jacobus Zuinger, *in Auctario Theatri Vitæ Humanæ*, pag. 1712, edit. 1604, *apud* Chevillier, *ibid.*

[*E*] *He likewiſe printed the Hebrew in the utmoſt perfection.*] Chevillier adds, *There is in the Library of the Sorbonne* Pagninus's Theſaurus Linguæ ſanctæ, *printed by Gryphius, which is a very beautiful edition, and printed in folio, anno* 1529 (8).

(8) Ibid.

(d) *Inventaire de l'Hiſtoire Journaliere*, by T. G. P. fol. 190 *verſo* edit. de Paris 1599.

that he was a learned man [*F*]. He died the 7th of September 1556 (*d*). ANTHONY GRYPHIUS, his ſon, exerciſed honourably the ſame profeſſion as his father in the ſame city. Both have been applauded by Verdier Vau-Privas [*G*]. There was a Printer at Venice in 1557, whoſe name was JOHN GRYPHIUS.

[*F*] *I muſt not omit obſerving, that he was a learned man.*] " (9) Majoragius calls him an eminent and " learned man, *vir inſignis ac literatus* . . . (10), and " John Vulteius of Reims ſays, in one of the epi- " grams of his firſt Book, that Robert Stephens was " a very good corrector, (*a*) Colinæus a very good " Printer; but that Gryphius was both an able Printer " and Corrector.

" *Inter tot nôrunt libros qui cudere, tres ſunt*
" *Inſignes; languet cætera turba fame.*
" *Caſtigat Stephanus, ſculpit Colinæus, utrumque*
" *Gryphius edocta mente manuque facit.*"

See the Letter which Sadolet wrote to him (11).

§ (*a*) His name was *Simon de Colines*, in Latin Colinæus. La Croix du Maine always calls him ſo; and he calls himſelf thus in all the French Books I have ſeen of his printing. CRIT. REM.]

[*G*] *Sebaſtian and Anthony Gryphius . . . have been applauded by Verdier Vau Privas.*] " Sebaſtian Gry- " phius, *ſays he* (12), a native of Suabia near Auſburg, " has reſtored the Art of Printing, which before was " corrupted, in Lyons: has reſtored it entirely, and " adorned it with new and very beautiful Hebrew, " Greek and Latin types, in which languages he is " exceedingly well verſed. The Poets of his time cal- " led him the excellent Trypho of our age, of whom " Martial makes mention. His houſe was greatly " frequented by the Literati. He was diligent and " curious in ſearching every where for ſuch Books as " were well nigh loſt, and in order to reſtore them, " that poſterity may enjoy ſo valuable a treaſure, a " great part of which Anthony Gryphius his ſon has " ſtill in his hands to be printed. And as his father " exerted himſelf in all reſpects, in order to recover, " and afterwards print them faithfully; ſo his ſon is " not ſparing of his expence or labour to make them " public. He died at 63 years of age, in 1556."

(9) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 1. pag. 57.

(10) In his Apology for changing the name of *Antonius Marius Comes*, to that of *Marcus Antonius Majoragius*, cited by Menage, *ibid.*

(11) It is the 16th of Book 5. pag. m. 184.

(12) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Proſopographie*, pag. 497 (the ſecond time this page is thus numbred) edit. 1573, 4to.

GUADAGNOLO (PHILIP) Reader of Arabic and Chaldee in the College *della Sapienza*, at Rome, in the ſeventeenth Century, was one of the firſt who was employed in tranſlating the Scriptures into Arabic; after the Congregation *de propaganda fide* reſolved to comply with the deſires of ſome Eaſtern Prelates, who had preſented a petition to Pope Urban VIII for this purpoſe, about 1624. The Archbiſhop of Damaſcus, and father Guadagnolo were ordered to undertake this Tranſlation; but, ſome time after, the latter only continued this weighty taſk. He was very much eaſed in the Pontificate of Innocent X, he then being employed only in correcting the Tranſlation. He died at Rome the 27th of March 1650 (*a*). A Treatiſe he publiſhed againſt a Mahometan Doctor is highly eſteemed [*A*].

(*a*) Extracted from the *Giornale de' Letterati*, of Jan. 29, 1672, where mention is made of this tranſlation of the *Bible*, which at laſt was publiſhed at Rome in 1671, in three vol. folio.

[*A*] *A Treatiſe he publiſhed againſt a Mahometan Doctor is highly eſteemed.*] It is an apology for the Chriſtian Religion, in oppoſition to the objections of Ahmed Ben Zin Alabedin. He publiſhed it in Latin, at Rome, anno 1631; and afterwards in Arabic anno 1637. Theodore Hackſpan declares (1), that he never met with a better Book againſt the Mahometan Religion. It is to be obſerved, that Father Guadagnolo publiſhed *Linguæ Arabicæ Inſtitutiones*, in folio, anno 1642.

(1) *In Tractatu ad Librum Nizachon R. Lipmanni adjecto*, pag. 343. *apud* Crenium, *de Philologia*, pag. 221.

☞ It will be very neceſſary to add a ſupplement to this article of Mr. Bayle's [*A*].

[*A*] *It will be neceſſary to add a Supplement to this Article of Mr. Bayle's.*] Philip Guadagnolo (*) was born about the year 1596, at Magliano, in the farther Abruzzo. After going thro' his ſtudies, he entred among the *Clerici regulares Minores*, and made his profeſſion at Rome, in the Church di San Lorenzo in Lucina, the 13th of May 1612. His genius prompted him to the ſtudy of languages, to which he devoted himſelf entirely; ſo that he acquired the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Perſian and Arabic Languages, but excelled chiefly in the laſt of them (†). He ſpent the greateſt part of his life in tranſlating books from that language, and in writing works in it, to facilitate the learning of it to others. He was ſo perfect a maſter of it, that he ſpoke, the 14th of Jan 1656, an Oration in Arabic in preſence of the Queen of Sweden (‡). He began his Arabic Tranſlation of the Bible in 1622 (4), and it was not finiſhed till after 27 years cloſe application, that is, till 1649. During the time that he was employed in it, he gave an account, twice a week, of what progreſs he had made, to a congregation aſſembled for that purpoſe. Guadagnoli publiſhed alſo, *Breves Inſtitutiones Linguæ Arabicæ. Romæ* 1642, *folio*. This is a very methodical Grammar. He had alſo compiled a Dictionary in that language, but the publication of it was prevented by his death. The manuſcript is preſerved in the Convent of San Lorenzo in Lucina. The occaſion of Guadagnoli's writing his *Apologia pro Religione Chriſtiana &c.* was this. A Spaniard had publiſhed a religious Book entitled *The true Looking-Glaſs*, which falling into the hands of a learned Perſian, he wrote an anſwer to it in his native tongue, and entitled it, the *Poliſher of the Looking-Glaſs* (Politor Speculi;) and added theſe words to the end of his Book; *let the Pope anſwer it*. This Book being brought to Rome in 1625, Pope Urban VIII ordered Guadagnoli to refute it. He accordingly did this with ſo much ſucceſs, that the Perſian, to whom it was ſent, was ſo thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, that he renounced the Mahometan Faith, and became a zealous Defender of the principles which he had before oppoſed to the utmoſt of his abilities (*). Our Author wrote another work in Arabic, entitled, *Conſiderations againſt the Mahometan Religion*, which was printed at Rome in 1649. Guadagnoli ſhews in this work, that the Koran is a mere rhapſody of impoſtures and falſities (§).

(*) Or *Guadagnoli*.

(†) *Hommes illuſtres de P. Niceron.* tom. 7. pag. 274.

(‡) Idem, ibid.

(4) Conſequently the Eaſtern Biſhops muſt have preſented their petition to Pope Urban VIII, ſooner than 1624, as is ſaid in Mr. Bayle's text.

(*) *Hommes Illuſtres*, tom. 7. pag. 276, 277.

(§) Ibid. pag. 276.

GUAGNINI (ALEXANDER) a native of Verona, and naturalized in Poland, made himſelf famous both by his ſword and pen. He had conſiderable employments in the Poliſh armies; and having diſplayed his valour in the wars of Livonia and Moldavia, as well as thoſe of Muſcovy, was not only honoured with the *Indeginate* (*a*), in the reign of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, but alſo made Governor of the Fortreſs of Witebſk, where he commanded fourteen years. He at laſt devoted himſelf to Literature, and drew up a Hiſtory of Poland [*A*]. He died at Cracow in 1614, aged ſeventy ſix years,

(*a*) That is the privilege of being reputed a noble Pole.

[*A*] *He . . . drew up a hiſtory of Poland.*] Here follows the title of it, according to the Frankfort Edition of it 1584 in 8vo, for John Wechel: *Rerum Polonicarum Tomi tres: quorum primus omnium Poloniæ Regum,*

years, and was never married. His titles were *Comes Palatii Lateranenſis, & Eques auratus* (*b*).

(*b*) Extracted from Starovolſcius, pag. 101, 102. Ἑκατοντάδος *Scriptorum Polonicorum.*

gum, à Lecho primo gentis Duce, ad Stephanum Bathoreum, etiamnum regem: tum Principum Lituaniæ, chronologicam recenſionem, ac ſingulorum res geſtas complectitur: adjecta recens Hiſtoriarum in noſtram ætatem incidentium continua narratione. II. *Provinciarum, quæ uno Sarmatiæ Europææ nomine vulgo veniunt, chorographicam deſcriptionem continet.* III. *Res ſingulariter à Polonis in Valachia geſtas, Orationes item & Epiſtolas ſceptri Polonici negocia concernentes habet. Alexandro Guagnino, equite aurato peditumque præfecto authore.* Sigiſmund Feyerabenius the Bookſeller, who was at the expence of the impreſſion, dedicated the work to Mark Fugger, Lord of Kirchberg and Weiſſenhorn; and there mentions the great ſervices which Anthony Fugger his father, and John James and George Fugger his uncles had done to the Imperial City of Auſburg, when Charles V was going to puniſh the inhabitants of it on account of their inſurrection. Starovolſcius obſerves that Guagnini wrote this Chronicle of Poland in very pure Latin, *puro & nitido ſermone Latino*, anno 1578, and got it tranſlated into Poliſh by Martin Paſcowſki, in 1611 (1).

(1) Strarovolf. Ἑκατ. *Script. Polon.* pag. 102.

GUALDRADA, a Florentine Lady, conſpicuous for her chaſtity, of which ſhe gave ſo ſeaſonable a proof before the Emperor Otho IV (*a*), that ſhe was rewarded for it, by having the ſatisfaction to be inſtantly married to very great advantage [*A*], as will be ſeen below. Dante makes mention of her in a very glorious manner; for ſpeaking of a famous warrior [*B*], he denotes him by ſaying that he was *nepote di Gualdrade* (Gualdrada's grandſon).

(*a*) He reigned about the beginning of the 13th Century.

[*A*] *She was rewarded for it, by having the ſatisfaction to be inſtantly married to very great advantage.*] As an illuſtration of this, I ſhall make uſe of an old French Commentator upon Dante. "This Lady, *ſays he* (1), "in her bloom of life, was very handſome and graceful, daughter of Meſſire Bellincione Barti de Ravignani, an ancient family of Florence, and one of the branches of that of the Ademari. It happened one day that as the Emperor Otho IV was at Florence in an aſſembly of Ladies, which was held on account of the feſtival of St. John Baptiſt, that he was ſtruck in a ſurprizing manner with the beauty of this maiden; and aſking whoſe daughter ſhe was, Bellincione her father happening to ſtand near the ſaid Emperor, replied before the whole aſſembly, that ſhe was daughter to a man who had a ſtrong deſire to have her kiſs him. The maiden hearing what her father ſaid, and being ſtruck with a baſhful modeſty, roſe up pleaſantly and cried, Father, I beſeech you not to make ſo free with aſking wherein I am ſo nearly concerned; for you'll let me take the liberty to aſſure you, that no man ſhall kiſs me unleſs he be my lawful huſband. The Emperor was ſurprized to hear ſo chaſte and prudent an anſwer, in ſo young a Lady; and thereupon immediately ſent for one of his Barons, Guido by name, and commanded him to marry her forthwith; giving her, as a portion, the Caſſentin and part of Romagna; and beſtowed the title of Count upon her huſband, from whom the Counts Guidos are deſcended. The ſaid Gualdrada brought Count Guido two ſons viz. William and Ruggier."

(1) Grangier, *Commentaire, ſur le* Chant 16 *de l'Enfer de Dante*, pag. 182.

[*B*] *Dante . . ſpeaking of a famous Warrior, denotes him by ſaying that he was* nepote di Gualdrade.] It is in the XVIth Canto of his *Inferno*, where we find the following words:

Queſto, lorme di mi peſtar cui vedi,
Tutto che nudo, e dipelato vada
Fu di grado maggior, che tu non credi:
Nepote fu della buona Gualdrada;
Guidoguerra hebbe nome; e in ſua vita
Fece col ſenno aſſai, e con la ſpada.

The ſenſe is:

"This ſhade whoſe footſteps you ſee me follow, tho' "it be naked and ſtript of its ſkin, was of a greater "rank than you imagine. He was grandſon of the "gentle Gualdrada, and named Guidoguerra; being "famous, in his life-time, for his wiſdom and valour."

The French Tranſlator (2) of Dante, ſays in his Commentary on this Italian Poet, that Ruggier Guidoguerra, nephew to the fair Gualdrada, "was a vali- "ant Knight, and a man of great prudence; inſomuch "that in the battle of Benevento between Charles I "and Manfredo, he was thought to be the chief in- "ſtrument of the victory which the ſaid Charles won, "by his happening to be Colonel there of CCCC Flo- "rentine Knights, who had been baniſhed for being "Gulfes, who ſome time after returned to Florence, "and, with the aſſiſtance of Charles, drove the Ghi- "belins from the ſaid city." It muſt be obſerved that Grangier contradicts himſelf, when he explains this degree of kindred in the following page. "From the ſaid Guido and Gualdrada ſprung "two ſons, William and Ruggier; and, from Rug- "gier Guidoguerra, who therefore is Gualdrada's ne- "phew (3)." How is it poſſible for a Writer to be ſo groſly miſtaken? Is it not plain that the ſon of Gualdrada's ſon, is grandſon to that Lady, and not her nephew? I am of opinion that the word *Nepote*, employed by Dante on this occaſion, ought to be taken in the ſame ſenſe as *Nepos* in good Latin Authors. Father Paul (4) and Cardinal Pallavicini (5) employ it to denote the grandſons of Paul III. It may therefore be affirmed, that *nepote* or *nipote*, ſignifies ſometimes a grandſon in Italian; a circumſtance which Franceſco Alunno ought to have obſerved in his Dictionary of the words and expreſſions employed by Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, &c (6).

(2) Grangier, *Commentaire, ſur le* Chant 16. *de l'Enfer de Dante*, pag. 181.

(3) Ibid. pag. 182.

(4) *Hiſtoria del Concilio Tridentino*, lib. 1. pag. m. 75.

(5) *Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. 3. cap. 17. num. 5. pag. m. 346.

(6) It is intitled, *Della Fabrica del Mondo*. The word *Nepote* is mentioned, num. 1529.

GUARINO, a native of Verona, and diſciple of Emanuel Chryſoloras, was one of the firſt who revived polite Literature in Italy in the fifteenth Century [*A*]: he was well

[*A*] *He was one of the firſt who revived polite Literature in Italy in the XVth Century.*] This is the elogium beſtowed on him by Leandro Alberti (1); and here follows a paſſage from Paulus Jovius which may ſerve as a ſecond teſtimony: *ab hoc inſigni viro, Græcæ Latinæque literæ obſcuris illis temporibus antiqui ſeculi normam, quadratæ que ſtructuræ ordinem & diu quæſitum decus receperunt* (2). i. e. "In thoſe dark times, the "Greek and Latin Tongues received from this emi- "nent man the long ſought for graces and ornaments "of antiquity." Poggius declares that the Italians had very great obligations to our Guarino: *Vir doctiſſimus*, ſays he (3), ſpeaking of him, *atque humaniſſimus, cujus ſtudia & præſtans doctrina plurimum Italis profuerunt.* i. e. "A man of the greateſt erudition and "humanity, whoſe ſtudies and excellent learning were "of very great advantage to the Italians." Laurentius Valla (4) calls Guarino and Leonardo Aretino the moſt learned men of their age. Philelphus (5) beſtows the elogium of very eloquent on Guarino.

(1) *In Deſcript. Italiæ*, pag. m. 722.

(2) Jovius *in Elogiis*, cap. 110.

(3) Poggius, *II in Philelphum Invectiva.*

Gabriel Naudé furniſhes me with a very good addition. He tells us (6) that "Boccace, in his endeavours "to revive polite Literature, made ſo happy a progreſs "therein, that dying in 1375, he was ſucceeded, in "that deſign, by one John of Ravenna, who began "firſt to open and re-eſtabliſh the Schools at Venice, "out of which came Gaſparinus who did the ſame "in Milan, and Guarinus Veronenſis,

Qui niſi proſtratas relevaſſet funditus artes,
Priſcorum vanus ſtaret labor (†):

That is,

"Who, had he not reſtor'd the fallen arts,
"The labours of the antients had been vain.

(4) *Apud* Poggium, *I in Vallam Invectiva. See* Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 585.

(5) *Epiſt. ad Flavium Blondum, anno* 1450, *apud* Voſſium, *ibid.*

(6) Naudé, *Addit. à l'Hiſtoire de Louis XI.* pag. 179.

(†) Janus Pannonius, *in ejus* Paneg.

well ſkilled in the Latin and Greek tongues, and taught them very ſucceſsfully, firſt in Venice, and afterwards in Ferrara (*a*). Pope Nicholas V commanded him to tranſlate Strabo (*b*) [*B*]. This was a good verſion, conſidering the age in which it was compoſed; and the ſame may be ſaid of Guarino's other Tranſlations, which conſiſt of ſome Lives and Tracts from Plutarch. He died in Ferrara the 14th of December 1460 (*c*). There are other pieces of his beſides Tranſlations [*C*].

(*a*) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Lat.* pag. 584.

(*b*) Geſner, *in Biblioth.* folio 285.

(*c*) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 584.

" For it was Guarino, ſtrictly ſpeaking, who began " to bring eloquence and philoſophy in vogue, as well " by his journies to Conſtantinople, where he learnt " the Greek Tongue, as by his precepts of Rhetoric, " verſions and other compoſitions; but eſpecially by " the great number of his diſciples, who ſpread them- " ſelves from Ferrara (where he taught) over all Italy, " in order to denounce war againſt the fooleries and " chimæras of old times, and to acquaint youth with

Senſa tot auctorum mille indeprenſa per annos (‡).

(‡) Idem.

That is,

" The compoſitions of unnumbred authors,
" Which, for a thouſand years had lain conceal'd.

What he ſays afterwards is no leſs remarkable (7).

(7) Naudé, *Addit. à l'Hiſt. de Louis XI*, pag. 181.

" Whoever had been at Conſtantinople, to learn the " Greek language, returned from thence as in triumph, " and was look'd upon as a kind of new prodigy, as " appears from what Joannes Ungheretus or Pannonius " Biſhop of *Quinque Eccleſiæ* (†), of this Guarino of " Verona's return into Europe,

—— —— Vagus omnia rumor
Gymnaſia Italiæ centeno murmure complet,
Affulſiſſe virum gemina qui Pallade ſolus
Polleat, & duplicem præſtet ſitientibus hauſtum (†).

(†) In *Panegyrico citato.*

(†) A City in the Lower Hungary.

That is,

" Fame's thouſand tongues to Italy declare,
" The man's approach, whom bright Minerva loves,
" And who can ſatiate twice the thirſt for learning."

[*B*] *Pope Nicholas V. commanded him to tranſlate Strabo.*] Others ſay, that Guarino was prompted to this from a ſpirit of Emulation, *viz.* from his being unwilling to be thought inferior to Gregory Tiphurnas, who had tranſlated Strabo's Deſcription of Aſia, and for which reaſon he gave a Verſion of that Geographer's Europe (8).

(8) *See* Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Latin.* pag. 585.

[*C*] *There are other pieces of his beſides Tranſlations.*] He publiſhed ſome Treatiſes on Grammar, ſome Letters, Orations, and verſes (91).

(9) Geſner *in Biblioth.* folio 285.

☞ We ſhall make a few Additions to this Article [*A*].

[*A*] *We ſhall make a few Additions to this Article.*] Guarini was of the illuſtrious family of that name. He ſtudied in his younger days, five years under *Emmanuel Chryſoloras* in Conſtantinople. An odd incident is related of Guarini, by Ponticus Virunnius, which has very much the Air of a Fiction, and accordingly it is not mentioned either by Paulus Jovius, or James Pannonius, one of his moſt learned Diſciples. The Story is as follows. Guarini having purchaſed two large cheſts of Greek Manuſcripts (of which there were no other copies) put them on board two different Ships. He arrived ſafe in Italy with one of them, but the other was loſt in the Voyage; which afflicted him to ſuch a degree, that his hair turned white in one night. Guarini was the firſt of the Italians who taught the Greek tongue to his Countrymen, after the fall of the Roman Empire. Beſides Venice and Ferrara he taught likewiſe in Verona and Florence. Guarini was invited to Ferrara by Nicholas III. Marqueſs of Eſte, where he was honourably married, and had twelve children at leaſt; and his Poſterity ſubſiſt there to this day. The following Epitaph was written in his Praiſe, by Baptiſt Guarino, whoſe Article comes here under his ſon.

Quæ per te vixit Muſarum cura, Guarine,
Græca, Latina ſimul, te moriente dolet.
Quam Superis tua caſta fides, moreſque placerent,
Luſtra tibi vitæ nona bis aucta probant.
Quod Verona dedit, rapuit mors improba corpus:
Quod virtus peperit, reſtat in orbe decus.

Guarino had another Son, named Jerome, who made himſelf famous both by his Learning and Valour. In Thuanus's Hiſtory is a manuſcript written by his Father, and inſcribed to Jerome, viz. *Guarini Veronenſis Inſtitutio ad Hieronymum filium.* There are ſome Letters and Speeches of his in the Library of Baliol College in Oxford. There alſo is extant an Oration of his ſpoken in Padua, Anno 1445, at the nuptials of Nicholas Cavalli and Orſolina Buzzacarini.

With regard to the works of Guarino Guarini it may be obſerved, that he tranſlated into Latin the ſeventeen Books of Strabo, and not the firſt ten Books only as Voſſius has erroneouſly aſſerted. He intended to dedicate his verſion of Strabo to Pope Nicholas V. but dying before it was finiſhed, he was obliged to inſcribe it to Jacomo, Antonio Marcello, a Venetian Senator. It was firſt printed in Rome about Anno 1470, in folio, by the care of Joanne Andrea, Biſhop of Aleria, who dedicated it to Pope Paul II. A new Edition of it was made at Venice by Vindelinus of Spire, Anno 1472. Fabricius has omitted theſe two editions in his Bibliotheca Græca. It may not be improper to obſerve, that the life of *Evagoras* which Guarino tranſlated, was not written by Plutarch, but by Iſocrates; and that the life of *Homer*, which Guarino likewiſe tranſlated, was very probably not written by Plutarch, tho' aſcribed to him. Among other pieces of Guarino, is *Eromata Guarini cum multis additamentis.* Ferrariæ, 1509 in 8vo. This is an abrigment of Chryſoloras's Greek Grammar, made by Guarino, and is extremely ſcarce. Several of Guarino's works were never publiſhed. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

GUARINO (BAPTIST) ſon of the preceding, walked in his father's footſteps, and gained great glory by his ſkill in the learned Languages. He taught them a long time in Ferrara with great applauſe, and publiſhed ſome books which anſwered well enough the reputation he had acquired [*A*].

He was living in 1494, at which time he had enjoyed thirty three years the Profeſſorſhip of polite Literature, in which he ſucceeded his father (*a*). Henry Stephens did not rightly underſtand that paſſage of Geſner, in which this particular is related [*B*]. [Baptiſt

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome Books which anſwered well enough the Reputation he had acquired.*] A Treatiſe *de Secta Epicuri*, another *de Ordine docendi* (1), another *de Regno adminiſtrando*, Notes on Ovid's Faſti and on Catullus. Orations, Letters, Verſes, and a Tranſlation of ſome of Demoſthenes's Orations, and of St. Gregory Nazianzen, &c. (2).

(1) We are told in the *Memoirs de Trevoux*, for Sept. 1704, p. 1643, that Struvius has cauſed this treatiſe to be reprinted, corrected from a manuſcript, with a preface concerning the writers of ſuch *Methods.*

(2) Geſner, *in Biblioth.* folio 130.

[*B*] *Henry Stephens did not rightly underſtand that paſſage of Geſner in which this particular is related.*] We will compare his words with thoſe of Geſner: *Memini me in Bibliothecographia Geſneri legere, Guarinum patrem nam fuit & Baptiſta Guarinus ejus filius, quam Geſnerus, etiamnum ſe de illo ſcribente, claruiſſe Ferrariæ ait, ubi patris ſucceſſor jam per annos tres & triginta*

[Baptiſt Guarini firſt publiſhed Servius's Commentary on Virgil, at Ratiſbon, anno 1471, in folio. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

triginta linguam utramque florentiſſime doceret) ſcripſiſſe canoniſmata in lingua Græca. (3), i. e. "I remember "to have read in Geſner's Bibliotheque, that Guarinus the Father, (for there likewiſe was Baptiſt "Guarinus his ſon whom Geſner, at the time he was "writing, declares to have flouriſhed in Ferrara; in "which city, being his father's ſucceſſor, he had taught "very ſucceſsfully both Languages for thirty three "years) that Guarinus the father, I ſay, had "writ rules for the Greek Language." This is what is related by Henry Stephens, and what follows is found in Geſner's Bibliotheque. *Claret uſque hodie Ferrariæ, ubi patri ſuccedens, jam per annos tres & triginta utramque linguam florentiſſime docet & varia conſcribit* (4). i. e. "He is eminent to this "day in Ferrara, in which city ſucceeding his Fa-"ther, he has already taught both Languages very "ſucceſsfully for thirty three years, and writes upon "various Subjects." The reader will probably ask, whether it be poſſible to find two paſſages that agree better than theſe? To this I anſwer, yes; for the words employed by Geſner are Trithemius's: it is not Geſner who ſays *Claret uſque hodie*; and yet Henry Stephens imagined it was him, in which he was groſly miſtaken. He ſhould have referred the word *Hodie* to the year 1494, which Geſner put in the margin of his Book in that place. Our Guarino was certainly not living in 1545, in which year Geſner's Bibliotheque was printed.

(3) Henricus Stephanus, *in Dialogo de bene inſtituendis Græcæ Linguæ Studiis*, pag. 116.

(4) Geſner, *Bibliotb.* folio 130.

GUARINI (BATTISTA) was born in Ferrara anno 1538. He is more known by his Tragi-Comedy intitled *Paſtor Fido*, than by all the reſt of his works, and the honourable employments [*A*] which the Duke his maſter beſtowed on him. This was his favourite work, as he plainly ſhewed by the ſtrong reſentment with which he was fired againſt a Critic [*B*], who had cenſured it only in an indirect manner. He has therein painted the myſteries of love in ſuch glowing colours, that it is thought the peruſal of it has been of fatal conſequence to the chaſtity of many maidens. This ſeems to combat very ſtrongly a maxim of de la Fontaine [*C*]. I cannot tell if Guarini would have employed

[*A*] *And the honourable Employment.*] See Moreri's Dictionary; and add that Guarini being ſent by Alphonſo II. Duke of Ferrara to Venice, made a Speech before the Senate, which was admired; and that after Duke Alphonſo's Death, he was ſent by the City of Ferrara to congratulate Paul V. on his acceſſion to the Pontificate (1).

(1) Nicius Erythræus, *Pinacoth. I.* pag. 96.

[*B*] *The ſtrong Reſentment with which he was fired againſt a Critic.*] Jaſon Denores (2) born in the Iſland of Cyprus, deſcended from a Norman Gentleman, and profeſſor of Morallty in (*) Ferrara, wrote a Treatiſe on Poetry, in which he exclaimed againſt a Species of dramatick Poetry that was become greatly in vogue, I mean paſtoral Tragi-comedies (3). He aſſerted that they were monſters, produced by people who had no knowledge of antiquity, and contrary to the rules of ancient Poetry. Guarini was perſuaded, that this critique was levelled at him; and therefore wrote a defence of his work. Denores replied, and died whilſt Guarini was writing an anſwer, which was ſo exceedingly ſevere, that it is thought it would have occaſioned the death of the Cenſor of Paſtorals. Here follows what Thuanus ſays on this Subject: *Baptiſta Guarinus lectiſſimus eques Ferrarienſis, qui ſub id Paſtorem fidum magno plauſu ubique in Italia exceptum ediderat, eum ſermonem ad injuriam ſuam pertinere exiſtimans, defenſionem ſub nomine Verati publicavit, quam apologia contraria ſtatim Denores, refutavit. Sed dum alteram defenſionem meditatur Guarinus, morte minime fatali Denores conceſſit, quæ niſi dilectiſſimi filii calamitate fuiſſet præcipitata, alterius Verati lectione accelerari potuiſſe credita eſt. Tanta ſiquidem vi eloquentiæ ſimul & aſperitate ac verborum amaritudine in Jaſonem invectus eſt Guarinus, ut Archilochum ipſum in Lycamben iambos ſtringentem eo ſcripto ſuperaſſe paſſim jactaretur* (4).

(2) Thuan. lib. 99 pag. 379. *ad ann.* 1590.

(*) [This is an error, it ſhould be *Padua*.] Remark by the Tranſl. N. B. The *Paſtor Fido* had not been printed yet.

(3) *Inter alia quæ ſcripſit cum de Poetica diſſerens Tragicomœdias Paſtorales quæ hodie inter Italos uſurpantur, tanquam monſtra quædam & nullo veterum exemplo, contraque Poeticæ priſcæ leges ab imperitis rei antiquariæ introducta exagitaſſet &c.* Idem, ibid.

(4) Idem, ibid.

[*C*] *This ſeems to combat very ſtrongly a maxim of de la Fontaine.*] Nicius Erythræus having ſaid that the *Paſtor Fido* is reprinted almoſt every year; and that all nations how barbarous ſoever, have tranſlated it into their reſpective languages, adds that this Poem may very poſſibly be prejudicial to the purity of manners (5), and that for the following reaſon: *Etenim in ejus dulcedine ſuavitateque tanquam in infeſto Sirenis mari in quo etiam Ulyſſes erravit, virgines nuptæque complures pudicitiæ naufragium feciſſe dicuntur.* i. e. "For it is "related that many virgins and married women have "had their chaſtity ſhipwrecked by its ſweets and al-"lurements, like as Ulyſſes was led aſtray in a ſea "infeſted with Syrens." Let us now ſee la Fontaine's maxim (6).

(5) *Morum forteſſe integritati non utilis.* Nic. Erythræus, *Pinacoth. I.* p. 96.

(6) It is in one of his *Tales*.

Iroit-il après tout s'allarmer ſans raiſon
Pour un peu de plaiſanterie?
Je craindrois bien plûtôt que la cajoleris
Ne mît le feu dans la maiſon.
Chaſſez les Soupirans, Belles, prenez mon Livre
Je répons de vous corps pour corps.

The ſenſe is,

"After all, is there any reaſon why he ſhould be a-"larmed at a little facetiouſneſs? I ſhould much rather "fear, that the ſoft and inſinuating addreſſes of a "lover would ſet fire to the houſe. But ye lovely "fair ones, baniſh your ſuitors, and peruſe my "work; I myſelf will anſwer for you body for "body."

In this manner does the author in queſtion extricate himſelf from a very great difficulty. People complained, that his tales were fit for nothing but to excite a thouſand looſe deſires in the minds of his readers; La Fontaine anſwers, that if the women who read his book, do not ſuffer the approaches of any Gallant, they will not loſe their honour. But there is ſophiſtry in this anſwer, for it requires a condition, the practice whereof is rendred very difficult, by the very book that is complained againſt. You require us (will it be objected to la Fontaine) to read your book, and baniſh our lovers; this is a very unjuſt demand, becauſe your Poems deprive us of the power of baniſhing our lovers. They fill us with love, they heat, they fire us, and make us languiſh ardently for the preſence of thoſe gentlemen: with what face can you ſay, after this, that no evil will enſue with regard to us, provided we do but baniſh them? Another objection may be raiſed againſt la Fontaine, which is this, that though young women ſhould baniſh their lovers, they yet would be expoſed to many leud paſſions, which the peruſal of his tales would excite, and this is not a ſmall miſchief. The only way to make a juſt apology for this author, would be to ſuppoſe, that his book cannot be of prejudice to chaſtity; and that nothing can hurt that virtue, but the ſight of amiable objects, and actual courtſhip. But this cannot be ſuppoſed, if it be true, as many pretend, that the peruſal of the *Paſtor Fido* has undone many maidens and married women. Thus have I given a ſufficient commentary on my text.

Though what is related concerning the pernicious effects of that Poem ſhould be falſe, it would nevertheleſs be true, that the peruſal of certain books is of the moſt pernicious conſequence to young perſons of both ſexes. Some Phyſicians have preſcribed the diligent reading of the *Priapeia* and ſuch like Poems to thoſe, who cannot be raiſed to acts of venery without great difficulty. *Medici, in his Paulus Ægineta, diſertis verbis ad excitandam languentem Venerem vel præcipuum remedium præſcribunt Priapeorum & ſimilis poëſeos infamis aſſiduam lectionem* (7); and I have obſerved that the Emperor Ælius Verus, a Prince who

(7) Caſaubonus, *in hæc verba*, Perſii Sat. 1. ver. 19. *Cum Carmina lumbum Intrant, & tremulo ſcalpuntur ubi intima verſu.* i. e. "When "unchaſte verſes raiſe impure deſires."

employed ſuch a maxim in his own vindication, and whether he would not have thought it a ſhorter way, to have recourſe to a much more common reflection [*D*]. In my opinion no part of his Poem is ſo ſtrong and remarkable, as the ſcene which has been ſo happily tranſlated

was wholly immerſed in venereal delights, was for ever reading Ovid's amorous Poems in his bed, and had a great eſteem for Martial's Epigrams. *Idem Ovidii libros amorum in lecto ſemper habuiſſe: idem Martialem Epigrammaticum Poetam Virgilium ſuum dixiſſe* (8). I remember to have read in Taſſoni, that ſtudy excites looſe deſires; and this, among other reaſons, becauſe it acquaints readers with a thouſand laſcivious things which are found in books. From thence he explains the reaſon, why ſeveral learned women among the antients were very luſtful. Here follow his words (9). *Che ſimilmente le lettere ſieno cagioni d' eccitar la libidine, e di parturire molti atti oſceni, non è da dubitarne; poſciache col leggere accidenti, e ſtratagemi amoroſi, e libri laſcivi, e particularmente nelle ſolitudini, e ne gli ozi, che richieggono le lettere, s'appreſentano fantaſmi oſceni, e penſieri, e voglie di coſe illecite ſotto apparenza di guſto, e di diletto; e l'ingegno ſagace vi s'abbandonna ſopra. E quindi è (cred'io) che in Euripide, e Giuvenale* (10) *leggiamo notate d'impudizia le donne di lettere antiche, le quali leggendo libri di coſe laſcive, e converſando ſotto quel preteſto di lettere più liberamente con gli huomini, che ſi conveniva alla debolezza del ſeſſo, ſi fecero ardite, e la libidine loro s'infervorò nell'ozio, e la ſagacità dell'ingegno s'offerſe di ricoprire gli eccеſſi.* i. e. "In like manner there is "no doubt, but that ſtudy is an occaſion of exciting "luſt, and of giving riſe to many obſcene actions; "becauſe, together with the reading of amorous adventures and ſtratagems in looſe books, and eſpecially in the ſolitude and leiſure which ſtudy requires; obſcene images preſent themſelves, with "unchaſte thoughts and deſires, under the appearance "of pleaſure and delight, to which the inquiſitive "mind abandons itſelf. Hence as I ſuppoſe, it is, "that we find, in Euripides and Juvenal, that the "learned women of antiquity were accuſed of immodeſty, who, by peruſing looſe books, and converſing, upon the ſpecious pretence of learning, "more freely with men than was proper for the weakneſs of their ſex, grew bold; ſo that their luſt became inflamed by Idleneſs, and the utmoſt ſagacity of "their wit was employed to apologize for their libidinous conduct."

(8) Spartian, *in Ælio Vero*, cap. 5.

(9) *Penſieri diverſi di Aleſſandro Taſſoni*, lib. 7. cap. 11. pag. 227.

(10) *Euripides and Juvenal* do not charge them with that vice. *Juvenal* adviſes a man not to marry a learned woman, but does not give any reaſon for this caution. The reaſon *Euripides* gives is, that Venus makes them more artful and ſubtle. *See* Muret. *Variar. Lect.* lib. 8. cap. 21.

[*D*] *And whether he would not have thought it a ſhorter way, to have had recourſe to a much more common reflection.*] He might have ſaid, that his Paſtoral did not inform his readers of any thing they did not know before; or that in caſe young people met with ſome particulars that were new to them in it, they would have found them in other books; ſo that it would have been to no purpoſe not to publiſh the *Paſtor Fido*. One of la Fontaine's friends has touched upon this kind of juſtification with very great delicacy. "It will, *ſays he* (11), be prudent in perſons entruſted "with the education of children, not only to forbid "the peruſal of thoſe pieces (12), but alſo to prevent "their learning much more by frequenting ill company. "Books do not always teach thoſe things which mankind ought to be ignorant of." This is inſinuating very evidently, that ſuch are the manners and behaviour of the world, that thoſe who would not learn, by the peruſal of la Fontaine's Tales, particulars with which they ought not to be acquainted, would learn it a hundred other ways. A like reflection was employ'd (13), to refute the unjuſt complaints of thoſe, who would not allow all the looſe paſſages to be caſtrated in Juvenal and Martial. This kind of apology is better than la Fontaine's maxim, and yet it is not a good one; for in ſhort, how unavoidable ſoever obſcene irregularities may be, (even when we ourſelves do not contribute to them) every man ought to chuſe to wiſh that others might have a hand in them, rather than himſelf. It is to be obſerved, that what is ſaid here relates to thoſe who invent obſcene ſtories, or tranſlate them with new embelliſhments; and not to ſuch as quote a paſſage of Martial &c. as a proof of ſome incident, which they are obliged to mention, either from the nature of their work, or their character of Hiſtorian, Commentator, &c. Upon the whole, it muſt be owned, that the moſt obſcene particulars that may be learnt in certain books, are communicated, by converſation, without the aſſiſtance of books. It is ſurprizing how many things of this kind are known by very young perſons, and who even cannot read. The progreſs that is made in this ſcience is aſtoniſhing, and does not require a great number of years. Let us hear Montagne (14). "When women will diſpenſe "a little with the uſual ceremonies, and expreſs themſelves with freedom in diſcourſe, we are but babies "to them in the knowledge of this ſcience. When "they talk of our addreſſes and converſations, they "plainly ſhow that we teach them nothing but what "they had known and digeſted before. Shall we ſay, "with Plato, that they had formerly been rakiſh "boys? I happened to be at a place, where I could overhear, unſuſpected, all the diſcourſe of ſome women. "Why am I not allow'd to relate all I heard! faith, ſays "I to my ſelf, let us now go and learn phraſes from "Amadis, and ſtudy Boccace and Aretine, to qualify "ourſelves for their converſation: there is not a word, an "example, or a ſingle ſtep, but is better known to "them, than the authors who have writ on that ſubject. This is a ſcience that ſprings up in their very "veins, Venus herſelf inſpiring their minds with it. "*Et mentem ipſa Venus dedit*; Nature, youth and "health, (three excellent preceptors) are infuſing it "perpetually into their ſouls: they need not learn it, "for it is engendred in them.

(11) Preface to the Amſterdam edit. of La Fontaine's *Tales*. Printed in 1685.

(12) That is, *La Fontaine's Tales*.

(13) See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Octob. 1684, Article 5. pag. 792, 793.

(14) *Eſſays*, Book 3. chap. 5. pag. m. 125, 126.

"*Nec tantum niveo gaviſa eſt ulla columbo*
"*Compar, vel ſi quid dicitur improbius.*
"*Oſcula mordenti ſemper decerpere roſtro:*
"*Quantum præcipue multivola eſt mulier* (*).

(*) Cat. 109.

"No Dove, tho' e'er ſo eager in her billing,
"Is ſo laſcivious, as a wanton woman."

They learn theſe things of one another: The old women teach the young ones; and if ſuch of them as are ignorant are paſſionately fond of knowledge, the learned are no leſs deſirous of communicating what they know. One would imagine that they look upon the following axiom as canonical, viz. that knowledge is of no uſe unleſs it be communicated to others (15): and therefore in the Italian education, the great care that is taken from keeping girls from the company of boys, does not remove the evil. Beſides women, in thoſe countries where they are reſtrained, are allowed to be promiſcuouſly mixed with the other ſex at weddings: Now can there be a more ſcandalous ſchool for lewdneſs, than the aſſemblies, diverſions and feaſtings at weddings? Are not a numberleſs multitude of ridiculous and obſcene things ſaid at them (16)? St. Cyprian had juſt reaſon to forbid virgins frequenting them, he aſſuring them that their virginity will be tainted at their return from thoſe feſtivities (17). *Quoſdam non pudet nubentibus intereſſe, & in illa laſcivientium libertate ſermonum colloquia inceſta miſcere; audire quod non licet dicere; obſervare & eſſe præſentes inter verba turpia & temulenta convivia, quibus libidinum fomes accenditur. Sponſa ad patientiam ſtupri, ad audaciam ſponſus animatur. Quid illic diſcitur? quid videtur? Quantum à propoſito ſuo virgo defecit, quando, pudica quæ venerat, impudica diſcedit? Corpore licet virgo ac mente permaneat; oculis, auribus, lingua, minuit illa quæ habebat* (18). i. e. "Some women do not bluſh to be preſent "at weddings, and to intermix chaſte words with the "looſe converſations uſual at ſuch times; to hear what "I dare not repeat; to obſerve and be preſent at the "obſcene diſcourſes and drunken revellings, by which "the fire and luſt is raiſed, which animate the bride "to ſubmit to the loſing of her virginity, and invigorate the huſband to attack it. What is learnt, as "well as ſeen there? How greatly does a virgin fail "in her purpoſe, when ſhe returns immodeſt from "thence, tho' ſhe was modeſt when ſhe went? For "tho' ſhe is ſtill a virgin with reſpect to her body and "mind; nevertheleſs, by her eyes, ears and tongue, "ſhe has been partly deſpoiled of what ſhe brought "with her to thoſe entertainments." See what is ſaid in the remark [G] of the article Lycurgus, and call to mind

(15) *Uſque adeone Scire tuum nihil eſt, niſi te ſcire hoc ſciat alter?* Perſ. Sat. 1. ver. 25.

(16) See the following paſſage from St. Cyprian.

(17) Cyprianus, *de diſciplina & habitu Virginum*, cap. 14.

(18) Barthius, *in Claudian*, pag. 766, has a good note on this occaſion. *Ita etiam*, ſays he, *ultimo edita ſunt ſancti viri verba; ſcripſiſſe tamen arbitror*, Corpore licet virgo permaneat: at mente, oculis, auribus, lingua, minuit illa quæ habebat. *Sanè niſi mens tangeretur per ſenſus, minime minuerentur poſſeſſa.*

translated into French by the Counteſs de la Suze, wherein he treats of one of the moſt incomprehenſible myſteries of nature [*E*]. There have been a numberleſs multitude of editions and tranſlations (*a*) of the *Paſtor Fido* (*b*). Guarino died at Venice in an Inn, *anno* 1613 [*F*]. His funeral, ſolemnized by the Academy *de gli Humoriſti*, is a proof that Guarini was held in high eſteem (*c*).

(*a*) Nic. Erythræus, *Pinacoth.* 1. pag. 96.

(*b*) Ludovico Zuccolo beſtows very great encomiums on the *Paſtor Fido*, in his treatiſe *della Eminenza Paſtorala*, pag. 25.

(*c*) Nic. Eryth. *Pinacoth.* 1. pag. 97.

He was great grandſon to Guarino of Verona, and taught moral Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Ferrara. Notwithſtanding the exalted reputation he had gained by the Poem abovementioned, he yet could not endure the name and title of Poet; he imagining that this title does not reflect the leaſt honour on thoſe who bear it; but, on the contrary, expoſes them to contempt. The reader, in peruſing his verſes, fancies that they did not give the leaſt trouble in the writing; but this is a great miſtake, they coſting Guarini great pains and ſweat [*G*], he making a great number of alterations and raſures on

mind Xenophon's maxim. He would have a bride brought to her huſband's houſe in ſuch a manner, that ſhe may ſee and hear as little as poſſible. Ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἴρηται δεῖν ἐλάχιστα τὴν νύμφην ἰδεῖσαν, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἀκούσασαν εἰς ἄνδρὸς βαδίζειν. *Xenophon cenſet ſponſam ita debere in mariti domum venire ut quam minimum viderit, quam minimum audiverit* (19).

(19) Plut. *de Pythiæ Orat.* pag. 405. C.

[*E*] *He treats of one of the moſt incomprehenſible myſteries of nature.*] He introduces a maiden (Amaryllis), who being a prey to the arbitrary will of two tyrants who hate one another (20), envies the happineſs of the brute creation, who are guided by no other rule in love, than love itſelf. She cannot conceive the oppoſition that is found between nature and law. The former annexes an exquiſite pleaſure to certain things, and the latter annexes a ſecure puniſhment to it, from which ſhe draws the following concluſion.

(20) *Love and Honour.* See the *Sonnet* of the *immature Child.*

S'el pecar' è ſi dolce,
E'l non peccar ſi neceſſario; ò troppo
Imperfetta natura,
Che repugni à la legge;
O troppo dura legge,
Che la natura offendi (*).

(*) *Il Paſtor Fido.* Atto 3. Sc. 4.

Sans doute ou la nature eſt imparfaite en ſoi
Qui nous donne un panchant que condamne la loi.
Ou la loi doit paſſer pour une loi trop dure
Qui condamne un panchant que donne la nature.

That is,

" O why, if love be ſuch a natural
" And mighty paſſion, was it capital!
" Nature too frail, that doſt with law contend!
" Law too ſevere, that nature doſt offend (†)!"

(†) Sir Richard Fanſhaw's tranſlation, a little altered, of *Paſtor Fido*, pag. 81. London 1647, 4to. *The two laſt lines ſeem the moſt happily tranſlated in the whole Poem.*

It would be impoſſible, were it not for the revelation we have received from Moſes, to comprehend any thing in this; and I am greatly ſurprized that the antient Philoſophers have attended ſo little to it. I ſpeak of ſuch Philoſophers only as have known the unity of God; for thoſe who, according to the eſtabliſhed Religion of their Country, admitted a plurality of Gods, could not find any difficulty in this matter. They needed but ſuppoſe, that one God is the cauſe of the impulſe of nature; and that other Deities impreſſed the inſtincts of conſcience, and the ideas of honour. The difficulty related to ſuch only as were perſuaded that the univerſe is the work of an infinitely holy God. How can it poſſibly come to paſs that, under ſuch a principle or being, mankind ſhould be drawn to evil, by an almoſt inſurmountable bait, I mean by the ſenſation of pleaſure; and ſhould be diverted or deterred from it by the fear of remorſe, or that of infamy and ſeveral other puniſhments; and ſhould ſpend their whole lives in this contraſt or ſtruggle of paſſions, dragged ſometimes one way, ſometimes another; one time overcome by pleaſure; at another by the dread of the conſequences. In all probability the Manichee Syſtem ſprung from a deep meditation on this deplorable ſtate of man.

[*F*] *Guarini died at Venice in an Inn.*] He had been at Venice on account of a law-ſuit, and died of grief and old age. If we may credit the author I am going to cite, the malice of his enemies, (he obſerving that it was impoſſible but ſo great a man muſt have ſome) had rendred every part of his life unhappy. *Semper cum adverſa fortuna iniquorum odio conflictatus (non enim malevoli tanto viro deeſſe poterant) demum cum Venetias litium quarundam cauſa veniſſet, & ad caupoem divertiſſet, ibi ſenio curiſque confectus, exceſſit è vita* (21). I ſhall quote another who is greatly miſtaken with regard to the year in which our Guarini died, he placing it at 1590 (22).

(21) Nic. Eryth. *Pinacoth.* 1. pag. 97.

(22) Aubert. Miræus, *in Scriptor. Sæc.* 16. pag. 177.

[*G*] *His verſes . . coſting . . Guarini . . great pains and ſweat.*] Let us firſt hear Imperialis. *Inſuper mirandum etiam, quod licet expedita illa carminum pangendorum ubertas, illaborata penitus, & ſponte fuſa videatur; tamen ab ipſo anxiè affectatam ac diutino quæſitam ſtudio ipſimet* (familiares) *aſſerunt, præmonſtrantes extrarias quaſdam carminum ſuorum ſchedulas, frequentiſſimis expunctas ac immutatas locis, ex quibus herculè peracris quidam, ac implexus ſcribendi arguitur labos* (23). i. e. " What moreover is to be wondred at, is, that " notwithſtanding his numbers ſeemed to be unlabour- " ed and to flow ſpontaneouſly and with the greateſt " eaſe; yet his friends declare, that they coſt him the " greateſt pains and ſtudy; they ſhewing ſome rough " ſheets of his compoſitions, which were corrected and " blotted in a numberleſs multitude of places, a proof " of the great pains he employed in writing." We are informed of two things by this paſſage; firſt, that Guarini's verſes coſt him the greateſt labour, and ſecondly that they ſeem nevertheleſs to have been compoſed with the utmoſt facility. Thoſe who ſhould declare theſe two things to be incompatible would be little acquainted with the difference there is in the characters of the mind of man; but muſt fancy, that no compoſitions are laborious and painful, except thoſe of which the reader forms the ſame judgment as was paſſed on the Orations of Demoſthenes, *olent lucernam*, (they ſmell of the lamp) (24). But ſuch perſons muſt know, that there is a ſtill much greater diverſity or variety in the minds of men. One author ſhall make his reader ſenſible of the great pains he employed in the writing; and if he corrects three or four times a certain place, with ſuch a ſtretch of thought as makes him almoſt ſweat, the reader perceives that ſuch paſſage denotes a much greater labour employed in it, than another which was corrected but two or three times. But there are other authors, whoſe labour and pains make every thing they write appear extremely eaſy and natural; ſo that the more they retouch their work, the leſs it ſeems to have been laboured and retouched. Such was the character of Guarini (25). His taſte made him conclude, that the perfection of a piece of Poetry conſiſted in the unaffected beauties of nature, and an eaſy, flowing turn. By this he endeavoured to merit the approbation of the public; and was very happy in diſcovering, whether there was ſtill any thing forced and conſtrained in his work; in which caſe he would employ his pains to expunge thoſe faults, and give the whole an eaſy air. Thus it was by retouching and poliſhing his numbers that he gave them that eaſy and natural flow. There are other writers of a quite different taſte; theſe make the whole perfection of writing to conſiſt, in thinking and expreſſing themſelves in a manner that is affected, inflated, and which ſhews the author's mind was upon the rack. Such authors would fancy they had not expreſſed themſelves happily and ingeniouſly, could they be underſtood without employing the ſtrongeſt attention, and being maſter of great wit and penetration (26); and are never ſatisfied, till they have fully expunged from their compoſitions whatever might appear ſimple, natural and common; and therefore, the more theſe correct their works, the more they diſcover to their readers the pains they have employed. This doubtleſs is very great, but it ſometimes is not ſo great as that which thoſe take, who would give an air of the greateſt eaſe to every part of their work. I have been aſſured by

(23) *Imperialis in Muſæo Hiſtor.* pag. 129.

A COLLECTION of paſſages, with regard to the apparent or real facility of compoſing or writing.

(24) Plut. *in Demoſth.* p. 849.

(25) That is, if we are to judge of him from the words of Imperialis quoted above.

(26) *Quid, quod nihil jam proprium placet, dum parum creditur diſſertum quod & alius dixiſſet? . . . tum demum ingenioſi ſcilicet ſi ad intelligendos nos opus ſit ingenio.* Quint. lib. 8. in *Proœm.* pag. m. 354.

on thoſe occaſions. He was not fond of riches, but loving pomp and ſhow, he did not find, when fortune frowned upon him, thoſe advantages and conveniencies he would have enjoyed, had he been a good œconomiſt; and been leſs profuſe of the monies which Alphonſo II his maſter had beſtowed upon him. This Prince diſcontinued his favour and

by ſome perſons, who declare they had it from very good hands, and I myſelf read it the other day in a printed work (27), that Voiture employed the utmoſt pains and labour on his Poems and Verſes, before he could bring them to the eaſy perfection in which we now ſee them. His apologiſt does not ſay this; but he inſinuates nevertheleſs, that it coſt this witty Writer a vaſt deal of pains, to diffuſe that air of prodigious eaſe which is ſo viſible in his productions. I hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee an extract of that apology here. It is curious enough to deſerve to be here exhibited with the judgments of ſome good judges. " Above all things Mr. de Voiture ſought for that kind " of negligence which ſo well becomes beautiful per- " ſons; which ſo happily ſets off the advantages of " their birth; and which, after having charmed the " eyes, leaves the imagination the pleaſure of figur- " ing to themſelves, what the graces of art would have " added to thoſe of nature. In all his compoſitions, " there appears ſomething ſo eaſy and natural, that " every one fancies, at firſt ſight, he could write as " happily; and it is not, till after long and uſeleſs " endeavours, that he cries, *Queſto facile, quanto è dif- " ficile!* (*How difficult it is to write with this eaſe.*) " I remember that he was not diſpleaſed at my be- " ſtowing that encomium upon him which Taſſo gives " one of his Heroines,

Non ſo ben dire, s'adorna, o' ſe negletta,
Se caſo od arte, il bel volto compoſe;
Di natura, d'amor, del cielo, amici
Le negligenze ſue ſono artefici.

That is,

" Whether her charms ſhe heightens or neglects;
" If 'tis or art or chance, I cannot ſay.
" But heaven, and love, and nature are her friends;
" And even her negligence diſcovers art."

" and indeed, that which ſeems as negligence in him " is a hidden artifice, which diſguiſes itſelf under the " image of its contrary, in order to act with the " greater addreſs and certainty. And as nature is " never more wonderful, than when ſhe ſeems to have " copied the works of Art, and is deſirous of becoming " her Scholar's diſciple, and to imitate her uſual imi- " tator; ſo art, on the other ſide, is never perfect, un- " leſs it imitates nature, and covers with a ſpecious " appearance of eaſe, its labours, meditations, and " violent efforts. The Grecian painters uſed to re- " preſent the Graces without robes or head-dreſſes; " and if they ſometimes painted them with the former, " they were never bound with Girdles, doubtleſs to " denote that ſuch Beauties as charm the moſt, are " not the effect of artful and viſible Ornament; " and eſpecially, that whoever hopes to pleaſe, ſhould " avoid the very ſhadow of conſtraint. The natural " love we all have for liberty, extends even to the pro- " ductions of Genius; and we are naturally ſo hate- " ful of Subjection and Slavery, that any thing, how " beautiful ſoever, loſes all its Graces, the moment " it ſeems forced. No perſon was ever more ſenſible " of this truth than Mr. de Voiture; or more indu- " ſtriouſly ſought to conceal the art he employed, to " draw from his Imagination the beautiful Produc- " tions he has left us. One would conclude that " Flowers ſpring up at every ſtep he takes; or that he " meets with them, wherever he puts forth his hand; " that the fineſt ſtrokes in his writings did not coſt him " the leaſt pains; that all ſuch things fell fortuitouſly " on his paper, and dropt from his Pen without the " leaſt effort; that all this, I ſay, flowed ſpontane- " ouſly from a ſpirituous, fruitful, and inexhauſtible " Spring (28)."

Peliſſon, who was ſo good a judge of all ſorts of works of Wit and Genius, was ſtrongly perſua- ded, that frequently nothing coſts an Author more pains, than to make it ſeem as tho' his work had coſt him but little (29). " Two things eſpecially, ſays " he, (30), make Poetry wonderful; Invention, " whence it derives its name, and eaſe or facility, " which is extremely neceſſary to it. I don't mean " eaſe with regard to compoſing; this may ſome- " times be happy, but ought always to be ſuſpected. " What I mean is, an eaſe which readers find in " a compoſition, which often put the Author's Ima- " gination to the rack, ſo that it may be compared to " Teraſſes in ſome Gardens, the expence of which is " concealed; and which, after having coſt millions, " ſeem to be the pure effect of chance and nature." What he had juſt before ſaid, with regard to the eaſe which appeared in good poets, is admirable. *One would imagine that they could not have expreſſed themſelves in a different manner from what they have done, tho' they had endeavoured to do it, there is ſo much eaſe in all their expreſſions. Theſe words ſeem to have dropt ſpontaneouſly from the Pen, and each fell naturally into into its proper place. Greater miracles ſeem not to have been wrought by Amphion's Lyre, when the Stones, attracted by his Harmony, fix'd themſelves, ſpon- taneouſly, one upon another to build up the famous walls of Thebes* (31).

This is the judgment which the Reader forms of ſuch ſtrokes; but the Author knows the contrary, and remembers that the Verſes which ſeemed the moſt eaſy and flowing, are thoſe which forced him the moſt to ſcratch his head and bite his nails (32). He re- members that it was in compoſing thoſe Verſes he followed Horace's Precept (35) moſt carefully; and that he reſembled moſt thoſe antient Philoſophers, who were put beſides themſelves, by the depth of their me- ditations,

Obſtipo capite, & figentes lumine terram
Murmura cum ſecum, & rabioſa ſilentia rodunt,
Atque exporrecto trutinantur verba labello,
Ægroti veteris meditantes ſomnia, Gigni
De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil poſſe reverti (34.

That is,

" Wry-neck'd they walk, with ever down-caſt eyes,
" Muttering, and weighing words with trembling lips;
" And old wives Fables in their minds revolving;
" That nought produces nought; that nothing which
" Has once exiſted, can to nothing turn.

There are however exceptions to all that has been here ſaid. Ovid among the antients, and Moliere among the moderns, wrote verſes with the utmoſt eaſe, which is immediately perceived by their Rea- ders.

It is to be obſerved, that Peliſſon declares, that this kind of Facility *may ſometimes be happy, but ought al- ways to be ſuſpected* (35); which brings to my mind a thought of Mr. Godeau. " A facility in writing " ſays he, (36), ſeems to be an advantage; but it is " a kind of Defect, becauſe it prevents the mind " which is naturally averſe to pain, from carrying " things to that perfection it might otherwiſe do. " And indeed the correction which improves the firſt " Productions, is more troubleſome to thoſe who have " that facility, than to ſuch as finiſh things as they " compoſe them, and who write more from art than " nature." This ſquares pretty well with Quinti- lian's way of thinking. This great maſter adviſes Students to begin by compoſing ſlowly; by this means they will attain to the art of writing well, after which they will be able to write ſwiftly. But thoſe who are haſty in their writing, or which is the ſame, write with great facility, will never attain the art of good writing. *Hanc moram & ſolicitudinem initiis im- pero .... cito ſcribendo non fit ut bene ſcribatur: bene ſcribendo, fit ut cito* (37). But tho' we allow this faci- lity to be a defect, an Author had doubtleſs better be ſubject to it, than not to be able to bring forth one's ideas without inſupportable pains; and that writer is much more unhappy who can never put an end to his

(27) In the *Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, de Mr. de Vigneul Marville*, pag. 223. Roan edit.

(28) Coſtar, *Defence des Ouvrages de Mr. de Voiture*, pag. 16, 17.

(29) *Vincta quædam quaſi ſolvenda de induſtria ſunt, illa quidem maximi laboris, ne laborata videantur.* Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4. pag. m. 457.

(30) Péliſſon, Preface des *Ouvres de Sarraſſin*, pag. 30.

(31) Ibid. pag. 28.

(32) *Et in verſu faciendo Sæpe caput ſcaberet, vivos & roderet ungues.* Horat. Sat. 10. lib. 1. ver. 70. *Conſer quæ*, Perſ. Sat. 1. ver. 106. *Nec pluteum cædit, nec demorſos ſapit ungues.* i. e. " Nor ſtrikes his " deſk, nor bites " his nails."

(33) *Ludentis ſpeciem dabit & torquebitur.* Hor. Epiſt. 2. lib. 2. ver. 124. i. e. " His mind is " rack'd, altho' " he ſeems to " ſport."

(34) Perſius, Sat. 3. ver. 80.

(35) *Redeamus ad judicium & retractemus ſuſpectam facilitatem.* Quint. lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. 483.

(36) Godeau, Preface to the verſion of the *Pſalms. Conſer quæ* Quint. lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. m. 485.

(37) Quint. lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. 484. See the citation (1) of the article ORICELLARIUS.

and indulgence to him, upon which Guarini devoted himself successively to Vincenzio de Gonzaga, to Ferdinand de Medicis, Grand Duke of Florence, and to Francis Maria de Feltri Duke of Urbino; but the only advantage he reaped under these various masters was, great encomiums on his wit and compositions. He withdrew at last into his native country, where he was consulted like an Oracle, on the means of bringing peace to Italy (*d*).

(*d*) *Extracted from* John Imperialis, *in Musæo Histor.* pag. 129, 130.

his corrections, than to end them a little too soon. Balzac has been ranked among those Authors who make themselves unhappy by the too great difficulty and delicacy of their taste. Read the following words of Costar (38). In Balzac's writings, nothing is flowing and natural. "His labour is so "visible, that those delicate Readers who peruse his "works are tired with them; in the same manner as "that famous Syberite who was in a strong sweat, "upon seeing the prodigious pains which a poor labourer took; and indeed Balzac himself confessed sometimes that when he took up the Pen to write, he "suffered as much as a Galley-slave at the oar. Not "but that he had such a sublimity and beauty of "Genius as was wonderful; but then he found it as "difficult a matter to content himself, as that excellent man, of whom the late Mr. de Lizieux used to "say, *the beautiful Pieces with which he favours the "Publick put him to such exquisite Pains, that were I "in his Place, I would make choice of some other imployment to serve my fellow Creatures; and should not "think that God required this from me.*" It is justly asserted that the Readers soon perceive, that the Compositions of this famous writer were very painful to him; and are far from imagining, that they could easily write in his manner. It is only in reading an Author whose thoughts and expressions have an air of ease, that we imagine it would be in our power to do the same; but we find ourselves greatly mistaken when we come to make a trial; and prove by experience, that nothing is more difficult than to imitate what appears so easy.

(38) Costar, *Apolog.* pag. 37. See also *Pieces pour la Défense de la Reine Mere*, tom. 1. pag. m. 471, 472. where it is asserted, that all Balzac could do was, *to polish a period in one day*, and that he would spend a whole day *in placing a conjunction or preposition.*

Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
Speret idem, sudet multum, frustraque laboret
Ausus idem (39).

(39) Horat. *de Arte Poetic.* ver. 240.

That is,'

"I'll take a common Theme, and yet excel,
"Tho' any man may hope to write as well;
"Yet let him try, and he shall sweat in vain,
"Idle his Labour, fruitless prove the Pain."

CREECH.

This Judgment of Horace, agrees with that which Cicero has made, where he speaks of certain Orators, *Summissus est & humilis, consuetudinem imitans, ab indisertis re plus quàm opinione differens. Itaque eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipsi infantes sint, tamen illo modo confidunt se posse dicere. Nam orationis subtilitas imitabilis quidem illa videtur esse existimanti, sed nihil est experienti minus* (40). i. e. "His Style is familiar "and humble, differing more in the reality than in o-"pinion from the expressions of those who do not speak "or write eloquently. His hearers, therefore tho' infants, "are yet confident they can speak like him: for this "delicate and artful kind of Eloquence appears to "those who judge of it, easy to be imitated; but no-"thing is found more difficult to such as attempt a "tryal of it." It is to be observed, that writers have asserted, that this sort of Orators only could justly be called Attick (41). I shall here add, that Ovid is one of those inimitable Poets, who appears, at first Sight, so extreamly easy to be imitated (42).

(40) Cicer. *in Oratore*, folio 120, C. *See also* Isocrates, *in Panathenaico.*

(41) *Quem solum quidam vocant Atticum*, Cicero, *ibid.*

(42) *Dictionem* Ovidii, *quæ non nemini tanquam in triviis inveniendæ vilesceret, esse nimirum ex eo genere rerum, quas omnes inventant inventas.* Fam. Strada, *Prolus.* 6. lib. 2. pag. m. 380.

☞Mr. Bayle having, for want of seeing Battista Guarini's Letters, as we may suppose, been misled in some particulars, and omitted many, relating to that eminent man; it would be unpardonable not to supply his defects on this occasion. Battista Guarini, born in 1537, was son to Francis Guarini, great grandson to the famous Guarino Guarini of Verona abovementioned; and of Orsolina, daughter of Count Balthasar Macchiavelli of Ferrara. We have no account in what manner he spent his youth [*A*]. He afterwards married [*B*]. It would be pretty difficult to point out exactly and regularly the employments he enjoyed; as well because of their variety, as because of the little care that was taken to preserve such notices; however here follows some account of them below [*C*]. He

[*A*] *We have no account in what manner he spent his youth.*] It appears however, by some of his manuscript poems, that he studied some time in Pisa; though he declares in the dedication of his *Secretario*, to Cardinal Colonna, that he went very young to Rome. His name is inserted in the register of the university of Padua (1), in which it is observed, that the Rector having an esteem for Guarini, because he he studied in that city obliged the Governor of Monselice to restore certain things that were sent to him, [and of which he had been dispossessed. He was forced to go to law with his father, who had married a second wife for the estates left by Alphonso Guarini his grandfather, and Alexander Guarini his uncle. But Hercules Duke of Ferrara interesting himself in that affair, it was ended amicably.

(1) Tomasini, *Gymn. Patav.* pag. 274.

[*B*] *He married afterwards.*] His wife was *Thaddea*, daughter of Nicholas Bendecci, and of Alexandra Rossetti, descended from a noble family in Ferrara (2).

(2) *Hommes Illustres du Pere Niceron*, vol. 25. pag. 173.

[*C*] *Here follows some account ... of the employments he enjoyed.*] He was first sent, by Alphonso II, Duke of Ferrara, on an embassy to Venice, and afterwards to Piedmont, where he resided five years. During his stay in Turin, he, upon the nuptials of Charles Duke of Savoy with the Princess Catherine, sister to Philip III King of Spain, presented that Prince with his *Pastor Fido*, which was then exhibited for the first time, before Guarini, with the greatest magnificence, as it was afterwards in other parts of Italy (3). He went afterwards to Rome (4), to congratulate, in the Duke of Ferrara's name, Pope Gregory XIII on his accession to the Pontificate. It is falsely asserted by some writers, that this Pope employed Guarini in several affairs of importance. Being in Ferrara, he spoke an oration in praise of the Emperor Maximilian, and of Lewis Cardinal of Este, at their funeral service which was solemnized in that city. He went into Germany, and there waited on the Emperor; after which he went to (5) Poland, to compliment (in the name of his Prince) Henry de Valois, on his election. At his return to Italy, he was appointed Secretary of State, and Counsellor of the Duke of Ferrara. Charles IX King of France dying the 30th of May 1574, and Henry de Valois having left the throne of Poland, to take possession of that of France, Alphonso Duke of Ferrara sent Guarini a second time into Poland, in company with Gualengui, to make interest for that crown. His Deputies conducted themselves with great prudence on this occasion, but their designs were defeated by a variety of obstacles (6). Guarini was afflicted with a very dangerous fit of sickness during this journey, of which he has given a very moving description in a letter to his wife, dated the 25th of November 1575; he complaining of the violence of his fever, the scarcity of Physic and Physicians, and the badness of Inns, provisions &c. *Quel ch'io patissi il lascio pensare, à voi, febbre continoua, stalentaggine, & sete grandissima; rimedi scarsi, medici rari, allogiamenti cativi, il più di loro lontani, & molte volte ammorbati; cibi ch' à sani muovon lo stomacho; letti, ch' affogano nella piuma; in somma niuna di quelle commodità*

(3) *Lettere del Cavalier Battista Guarini Nobile Farrarese*, pag. 18, *& seq. Venetia Pr. G. B. Ciotti* 1615, 8vo.

(4) In 1571.

(5) *Lettere del Signor. C. Battista Guarini*, pag. 5.

(6) *Hommes illustres*, ibid. pag. 174, 175.

He discharged his several employments with great wisdom and integrity. He had many enemies in the Duke of Ferrara's Court, who, being jealous of his great talents and abilities, rendred them of prejudice to him, by sending him at a distance from Court; and by causing him to be entrusted with negotiations of a most delicate nature, in hopes that the ill success of them might at last lose him the favour of his Prince. The fear he was under lest this should happen, made his continual journies very disagreeable to him; not to mention that they impoverished him; though he was a good œconomist enough. He himself has expressed his uneasiness with regard to his circumstances in a letter to his wife [*D*]. He afterwards withdrew from Court [*E*], and returned to it three years after [*F*], but left it again, his tranquillity being interrupted by some uneasinesses which broke out in his family [*G*], in 1588 he went to the Court of Savoy, and was immediately employed; however, he did not continue long there, occasioned, as it is supposed, by the ill offices which were done him by the Duke of Ferrara, who could not bear that a subject of his, of Guarini's merit, should serve other Princes. He then went to Padua, where he had the affliction to lose his wife in 1590 [*H*]. Two years after he was invited into the service of the Duke of Mantua, and being sent by him to Inspruck (*a*), to negotiate

(*a*) *Lettres de Sign. Cav. Battista Guarini*, pag. 305. *In Venetia, Pr. G. B. Ciotti*, 1615, 8vo.

secure them from those who had done him the worst of injuries; and above all things, to inform them of every thing relating to their father, except his fortune. *Voi ad ogni fortuna preparate l'animo vestro: E' cosa de Donniciola vilmente piagnere la morte di marito che non tema il morire. Lasciate pur, che gli altri m'honorino con le lagrine, voi honorate mi col valore. Vi raccommando i communi figliuoli, aiquali, se io morissi, bisegnerebbe che fosse non meno padre che madre. Vesti teui di pensiero & di fortezza virile: guardandoli da coloro, che hanno me riddotto à tal termine; & sopra tutto insegnando loro del patre ogni cosa, che la fortuna* (11). It is very probable that he shadowed himself, in the first Scene of Act V of his *Pastor Fido*, under the name of *Carino*, which differs but little from his own (12).

(11) Idem, ibid.

(12) This also is the opinion of Sir R. Fanshaw, in his Dedication of his translation of *Pastor Fido*. London printed 1647, 4to.

[*E*] *He afterwards withdrew from Court.*] Being disgusted at it, Guarini, in 1582, desired the Duke to give him leave to retire, upon pretence of pursuing his law-affairs, which was a mere feint, his true reason being, as he himself declares in one of his Letters, because he did not meet with the return which he thought his services deserved (13). After this retreat, he spent the winters in Padua, and the summers at a delightful country-seat of his called *la Guarina*, situated in Polesine de Rovigo (14) which Duke Borso had presented to Battista Guarini his grandfather, as a reward for his services performed in France, where he had been his envoy.

(13) *Lettre del Sig. Cav. Guarini*, pag. 72.

(14) Idem, ibid.

[*F*] *He returned to Court in three years.*] He was recalled by Alphonso Duke of Ferrara, and restored to his employment of Secretary of State, after which he was employed in various negotiations in Umbria, Milan &c. But he soon met with the same vexations as formerly, and therefore again quitted his service (15).

(15) Ibid. pag. 48, 49.

[*G*] *Some uneasinesses which broke out in his family.*] Alessandro Guarini his eldest son, who had married in 1587 a rich heiress, Virginia Panciroli by name, niece to Cardinal Canani (16), weary of being under the subjection of his father, with whom he lived; and disgusted at the imperious treatment he met with from him, resolved to leave his house, and live apart with his wife (17). Battista Guarini was so highly offended at their departure, that he immediately seized on their income, upon pretence of their being indebted to him for monies he had expended at their marriage, for clothes &c. His son after having been deprived of his income for nine months, at last humbly besought the Duke of Ferrara to interpose his authority, which the Duke did; when commanding his chief judge to take cognizance of that affair, he immediately decided in favour of Alessandro Guarini. This decision exasperated the father still more, so that looking upon it as a proof that the Duke had no regard for him, he wrote a letter to him, whereby he desired, in the most respectful but strongest terms, to be dismiss'd his service, which the Duke granted; but at the same time seemed displeased at Guarini, for shewing so little regard to the favours he indulged him.

(16) Ibid. pag. 365.

(17) *Hommes illustres*, vol. 25. pag. 177, 178. I do not find any marks of Guarini's severity to his children, in running over his letters.

[*H*] *He had the affliction to lose his wife in* 1590.] Her death inspired him with very different thoughts from those he had hitherto entertained; and it is presumed by his Letters, that he designed to go to Rome, and turn Ecclesiastic. However, he was diverted from this resolution by the honourable invitation he received from the Duke of Mantua (18).

(18) Ibid. pag. 179.

(7) *Lettere del Sign. Caval. Battista Guarini Nobile Ferrarese*, pag. 66. *In Venetia, pr. G. B. Ciotta*, 1615, 8vo.

di que vezzi, che sono si necessari à poncri amalati (7). He then declares that he had been brought very near his end. *Il male ogni di s'auvanzava, le forze veniuan meno, il gusto abborriua ogni causa, se non il vino: di sorte che pocha speranza mi restaua di vita, & quella poca ancora m'era odiosa* (8). He then gives an account of the extremely dangerous passage he had had along the Danube, which nevertheless the violence of his sickness had made him almost insensible of. His next words show with what fidelity and pains he served his Prince. " You will observe, *says he to his wife*, " that when I found myself so very sick in Vienna, " I ought to have stopt there, and not proceed in " my journey towards Poland, but have had a pro- " per care of my life which was then in such imminent " danger. The same counsel, *continues he*, was sug- " gested to me by my judgment, my distemper, the " desire which creatures naturally have for life, and the " wants of my family and children; but then my " honour commanded me to act otherwise, and whis- " pered that since I was at the head of this embassy, " and bore the whole burden of so important a ne- " gotiation on my shoulders, I therefore ought to pre- " fer my master's service to life &c. *Voi mi potreste dire tu tè douuevi fermare (in Vienna) & hauer cura della tua vita. Il medissimo conseglio mi daua altressi il senso, la malatia, le forse, il naturale desiderio di viue, l'amore delle mie creature, il bisogno della mia casa, & di miei figliuoli: ma il mio honore mi commendaua allo'n contro, chi essend'io capo di questa ambasceria, & reggendosi tutto su le mie spalle, il peso di si grande & importante negozio antiponessi il seruizio del mio signore alla vita, & procedessi di modo, che'l Regno di Polonia potesse argomentar più tosto dalla mia morte la fede del mio principe, che dalla vita sospettare ch'io ni infingessi, per non andar più innanzi, ad essequire quelle promesse, che con grandissimo desiderio, & forse bisogne qui sattenda nano; la qual credenza in animi come questi cupidi, & sospettosi non era altro, che torre tutto'l credito alle facende, & levar al mio Principe la Corona che noi cerchiamo di porli in Capo* (9). He goes on with relating the very great hardships he suffered in the remaining part of his journey to Warsaw; the danger he run of being robbed and murdered by the Cossacks, and the vexations he met with when he was arrived in the last mentioned city . . . With what a warmth does he afterwards express himself! " O did I but suffer " these fatigues and torments for the love and glory " of God, I should be a martyr! but perhaps that " man is not unworthy of the name, who serves with- " out any hopes of a recompence!" *O se que ste fatiche, & questi tormenti sofferessi io per amore & gloria di Dio, ferrei martire: ma non é forse indegno di cotal nome, chi serue senza speranza di guiderdone* (10).

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) Ibid. pag. 67.

(10) Ibid. pag. 69 though it is erroneously paged 96.

[*D*] *In a Letter to his wife.*] It is the same from which I have given the extract above. He therein expresses himself like a man of true honour, and with the tenderness of a good husband and kind father. He exhorts his wife to fortify her mind against the worst accidents that may happen; and observes, that it would be mean in a wife to bewail a husband who was not afraid of dying. He tells her, that others may honour him by their tears, but that she ought to honour him by her fortitude. He recommends their children to her care, observing that, in case of his death, she must be both father and mother to them. He desires her to

tiate ſome affairs at the Arch-duke's Court, he was afterwards diſmiſſed the Duke of Mantua's ſervice by the powerful ſollicitations of Duke Alphonſo; upon which he went to Rome, but returned in 1595 to Ferrara [*I*], where he was again reconciled to the Duke. Alphonſo dying in 1597, great changes enſued in Ferrara, and Guarini, not thinking himſelf rewarded in a ſuitable manner, left Ferrara in 1599, and entred into the ſervice of Ferdinand de Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, who diſcovered a great eſteem for him, and would in all probability have been very liberal to him, had it not been for an unlucky affair [*K*]. He came again to Ferrara, whence he went to the Prince of Urbino but continued only a year in his ſervice; and returned again in 1604 to Ferrara, whence the Magiſtrates of the City ſent him to Rome, to congratulate Pope Paul V on his acceſſion to the Pontificate. This ſeems to have been his laſt public negotiation. He lived in Ferrara till the year 1609; going, at intervals, to Venice to carry on his law-ſuits. In 1610 he went to Rome, on account of two law-ſuits which he gained. Returning at laſt to his native country, and paſſing by Venice, he was ſeized with the diſtemper of which he died, in October 1612, aged ſeventy five years. He was a Member of ſeveral Academies, and many others, thoſe of the *Ricovrati* of Padua, the *Intrepidi* of Ferrara, and the *Umoriſti* of Rome. Guarini was not a Knight either of the Order of St. Stephen of Ferrara, or that of St. Michael of France; he having been created ſimply a Knight, either by Duke Alphonſo, or ſome other Prince he ſerved, or at whoſe Court he was Embaſſador (*b*). Battiſta Guarini left three ſons [*L*]. An ample catalogue of his works is found in the *Hommes Illuſtres*, vol. 25. of Father Niceron. Our author has united, in his (*c*) *Paſtor Fido*, the moſt exquiſite beauties of the Italian tongue, and every thing that is ſoft, charming and graceful in the paſſion of love; whence many perſons look upon it as no ways fit for the peruſal of young perſons. A new Engliſh Tranſlation of this famous Paſtoral is very much wanted; that of Sir R. Fanſhaw, being very flat and inharmonious, notwithſtanding the applauſes beſtowed upon it by Sir John Denham, who was certainly too great a judge of Poetry not to perceive its defects; but he doubtleſs was prompted only by friendſhip on that occaſion. The Earl of Roſcommon has given ſo beautiful a verſion of part of one of the ſcenes, that we cannot but regret his not undertaking the whole. I muſt not omit a very pleaſant miſtake of Aubertus Miræus [*M*].

(*b*) *Hommes Illuſtres.* vol. 15. pag. 194. But this ſeems to be a miſtake, Guarini hinting in one of his Letters, that *he was a Knight of St. Stephen, non ni haverebbe per degno ſuo ſervidore, & degno Cavaliere di Santo Stephano &c.* Lettere de Battiſta Guarini, pag. 312.

(*c*) One of the ſcarceſt and moſt valuable editions of this Poem, is that of Venice in 4to, printed for Gio. Battiſta Ciotti, 1602, *con le annotazioni e con il compendio tratto da due Verati.* Haym. in his *Notizia*, p. 168. calls this the 20th edition, but I have it now before me, and it is expreſſed the 27th. Father Niceron, vol. 25. pag. 187. hath falſely dated this edition 1502. The moſt ſplendid edition of this fine Poem is that in 4to at London, by the ingenious Signior Paolo Rolli.

[*I*] *He returned in* 1595 *to Ferrara.*] This was brought about by his ſon Aleſſandro, who was very much beloved at that Court; but freſh quarrels ſoon broke out again between Battiſta Guarini and his laſt mentioned ſon, which were afterwards carried to a great height (19).

(19) Ibid. pag. 180.

[*K*] *Had it not been for an unlucky affair.*] It was this. Our Guarini had carried with him to Florence Guarino Guarini his third ſon, then but fifteen years of age; and ſent him to Piſa to complete his ſtudies in that city. There the youth fell in love with a noble, but poor widow, named *Caſſandra Pontaderi*, and married her whilſt his father was in Piſa with the Grand Duke. Guarini no ſooner heard of this, but ſuſpecting that the Grand Duke knew of their marriage, and even promoted it; he left his ſervice abruptly, and returned to Ferrara. Guarino Guarini's wife dying after his father, he married very happily and advantageouſly Giulia Arioſti, a Lady of one of the beſt families in Ferrara, and had by her a ſon named Joſeph, who was father of Aleſſandro, to whom the public is obliged for the beſt life extant of our author (20).

(20) Ibid. pag. 181.

[*L*] *Left three ſons.*] Theſe were Aleſſandro, Jeromo and Guarino. The firſt was employed by the Duke of Ferrara, and by him ſent Embaſſador into Tuſcany. He afterwards was in the ſervice of the Dukes of Modena and Mantua, both of whom ſent him upon ſeveral foreign negotiations. He alſo was privy Chamberlain and Secretary of State to thoſe Princes. He had no children. There are three pieces of his extant. Jeromo, Battiſta Guarini's ſecond ſon, was a man of wit and genius, but very irregular in his conduct, which gave his father great uneaſineſs; and particularly his marrying 'againſt his conſent a woman of inferiour birth to his own. He died without iſſue in Milan, anno 1611. His third ſon has been already mentioned (21).

(21) In the note [*K*] above.

[*M*] *I muſt not omit a very pleaſant miſtake of Aubertus Miræus.*] He has ranked our Guarini among the eccleſiaſtical Authors, in his *Bibliotheca Eccleſiaſtica*, on account of his *Paſtor Fido*, which he imagined to be a book of devotion, ſhewing the duty of Paſtors. I

GUARINI or GUARINIO, a Theatine Friar and Mathematician to the Duke of Savoy, was born in Modena, and flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth Century. His *Placita Philoſophica* was printed at Paris in 1666, and his *Cæleſtis Mathematica* at Milan [*A*] in 1683, at which time he was dead.

[*A*] *His* Placita Philoſophica *and* Cœleſtis mathematica . . . *were printed*] Both theſe works are in folio. The former is a body of Philoſophy, in which the author treats chiefly of Phyſic, and deviates very much from the common opinion of the ſchools. See the *Journal des Savans* of Nov. 29th 1666. With regard to the other work, I refer thoſe who have it not by them, to the *Acta Eruditorum Lipſienſium* (1).

(1) For June 1684, pag. 259.

GUEBRIANT (RENATA DU BEC), wife of Marſhal de Guebriant, was daughter of Renatus du Bec Marquis de Vardes [*A*], and ſiſter of Renatus du Bec, who married the Counteſs de Moret, miſtreſs to Henry the Great. Her elder brother was killed by

[*A*] *Renatus du Bec, Marquis de Vardes.*] I add that he was Knight of the King's Orders, Governor of la Capelle and of the Territory of Tieraſche; and that his ſon, who married the Counteſs of Moret, had by her the Marquis de Vardes, who has been ſo long in diſgrace, on account of ſome intrigues, mentioned in the book intitled *les Amours du Palais Royal.* This diſgrace did not continue till the death of the Marquis du Vardes, but was not many years ſhort of it. The Counteſs of Moret's huſband was Governor of la Capelle, and even outlawed and ſentenced to die, for having ſurrendred up that place too ſoon to the Spaniards anno 1636 (1). However, he was pronounced innocent by an Arret of the Parliament of Paris, after the death of Cardinal Richelieu.

(1) The *Mercure Francois* of 1636 calls him only Baron du Bec.

by ſome Banditti in Italy [*B*]. This Lady was appointed to conduct, to the King of Poland, the Princeſs Mary de Gonzaga, whom he had married at Paris by proxy; on which occaſion ſhe was inveſted with a new character (*a*), that of Embaſſadreſs Extraordinary. Le Laboureur, in his account of this journey, does not ſeem to have related faithfully the reſult of the French Embaſſador's quarrel [*C*]; nor has de Wicquefort given an accurate relation of it [*D*], and ſays, without any foundation, that our Madam de

(*a*) See the remark [*E*] citation (16).

[*B*] *Her elder brother was killed by ſome Banditti in Italy.*] This is generally aſſerted in thoſe books which contain a genealogical account of the anceſtors of the Marquis du Vardes (2). But in the collection of pieces annexed to the Journal of Henry III, there are ſome obſervations on the amours of Henry IV, in which it is aſſerted, that de Guebriant's brother was killed by a peaſant whom he was going to beat; and that "his father, a venerable old man who had about "fifty or ſixty thouſand livres a year, in order to con- "ceal this unhappy murther, cauſed his ſon's retinue, "after his death, to take the road towards Lyons and "Italy; a few days after which, he cauſed ſome let- "ters to be written to himſelf, declaring that he had "died ſuddenly on the road." He who gives this account does it on the following occaſion. He ſays that one Villeneuve, a Gentleman of Guienne, married in that part of France called le Vexin, aſſembled ſeveral Gentlemen at Saucour (3), near Giſors in the year 1622, in order to aſk their opinion concerning the following caſe of conſcience. A Gentleman (probably he who wanted the advice) had gone unaccompanied into the houſe of a peaſant, in order to chaſtize him. The peaſant collar'd him, threw him under him, and had ſwore *to murther him, unleſs he would promiſe and ſwear to never revenge himſelf either directly or indirectly.* This was ſworn by the Gentleman; and the query he wanted to aſk, was, whether he ought to keep his word with the peaſant. The author of the Obſervations adds, that "the aſſembly of Gentlemen in "queſtion, conſiſting of ten or twelve Gentlemen, "were unanimouſly for the affirmative; and a reſo- "lution paſſed, that no Gentleman ſhould ever attack "a peaſant, except he was ſure of getting the better of "him; and they mentioned, *continues this writer*, "the recent and more fatal example of a certain "Marquis &c." this is the adventure I juſt now mentioned, concerning the eldeſt brother of Marquis de Vardes, and Marſhal de Guebriant's Lady.

(2) *See* Father Anſelme, tom. 2. pag. 626. Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 2. pag. 500.

(3) I believe it ſhould be *Sancoar.*

This ſtory is related ſo very circumſtantially, that it might eaſily paſs for truth, and nevertheleſs we have reaſon to doubt the genuineneſs of it; and may even look upon it as falſe, when we examine other circumſtances. We find, in le Laboureur's (4) relation of the Queen of Poland's journey, that Marſhal de Guebriant's Lady, in her way thro' Genoa, cauſed a monument to be erected to the memory of her brother, who had been killed by Banditti in this country. But I had better relate the whole paſſage of Mr. le Laboureur; this containing many circumſtances, which give an air of improbability to the aſſembly of Saucour. This Writer ſays therefore (after obſerving that the Princes of Monaco, and the Lords of Bec-Creſpin in Normandy, deſcend from the ſame anceſtors) that "it was this "prompted the late Meſſire John du Bec, Marquis de "la Boſſe (5), eldeſt ſon of Renatus du Bec, Marquis "de Vardes, and Knight of the King's Orders; paſ- "ſing thro' Italy in 1616, with the deſign of going "to Genoa to viſit the Lord Grimaldi his relations; "and having been murthered in the road by Banditti, "they revenged his death by an exemplary puniſh- "ment, and depoſited his body in St. Francis's church, "the burying-place of many of their family, where "it lay till the year 1646, when Marſhal de Gue- "briant's Lady his ſiſter, and Meſſieurs Grimaldi cauſ- "ed it to be removed to *Our Lady of Conſolation* with- "out Genoa, where a monument was ſet up to him, "the epitaph of which I wrote."

(4) Third part, pag. 353.

(5) Moreri, in the article of *Bec-Creſpin*, has, once, put *La Broſſe*, inſtead of *de la Boſſe*. He had read or been told, ſomething concerning the other manner in which this murther is related, as appears from the following words: *others ſay, that he was murthered by ſome Norman Peaſants in Budavid*; which makes a new diverſity.

Can any one believe, that the farce ſhould have been carried ſo far, merely to conceal the advantage which a peaſant had gained over a young Marquis? Would ſuch an unhappy accident have reflected diſhonour on a family; and was there no other way to conceal it, but by having recourſe to Italian Banditti? We ought not to accuſtom people to add more credit to ſtories told in converſation, rather than to monuments of hiſtory, ſuch as thoſe related by le Laboureur; for this would be ſetting a bad example, and be pernicious in its conſequences.

[*C*] *Le Laboureur . . does not ſeem to have related faithfully the reſult of the French Embaſſador's Quarrel.*] How deſirous ſoever I may be, to be tender of a man whoſe merit is ſo great, I yet cannot forbear obſerving that he has not given an impartial relation of the French Embaſſador's quarrel, and that he endeavours to conceal the ill ſucceſs of his pretenſions. After having exhibited, page 137 and 138, the moſt ſolid arguments of the Poles, he does not inform his readers, either what reply was made to them, nor the final reſolutions on that occaſion. In page 151, he ſeats Mr. de Bregi, at table, below Prince Charles (6), without telling us how, and why this Embaſſador relinquiſh'd his pretenſions. He ſeats him ſtill below the Prince in page 194, but adds, that this Prince *repreſented the Emperor's Embaſſador extraordinary.* By this he inſinuates, that Mr. de Bregi had all the advantage he could deſire in the quarrel, ſince they were forced to inveſt Prince Charles with a character, to which all the Embaſſadors of crowned Heads were to yield the precedency. But the reader is deſired in the *Errata*, to blot out, pag. 194, *who repreſented the perſon of the Emperor.* It is ſtrange that the perſon who drew up the *Errata*, ſhould have been ſo negligent, as not to expreſs the error in the very words in which it had been printed. But this palpable artifice is much leſs excuſable, when we conſider that few people mind the *Errata* of a Book (7). The reader is alſo deſired to ſtrike out in the ſame page 194, what is there ſaid, viz. that the Pope's Nuncio would abſolutely ſeat himſelf at the nuptial feaſt, below the Marſhal's Lady. However, theſe two corrections do not well anſwer the expectation which had been raiſed in the reader (8), by the cenſure that had been paſſed on Renaudot's Gazettes, on another relation that had been given of this feaſt, and on the following words of le Laboureur himſelf. "Perhaps "more credit will be given to me, with regard to the "perſons who were ſeated at the table of their Maje- "ſties, and the order in which they were placed, ſince "the Queen of Poland ordered me to be preſent on "that occaſion." Since ſo many falſities were ſpread in the city of Paris, about things relating to the ceremonial; what credit could be given to news, relating to particulars that were ſtill more difficult to be known? Such multitudes ſend accounts of ſolemnities of this kind, that the whole makes a moſt unaccountable confuſion. Le Laboureur informs us, *that ſeveral footmen pretended to draw up relations of it; and that the Baker was making one, in which he took particular care, to ſpecify the price and goodneſs of the meal* (9).

PRETENSIONS of Mr. de Bregi, Embaſſador of France in Poland.

(6) He was the King of Poland's brother.

(7) See ſomething of the ſame kind, in the *Nouvelles de la Rép. des Lettres*, for June 1686, article 3.

(8) Page 194.

(9) Ibid.

[*D*] *De Wicquefort . . . has not . . . given an accurate relation of it.*] "The Embaſſador, *ſays he* (10), "who ſcrupled to yield the precedency to the heredi- "tary Prince of Sweden, brother to the King of Po- "land; and Marſhal de Guebriant's Lady, who inſiſt- "ed upon having the ſame honours paid to her, as "formerly to the Arch-Ducheſs of Tirol, were guilty "of an impardonable impertinence, and were the "cauſe that their Sovereign received an affront." The Embaſſador hinted at by him, is the perſon whom he calls Viſcount de Bregi, in page 593 of the firſt Book; where, after having called his pretenſion *an extravagant one*, he adds, that the pretenſion of Marſhal de Guebriant's Lady was *as ridiculous, ſince ſhe inſiſted upon having the ſame rank, and the ſame honours paid her as to the Archducheſs, when ſhe brought the Queen her daughter from Poland.* It is ſaid in the Index (referring the reader to the ſame page 593), that Marſhal de Guebriant's Lady pretended to take the upper hand of the Archducheſs; but no ſuch particular is mentioned in the page we are referred to.

(10) *Traité de l'Embaſſadeur*, lib. 2. pag. m. 200.

I will not contradict Mr. de Wicquefort in what he ſays concerning thoſe pretenſions, this not being a fact. I only

de Guebriant was concerned in it. She ſuſtained her character very worthily. She was a woman of intrigue, and endowed with very great qualities [*E*]. Priolo does not give a juſt account of her negotiation at Briſac [*F*]; but this is not the only error he has committed

I only obſerve, that he has no reaſon to aſſert, that Bregi and Marſhal de Guebriant's Lady *cauſed their Sovereign to receive an affront*, by their pretenſions. This is true, at moſt, only with regard to Mr. Bregi; for we don't find by le Laboureur's relation, tho' ſo circumſtantiated, that the Lady Guebriant had any diſpute. We find indeed (11), that *there was a ſtrong conteſt at two different times* with reſpect to the pretenſions of the French Embaſſador; but we there find that the Lady in queſtion, ſo far from being obliged to engage in any diſpute, was deſired by the Queen of Poland (the very day that Mr. le Bregi began to have a diſpute), *not to concern herſelf in any manner with it; and that Count Honoſt, with the Embaſſadors and great men of Poland, declared to her, that ſhe ſhould be paid the honours due to her, not only of embaſſadreſs extraordinary, but alſo ſuperintendant of her Majeſty's conduct, purſuant to the ſeveral precedents*, AND PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE ARCHDUCHESS OF INSPRUCK, *when ſhe conducted the deceaſed Queen.* The author informs us in another place (12), *that the King had declared to all the Grandees of his Kingdom, that it was his intention that ſhe ſhould receive all the honours, which a Lady of her quality, and of the character with which ſhe was inveſted, could deſerve*; AND THE SAME WITH THOSE WHICH HAD BEEN PAID TO THE ARCHDUCHESS OF INSPRUCK, *the grand Duke of Tuſcany's ſiſter, who had conducted the late Queen.* It will not be neceſſary after this, in order to refute de Wicquefort, to alledge the following paſſage of the relation (13). *The Lady Guebriant, coming down the ſtair-caſe of the palace to go into her coach* (14), *the Biſhop of Poſnania, cloathed in his pontifical veſtments, gave her his bleſſing. This honour, which is never done to any except crowned Heads and Princes, the King would have beſtowed upon her, as a ſtronger mark of the eſteem he had for this illuſtrious Lady.*

(11) Pag. 137. of Part 1.

(12) Pag. 203. of Part 1.

(13) Pag. 3. of Part 3.

(14) It was the day ſhe left Poland.

[*E*] *She was . . . endowed with very great qualities.*] In my opinion, the beſt way to form a juſt judgment of Madam de Guebriant's merit, is to take a middle courſe between the encomiums which le Laboureur laviſhes upon her, and the diſadvantageous things which are ſpoke of her by other writers. But however this be, when we conſider the employments ſhe filled, it cannot poſſibly be denied, but that ſhe was poſſeſſed of a great genius, and was miſtreſs of many of thoſe exalted talents, which enable a Lady to maintain and diſtinguiſh herſelf to very great advantage, in the moſt ſhining court-employments. People may rail as much as they pleaſe at thoſe who beſtow employments, and may charge them as long as they pleaſe with not encouraging merit; yet the judicious part of mankind will never be perſuaded, that the Queen-Mother and Cardinal Mazarine would have appointed the Lady Guebriant to ſuperintend the conduct of the Queen of Poland (15), and have made her embaſſadreſs extraordinary, had they not believed that ſhe would have done honour to France in the Poliſh Court, and keep up the new character with which ſhe was inveſted (16), with the requiſite wit, prudence and grandeur. The Letters which were wrote to her by the King, the Queen-Mother, and the Cardinal, when ſhe was nominated for this employment; and thoſe which the King of Poland wrote to the King and Queen-Mother when ſhe returned to Paris, agree in beſtowing the higheſt elogiums upon her; and it is certain that ſhe diſcovered the greateſt abilities in the diſcharge of thoſe employments. The Letters in queſtion are inſerted in Le Laboureur's relation.

I before obſerved, that the encomiums he gives muſt not be taken in their full latitude. In his opinion, "their moſt Chriſtian Majeſties, by this choice, "acted conformably to the wiſhes of the whole French "nation, and of the chief perſons of the Court in "particular. *He ſays*, that the thing was made public before it was reſolved upon, and that no one "was leſs acquainted with it than thoſe who ſhould "have known it; that this illuſtrious widow lived "a recluſe life; that her huſband revived every day "in her memory, in order to die in her heart, which "again mourned for him; that ſhe daily ſacrificed "ſome paſſion or other to him; that the paſſion for "Court Places, and for the Court itſelf was dead "in her." In fine, that the ſole reaſon of her not accepting that employment was, becauſe ſhe could not refuſe to obey the commands of her Sovereign, after having been bound to him "by ſo many obligations; "and particularly for the honours which were paid "the Marſhal her huſband, at his interment, by his "Majeſty's order." Thus he writes in part I, pag. 9 of his relation. He obſerves, in vol. II of his additions to the memoirs of Caſtelnau, page 499, "that "ſhe kept up the fame and remembrance of *Marſhal "de Guebriant*, by ſo long a ſeries of ſervices, and "glorious labours, that the King, by appointing her "Lady of Honour to the future Queen, not only "pleaſed all his ſubjects, but alſo gratified the wiſhes "and eſteem of all nations, where her merit diſ-"played itſelf, during her embaſſy extraordinary, "to conduct the Queen of Poland into her dominions." There doubtleſs are too many rhetorical flouriſhes and poetical thoughts in what I have quoted above, eſpecially for a writer, who in ſo many places of his additions to the memoirs of Caſtelnau, has delivered himſelf with great freedom and boldneſs againſt the abuſes of the age; and whoſe metaphorical exploſions are very much like thoſe of Count de Lude, of whom he ſays, that "though he fired, from a great diſtance, at the "government, yet all his ſhots were not loſt; ſome "of them inflicting deſperate wounds." It is in page 767 of his additions, that he has delivered himſelf in this manner. I ſhall quote Patin by and by, who does not ſay, that the whole French nation were earneſtly deſirous of having that heroine raiſed to great honours. I have juſt now read in a modern Hiſtorian, that ſhe was fired with an inſatiable ambition; and that to this was owing the magnificent obſequies with which the Marſhal her huſband was honoured. *Guebriantii exſequiæ non vulgari pompa celebratæ. Corpus illatum Fano Deiparæ Virginis, qui honos infrequens non tam conceſſus Viri meritis, quàm uxoris Renatæ Bekiæ flagitatione extortus; fœmina impotens, gloriæ potius quàm luctus immodica, juſta marito perſoluta in ſui oſtentationem trahere* (17). i. e. Marſhal de Guebriant's funeral was "ſolemnized with no ordinary pomp. The body was "carried to the Church of Notre Dame; an unuſual "honour that was not granted ſo much to the "Marſhal's deſerts, as extorted by the importunity "of Renata du Bec, his wife; a woman of very "ſtrong paſſions, who was prompted to pay theſe "unuſual funeral honours, not ſo much from affliction, "as out of pride and oſtentation." To ſpeak my opinion freely, I do not believe that ſhe accepted of the embaſſy extraordinary to Poland, merely out of a holy principle of obedience; or that this employment was beſtowed without her ſuing for it. We have juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the oratorical flouriſhes of a Panegyriſt.

(15) Louiſa Maria de Gonzaga, daughter of a Duke de Nevers, who was afterwards Duke of Mantua, married to Uladiſlaus IV King of Poland in 1645. See *Memoires de Marolles*, pag. 162.

(16) *Rex atque Regina mater Renatam Dubecam Vardiam mulierem viduam genere atque probitate inſignem, ubi cum Sponſa in Poloniam ire juſſere, quæ hanc vice ſua Uladiſlao Regi traderet, Dubecam ea cauſa novo, ut opinor, exemplo atque apud omnes gentes inaudito Legati, ſeu, ſi fas eſt dicere, Legatæ titulo ornavere.* Labardæus (Mr. de la Barde) *Hiſt. de Reb. Gallic.* lib. 3. pag. 176. The Lady Guebriant was the firſt woman, and the only one, if I miſtake not, who ever had the title of Embaſſadreſs in her own right, and will very poſſibly be the laſt. Wicquefort, liv. 1. *de l'Ambaſſ.* pag. 15.

(17) Benjamin. Priolus, *de Rebus Gall. Hiſt.* lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. m. 41, 42.

[*F*] *Priolo does not give a juſt account of her negotiation at Briſac.*] This Hiſtorian (18) relates a particular, which is not very honourable to the Lady in queſtion. He ſays that during the laſt troubles, Charlevois who had commanded in Briſac, quarrelled with the Governor whom the Court had ſent thither, (this was Mr. de Tilladet) and that he purſued his point with ſo much vigour, that the Governor was obliged to yield to him. That upon this, the Lady Guebriant, prompted either by avarice or ambition, reſolved if poſſible to make herſelf neceſſary; and being deſirous to have the Court think ſhe had preſerved that important town, ſhe formed an intrigue in order to ruin Charlevois. That, for this purpoſe, ſhe took with her to Briſac a girl whom he loved; and that Charlevois being ſo imprudent as to leave the fortreſs to viſit this young woman in queſtion, he was taken and carried priſoner to Philipſburg. *Imponit hamo eſcam, quàm ſciebat appetiturum Charlovoium: puella amata illicium fuit, cui inviſendæ miſer arce exit* (19). That the Lady Guebriant was ſo much ſtigmatiſed on that account, that ſhe was forced to retire to Baſil with all the ſpeed poſſible; and that Charlevois held a ſecret intelligence with Count de Harcourt, who was diſguſted at the government, and made his peace upon advantageous conditions; ſo that the Lady in queſtion ſeeing herſelf hated by both parties, died of grief (20). We

(18) *De Reb. Gall.* lib. 8.

(19) Idem, lib. 8. cap. 8.

(20) *Guebriantiæ utrimque exoſa, tædio & mœrore vitam inquietam finivit.*

committed with regard to this Lady, which may ſerve to remove ſome ſuſpicions concerning her [G]. We muſt not credit too lightly all that Guy Patin ſays of her [H]. This

We have here an inſtance of what commonly happens to thoſe who give abridgments; they omit ſeveral circumſtances, without which an incident is a ſmall ununiformed and ſhapeleſs maſs, as thoſe find by experience, who, after having read it with all its circumſtances in a hiſtory at large, compare the idea they then have of it with that which they had formed to themſelves of it from an epitome. Thoſe who ſhall read in Labardæus's Hiſtory this intrigue of the Lady Guebriant, will verify my preſent aſſertion. But, not to mention Priolo's omiſſions, it is certain that there are two falſities in his relation.

The firſt is, his ſaying, that Charlevois came out of Briſac, in order to ſee the miſtreſs whom the Lady Guebriant brought him. Now nothing can be falſer than this, Charlevois not being obliged to leave the abovementioned town, becauſe ſhe was in the Lady Guebriant's train. Beſides, the reader may very juſtly wonder that this Lady ſhould be in Briſac; and that Charlevois's miſtreſs, who was to inſnare him, is not with the Lady who carries on the intrigue, and who makes ſo good a uſe of the ſtratagems of Catherine de Medicis (21). It is certain ſhe was there, and that the artifice employed to entrap Charlevois, was the accuſtoming him to go and take the air in a coach, at a conſiderable diſtance from the city, in company with Lady Guebriant and his miſtreſs in queſtion. But on the day he was taken, the Lady Guebriant, deſirous of being in Briſac when the firſt news ſhould be brought of it, pretended I know not what buſineſs that kept her from taking the air; and yet deſired that all her retinue ſhould go. The ſecond falſity relates to the death of this Lady. Priolo makes her die of grief, at a time when the civil war was not yet ended; but it is certain (22) that ſhe was not diſturbed at the ill ſucceſs of her enterprize at Briſac; and that ſhe carried on her intrigues even in Baſil itſelf, and revolved mighty deſigns in her mind, in order to ingratiate herſelf with the Queen-mother and Cardinal Mazarine; in a word, that her death did not happen till the year 1659, after her having made ſo great a figure at Court, that ſhe was to be firſt Lady of Honour to Queen Maria Thereſa. How was it poſſible for an Hiſtorian of Priolo's character, who had been ſo very converſant with great people and with public affairs, and who publiſhed his Hiſtory but a few years after that Lady's death, could fix the date of it ſo erroneouſly, as to bereave her of five or ſix years of the moſt ſhining proſperity? But perhaps he thereby did her a good office.

(21) Hiſtorians relate, that ſhe made the beauty of her maids of honour ſubſervient to her deſigns, when ſhe wanted to ruin any great man; which conduct her daughter imitated. *See* Mezerai, under the year 1579.

(22) Labardæus, *Hiſt. de Rebus Gallic.* l. 9. pag. 737. *ad an.* 1652.

Labardæus obſerves that this Lady, not contented with the character of Embaſſadreſs Extraordinary with which ſhe had been inveſted, deſired, in order to throw a ſtill greater glory round her, to concern herſelf in a war-intrigue (23). It was even ſaid that ſhe aſpired to the government of Briſac, and to poſſeſs herſelf of the territories belonging to the King of Alſatia. Had ſhe ſucceeded in this, ſhe would have recovered the monies which his Majeſty owed her, and formed a ſmall principality in that frontier country. *Eâ tempeſtate vulgatum Dubecam non modò Briſiacum expetere ſibi, cui Præfecta eſſet, ſed & prædia quæ Rex in Alſatia poſſidet omnia, quibus huic permiſſis ære ſe alieno liberaret, quo ſatis grandi Dubecæ obſtrictus erat: ita mulier nihil niſi ingens animo volvere ſolita, ſibi ſpeciem Principatûs aliquam in hac ab Aula remota regione fingebat. Legati . . . perſonam ſuſtinuerat, quod tametſi amplum ipſi magnificumque viſum, tamen magis ſuprà fœminam eſſe videbatur, quidpiam quod ad militiam pertineret, attingere, cujus ſibi facultatem dari in Charlevoſii negotio eſt arbitrata.* (23).

(23) *Legati . . . perſonam ſuſtinuerat, quod tametſi amplum ipſi, magnificumque viſum, tamen magis ſuprà fœminam eſſe videbatur, quidpiam quod ad militiam pertineret, attingere, cujus ſibi facultatem dari in Charlevoſii negotio eſt arbitrata.* Labard. pag. 620.

(24) Idem, ibid.

[G] *This may ſerve to remove ſome ſuſpicions concerning her.*] I juſt now obſerved, that perhaps Priolo did her a good office. By this I mean, that had not this author ſaid, that the Lady Guebriant died before the troubles were ended, he might have raiſed a ſuſpicion in many of his readers, that ſhe was one of the four women of whom he gives a very ill character. He declares, that four women lighted up a civil war in every part of France; that they had more genius than virtue; but that failing in their projects, they turned devotees, which, *ſays he*, is a very common thing with the female ſex, when their glaſs informs them, that they are no longer able to charm their beholders. *Tunc quatuor non quidem abſurdæ ingenio, ſed quæ plus moribus nocebant quàm ingenio proderant, omnem Galliam commiſerunt . . Ipſæ poſtea improſperis, ut fit, rebus ſe prædamnantes Numini fidem obligarunt per religionis mendacem ſimulationem & fucoſa ſuperſtitione: effætis vitiis januâ clauſâ, cum ſpeculo damnante, ſe putris ſenectus, præciſâ ejus ſententiâ reformidat* (25). *Ad arbitrium quatuor fœminarum noſtra diu recta. Illæ neque Regno neque ſibi felicis uteri dum ſuâ magnitudine peccandi licentiam metiuntur, Galliam omnem in ſummum diſcrimen vocavere, &c* (26). That my readers may the better know, how greatly the Lady in queſtion is obliged to Priolo, for not ranking her with theſe four women, it muſt be remembred, that he repreſents them as barren (27), and proportioning their wickedneſs to the greatneſs of their ſtations; that they were for ever revolving mighty deſigns; that they applied themſelves ſecretly to the Cardinal by the mediation of their Gallants, and betrayed one another; ſo that his Eminence was not the judge between three, but of four wanton Goddeſſes. *Sic Mazarinus non trium, ſed quatuor Dearum libidinantium judex fuit.* Whilſt theſe ingaged in his intereſt, others oppoſed it ſtrongly; and would not ſcruple to attempt any thing, provided they could but puſh themſelves into the ſecret of intrigues. They proſtituted themſelves (28), which thoſe women can hardly forbear, who are determined to concern themſelves with civil wars. They ſtand in need of the confidence of party-leaders, and want to be aided by their ſwords as well as politicks; but theſe will not indulge their favours to the Ladies *gratis*, they know how to make proper uſe of the critical minute. The obligations to which they bind themſelves, are ſure to become, at laſt, bodily ones, and which they are never allowed to diſcharge any other way. Their creditors will not ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon, but immediately ſeize. Such is the condition of a Lady, who has the ambition to preſide over a ſtate-revolution. Marſhal de Turenne, though ſo wiſe a General, could not (as we are told) reſiſt the impetuoſity of the ſtream; and alſo required to be indulged in the perſonal returns here hinted at, for the ſervices he did during the civil wars. I imagined that he never concerned himſelf with the affairs of gallantry only this time; but I have been aſſured by a perſon, who had an opportunity of knowing this matter, that he frequently acted in this manner. Notwithſtanding the age of Lady Guebriant, yet ſome readers might ſuppoſe her to be one of the four hinted at above, had not the Hiſtorian prevented it by the method he took, much better than by the characteriſticks whereby they are diſtinguiſhed, moſt of which ſuit her; her age, I ſay, would ſignify nothing; for not to go ſo far back as Aſpaſia, Lamia, and even the Ducheſs of Valentinois; do not we find, about the time that Priolo is ſpeaking of, that a Ducheſs who was pretty far advanced in years (29) atchieved great conqueſts in love? Labardæus, whom I now cite, agrees with Priolo on this article, *viz.* that women during the ſtorms which diſturbed the laſt minority, would frequently concern themſelves with the helm of government. The author of the *Thoughts on Comets*, might have added this citation to thoſe of his CCXXXVIth article; and not this alone, but a numberleſs multitude more which we meet with in books.

(25) Priol. lib. 2. num. 43.

(26) Idem, lib. 8. num. 10.

(27) See the cloſe of this remark.

(28) *Pars ſui cupiam facere ut aulæ arcanum quodlibet rimarentur.* Priolo, lib. 2. num. 42.

(29) *Huic erat noverca Maria Avancuria* (d'Avaugour) *quam Herculeo Robanus Mombaſonus pater dudum uxorem duxerat eximia per adoleſcentiam pulchritudine; tantaque vis boni in ipſa erat forma ut ne hanc quidem ætas extingueret, quæ fiebat uti multi domum ejus frequentarent mulieris amore capti, atque inter hos Henricus Guiſius vir è Lotharingica gente Princeps. Prius Henricus Aurelius Longovilla apud hanc multus fuerat frequenſque.* Labardæus, lib. 2. pag. 72. *ad ann.* 1644.

Take notice, that when I ſaid, that the Hiſtorian repreſented thoſe four Ladies, whoſe credit and intereſt were ſo great as barren, I ſaid this only with reſpect to the major part of my readers; for thoſe who know that the following words of Priolo, *neque regno, neque ſibi felicis uteri*, allude to a thing which Paterculus has ſaid of Julia daughter of Auguſtus will not take it for a mark of barrenneſs (30).

(30) Here follow Paterculus's words, lib. 2. cap. 93. *Filiam Cæſaris Juliam . . feminam neque ſibi neque reip. felicis uteri.*

[H] *We muſt not credit too lightly all that Guy Patin ſays of her.*] Here follow two paſſages from his letters. *The Lady de Guebriant*, ſays he, in a letter dated September 9. 1659. is dead in *Perigueux: ſhe was ill but thirteen hours, and left the world without confeſſing herſelf; ſhe was the Partiſan in that part of France, and her Memory is had in the utmoſt Deteſtation.* Ten days after

(31) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, tom. 2. pag. 626; and after him, *Moreri's Dictionary*, under Marſhal *de Guebriant's* article, fix his death to the 28th of Sept. 1659.

SLANDERS publiſhed by Priolo concerning ſome Ladies.

This furniſhes us with a remark, in which we ſhall find the time when ſhe died. The reader will ſee, in another remark, the error of a German writer [*I*], who wrote notes on Priolo. I muſt not omit, that this Lady, imagining herſelf not well matched, though the huſband ſhe had been obliged to marry was very rich, cauſed her marriage to be annulled [*K*], and married (*b*) Count de Guebriant a younger brother of an antient family of Brittany. She contributed very much to his obtaining the Batoon of Marſhal [*L*].

(*b*) Anno 1632.

after he ſpoke as follows of her. *News is come, that Lady Guebriant, who was following the Court, is dead. She was aunt to the Marquis of Vardes, and never had any Children. I believe ſhe has left a good eſtate behind her. She died in four days, and did not confeſs herſelf. We may ſay of her what Eraſmus ſaid jokingly of a Franciſcan, who died ſuddenly,* obiit ſine crux, ſine lux, ſine Deus (*a*). *It is ſaid that ſhe was very much in debt; but then the Queen ows her* 40000 *Piſtoles, which ſhe had lent her during the Siege of Paris.*

§ (*a*) This ſaying is found in the *Facetiæ* of Bebelius, folio 56. of the edition of 1542; and Luther has alſo employed it in his Table Talk, Tom. I. folio 86. *Omnes*, ſays he ſpeaking of a conſiderable number of his Adverſaries, *mortui ſunt ſine crux, & ſine lux.* REM. CRIT.

As Patin has inſerted in his letters, a great many Stories, which were told him when he went his rounds to viſit his Patients (32), I would not depend on all I have here borrowed from him. I can eaſily believe that this Lady was a great Party-woman, and that her very profuſe diſpoſition and her inclination which was naturally turned to Buſineſs, prompted her to engage in Parties, becauſe of the riches that were gained by it; and therefore that ſhe was deteſted in thoſe places where ſhe put her Art in practice; but I am of opinion that ſhe never did this in Perigord (33). She doubtleſs died as ſhe was paſſing through that Province, during the Progreſs of the Court into Guienne, at the time when ſhe expected to be firſt Lady of honour to the Queen; for at that time no one doubted of the King's marriage with the Infanta of Spain.

(32) See the *Menagian.* pag. 279. firſt Dutch edit.

(33) Take notice, that ſince the printing of this in my *Plan*, I have ſeen the enquiries with reſpect to the interment of Marſhal de Guebriant (cited by *Le Laboureur* in the *Hiſtory of that Marſhal*) where he is called Count of Guebriant and of Perigueux.

In caſe Patin's Letters ſhould be reprinted, his Errors ought to be corrected by Notes, and a good Index will be wanted. But before I leave his Letters, I ſhall extract from one I have already cited, ſome particulars relating to the Guebriant family. It is he ſays that the Counteſs of Moret, Miſtreſs to Henry IV. "is celebrated in Barclay's Euphormion, under "the Name of Cafina; that it is in the place where "ſhe was married to Count de Ceſi-Sancy, who af-"terwards was ſent Ambaſſador to Conſtantinople; "and that it is there we have the Deſcription of a "contract of Marriage, of a Husband who is wil-"ling to be a cuckold, and who promiſes and obliges "himſelf to ſubmit to that Character; that about the "year 1618, ſhe married the Marquis de Vardes, "ſon to the worthy Governor of la Chapelle, &c." He ſhould have ſaid la Capelle (34). He who married the Counteſs of Moret, was alſo Governor of this place. It might be added, that Henry IV. ſtipulated with Count de Ceſi, that he ſhould leave this Counteſs the very Evening of the wedding, which he did accordingly (35).

(34) Moreri ſays alſo *Chapelle*, in the article of *Du Bec.*

(35) *Hiſt. des Amours d'Alcandre*, num. 70. We are told in the notes, that this Count was called Philip de Harlai, and that he died in May 1652, aged 71 years.

The Count does not make *ſuch a promiſe* in the *Euphormio*: but he promiſes in the Contract not to meddle with the Bride. Patin ought not to have omitted this Circumſtance. By the way, the Perſon who gave a key to the *Euphormio* (36), is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing *Olympion*, who ſubmits to theſe conditions of marriage, to be Count de Moret.

(36) See the Leyden edit. *apud* Hackium, 1674 8vo.

[*I*] *The Reader will ſee . . . the error of a German Writer.*] Priolo's Hiſtory was printed a ſecond time at Leipſic, Anno 1686. To this edition was added, the Notes of a Profeſſor named Franckenſtein, which though they are not quite free from errors, nevertheleſs ſhew, that the Author of them was very well acquainted with his Subject, conſidering he was a Foreigner. This profeſſor having obſerved, that Priolo often accuſes the Lady Guebriant of being too ambitious (37), adds, that ſhe gave a remarkable proof of it, when ſhe inſiſted at the King of Poland's Court, to have the ſame honours which had been paid to the Archdutcheſs of Auſtria there, when ſhe conducted her daughter who was betrothed to the King. He cites de Wickefort's Embaſſador, Book II. Sect. VIII. page 134; but beſides that he ſhould have quoted pag. 200, inſtead of 134, he alſo ſhould have cited pag. 594 of Book I. where this Archdutcheſs is ſtiled mother to the Queen of Poland whom ſhe conducted. But they both are miſtaken with regard to the quality of this Archdutcheſs, ſhe not being Mother of the future Queen of Poland, whom ſhe was conducting; the future Queen in queſtion being daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand II. and Siſter to the Emperor Ferdinand III. Had this future Queen of Poland been conducted by her Mother, this muſt have been the Empreſs, and not the Archdutcheſs of Auſtria. Beſides that Author ſhould have ſaid the Archdutcheſs of Inſpruck, and not the Archdutcheſs of Auſtria. To conclude, I don't find that La Laboureur hints, that the Lady de Guebriant demanded the ſame honours as the Archdutcheſs had received. He only ſays, that the King of Poland would have thoſe honours paid her. But this belongs more to de Wicquefort, than the Profeſſor at Leipſic. See what I have ſaid on this Subject in the remark (*D*).

(37) I have not obſerved that he charges him with it in more than two places; and but one of them is taken notice of in the very copious Index of Franckenſtein.

THE author of the notes on Priolo ſuppoſes a Lady to be daughter of the Archduchеſs, who was really not ſo.

[*K*] *She cauſed her marriage to be annulled.*] No Circumſtance ſhews her ambition more. Count de Guebriant was a promiſing Nobleman; he was greatly eſteemed at Court; and his martial Talents ſeemed to promiſe him the higheſt Employment. Our Renata du Bec found that this Count ſuited her purpoſe; ſhe foreſaw (38) that he would be advanced; and that ſhe would have an Opportunity of engaging in State-Intrigues, whilſt he ſhould be employed at the head of the Army; and therefore, tho' he had but a ſmall Eſtate, ſhe was reſolved to be his Wife, and for that purpoſe, cauſed her Marriage to be annulled. Labardæus relates this particular in good Latin: *Hæc mulier animo ſuprà ſexum valido eſt, cui videlicet nec prima, nec magna uſquè fuit, ſicuti vulgo mulierum ſolet, rei familiaris cura; primas, quia imparem animo, ſicuti reputabatur, virum nacta erat, nuptias dedignata eſt, atque infirmas eſſe contendit, maluitque ſe I. Budæ Guebriani virtutis, quàm alterius amplioris rei, cujus rationem, ut ferè fit, filiam collocando parentes habuerant, ſociam eſſe. Ex illâ ſecum, atque ex gloriâ viri poſtillâ multis rebus præclarè geſtis celeberrimi communicatâ ita crevere mulieri animi, uti magna, atque inſolita moliretur* (39).

(38) This Lady, who had great abilities, received him with ſo much the greater pleaſure, as ſhe knew his noble extraction; and foreſaw that the exalted talents he poſſeſſed, would ſoon raiſe him to the chief employments in the State. Le Laboureur, *Hiſt. du Marechal de Guebriant*, liv. 1. chap. 7. pag. 12.

(39) Labardæus, *de Reb. Gall.* lib. 9. pag. 619. *ad ann.* 1651.

[*L*] *She contributed very much to his obtaining the Batoon of Marſhal.*] We have juſt now ſeen, from Mr. de la Barde (Labardæus) that this Lady, like moſt of her Sex, did not take much care about her Domeſtick Concerns, but delighted greatly in Court Tranſactions. Le Laboureur ſays, (40), "that he himſelf "was a witneſs to the uncommon pains ſhe took, in "addreſſing the Miniſters, in order that the Army "which her Husband commanded might have pro-"per Supplies; and I can affirm, adds he, that the "title of Marſhaleſs of France belongs to her "on a double account; as well becauſe her Husband "is a Marſhal of France, as on account of the ſhare "ſhe had in the happy ſucceſs of his Arms.

(40) *Hiſt. du Maréchal de Guebr.* pag. 12.

GUESCLIN (*a*) (BERTRAND DU) Conſtable of France, was one of the greateſt Captains of the age in which he lived. We nevertheleſs muſt not give credit to all that the old chronicles relate concerning him; for the authors of that kind of works, had not yet quite left off that romantic way of writing which aroſe from the hiſtories of Roland, Ogier the Dane, and ſuch like. Our du Gueſclin was of Britany, and did very important ſervices to France during the impriſonment of King John, and under the reign of Charles V. Going into Spain to ſuccour Henry King of Caſtile, he performed very extraordinary

(*a*) This name is wrote fourteen different ways in French Authors. Guido Ludovicus Longolius, *in Genealogia Longoliorum, apud* Menagium *in Vita Petri Ærodii*, pag. 6.

extraordinary atchievements there. He returned to France, when the crown had been ſecured to Henry, by the death of Don Pedro the Cruel, his competitor; and he was wonderfully ſucceſsful in retaking ſeveral territories from the Engliſh. He died in 1380, aged threeſcore and ſix years or thereabouts (*b*). He was a little man, and very ugly [*A*]. Conſult his Life publiſhed by Mr. du Chatelet [*B*].

(*b*) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 37.

It is preferable to that which was printed anno 1618, in very old French, and from which I ſhall quote a very ſingular paſſage, which has been made uſe of by ſome controverſial writers [*C*], to prove that Laymen have a right to adminiſter the Sacraments in certain caſes of neceſſity. [Some account is given of this Conſtable's victories in Rapin's *Hiſtory of England*, under Edward III. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

[*A*] *He was a little man, and very ugly.*] "The "ſhortneſs of ſtature, and uglineſs of Bertrand de "Gueſclin, were no obſtacles to his being made Con"ſtable of France, nor was he ever the leſs eſteemed "on thoſe accounts. It has, on the contrary, been "ſaid in his favour, that nature ſeemed to have formed "him in that manner, leſt he ſhould have ſomething "in common with the other ſex. And had he ſpent "every morning in adorning his head with a peruke, "he having very little hair, he would not have me"rited the ever-burning lamp; nor to be interred in "St. Denys's church, as he was at the King's feet, by "his command (1)."

(1) La Mothe le Vayer, *Letter* 114. tom. 12. pag. 15.

[*B*] *Conſult his Life publiſhed by Mr. du Chatelet.*] Menard publiſhed an ancient Hiſtory of this Hero in 1618, which was wrote as early as 1387; but it is not to this I muſt refer my readers, but to that, an extract of which is given in the *Journal des Savans* of June 21, 1666. It had been publiſhed in folio, at Paris, a little before, by Meſſire Paul Hai, Lord of Chatelet (2): *It is drawn up in a much better order than the other; its ſtile is infinitely more pure and elegant, and it is likewiſe illuſtrated with a great number of proofs* (3).

(2) In this manner we muſt explain the letters P, H, and D, C, in the title.

(3) *Journal des Savans*, of June 21, 1666.

[*C*] *I ſhall quote a very ſingular paſſage, which has been made uſe of by ſome controverſial Writers.*] Read the following words of Mr. Drelincourt (4). "We "have a very remarkable inſtance, in our Hiſtories of "France (*), of this lay-communion, and a very ma"niſeſt proof that it was long practiſed. For Bertrand "du Gueſclin, Conſtable of France, who lived under "John and Charles V, Kings of France, giving an "account of the battle of Pontvalin, in which he "gained a ſignal victory over the Engliſh, informs us, "that his ſoldiers, before the battle, confeſſed their "ſins, and gave the Sacrament to one another. But "it would be better to give this incident in the Au"thor's own words, and the language of the Age, in "which it was wrote." *Et en icelle place ſe desjunerent de pain & de vin qu'ils avoyent apporté avec eux. Et prenoyent les aucuns d'iceux du pain, & le ſeignoyent ou nom du Sainct Sacrement. Et apres ce qu'ils eſtoyent confeſſez l'un à l'autre de leurs pechiez, le uſoyent en lieu d'Eſcommiclement* (α). *Apres dirent mainte oroiſon en depriant à Dieu qu'il les gardaſt de mort, de mahaing, & de priſon.* i. e. "In that place they broke their "faſt with bread and wine which they had brought "with them; and ſome of them took bread, and "ſigned it with the ſign of the Croſs in the name of "the Bleſſed Sacrament; and having confeſſed their "ſins to one another, they employed it inſtead of the "Communion. They afterwards ſaid many prayers; "imploring the Almighty to preſerve them from death, "maiming, and impriſonment." Grotius employed the ſame paſſage, in a Diſſertation printed anno 1638, and entitled *de Cœnæ Adminiſtratione ubi Paſtores non ſunt*. See the *Bibliotheque univerſelle* Vol. IV, pag. 115, 116.

(4) Drelincourt, *Triomphe de l'Egliſe*, Part 2. pag. 320, 321.

(*) This *Hiſtory of Meſſire Bertrand de Gueſclin*, Conſtable of France, was printed at Paris, for Sebaſtian Cramoiſi, an. 1618.

§ (α) The true term is *accomichement*, which word, as Borel informs us, is found in Froiſſard, and comes from *adcommunicare*. We find ſome footſteps of theſe Communions of a ſtill much more antient date, in our old romances; and, among others, in chapter 36 of *Galien reſtauré*, where Roland, mortally wounded, and lying in a field of corn, *eſcommichés* or adminiſters the Communion to himſelf, with three ears of corn, in the name of the three Perſons of the Bleſſed Trinity. REM. CRIT.]

GUEVARA (ANTHONY of) Preacher and Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor Charles V, was born in the Province of Alaba in Spain. He was brought up at Court; but after the death of Queen Iſabella of Caſtile, he aſſumed a religious habit among the Franciſcans, and had very honourable employments in that Order. Having afterwards made himſelf known at Court, he was appointed Preacher to Charles V, and was prodigiouſly eſteemed for his politeneſs, his eloquence and genius (*a*). He ſhould have been contented with the glory which his haranguing gained him; for, by his attempting to write books, he made himſelf ridiculous to good judges. His inflated and figurative ſtyle, crowded with antitheſes [*A*], is not the greateſt defect in his compoſitions. He was led to this way of writing by a bad taſte, a falſe idea he had formed to himſelf of eloquence; but this was nothing when compared to his romantic way of writing hiſtory.

(*a*) Nicol. Anton. *Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 98.

[*A*] *His inflated and figurative ſtyle, crowded with Antitheſes.*] Here follows the judgment which a learned Jeſuit has made of it. *Scripſit vernaculo ſermone, in quo affectaſſe nimium ſchemata viſus, pompa quadam tumens, & antithetis putide nimium iteratis lectorem enecat: quin, & ut Poetæ verbis utar,* projicit ampullas & ſeſquipedalia verba (1). i. e. "He wrote in his na"tive language, in which he ſeems to have affected "too much a figurative ſtyle, and an inflated way of "expreſſion; fatigues the reader with crouded anti"theſes; and to uſe the Poet's words, *he throws out "high-flown, many-footed words.*" The following judgment of Matamorus, a Spaniſh author, is not more advantageous to Guevara, than that of the Flemiſh Jeſuit. I quote it after Nicholas Antonio, who writes as follows (2): "*Quantumvis ſtylus hominis non uſque"quaque placeat, neque in gymnaſio rhetorum ſolidam "reportaverit eloquentiæ laudem. Cum præcipue Al"phonſo Garſiæ Matamoro & Andreæ Scoto (qualis ju"dicii & doctrinæ viris!) affectata nimium ab eo anti"thetorum ſibi mutuo reſpondentium perpetua cura diſ"pliceat maxime. Horum enim prior Matamorus in* de "Academiis & doctis viris Hiſpaniæ *Libello ingenue exi"ſtimat virum fuiſſe* miræ facundiæ & incredibilis uber"tatis naturæ, ſed omnium rerum momenta (*ait*) quod "Poetis objecit Perſius, raris librat in antithetis doc"tas poſuiſſe figuras laudari contentus. Fulgurat in"terdum & tonat, ſed non totam (ut olim Pericles A"thenienſis) dicendo commovet civitatem, ut dum "nihil vult, niſi culte & ſplendide dicere, ſæpe inci"dit in ea quæ deriſum effugere non poſſunt. Qui ſi "illam [(*ſubjungit*) extra ripas effluentem verborum "copiam artificio dicendi repreſſiſſet, & graviorum ar"tium inſtrumento locupletaſſet, dubito quidem an "parem in eo eloquentiæ genere in Hiſpania eſſet in"venturus." i. e. "However, this author's ſtyle "does not pleaſe in every reſpect, nor would gain true "applauſe in the ſchools of the Rhetoricians: eſpeci"ally when Alphonſus Garſias Matamorus, and Andrew "Schottus (men of vaſt learning and judgment) are "greatly diſpleaſed at his affecting ſo many antitheſes. "Matamorus (the firſt of theſe writers) in his treatiſe "*de*

(1) And. Schottus, *Biblioth. Hiſpan*, page 250.

(2) Nic. Anton. *Biblioth. Script. Hiſp.* tom. 1. pag. 98.

hiſtory [*B*]. He violated the moſt ſacred and moſt fundamental laws of it, in ſo audacious a manner as merits the utmoſt indignation of his readers; and ſhewed, that no man was ever ſo unworthy the character with which he was inveſted, viz. that of Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor Charles V. The excuſe made by him, when he found himſelf cenſured on that account [*C*], is very trifling; he aſſerting that all Hiſtories, the ſacred

" *de Academiis & doctis viris Hiſpaniæ*, confeſſes him " to have been maſter of a wonderful eloquence, and " a ſurprizingly fruitful genius; but, (adds this wri- " ter) he every inſtant falls into that which Perſius " objects to the Poets, of playing continually with " antitheſes, and other rhetorical flouriſhes. He " ſometimes thunders and lightens; but does not, as " antiently Pericles the Athenian, ſhake a City with " his eloquence: on the contrary, by his aiming to " expreſs every thing with elegance, he often falls in- " to thoſe things which excite laughter and deriſion. " *He continues*: Had Guevara reſtrained this exuberant " flow according to the rules of Rhetoric, and enrich- " ed it with the more ſolid arts, I queſtion whether " Spain could have produced a man to be compared " with him in that ſpecies of eloquence." It is to no purpoſe, and merely from a blind conceitedneſs, that Wadding (3) charges Father Schottus with writing this out of envy.

(3) An Iriſh Cordelier, in his work *De Scriptoribus Ordinis Minorum, apud* Nicol. Anton. *ibid.*

[*B*] *His romantic way of writing Hiſtory.*] The ſtrange liberty he took to falſify any fact at pleaſure, and to publiſh as true incidents ſuch as were the mere invention of his ſhallow brain, reſembles that of Romance writers. The latter don't miſlead or impoſe on any perſon; for they don't deſire to have all the particulars they write to be look'd upon as true; all the glory they aſpire at is, to have their fictions approved, as being ingeniouſly invented; but as for Guevara, he deſired to have every thing he wrote to be taken as hiſtorical relations, that were grounded on good authorities. He conſequently was a public poiſoner and a ſeducer; and, in the tribunal of the Commonwealth of Letters, deſerved the puniſhment inflicted on profane and ſacrilegious wretches; he violating the moſt ſacred Laws of Hiſtory. Nicholas Antonio uſes him with too much indulgence. *Illud*, ſays he (4), *commiſeratione potius quam excuſatione indiget, talis famæ virum putaſſe licere ſibi ad inventiones proprii ingenii pro antiquorum proponere & commendare, fœtus ſuos aliis ſupponere, ac denique de univerſa omnium temporum Hiſtoria, tanquam de Æſopi fabulis, portentoſiſve Luciani narrationibus ludere.* i. e. " It deſerves our commiſeration " rather than cenſure, that ſo celebrated a writer ſhould " think himſelf allowed to put off his own fictions as ſo " many antient incidents; and to ſport with the hiſto- " ries of all ages and nations as tho' they were Eſop's " fables, or Lucian's monſtrous ſtories." See, in the article RUA, the whole extent of his hiſtorical impoſitions. I have alſo taken ſome notice of them in other places (5).

(4) *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 99.

(5) In the articles LAIS, remark [*U*], and LAMIA the curtezan, remark [*I*] He is author of the fables which Brantome relates in the article of the ſecond FLORA, remark [*F*].

[*C*] *He found himſelf cenſured.*] Peter Rua, Profeſſor in Soria, did not ſuffer this author's boldneſs to go unpuniſhed; he writing in very ſtrong terms againſt him, as will be ſeen in his article. Here follows the judgment of Voſſius on this pretended life of Marcus Aurelius, written by Guevara: *Vita illa M. Aurelii Antonini, quæ ab Antonio Guevara, Mendonenſi Epiſcopo, & Cæſari Carolo V à conſiliis, Hiſpanicè edita eſt, eaque è lingua in alias permultas tranſlata fuit, nihil Antonini habet; ſed tota eſt ſuppoſititia, ac genuinus Guevaræ ipſius fœtus; qui turpiter os oblevit lectori, planè contra officium hominis candidi, maximè epiſcopi. Habet interim plurima lectu nec inutilia nec injucunda; imprimis viro principi: unde* & Horologium principum *inſcribitur* (6). i. e. " That Life of Marcus Aurelius " Antoninus, written in the Spaniſh tongue by An- " thony Guevara, Biſhop of Mondonedo, and Privy " Counſellor to the Emperor Charles V, and tranſlat- " ed into ſo many languages, has nothing of Anto- " ninus in it; but the whole is ſuppoſititious, and " the true offspring of Guevara himſelf, who im- " poſes upon the reader in a ſhameful manner, directly " contrary to the duty of an honeſt man, and eſpeci- " ally of a Biſhop. However many particulars in it " are neither uſeleſs nor unpleaſant, eſpecially to a " Prince, for which reaſon it is entitled, *the Dial of* " *Princes.*" I cite Martin Schoockius (7) in the margin, who was ſenſible of the faults of the Spaniard in queſtion; but as he grounds what he ſays on the authority of Rupertus, it may not be improper to tranſcribe more at length the words of this learned German (8). *Eandem quoque impoſturam notaram in eodem* Guevara, *quem ob id tanta Imperatoris ſui, tanta noſtrorum hominum benevolentia prorſus indignum ſtudioſæ juventutis manibus excuſſum ibam. Refert Lib. I.* Horologii Principum, c. 1. *gentem apud Romanos fuiſſe* Clavillam *magno in honore, quæ ſe originem ducere glorietur à* Camillo *ducum Romanorum celeberrimo, viros ex ea Camillos, fœminas* Clavillas *in memoriam filiæ* Camillæ, *quæ abhorrens nuptias in Virginum veſtalium numerum cooptari voluerit. Mortuam divinis honoribus cultam, ejuſque monumento inſcriptos fuiſſe hos verſiculos:*

(6) Voſſius, *De Hiſtor. Græcis*, pag. 226.

(7) Quod ſpecialim quoque de Guevara . . . vocato etiam ad ſuffragium Reineſio . . . docet Cl. Rupertus ad Florum Lib. 2. cap. 17. §. 17. quo loco ubi ſpecimen impoſturarum ipſius propoſuiſſet, hæc ſubjecit: *Taceo innumeras alias fraudes, quibus mendatiorum auctori ſtrenue litat, & id maxime agit, ne ab Hiſpanica vanitate deſiſcere videatur.* Martin. Schoockius, *de Fabula Hamletenſi*, pag. 87.

(8) Rupert. *ad Florum*, lib. 2. cap. 17. §. 17.

Unica ſub tumulo jacet hoc Clavilla Camilli,
Nata quater denos & ſex quæ maluit annos
Vivere Veſtales inter concluſa ſorores
Magno Trinacriæ quam nubere libera Regi.
Quam miſerum! extinctæ nunc artus rodere vermes,
Artus qui vitam puri effulſere per omnem.

Hoc Epitaphium addit è Græco tranſlatum *eſſe, & paullo poſt, multa refert de* Camillorum prærogativis, *de* perſecutionibus *eorundem ſub Sylla, quæ omnia putida, vana & falſa, nec cuiquam Hiſtoricorum veterum tradita, quamvis ille* Cinnam & Pollionem *laudet ſcriptores, quos tot anni & profunda ſeculorum oblivio fere cogitationibus hominum & memoriæ, nedum oculis exemit.* i. e. " I had taken notice of the like fraud in the ſame " Guevara, whom I therefore endeavoured to take " out of the hands of our Students, as being quite un- " worthy of the favour of his Sovereign the Emperor, " and of our countrymen. He tells us, Book I, " Chap. 1, of his *Dial of Princes*, that there was in " Rome a family called *Clavilli*, who were had in " great honour in that city; and pretended to deſcend " from the renowned Roman General, *Camillus*; that " the males of the family in queſtion were called *Ca-* " *milli*, and the females *Clavillæ*, in remembrance " of his daughter *Clavilla*, who hating a married life, " entred among the Veſtal Virgins; that dying, di- " vine honours were paid her; and that the following " verſes were engraved on her tomb:

" *Beneath this monument*, Clavilla *lies*,
" *The only daughter of renown'd* Camillus.
" *Forty ſix years ſhe choſe to live amid*
" *Th' impriſon'd Veſtals, rather than eſpouſe*
" *Sicilia's King, and live in mighty ſplendor.*
" *Sad fate! the worms now prey upon her limbs,*
" *Which, while ſhe liv'd, were bright and undefil'd.*

" Guevara adds, that this Epitaph was tranſlated out " of Greek; and a little after, he relates many par- " ticulars concerning the privileges of the Camilli, " and their ſufferings under Sylla; every circumſtance " of which is abſurd, falſe and trifling, and not men- " tioned by one antient Hiſtorian; notwithſtanding " that he appeals to the teſtimony of two authors, Cin- " na and Pollio; authors who were never thought of " during ſo long a ſeries of ages." I thought proper to give this paſſage at full length, becauſe we may, from this ſpecimen, form a much better judgment of Guevara's aſſurance, than by what I have ſaid of it in general. The learned Antonius Auguſtinus has given a juſt deſcription of the faults of the writer in queſtion. *Antonius Guevara*, ſays he (9), *qui ſcire antiqua Romanaſque Hiſtorias fingit, eaque comminiſcitur quæ nec viſa nec audita mortalibus, nemo ut divinare queat in quos ille libros inciderit. Nova itaque nomina ſcriptorum excogitavit, ſomniaque venditat obtruditque, quæ apud nullum reperias auctorem.* i. e. " Anthony Gue- " vara, who pretends to be well ſkilled in antiquity and " the Roman hiſtory, and invents ſuch incidents as " were never heard of or ſeen by mortals, ſo that no " one can poſſibly gueſs what authors he had them " from. He even invents the names of writers who " never

(9) Anton. Auguſt. *Dial. X.* pag. m. 152. *See alſo* pag. 159.

sacred writings excepted, are so uncertain [D], that they don't deserve credit. He had an opportunity of seeing a great part of Europe (b), by his attending on his Sovereign; and was appointed Bishop of Guadix in the Kingdom of Grenada, and afterwards Bishop of Mondonedo in Gallicia (c). He died the 10th of April 1544, after having enjoyed that See some years (d). It is false to assert that he was beatified by the Court of Rome [E]. One cannot enough admire the eagerness with which foreigners translated, into various languages, some works of Guevara [F]. I shall

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Vankelius, *præfat. Versionis Horolog. Principum*, not knowing that Guevara possessed both those Bishoprics, did not know how to reconcile those who call him Bishop of Guadix, with those who give him the title of Bishop of Mondonedo.

(d) *Qua dignitate aliquot annis gesta obiit.* Nic. Ant. *Biblioth. Hispan.* tom. 1. pag. 98. Therefore Moreri should not have said that he enjoyed that See but a little time.

" never existed; and publishes and forces upon the " world chimæras that are not to be met with in any " author."

[D] *He asserted . . . that all Histories . . . are so uncertain.*] He made this an excuse, when he found himself conquered by the learned Peter Rua. *Adeo in lubrico esse omnem veterem factorum fidem causabatur, ut non aliis diceret quam sacrorum Bibliorum Historiis præstandam; nempe hoc velamenti genus sibi à tam parum æquo de præstantissima arte judicio tunc quæsivit, cùm è Sorbensis Scholæ cathedra vir eximiæ eruditionis Petrus Rua eum de fide in historiis præstanda non semel datis admonuit expostulatoriis literis* (10). This was a very lame excuse, and like covering his nakedness with fig-leaves; for altho' Scepticism, with respect to history, should be so well grounded as some imagine; yet an author would not be allowed to advance, that Cicero or Cæsar had said, or done, a thing which he himself had invented. Every author would be obliged to ascribe no more to them than what is found in ancient monuments. An author must not go by particular rules of his own contriving, but follow those which are already established, or the public rules. Now with regard to those public rules or laws of history, whatever is proved by the testimony of grave authors is admitted and look'd upon as good; and we reject as fabulous, whatever a modern relates concerning antiquity, unless he borrowed it from authentic historians. Hence, in what light soever Guevara might consider antient history, whether he look'd upon it as true, false or doubtful, he ought to have quoted it as he found it, and quote no more; and deserves to be look'd upon as a public seducer for not doing this. But Rua would not let this subterfuge serve his turn; but wrote against him in vindication of the certainty of history. Another author (11) attacked Guevara's principles. *Cujus rei etiam nomine doctissimus ille* Theologicorum locorum *scriptor libri secundi sexto capite in Guevaræ hoc, indignum eo, ac dignitate ejus, sive judicium, sive, quod magis credere est, ingenii luxuriantis licentiam, acri, quod decuit, oratione invehitur. Præsertim cum Chronographi munus regio beneficio apud Carolum exerceret, neutiquam debuit eam qua ornabatur historiarum professionem sic deprimere, ut propria confessione sibi ipsi quoque & monumentis suis fidem apud posteros derogaret* (12). i. e. " On which account " also the most learned writer of the *Theological common places*, in Book II, Chap. 6, exclaims strongly " against this opinion; or, which is more probable, " this luxuriant fancy of Guevara, as unworthy both " of his person and character. But as Charles V had " raised him to the honourable employment of his " Historiographer, he ought particularly not to have " so far dishonoured history, of which he was a pro- " fessed writer, as, by his own confession, to take a- " way (with respect to posterity) all credit from him- " self and his writings."

(10) Nicol. Anton. *Biblioth. Hispan.* tom. 1. pag. 99.

(11) Melchior Canus.

(12) Nic. Anton. *Biblioth. Hispan.* tom. 1. pag. 99.

Mention is made in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (13) of a certain Triumvirate, to which Guevara might very justly be added. This Triumvirate consists, I, of Father Morin, who *three years after the taking of Rochel, still asserted that it had not been taken; and that all the reports which had been spread to that purpose, were mere lies:* II, of a formidable and very renowned Logician, who told a Gentleman that said he had SEEN the Duke d'Epernon at Plassac, *that this was impossible . . . . and that for four indisputable reasons; and I will now make it appear, that the Duke must necessarily be in London. . . . We may believe that the eyes are more apt to be imposed upon than the understanding. . . This news you tell me, implies a moral contradiction, and perhaps a physical one:* III, of a man who declared to Isaac Vossius, *that he, after long and laborious meditations, had writ a Book, in which he proved to a demonstration, that whatever is related in Cæsar's Commentaries concerning the Gauls is false; and wherein he likewise fully shewed, that Cæsar had never crossed the Alps.*

(13) April 1685. Art. 7. pag. 410, 411.

[E] *It is false to assert, that he was beatified by the Court of Rome.*] Don Nicholas Antonio cites an Author, who wrote the Martyrology of the Franciscans, and who relates that the holy See, after the necessary enquiries, declared solemnly that our Guevara is one of the Beatified, and ought to be look'd upon as such. *Nescio unde Arcturus à Monasterio* Franciscani Martyrologii *auctor rem aliis indictam, inauditam acceperit.* Antonium *ut* Guevaram *Octobris die* XXIV *in albo eorum collocaret quos Apostolica Petri sedes Beatos esse atque appellari debere, acceptis prius exquisitissimis probationibus, ritè sanxit* (14). This boldness exceeds even that of Guevara himself. Were there the least probability of the truth of this, would not some author have spoke of it? The silence of all others with regard to the affair in question, is demonstrative against the Author of the *Martyrology.*

(14) Nicol. Antonius, *Biblioth. Hispan.* tom. 1. pag. 99.

[F] *One cannot enough admire the eagerness with which foreigners translated, into various languages, some works of Guevara.*] The *Dial of Princes* was translated into Italian by Mambrin Rosso, in 1548, and into French by another person in 1588 (*). Frederic William Duke of Saxony caused it to be printed in Latin, with Notes and Aphorisms by John Vankelius anno 1611, folio. This Edition was reprinted at Leipsick in 1615, and in 1624, and at Frankfort in 1664 (15). *Emericus Casaubonus in prologo sic feliciter Guevaræ suam contigisse fictionem confirmat, omnium sit ut hic liber ubique gentium celebratissimus, Europæique omnes suo unius cujusque idiomate loquentem thesauri ad instar habeant, mirificeque ejus possessione fruantur* (16). i. e. " Meric Casaubon declares, in the Preface, that " Guevara's fiction was so successful, that that Book " was renowned in all Nations; and that all the Eu- " ropeans looking upon it as a treasure, translated it " into their respective languages." This I borrow from Nicholas Antonio: according to whom, Vankelius's edition was printed at Torga in 1611; but he should have added, that this edition of 1611 is the third. Now I believe it to be of Leipsic rather than of Torga; for the Translator opposes it to that of Torga which was the first (17), and which was published in 1601; the second appeared in 1606. The Epistles of our Guevara have been translated into Italian and French. Schottus justly laughs at the esteem in which those works were had in France. *Nam* Principum Horologium, (says he pag. 251 of his *Bibliotheca Hispana*) *seu de vita M. Aurelii Imperatoris, & Faustinæ conjugis, ficta sunt, non ex historiis petita: ne quis erret, ut in Gallia, ubi cupide nimis in sinu olim nobilium, manibusque gestatum fuisse, memini; ut & Epistolas ejus nauci plenas & ineptiarum,* Aurearum *titulo transcribere non iidem dubitarunt* (18): *sed quas illi legant, per me licet, quibus meliora non suppetunt, aut capere non possunt.* i. e. " For his *Dial of Princes*, " (says he page 215 of his *Bibliotheca Hispanica*) or " the Life of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and Fau- " stina his wife, it is a mere fable, and not copied from " history: that no one may be imposed upon, as in " France, where I remember it was too much read " and esteemed by the Nobility; who did not scruple " to give a version of his flat and trifling epistles, un- " der the title of *Golden.* But let those read them, " who either have no better books, or know no bet- " ter." And here follows what he says in page 567. *M. Aurelii Antonini vita & Faustinæ ejusdem Guevarræ, ridicula est & meræ nugæ, quam tamen Galli applausu magno exceperunt, sæpius verterunt, ediderunt que, & nobiles plerique manibus gestant: sed quid mirum quibus Amadisius Gallicus, Orlandus furiosus, cæteraque ægrorum somnia perplacent, quæ, qui sapiet, ne horas collocet male, fugiet.* i. e. " Guevara's Life of Marcus " Aurelius and Faustina is trifling and ridiculous, " which

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) Idem, ibid.

(17) *Certa cum ipse quanto hæc editio primæ illi* TORGENSI *quoad typos charactasque est similior, tanto etiam fore ad lectionem frequentiorem quam secunda fuit.* Vankelius, *Epist. Dedicat.*

(18) *See* Montagne, *Essais*, tom. 1. pag. 498.

ſhall give a catalogue of his works in the note [G].

I have ſomething to add, to what I have already ſaid concerning his *Dial of Princes* [H]; and will ſhew, that if the French are to blame for having ſhewn a great eſteem for ſuch a book, the Spaniards, who ſet a much higher value upon it, deſerve ſtill more to be laughed at.

" which nevertheleſs the French received with vaſt ap-
" plauſe; and frequently tranſlated and publiſhed; and
" which is the delight of moſt of their Nobility:
" but who will wonder at this, ſince theſe men were
" greatly pleaſed with Amadis de Gaul, Orlando Fu-
" rioſo, and ſuch like idle dreams, which every wiſe
" man, to prevent his miſemploying his time, will
" avoid?"

(α) There have been two French Verſions of this Book, publiſhed within 60 years of one another. The firſt of Bernard de la Griſe in 4to, in a Gothic Letter, Anno 1531; reprinted in 1600, in a very beautiful Letter by John de Tournes, Lyons 1550. The ſecond Tranſlation by Nicholas de Herbray, Sieurs de Eſſara, reprinted ſeveral times. To theſe two different Verſions, ſeveral chapters of the laſt of which (to obſerve this by the way) are caſtrated, alludes the *Sæpius verterunt* of Schottus the Jeſuit, towards the end of the remark (F). REM. CRIT.]

(19) It was tranſlated into French, with this title, *Reveille-matin des Courtiſans*, by Alexander Hardi a Pariſian, receiver of the aſſeſſments and taxes of Mans. I make uſe of the ſecond edition, printed at Paris in 1623, 8vo.

[G] *I ſhall give a Catalogue of his Works.*] I have ſpoke of the moſt noted of them. The title in Spaniſh is *Relox de Principes, ò Marco Aurelio.* It is thought that it was firſt printed in 1529; and was followed by ſome others, before the Author himſelf publiſhed his work. He complained that his works had been ſtoln from him, and were printed imperfect without his Knowledge. His Epiſtles were firſt printed in 1539, and have been ſince printed in different places and times. His Works are *Prologo ſolenne, en que el Autor toca muchas Hiſtorias. Una Decada de las Vidas de los X Ceſares Emperadores Romanos deſde Trajano à Alexandro. Del menos precio de la Corte, y alabanca de la Aldea. Aviſo de privados, y doctrina de Corteſanos* (19). *De los inventores del marear y de muchos trabaxos que ſe paſſan en las Galeras* (20. *Monte Calvario, ſive de Myſteriis Dominicæ Paſſionis ac de verbis Domini in Cruce pendentis* (21). *Oratorio de religioſos y exercitio de virtuoſos.* He was writing an Hiſtory of Charles V. and it is related that he appointed by his Will (22), that the Penſion of a Hiſtoriographer ſhould be reſtored, which he had received for a year, during the time that he had not employed himſelf in this Hiſtory (23).

(20) It was tranſlated into French by *Du Pinet.*

(21) Wadding has here made two works of one; he imagining that the treatiſe, *De Verbis Domini in Cruce*, were different from *Monte Calvario.* Nic. Anton. *Biblioth. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 99.

(22) Ægid. Gonzales Davila affirms this, where he ſpeaks of the Biſhops of Mondonedo, in his *Theatrum Eccleſiaſt. apud* Nic. Ant. pag. 100.

(23) *Ex* Nic. Antonio, *Biblioth. Hiſp.* tom. 1. pag. 99.

[H] *I have ſomething to add, to what I have already ſaid concerning* his Dial of Princes.] He aſſured the Publick, that this work (24) was a Tranſlation of the Life of Marcus Aurelius, and that the Original had been ſent him from Florence (25). He owned, that his verſion was far from being a ſervile one, and that he had added many things to it. He began this work in 1518, and ended it in 1524. " And not-
" withſtanding, ſays he (26), that I kept my Book
" very ſecret during ſix Years, it nevertheleſs was di-
" vulged; for his Imperial Majeſty being ſick of an
" Ague, ſent to me for it, in order to amuſe him, and
" ſooth his Indiſpoſition, Accordingly, in Obedience
" to his command, I waited upon him myſelf with
" Marcus Aurelius, tho' it was not reviſed, correct-
" ed, nor perfect; moſt humbly beſeeching him, as
" the only reward of my Labour, not to let it be copi-
" ed nor carried out of his royal apartment; otherwiſe
" his Majeſty would be ill ſerved to my Prejudice;
" becauſe in caſe I ſhould purſue and compleat my
" Work, he would perceive that it was not my inten-
" tion to publiſh Marcus Aurelius as it then was, but to
" add to it ſeveral remarkable Sentences. But not-
" withſtanding this caution, it happened unfortunately
" that the book was ſtoln; afterwards copied by ſeve-
" ral hands; and at laſt given to the Pages to tran-
" ſcribe, whereby it became every day more incor-
" rect and faulty, there being but one Original to cor-
" rect it by. Some perſons indeed brought their copies
" to me, in order to get them reviſed and corrected:
" But if they could ſpeak, they would complain more
" againſt thoſe that copied them, than I of the Thieves
" who plundered them; and what is worſe than all,
" when my Labour was near at an end, and the Fruit
" of it ready to be diſperſed, Marcus Aurelius was
" printed in Sevil, and a little after in Portugal and
" the Kingdom of Arragon; ſo that if the firſt Edition
" was a bad one, the reſt were worſe." Hence the Reader may judge, whether the Spaniards do not deſerve the Taunts and Reproaches of Andrew Schottus, as much as the French. He very probably did not know, that ſome French-men deſpiſed Guevara's Epiſtles [*], of which ſays Montagne (28) *thoſe form a quite different Judgment from me, who call them* golden. It muſt nevertheleſs be owned, that they impoſed on a great number the French, and that the Dial of Princes had a great run in France, it having borne ſeveral Impreſſions there. I make uſe of a Lyons Edition, printed by Benedict Rigaud 1592, in 12°, and I find by the Title, that this work was tranſlated *out of the Spaniſh into the French by R. B. Griſe, afterwards reviſed and corrected by N. de Herberry, Lord of Eſſars, beyond the precedent Impreſſions.* The dedication to Cardinal de Vri is not ſubſcribed. I there find that the Lord des Eſſars died whilſt he was employed in that Tranſlation. " We have therefore, (continues it) only the
" firſt Book of his Tranſlation, ſome Sheets at the end
" of which were ſo defaced, that it was impoſſible to
" read them; and for which reaſon it was continued
" from the old Tranſlation, after having been correct-
" ed from a great number of Errors, by the Spaniſh
" Copy; and altered in ſeveral Expreſſions, that were
" not proper in our tongue, which frequently obſcured
" the Author's meaning, and were ſometimes entirely
" repugnant to it."

(24) Guevara, in the prologue or preface to the *Dial of Princes.*

(25) He had juſt before ſaid, that there had been ſent to him, from Cologne, ten Books of the Emperor Auguſtus, intitled, *Of the Cantabric War.* Thus two falſities are advanced by him.

(26) Preface to the *Dial of Princes.*

(27) Quoted in the remark [F].

(28) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 1. chap. 48. pag. m. 498.

[*] I have an addition of theſe Letters before me. They are in two parts, and the Title of the firſt runs thus: *Epiſtolas Familiares de Don Antonio de Guevara, obiſpo de Mondonnedo, Predicador, chroniſta, & del conſejo del Emperador Don Carlos: ... En las quales ay coſas notables, y razionamientos muy altos y curioſos, con expoſiciones de figuras, Authoridados, Medallas, Letretos, Epitaphios de Sepultaras: leyes y coſtumbros antiquas, doctrinas y exemplos para todo eſtado de gente, al eſtilo de Marco Aurelio, porque el Author es todo uno. Parte Primera. En Anveres, En caſa de Juan Meurcio, Anno* 1648, 8vo, and conſiſts of 400 Pages in a ſmall Letter. ...The ſecond part which conſiſts of 383 pages, after expreſſing the Subject of the work, and the Author's Titles, as in the firſt part, proceeds, thus; *En las quales ay cartas muy notables, razonamientos muy altos y curioſas, con expoſiciones de muchas figuras y Authoridades de la ſagrada Eſcritura, al eſtilo de Marco Aurelio, porque el Author es el miſmo. Parte ſegunda, &c.* Addit. by the Tranſl.]

The Italians have alſo given more than one Tranſlation of that Work. I have mentioned Mambrin Roſeo's Tranſlation, and add, that Fauſto Longiano made another, which was printed anno 1546, in 8vo. He added ſome particulars which were not in the Spaniſh original; and reſtored thoſe which in the former Italian verſion had been ſuppreſſed. He hints in the Preface, at Guevara's boldneſs, in advancing ſome incidents for true, which were otherwiſe. His critique is juſt and learned. He promiſed a Life of Marcus Aurelius, extracted from the antient Hiſtorians, in order that it might be compared with the Life written by Guevara. He repreſents himſelf as a perſon who was employed in more grave Studies, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, than ſuch as tranſlating a Spaniſh Book into Italian, and ſo promiſes ſome original Latin pieces of his own.

GUICCIARDINI (FRANCIS), ſprung from one of the nobleſt and moſt antient families in Florence, author of a Hiſtory that is greatly eſteemed [A], and of ſome other

[A] *Author of a Hiſtory that is greatly eſteemed.*] It comprehends in xx Books the Tranſactions of Italy from

other works (a), was born in that city the 6th of March 1482. He was Profeſſor of the Civil Law at twenty three years of age; but he choſe rather to practiſe at the Bar, than teach the Law. He made ſo conſpicuous a figure as a Counſellor, that he was judged fit to be employed in State affairs. He was ſent Embaſſador to the Court of Ferdinand King of Arragon in January 1512. This Embaſſy laſted two years, and was very glorious to him; for at his return to Florence, he met with a very gracious reception, and was publickly applauded. He afterwards went into the ſervice of Leo X, who appointed him Governor of Modena and Reggio. He defended Parma with great ſucceſs after the death of this Pope. The two Governments abovementioned were continued to him under Adrian VI and Clement VII. He was even Governor of Romagna under Clement VII, and Lieutenant of the Army, and ſhewed that he was as well qualified for the field as for the cabinet. He was Governor of Bologna at this Pope's death; and took proper care to prevent the enemies he had made, by his exact diſtribution of juſtice, from triumphing over him, during the Interregnum. Being removed from his Government by the new Pope, he was obliged to return to Florence, and he lived there the remainder of his days. He performed very ſignal ſervices to the Houſe of Medicis, and would not liſten to the offers made him by Paul III, who wanted to engage him in his ſervice. He was married, but had no ſons; and therefore he conſidered, that he could not be raiſed to high preferments in the Church, and conſequently no children of his, as he was without male iſſue; beſides, being afraid that he could not ſerve the Pope, without ſometimes diſobliging the Duke of Florence, he choſe rather to paſs his days undiſturbed at his country ſeat, and employ himſelf in the hiſtory he had undertaken. He had made a very great progreſs in it, when he was carried off by a malignant fever in May, 1540, aged fifty five years. He gave orders that his body ſhould be buried with little funeral pomp, and would not allow of any epitaph or funeral oration to his memory (b). His Hiſtory of Italy is a very good one. Many are of opinion that he deſerved the character of an impartial hiſtorian, who flatters no man, and blames ſuch things only as are worthy of cenſure: but others think he was too partial againſt France [B]; that he would thereby have incurred the Blame and Envy of his Countrymen the Florentines. *Fu da lui diſſuaſo, & eſſortato a ſcriver l'Hiſtoria de ſuoi tempi, ſi perche lo conoſceva d'ingegno, atto a condurre un' impreſa coſi fatta à perfettione; e perche anche ſapeva molto bene, ch'egli era per deſcriver la pura verità, ſenſa riſpotto di paura, ò ſperanza di premio, delle quali due corruttele par che ſieno ſtati ne' tempi paſſati, e ſieno ancor hoggi corrotti quaſi tutti gli Scrittori; ſi ancora perche fuggiſſe l'invidia de' ſuoi Cittadini, e'l biaſimo univerſale de l'haver voluto celebrare ſolamente ſe ſteſſo* (8).

[It may not be improper to add, that there is a very good continuation of Guicciardini's Hiſtory, entitled, *Iſtoria de' ſui tempi di Gio. Battiſta* ADRIANI *diviſa in Libri XXII. con i ſommari e la tavola delle coſe piu notabili.* The two following Editions of this work, viz. that printed by the Giunti, Anno. 1583, in folio: and another in Venice by the Giunti anno 1587, in 3 Volumes 4to. are very ſcarce. † *Add. by the Tranſl.*]

[B] *Others think he was too partial againſt France.*] Here follows a long paſſage from Claude du Verdier (9). *Guicciardinus tam frigide invituſque Gallorum victorias & gloriam narrat, quàm accuratè lubenſque, adverſa quæque, quantumvis minima, à fortunæ potentiſſimo belli numine ejaculata: quemadmodum ſarcinarum in alicujus fluminis trajectione ſubmerſionem perſequitur, atque dilatat. Dum videt Carolo VIII. totam Italiam ab Alpibus ad Neapolim nemine penitus obſiſtente occupanti, victoriam abſque ſuſpicione falſi adimi non poſſe, in Gallorum quorundam militum internecione paucorumque, quâ ſine victoria obtineri non potuit, totus eſt, magnam eam appellans ſtragem: Carolo tamen agri dominium ſuperſtitiſſe diffiteri non auſus eſt. Sed quæ de victoribus ſtrages fieri potuit? Si de ſuis ſermonem inſtituit, eis ſemper plus meritis attribuit, & regionis laudes magis, quàm ſuæ gentis res geſtas perſequitur, unde maxima laus ducenda eſt.* i. e. "Guicciardini relates as coldly, and a- "gainſt his inclinations, the victories and glory of "the French, as he does exactly and willingly, any "unfortunate event, tho' ever ſo inconſiderable they "may have met with; ſuch as the loſing of their Bag- "gage in croſſing a River on which he amply expa- "tiates. When he perceives that he cannot, without "being ſuſpected of falſhood, deny the ſucceſs of Charles "VIII in ſubduing all Italy from the Alps, to Naples, "without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; he dwells "entirely on the killing a few French Soldiers, with- "out which the Victory could not be won, calling it "a vaſt

(a) See the remark [H].

(b) Extracted from his *Life*, written by Father Remi of Florence. It is prefixed to Guicciardini's *Hiſtory of Italy*.

(1) Bullart, *Academ. des Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 151. ſays it begins with the entrance of Francis into Italy, anno 1490, and ends at the Pontificate of Paul III, in 1535. The French did not enter Italy till 1494.

(2) The 13th of Oct. 1534.

(3) Bullart, *Academ. des Sciences*, tom. 1. pag. 151.

(4) Poſſevin. *Bib. Select.* tom. 2. lib. 16. cap. 41. pag. 337.

(5) They publiſhed two, one taken from the 3d book, and the other from the 4th, at Baſil, in Latin, Italian and French anno 1569, in 8vo; and with ſome other pieces in 1602 (the name of the place where printed, omitted) in 8vo; and at Frankfort in 4to, anno 1609. See the remark [Z] of the article JULIUS II.

(6) Printed at Amſterdam anno 1684. See the *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres*, for May 1684. pag. 316. 2d edit.

(7) In the remark [H].

from anno 1494, till 1532. Let us preſcribe theſe Limits to it (1), becauſe the Author of his Life will have it ſo; obſerving at the ſame time, that it goes as far backwards as the ſtate of Italy in 1490, and ends at the death of Clement VII. and the Election of Paul III (2). It is indeed very ſuccinct with reſpect to the latter Years of Clement VII. eſpecially from the year 1530. It has been tranſlated out of the Italian into ſeveral Tongues. Cælius Secundus Curio publiſhed it in Latin at Baſil, anno 1566. One Jerome Chomedey, a Pariſian, publiſhed it in France, at Paris, in 1568. There is an Engliſh Tranſlation of it, as appears from the catalogue of the Bodleian Library. The Spaniards, the Germans, and Flemings, have alſo tranſlated it into their reſpective Languages (3). The beſt Italian Edition is that which is illuſtrated with marginal notes by Thomas Porcacchi. The firſt edition of this kind is of Venice 1573 (4). [The firſt Edition of this famous Hiſtory is, *Iſtoria d' Italian di Franceſco Guicciardini Gentiluomo Fiorentino (libri XVI.) In Firenze per Lorenzo Torentino* 1561, *in folio* in 8vo. the ſame year. This is a very beautiful edition, and there are certain Paſſages in it that were retrenched in the ſucceeding ones. *Addit. by the Tranſl.* from Haym's *Notizia de Libri rara*, pag. 36.]. This Hiſtory of Guicciardine was not publiſhed till after his Death, and by Agnolo Guicciardini his nephew. The Proteſtants have preſerved thoſe paſſages which were caſtrated, and diſpleaſed the Court of Rome. They have been publiſhed ſeparately at different times (5). Heidegger has lately added that of the 4th Book to his *Hiſtoria Papatus* (6). [Three of theſe famous caſtrated Paſſages, are inſerted in the *Thuanus reſtitutus, printed at Amſterdam in* 1663, 12mo. *Addit. by the Tranſl. from* Haym. *ibid.*] Vatillas aſſerts, that Guicciardine's Heirs *preſumed to publiſh contrary to his Intention* the four laſt Books *in the third edition.* I ſhall examine this hereunder (7). I am to obſerve that Sanſovino publiſhed an epitome of this Hiſtory, and that Guicciardini, in imitation of Julius Cæſar, intended to write Memoirs of his own Life; but Jacomo Nardi, whom he conſulted with on that occaſion, adviſed him to undertake a nobler work, *viz.* the Hiſtory of his own times. Nardi judged him to be qualified for this work, knowing that neither hope nor fear could have power enough over Guicciardini (tho' they corrupt moſt other Writers) to make him depart from the Truth. Not to mention that, had he confined himſelf meerly to writing of his own Life,

(8) The author of Guicciardine's Life.

† Haym's *Notizia &c.* pag. 38.

(9) Claud. Verderius, *in Cenſione Autorum, apud* Pope-Blount, pag. 390.

that he expatiated too much on trifles [C]; introduced too many long ſpeeches [D]; or has too often aſcribed actions to unjuſt motives [E]. Cardinal Pallavicini is not favourable to him, and I ſhall quote what he ſays of him [F]. With regard to Guicciardini's ſtyle, his moſt unjuſt cenſors allow it to be extremely pure and correct; but they make a conſiderable difference between the firſt books and the ſucceeding ones; and for this reaſon they ſuppoſe the former were corrected by a very able hand (c).

(c) *Cui etiam illi qui eidem ſunt iniquiſſimi in primis quinque Libris, quos eruditi cujuſquam viri lima perpolitos fuiſſe contendunt, omnem Florentini Sermonis elegantiam concinnitatemque concedunt: in ceteris Libris non item, quos nullius Cenſuræ, ut priores quinque, ſubjecerat.* Nic. Eryth. Pin. 3. pag. 220.

Father

" a vaſt Slaughter; and yet at the ſame time does not " dare deny but that Charles remained Maſter of the " field of Battle. But what kind of havock muſt that " be which was made of Conquerors? But when he " treats of thoſe of his own Party, he always aſcribes " to them more than they merit; and rather applauds " the Country, than relates the Actions of his Coun- " trymen, whence the greateſt applauſe is to be " drawn." If this cenſure is juſt, Guicciardini deſerves to be made a laughing Stock, as much as our common News-writers. The latter afford Sport every Day; for inſtance, when the French are encamped on the other ſide of the Rhine, the oppoſite News-writers are perpetually entertaining us with the defeating of French Parties, with their being made Priſoners, and deſerting to the other ſide. But not a word of all theſe things are contained in the Papers written for the French; but on the contrary expatiate on the loſs of the allies, and the contributions they are forced to pay. When the Germans march into the French Territories, as they did in Autumn, 1694, the News-writers of the French party are ſure not to omit the number of their Parties which are defeated, or obliged to ſurrender themſelves: they ſpeak of nothing elſe. Thoſe of the Allies on the contrary, forgetting all theſe particulars, keep a very exact Regiſter of all the Villages plundered by the Germans; of the ſeveral Magazines fired; all the French Parties beat, &c. A thouſand unlucky reaſons force News-writers to publiſh ſuch falſe reports daily (10); but no excuſe could poſſibly be made for an Hiſtorian who ſhould act in this manner. It is his Duty to relate with equal fidelity, the Loſſes and Succeſſes of thoſe on whoſe ſide he writes; but where ſhall we meet with one who does this?

An obſervation on News-papers.

(10) See *Critique generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme*, Letter 2. pag. 27. 3d edit.

La Popeliniere is one of thoſe who accuſe Guicciardini of writing with too great partiality againſt France. " He is a free, *ſays he* (11), and ſincere writer; ex- " empt from paſſion, but not from hatred, which he " could not ſuppreſs or conceal with regard to the " French, the Duke of Urbino and others. He even " could not forbear reſenting the injury, which the " Italians complain continually, both in their words " and writings, of having received from the French; " when they went and interrupted the long and pro- " found repoſe of Italy, under King Charles VIII.. " which however was a very improper ſubject for " Guicciardini, and for moſt of the other Italian au- " thors to ſhew their animoſity in; and I cannot con- " ceive on what grounds he declares this King to have " been monſtrouſly ſhaped." La Popeliniere refutes theſe particulars with very tedious chit-chat; and ought to have ſaid no more but what follows. " Had King " Charles been ſuch a man, or any way like it, let " any one judge, whether the other Italians who hat- " ed the French as mortally as Guicciardini, (who has " mentioned ſuch virtues only as he could not deny " without being accuſed of falſhood,) would not have " larded their writings with it, both before and ſince " his time: but not a writer in any Chriſtian country " did ever reflect on that King, either during his reign, " or after it (12)." To prevent my deferring it to another opportunity, I ſhall here relate the other defects he finds in Guicciardini, which are the ſame that others have taken notice of, as will appear from the following remarks. " I don't find one circumſtance " (13) for which he ought to be valued above other " Hiſtorians, except for the freedom with which he " ſpeaks of great men; and the pains he takes to " ſearch into the ſprings of ſeveral actions related by " him. But then, he is ſo very prolix and diffuſive in " ſpeeches, and inconſiderable particulars not wor- " thy of being mentioned; that had ſome author " got the ſtart of him, in boldly laying open the faults " of criminal men, Guicciardini would have been lit- " tle eſteemed. But it is well known that the mind " of man is greatly affected with novelty: and in " this he has done himſelf a great deal of injury by not " keeping within due bounds; and by preferring the " regard he had to his Country, to the duty of an Hi- " ſtorian, and even of a Chriſtian and a man of ho- " nour, to whom ſuch things ought to be indifferent."

(11) La Popeliniere, *Hiſt. des Hiſtoires*, liv. 7. pag. 406.

(12) Ibid. pag. 410.

(13) Ibid. pag. 412.

[C] *... That he expatiated too much on trifles.*] This is the judgment of Juſtus Lipſius (14). *Vitia duo propria hujus ævi non effugit, quod & juſto longior eſt, & quod minutiſſima quæque narret, parum ex lege aut dignitate hiſtoriæ, quæ ut Ammianus, Lib. 26, ait* Diſcurrere per negotiorum celſitudines aſſueta, non humilium minutias indagare cauſarum. i. e. " He does not " avoid the two faults peculiar to this age, viz. his be- " ing too diffuſe, and too particular, both which are " repugnant to the laws and dignity of hiſtory, which, " as Ammianus obſerves in the 26th Book, is wont to " expatiate on noble circumſtances of affairs, and not " ſtoop to a minute ſearch of the ſprings of actions of " no conſequence (*)."

(14) Lipſius, *in Notis* ad 1 lib. *Politic.* cap. 9.

(*) See the remark [N] in the additions to this article.

[D] *Introduced too many long ſpeeches.*] Beſides what the reader will find in the paſſage from Montagne in the following remark, here follow the words of Lipſius abovementioned (15). *Sed non orationes ejus ſatis vegetæ mihi aut caſtigatæ; languent ſæpe, aut ſolute vagantur. Denique, uno verbo, inter noſtros ſummus eſt hiſtoricus, & inter veteres, mediocris.* i. e. " His " ſpeeches do not appear to me to be correct or " ſprightly enough, and are ſometimes languid and " tedious. In a word, he is a capital Hiſtorian, when " compared with the moderns, and but an indifferent " one, in compariſon of the antients."

(15) Idem, ibid.

[E] *... or has too often aſcribed actions to unjuſt motives.*] The Reader ſhall now ſee Montagne, who breaths a ſpirit of charity for all mankind on that occaſion. Many other people will not think, that Guicciardini deſerved any cenſure on that occaſion. But let us hear Montagne, as well on what relates immediately to the text of this article, as to the character in general of this famous Hiſtorian. " There is no reaſon to " believe, that he diſguiſed things out of hatred, fa- " vour or vanity, a proof whereof is, the freedom " with which he judges of great men; and particu- " larly of thoſe who had advanced him, and employ- " ed him in State-affairs, as Pope Clement VII. As " to thoſe parts of his hiſtory of which he ſeems the " moſt proud, viz. his digreſſions and ſpeeches, ſome " of them are valuable, and embelliſhed with fine " ſtrokes, but he is too tedious on thoſe occaſions; " for, by his endeavouring to leave nothing unſaid, " and having ſo full, ample and almoſt boundleſs a " ſubject, he grows languid, his hiſtory ſavours of " ſcholaſtic prattle. I have farther obſerved, that a- " mong ſo many minds and effects as he judges of, ſo " many movements and counſels, he never aſcribes one " of them to virtue, religion or conſcience, as though " there were no ſuch things in the world; and he im- " putes all actions, how beautiful ſoever they may be " in themſelves, to ſome vicious or profitable cauſe. " It is impoſſible however, to believe, but that amid " this numberleſs multitude of actions, ſome one of " them reſulted from a rational motive. Mankind in ge- " neral cannot be ſo corrupt, but that ſome one of them " muſt have eſcaped the infection. This may make " one fear, that his own inclinations were a little vi- " tiated, and perhaps he might have judged of others " from himſelf (16)."

(16) Montagne, *Eſſais*, liv. 2. chap. 10. pag. m. 153, 154. (*) *Nel Libro* 14.

[F] *I ſhall quote what Cardinal Palavicini ... ſays of him.*] He firſt aſcribes three falſities to him, and afterwards judges of him in general. The firſt of theſe three falſities relates to Adrian VI. Palavicini pretends, that Guicciardini ſhould not have ſaid (*), that the day that this Pope was elected, none of the Cardinals intended to raiſe him to the Pontificate, and that thoſe who gave him their votes in the ſcrutiny, intended only to trifle away that morning (17). I omit the reaſons cited by the Cardinal againſt this. The

(17) *Quaſi le prime voci date nello Squittinio al Cardinal Adriano foſſero, non perche veruno haveſſe intenzione d'eleggerlo, ma per conſumare indarno quella matura.* Palavic. *Iſtor. del Concilio*, lib. 2. cap. 2. num. 7. *all' anno* 1521.

ſecond

Father Poſſevinus blames him for aſcribing ſucceſs in wars and revolutions in Governments, to fate and fortune. He nevertheleſs would be ſo indulgent to our Author, as to believe that this way of writing does not proceed from a want of judgment in him, but that it was merely owing to cuſtom; but yet he is of opinion that it corrupts the minds of readers (*d*). One cannot eaſily diſcover whether he is moſt inclined to praiſe or cenſure him [*G*]. Varillas charges him with ſlandering Francis I, with reſpect to his ſecret correſpondence with Soliman: I ſhall examine all he ſays on this head [*H*]. I ſhall likewiſe

(*d*) Poſſevin. *Bibliotb. Select.* tom. 2. lib. 16. cap. 41. pag. 337.

ſecond falſity relates to the Elector of Saxony. Palavicini aſſerts, that Leo X did not publiſh a threatning Monitory againſt this Prince, which exaſperated him highly. *Due altere abbagli piu relevati prende egli nelle principal noſtra materia. Il primo è l'affirmar che Leone ſpediſſe contra l'Elettor di Saſſonia un monitorio con minacce di gravi pene, e poro con irritazion di quel principe. Il che è un vano ſogno contrario à quanto ſi legge nelle memorie pieniſſime di que' ſucceſſi* (18). The third falſity relates to Luther, who, as Guicciardini relates, was ſo terrified to find himſelf proſcribed by the Emperor, that he would ſoon have renounced his errors, had Cardinal Cajetan made him honourable offers, and not plunged him into deſpair by his inſults and threats. Now Palavicini aſſerts, that Cardinal Cajetan was returned to Rome, twenty months before Luther was proſcribed (†), and that the ſpeech he had before made to him, was in the mildeſt terms (19). Palavicini ſays on this occaſion, that Guicciardini had but a confuſed idea of ſuch things as did not relate immediately to his ſubject; and was more inclined to believe ill than good, to ſooth the natural malignity of his temper. He adds one particular, in order to make Guicciardini be very much ſuſpected with regard to ſuch things as relate to the court of Rome. His words are as follow (20). *Dal che m'auveggo, che quell' Iſtorico, di ciò che non apparteneva al ſuo principal argomento, preſe notizie molto confuſe: E fu anche ſempre inclinato à credere le peggiori, come appare nella ſua ſpeſſa maldicenza di ciaſcheduno; la quale appreſſo alla volgare malignità gli hà guadagnata eſtimazion di veridico. Ma contro à Pontefici fu anchè più ſpecialmente amaro, coſi per quell' uſato rancore che i miniſtri di lungo ſervigio concepiſcono contra i padroni da cui non ottennero le mercedi ſperate; come forſe perch' egli riconoſceva da loro la perdita della libertà nella ſua Republica.* i. e. "Whence "I obſerve, that this Hiſtorian had but a very confuſed notion of ſuch things as did not appertain to "his main ſubject; and, beſides, was always inclined "to believe the worſt, as is manifeſt from his ſo frequently calumniating of every one; which made "him be conſidered by the vulgar as a ſincere and "true Hiſtorian. But he was particularly bitter againſt "the Roman Pontiffs, as well becauſe of the rancour "which Miniſters who have long ſerved, harbour a-"gainſt their Patrons, from whom they do not obtain "the recompence they expected; as becauſe he aſcribed to them the loſs of liberty in the Republic under "which he was born."

(18) Palavicin. ibid. num. 8.

(†) The 5th of September 1519, as in the *Conſiſtorial Acts*. Idem, ibid.

(19) *E pur è certo che il Cardinal di Gaeta non parlò con Lutero nè allora, nè dipoi, nè per gran tempo addietro; eſſendo tornato in Roma venti meſi prima del Bando: E quando gli parlo, gli offerſe benignamente il perdono, ſecundo che Lutero ſteſſo racconta: E la medeſima eſibizione gli fù più volte fatta in Vormazia nella Dieta, come teſtificò Ceſare nel ſuo Bando.* Idem, ibid.

(20) Idem, ibid.

[*G*] *One cannot eaſily diſcover, whether Poſſevinus is moſt inclined to praiſe or cenſure him.*] He declares him to be a man of great judgment and of great experience in affairs of State (21). He cites the advantageous character which Thomas Porcacchi gives of this hiſtory (22); but he likewiſe obſerves, that John Baptiſt Leone publiſhed (23) five Books of *Conſiderations* or *Reflections* on this work, to ſhew his errors and partiality. This critick, adds he, is in every one's hands, and therefore I need not dwell upon it. By the way, he informs us, that Clement VIII had juſt before put into the *Index expurgatorius* the Latin Tranſlation of Guicciardini's Hiſtory by Cœlius Velcurio (24) the heretic. He pretends that the true reaſon of it was, becauſe the Tranſlator had not given a juſt explication of the original (25); Vanozzi will tell us afterwards, that ſuch a reaſon ought not to be regarded. Had Poſſevinus intended to have raiſed, in his readers, a great eſteem for Guicciardini's Hiſtory, he would have been as careful to mention Remigius as John Baptiſt Leoni. This Remigius, a Florentine Monk, wrote a Book that was printed at Venice in 1582, and entitled *Conſiderationi civili ſopra l'hiſtorie di M. Fr. Guicciardini, e d'altri Hiſtorici.*

(21) Poſſevin. *Bibliotb. Select.* tom. 2. lib. 16. cap. 41. pag. 336.

(22) Idem, ibid. pag. 337.

(23) In Venice 1583; this work is in Italian.

(24) It ſhould be *Curio*.

(25) *Haud omnino recte converſa eſt.* Poſſevin. *Bibliotb. Select.* tom. 2. lib. 16. cap. 41. pag. 337.

[*H*] *I ſhall examine all that* Varillas *ſays on this head.*] He aſſerts (26) that Francis I and Henry VIII engaged and bound themſelves in 1532, "to defend, "without exception or reſerve, what Chriſtian State "ſoever might be invaded by the Turks... The ori-"ginal, *ſays he*, of this agreement (27) is ſtill lodged "in the Chamber of Accompts in Paris; and Guic-"ciardini muſt needs have known nothing of this, "ſince he declares poſitively, as moſt foreign Hiſtorians "have ſince aſſerted on his teſtimony, that the moſt "Chriſtian King, at the ſame time, ſollicited Sultan "Soliman to complete the conqueſt of Hungary; and "offered to join his forces with thoſe of the Grand Sig-"nior, in order to invade the Houſe of Auſtria. But "this is ſo groſs a calumny, that Paulus Jovius, who "wrote his Hiſtory at the ſame time with Guicciar-"dini, and in Italy alſo, took notice of it. But "Guicciardini will be found more excuſable, for miſ-"taking this for truth, if we conſider that he inſerted "this ſlander only at the latter end of his work; and "that the four laſt Books of this author are neither ſo "good nor ſo authentic as the ſixteen preceding ones: "that they are imperfect in many places; that the au-"thor did not think them worthy of being printed, and "that they were not printed till after his death, when "his heirs, contrary to his intention, preſumed to "publiſh them, in the third edition of his Hiſtory." What is here ſaid does not appear to me accurate. I find that Guicciardini ſays only this, that Francis I, in 1531, held a ſecret correſpondence with ſuch Princes of Germany, who were diſſatisfied with the Emperor, the Pope, and Sultan Soliman (28); and that the ſame Prince and Henry VIII, in 1532, projected an invaſion of the Milaneze, upon the ſuppoſition that Soliman would ſpend the winter in Hungary (29). Farther, I don't find that P. Jovius has refuted what Varillas aſcribes to Guicciardini. He relates only, as a report, the truth of which he does not pretend to warrant, that Soliman marched into Hungary, anno 1532, at the ſollicitation of the Kings of France and Poland (30). Varillas expreſſes himſelf, as though he were perſuaded that the firſt ſixteen Books of Guicciardini's Hiſtory were printed in the author's life-time. Now this is a falſity; they being publiſhed, by his nephews, anno 1561. The Dedication to Coſmo de Medicis, Grand Duke of Florence, is ſigned *Agnolo Guicciardini*. The editors therein promiſe the four laſt books, and at the ſame time own that they are imperfect (31). They are not inſerted in the Venice edition of 1565, in 4to, *appreſſo Nicolò Bevilaqua*. It was corrected in many places, augmented with ſummaries and marginal notes by Father Remi a Florentine. They alſo are not inſerted in the edition which Bevilaqua abovementioned publiſhed anno 1568 in 4to. Varillas ſhould not therefore have aſſerted, that they were printed in the third edition. It ſhould rather be aſſerted, that they were printed ſeparately at Venice *appreſſo Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, anno 1564, in 4to. I have this edition. The author's nephews dedicated it to the abovementioned Coſmo de Medicis Duke of Florence, to whom they had dedicated the ſixteen books. Agnolo Guicciardini ſigned, in the name of them all, the Dedication dated at France the 20th of July 1564. The Pope, the Doge of Venice, and the Duke of Florence, granted privileges to Giolito the Bookſeller, which were prefixed to the work; and this doubtleſs was the reaſon why Bevilaqua the Bookſeller did not inſert thoſe four laſt Books in the edition of the ſixteen firſt.

(26) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Francis I*, liv. 7. pag. 220.

(27) Ibid. pag. 221.

(28) Guicciardin. lib. 20. folio m. 107.

(29) Idem ibid. fol. 108.

(30) Paul. Jovius, *Hiſtoriæ*, lib. 30. fol. m. 187 *verſo*.

(31) *Laſciando queſta opera imperfetta & quattro altri ultimi libri d'eſſa piu preſto abbozzati che finiti, i quali per tale cagione non ſi mandano fuori al preſente.*

The four laſt Books in queſtion were printed at Parma, *appreſſo Seth Viotti* anno 1567, in 4to, *con l'aggiunta de' Sommarii à ciaſcun Libro, & di molte Annotationi in margine delle coſe piu notabili*, DI M. PAPIRIO PICEDI.

[*I*] *I ſhall likewiſe quote the complaints of Bonifaccio Vannozzi, which are a little too devout.*] His Hiſtory, ſays he (32), is more acceptable to private perſons than to Princes; for he ſpeaks of the latter with an indecent freedom, and has ſpoke ſo ill of the Popes, that the Latin Tranſlation of his Hiſtory has been read very greedily

(32) Vannozzi, *de gli Auvertimenti Politici*, tom. 2. pag. 367.

wiſe quote the complaints of Bonifaccio Vanozzi, which are a little too devout [*I*] ; and will not omit, that the Venetians complain of a certain ſpeech which Guicciardine aſcribes to an Embaſſador, ſent by them to the Imperial Court [*K*]. I am alſo to obſerve, that he wrote ſome other books [*L*]; and that Lewis Guicciardine his nephew, made a conſiderable

greedily in heretical Countries; whence it appears, ſays he, that the Italian writers may do great prejudice to the Roman Pontificate. According to Vanozzi theſe Writers ought not to diſcover their Mother's ſhame; that if they publiſh a diſgraceful truth, they offend againſt charity; and if they publiſh Falſities, they offend againſt Juſtice. This is the general meaning of his words; I ſhall tranſcribe his own words, for the Satisfaction of thoſe who deſire to know them more particularly. *Si che vegga un pò chi ſcrive, con quanta facilità egli poſſa pregiudicare alla Chieſa Romana, alla Sedia Apoſtolica, & al Sommo Pontefice: & che le penne de gl' Italiani, profeſſanti il Chriſtiano, ò ſcoprano le noſtre vergogne, ſe dicono il vero, che è contro alla carità, dovuta al proſſimo; ò calunniando per odio, ò per altra paſſione, chi merita eſſer onorato; facciano da maligno, & da triſto* (33). He owns that Guicciardine's Hiſtory does not give ſuch great ſcandal or offence, ſince it was corrected; he aſſerts, that the Latin verſion which was made from the firſt original (34), may offend the Devil himſelf. *Ma la fatta Latina, cavata dal primo originale, & piena di maledicenze contro à Papi, & altri Eccleſiaſtici, può ſcandalizare il Diavolo ſteſſo; parlo di quel ch'io sò di propria ſcienza, & come ſi dice di veduta. Et un moderno Scrittore, parlando di queſta Storia, dice coſi per l'appunto. Il Guicciardini hà potuto per ſe ſteſſo, acquiſtar tanto d'autorità all' Iſtoria ſua, che molte indegnità, molti errori, & molte bugie, ch'ella contiene, ſono ſtate non ſolo ſopportate dal Mondo; ma approbate da molti, per eſempi, & per dogmi del vero, & perfetto viver civile. Et laſciando il reſto, ſi legge pur in eſſo, un' aperta, & faſtidioſa irreverenza, dice il medeſimo moderno Scrittore, verſo gli ſteſſi Vicari di Chriſto, con grande indegnità della Sedia Apoſtolica, & non potendoſi accuſarlo d'ignoranza, biſogna neceſſariamente confeſſarlo, per troppo appaſſionato, & commiſerare più toſto, che biaſmare una coſi bella, ma coſi difettoſa, fatica* (35). i. e. " But the Latin verſion . . . . may " ſcandalize the Devil himſelf. What I ſpeak of is by " experience, and as it were by ſight; and a modern " Author, ſpeaking of this Hiſtory, ſays as follows. " Guicciardini himſelf eſtabliſhed ſo well the credit " and authority of his Hiſtory, that the many mean " particulars, the many errors, and the many lies it " contains, have not only been born with by the " Public, but approved by numbers, as examples and " rules of true and civil perfect Life. And to paſs over " other things any one who reads Guicciardini (ſays the " ſame modern writer) will find a barefaced and " haughty irreverence towards even the Vicars of " Chriſt, and the utmoſt contempt for the See of " Rome; but as we cannot charge Guicciardini with " Ignorance, we muſt be obliged to confeſs, that he is " too paſſionate a writer; and rather pity than cen- " ſure ſo beautiful, but at the ſame time ſo defective " a work." This long paſſage is not improper here, becauſe it belongs to the Hiſtory of the ſeveral Judgments which have been formed of Guicciardini.

(33) Idem, ibid.

(34) Obſerve this againſt Poſſevinus.

(35) Vannozzi, *Auvertimenti Politici*, tom. 2. pag. 367.

[*K*] *I muſt not omit the Speech which Guicciardini aſcribes to a Venetian Embaſſador.*] Nothing can be more groveling than this Speech. This Hiſtorian ſuppoſes it to have been made by Antonio Juſtiniani to the Emperor Maximilian, Anno 1509. *Per ottener da lui con qualunque conditione la pace gli mandarono con ſomma celerità Ambaſciatore Antonio Giuſtiniano: il quale ammeſſo in publica audientia al coſpetto di Ceſare, parlò miſerabilmente e con grandiſſima ſommiſſione* (36). He is not ſatisfied with giving this general idea of the too abject ſubmiſſion of the Venetians; but adds, that it will be proper to quote the whole Speech, in order that the reader may ſee the Conſternation with which they were ſeized. Accordingly, he ſets down the Ambaſſador's ſpeech at full length, without making the leaſt alteration; only he tranſlates it out of Latin into Italian. *Non mi parte alieno dal noſtro propoſito, acciochè meglio s'intenda in quanta conſternatione d'animo ſuſſe ridotta quella Repub. la quale già più di dugento anni non haveva ſentito averſità pari a queſta, inſerire la propria oratione havuta da lui innanzi a Ceſare, transferendo ſolamente le parole Latine in voci volgari, lequali furono in queſto tenore* (37). The Venetians aſſerts, that this Speech is merely chimerical; and, to prove it, they affirm that Franciſco Capello (38), whom they had ſent to the Emperor after they had retaken Padua, was not permitted ſo much as to ſet his Foot in the Territories of that Prince; and that Ludovico Mocenigo, and Antonio Juſtiniani whom they ſent to him ſome time after, were not admitted or heard any more than Franciſco Capello. What is certain is, that theſe Embaſſadors were order'd to make very advantagious offers to his Imperial Majeſty. The Venetian Hiſtorian whom I have cited does not deny this; and Pietro Bembo, another Venetian Hiſtorian, confeſſes it ſtill more expreſsly. *Latum*, ſays he (39), *ut Antonius Juſtinianus . . . . ad Maximilianum rectà contenderet; & cum illo, ſi poſſet, pacem quantumvis duris conditionibus faceret: Tergeſteque oppidum, & Portum Naonis, reliquaque municipia, quæ reſp. ex ejus ditione ſuperiore anno ceperat, Senatum ei paratum eſſe reſtituere; ac quæ oppida ex Romanorum imperatorum ditione in Carnis, & Gallia, & Venetia reſp. poſſideret, ea ſe omnia illi tanquam accepta relaturum nuntiaret.* i. e. " It was ordered, (ſays he) that Antonio Juſtiniani " . . . ſhould go directly to Maximilian; and, if " poſſible, conclude a peace with him, how hard " ſoever the conditions might be; and acquaint him " that the Senate would reſtore to him the city of Ter- " geſte, the port of Naon, and the other towns of " which the Republick had diſpoſſeſſed him the year " before; and to ſurrender up to him ſuch imperial " Towns as it poſſeſſed in Carniola, France, and the " Territories of Venice." It muſt be obſerved, that he aſſerts that Antonio Juſtiniani was ſent to the Emperor, the inſtant the news was heard of the victory the French had gained. How do we know but that Guicciardini might have ſeen the Copy of the ſpeech which Juſtiniani had prepared? Yet this would not excuſe him; for if the Embaſſador was not admitted to audience, his manuſcript could not juſtly be produced, as a ſpeech that had actually been delivered before the Emperor. The Hiſtorians were very bold as to the ſpeeches related by them. They invented them, and yet would have their readers believe that they had been actually ſpoke. If we read in Jovius the ſpeech which the Duke of Milan's Embaſſador made to Charles VIII., to prompt him to invade Italy, and read it in Guicciardini, theſe two pieces will be found quite different (40). The ſpeech which Loredano the Doge made to the Senate, in order to have two hundred noble Venetians ſent to the Defence of Padua, is related by Guicciardini, in a quite different manner from Mocenigo and Juſtiniani, both Venetian Hiſtorians (41).

(36) Guiccardin. lib. 8. folio 222 *verſo.*

(37) Idem, ibid.

(38) See the *Hiſtory of Venice* by Pietro Juſtiniani, Book 10. Porcacchi cites it in his preface on Guicciardini; and in his marginal notes on book 8. folio 222 *verſo.*

(39) Bembus. *Hiſtor. Venetæ*, lib. 8. *circa init.* folio m. 188 *verſo.*

(40) Porcacchi's Notes on Guicciardini, lib. 1. folio 8.

(41) Ibid. lib. 8. folio 230.

[*L*] Guicciardini *wrote ſome other Books.*] Theſe I reduce to two, the one entitled *Conſigli aurei*, the other *Auvertimenti Politici*. Ghilini ſpeaks only of theſe two (42). If we were to depend on the Catalogue of Libraries, the number would be increaſed, but ſhould aſcribe alſo to Guiccardini, *Piu Conſigli e Auvertimenti in materia di re publica e di privata*, printed at Paris in 1576, 4to. *I precetti e Sententie in materia di Stato*, printed at Antwerp in 1585, 4to. *Auvertimenti Politici*, printed at Venice in 1583, 4to. *Hypomneſes Poëticæ.* Such are the titles we meet with in the Bodleian Catalogue, without its being obſerved that theſe are only different Editions of the ſame Books. Theſe confuſions are owing to the Bookſellers by the liberty they take to give different Titles, at different times to the ſame Book. But altho' the Bodleian Catalogue aſcribes the *Hypomneſes Poëticæ* to our Guicciardini, the reader muſt not therefore imagine that he publiſhed Rules on the art of Poetry. This is an error of the Preſs, and it ſhould have been, *Hypomneſes Politicæ*, for this title the Latin Tranſlator of Guiccardini's *Auvertimenti Politici* was given to his verſion. I am to obſerve, that theſe works of Guicciardini, tranſlated into French by Charles de Chanticler (43), were printed at Paris Anno 1577 in 8vo. with this title, *Pleuſieurs Advis & Conſeils tant pour les affaires d'eſtat que privez.* There is a very groſs Error in the

(42) *Si vedono anco del ſuo due componimenti che per titolo hanno &c.* Ghilini, *Teatr.* tom. 1. pag. 59.

(43) See the *Bibliotheque Françoiſe of* M. *Verdier*, pag. 151.

cata-

a conſiderable figure in the Commonwealth of Learning [*M*].

catalogue of Thuanus's Library; it aſcribing (44) to Francis Guicciardini two Books that were written by Lewis Guicciardini his Nephew, and, entitled, the one *Raccolta de i detti & fatti notabili coſi gravi comme piacevoli*, the other *Hore di Recreatione*. This error implies an abſurdity; for Francis Guicciardini was ſo far from being a facetious man, that he never once broke a Jeſt, he being extremely grave and ſevere. *Fuit indignationi proclivior, oriſque ductu licet ſuavi, tamen ſevero & gravi, genioque ſupra modum falſæ urbanitatis dicteriis repugnante, quorum nullum in tota vita ipſi unquam excidiſſe perhibent quidam* (45). In the abridgment of Geſner's Bibliotheque, there is aſcribed to him an Italian Hiſtory *Urbis Italiæ*, printed at Venice in 1569. [The true catalogue of Francis Guicciardini's works, (beſides his Hiſtory of Italy) ſeems to be as follows. 2. *Piu Conſigli e Auvertimenti in materia di re publica, e di privata*, Paris 1576, 4to. This Book, as Mr. Bayle obſerves above, was afterwards printed under different Titles. 3. *Il ſacco di Roma. In Parigi*, 1664, 12mo. 4. A Letter to Pietro Bembo, to congratulate him on his being promoted to a cardinal's hat, and inſerted in a collection entitled *Lettere Volgari di diverſi nobiliſſimi uomini*. Another letter to Pietro Aretino, dated Nov. 3, 1527, in the collection of letters written to that learned man, and publiſhed by Franceſco Marcolini in Venice 1551. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

(44) Pag. 403. Part 2.

(45) *Imperialis, in Muſæo Hiſtorico*, pag. 99. *See alſo* Guicciardini's *Life* by Remigio Fiorentino.

[*M*] Lewis Guicciardini *his nephew, made a conſiderable figure in the commonwealth of Learning.*] Beſides the two books mentioned in the note above, he publiſhed *Commentarii delle coſe più memorabili ſeguite in Europa, ſpecialmente in queſti Paeſi baſſi dalla pace di Cambrai del M, D. XXIX inſino a tutto l'anno M. D. L.* I have the Venetian edition of it by me, *appreſſo Dominico Farri* 1566, 4to. This author inſcribed this work to the Grand Duke of Florence, the dedication being dated at Antwerp, January the 1ſt 1565. This Hiſtory was tranſlated into Latin (46), and was ſoon after followed by *Deſcriſione di tutti i Paeſi baſſi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*. This is a very good deſcription of the Netherlands. The Author reſided a long time in that Country; took prodigious pains in making the moſt exact reſearches into every thing, and viſited the ſeveral places whenever he had an opportunity, in order that he might not affirm any thing but with the utmoſt certainty He publiſhed three editions of this work; the laſt is dated anno 1587, and ſurpaſſes as much the ſecond, as this latter does the firſt. [The two ſcarceſt and moſt valuable editions are as follow; *Ludovico Guicciardino, Deſcrizione de Paeſi baſſi. In Averſa preſſo il Plantino* 1582, *con le piante di 77 Città, e di altri ſuperbi edifici, in foglio*; alſo reprinted in Antwerp, anno 1667, in folio. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*] Belleforet tranſlated this work into French; and John Brant a Senator of Antwerp, and Reignier Vitellius gave a Latin Verſion of it. John Brant ſuppreſſed this Tranſlation upon finding that others had got the ſtart of him (47). Ghilini knew ſomething of this, but the account he gives is ſtrangely confuſed. His words are as follow: *Reynero Vitellio, e avanti di lui Giovanni Branzio Senatore di Anverza, che dal Vitellio fu prevenuto, la traduſſero dal Franceſe nel Latino* (48). Now theſe words are very erroneous; in the firſt place they ſignify that Brant's Tranſlation was publiſhed; for when a Perſon ſpeaks of a Book, without ſaying expreſly that it was not publiſhed, he gives his Readers to underſtand that it had been publiſhed. This error is followed by a moſt unaccountable piece of Nonſence. It is affirmed that Brant's Tranſlation was prior to that of Vitellius, and that Vitellius got the ſtart of Brant. Theſe things are inconſiſtent, when an Author forgets, as Ghilini does, to diſtinguiſh the compoſition from the impreſſion. It is to be obſerved, that Valerius Andreas does not ſay that John Brant tranſlated this Book before Vitellius did the ſame; he only ſays, that he was prevented with reſpect to the Impreſſion (49). To conclude, it is not true that Vitellius and Brant tranſlated that work from the French Verſion. The latter declares in the title page of his Verſion (50), that he made it from the Italian; and Valerius Andreas aſſerts the ſame thing with reſpect to Brant. I have cited his expreſſions. Ghilini has committed all theſe errors, by his blindly following Swertius (51). Pocciantio (52) aſſerts, that Lewes Guicciardini underſtood the Latin and Greek Tongues, the Mathematics, and was a good Antiquary. Thuanus highly applauds the Hiſtory of the Netherlands, and informs us of a remarkable incident, viz. that the Duke of Alva threw Lewis Guicciardini into Priſon, for his having writ a Book, containing the reaſons why Lent ſhould be aboliſhed. This ſhews the ſavage temper, and enormous pride of this Duke; for the work in queſtion was writ by this Duke's command; but becauſe he himſelf did not preſent the Manuſcript to the Duke of Alva, and this proud Spaniard received it from another hand, he flew into a dreadful paſſion againſt the Author, and cauſed him to be ſhamely impriſoned. Guicciardini was betrayed by a man, who, hoping to ingratiate himſelf by his diligence, preſented the Manuſcript he had been intruſted with. *In carcerem ignominioſum ob id conjectus, quod Albanus poſtea excuſavit, cùm diceret, non tàm ob conſilium optimo viro ſuccenſere, quam quod illud juſſu ſuo; nam fatebatur, cùm ſcriptis mandaſſet, non per ipſum ſcriptorem ſed per alias manus in ſuas præpoſtera perfidi hominis gratiam ſuam aucupantis diligentia illud perveniſſet* (53). He died in Antwerp, the 22d of March 1589, aged ſixty ſix years. [Lewis Guicciardini was buried in the Cathedral at Antwerp, where the following Epitaph was inſcribed to his Memory: *Ludovico Guicciardino, Florentino, nobilibus Majoribus orto, inter quos Patruum habuit Franciſcum, magni nominis Hiſtoricum, cujus famam æmulatus univerſam Belgicam eleganti ſtudio deſcripſit. Vixit anno* 66. *Obiit* 11. *Cal. April* 1589. *S. P. Q. Antwerp.* B. M. P. C. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

(46) By Peter Paul Kerckhovius. His tranſlation was printed at Antwerp anno 1566, in 8vo. Valerius Andreas, *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 754.

(47) Idem, ibid. pag. 467.

(48) Ghilini, *Teatro*, tom. 1. pag. 150.

(49) *Ex Italica Latinam factam quia in edendo ab aliis præventus premere maluit.* Val. And. *Bibliotb. Belgic.* pag. 467.

(50) *Ex idiomate Italico ad exemplar tertium ac poſtremum ab ipſo authore recognitum . . . in Latinum ſermonem converſa.*

(51) *See* Swertius's *Athenæ Belgicæ*, pag. 520.

(52) Pocciantius, *de Script. Florent.* pag. 118.

(53) Thuan. lib. 96. *ſub fin.* pag. m. 315. *ad ann.* 1589.

☞We ſhall here add ſome other particulars to Mr. Bayle [*N*].

GUICHENON

[*N*] *We ſhall here add ſome other particulars to Mr. Bayle.*] At firſt his father, Peter Guicciardini, according to the received cuſtom, made our Guicciardini ſtudy the Latin and Greek tongues; but he quite neglected the latter, whether it were, that he was not pleaſed with it; or thought it of no uſe with regard to the knowledge of the Laws, which then formed his chief object. After having gone through his Philoſophy at ſixteen years of age, he ſtudied the Civil Laws three years, under Ormannozzo Deti and Philip Decius, famous Profeſſors in Italy. Guicciardini was afterwards ſent by his father, firſt to the Univerſity of Ferrara, where not being ſatisfied with the Profeſſors, he ſtaid but a twelvemonth, and removed to Padua; in which Univerſity he reſided three years. It was at his leaving this laſt mention'd place that he return'd to Florence and took his Doctor's degree in the Civil Law. In 1506, he married Maria Salviati, daughter of Alamanno Salviati, one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Florence. Guicciardini ſcrupled at firſt to accept of the Embaſſy to Ferdinand, King of Arragon; imagining that the (*) profeſſion he then followed was honourable and profitable enough, and that he would loſe a great many of his Clients during his abſence; but his father having repreſented, that it would not be prudent in him to refuſe an employment, which would reflect the greater honour upon him, as there was no example of its having been beſtowed on ſo young a man, he accepted of it. The King of Arragon was extremely well pleaſed with his conduct, and made him a preſent of ſome plate to the value of five hundred crowns. The inhabitants of Bologna, at the time that Guicciardini was Governor over them, were divided into very great factions. Duke Alexander of Medicis took him with him to Naples, when he went to wait upon the Emperor Charles V, and Guicciardini was of great ſervice to him in ſome affairs he then negotiated. Duke Alexander being killed in January 1537,

(*) He was a Counſellor at Law.

GUICHENON (SAMUEL) an Advocate or Counſellor at Bourg in Breſſe, deſerves an illuſtrious place among the Hiſtoriographers who flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth Century. He was born in Macon. Guichenon publiſhed, in 1650, the *Hiſtory of Breſſe*, after which he compiled the genealogical hiſtory of the Houſe of Savoy, and printed it at Lyons, anno 1660, in two large volumes in folio. The ſame year he publiſhed a Latin book intitled, *Bibliotheca Sebuſiana* [*A*]. Theſe three works are extremely good in their kind, and made him deſerving of the rewards which were beſtowed upon him (*a*). Le Laboureur owns this; but in ſuch a manner as ſeems to accuſe the Court of France of ingratitude with reſpect to their Hiſtoriographers [*B*]. He had been a Proteſtant, and died in the Romiſh Communion the 8th of September 1664. The reader will find him, below, charged with being a plagiary [*C*].

(*a*) His titles are Lord of Painesſuyt, Counſellor and Hiſtoriographer to the King, and to his Royal Highneſs, Count Palatine, Knight of the Empire, and of the ſacred Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus.

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1537, Guicciardini was one of the perſons who formed the ſecret council, which was then held, in order to conſider how to act in that juncture. He was buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors in Florence. He had had ſeven daughters, three of whom ſurvived him. He was of a vigorous conſtitution; but his too intenſe application to his ſtudies, in which he would frequently ſpend whole days without thinking of ſuſtenance or ſleep, together with the fatigues he underwent in public affairs, at laſt ruined his health. He poſſeſſed a very happy memory, a lively and ſagacious genius, and a ſurprizing judgment. Being eloquent from nature, he eaſily brought over people to his opinion; and always gave the moſt prudent advice whenever he was conſulted. He was a man of the greateſt integrity; a lover of juſtice; diſintereſted, and zealous for the public welfare. Among his defects, one was, his being over-haſty and choleric; but no one could be more obliging and affable when his mind was unruffled (†). It is ſurprizing that Mr. Bayle ſhould not have cited the noted jeſt of Boccalini on Guicciardini's too prolix way of writing. The jeſt is as follows. Boccalini feigns, that a Lacedæmonian having ſpoke in three words, what might have been expreſſed in two, (prolixity being conſidered as a capital crime in Sparta) was impriſoned during eight months, and afterwards ſentenced to read over, once, the war of Piſa written by Guicciardini. *Con agonia, & con ſudori di morte leſſe il Laconico la prima carta: ma coſi immenſo fu il tedio, che gli apportò quella lunga diceria, che l'infelice corſe a gettarſi à piedi de medeſſimi Giudici, che l' haveano condannato: i quali inſtantiſſimo ante ſupplicò, che per tutti gl' anni della ſua vita lo condannaſſero a remare in una galea, che lo muraſſero tra due mura, che per miſerecordia fino lo ſcorticaſſere vivo, perche il legger quei diſcorſi ſenza fine, quei conſigli tanto tediosi, quelle freddiſſime concioni fatte nella preſa anco d'ogni vil colombaio, era crepacuore che ſuperava .. tutti gl' acerbi dolori delle parturienti, e tutto le più crudeli morti, che ad inſtanza de'piu ferini Tiranni giamai ſi haveſſe potuto imaginare lo ſpietato Perillo* (§). i. e. "The "unhappy Lacedæmonian having been thrown into "the ſharpeſt agonies, and a deadly ſweat, at the "the reading only of the firſt page, found this tittle "tattle ſo horribly tedious, that he threw himſelf "at the feet of the Judges who had condemned him, "and moſt earneſtly beſought them to ſentence him to "the gallies during life; that they would immure him "between two walls; or, for pity's ſake, flea him "alive, he proteſting, that the reading of thoſe ever-"laſting diſcourſes, thoſe ſo tedious counſels, thoſe "flat and inſipid ſpeeches, made at the taking of "every pigeon-houſe, was a puniſhment that ſurpaſſed "all the grievous pains of child-birth; and all the "moſt cruel deaths, which, at the ſollicitation of "the moſt ſavage tyrants, were ever invented by the "mercileſs Perillus."

(†) Many of theſe particulars are extracted from Guicciardini's Life, written by Remi Nannini of Florence, and prefixed to his Hiſtory.

(§) *De' Ragguagli di Parnaſo del Signior Trajano Boccalini*, pag. 23. In Venetia, 1629, 8vo.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a ... Book intitled* Bibliotheca Sebuſiana.] It is in 4to, and conſiſts of 448 pages, and was printed at Lyons. In order that the reader may know all that it treats of, I need but tranſcribe the whole title. *Bibliotheca Sebuſiana, ſive variarum chartarum, diplomatum, fundationum, privilegiorum, donationum & immunitatum à ſummis Pontificibus, Imperatoribus, Regibus, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, & Proceribus, Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis & aliis locis aut perſonis conceſſarum nuſquam antea editarum, miſcellæ Centuriæ II. Ex Archivis Regiis. Monaſteriorum tabulariis & codicibus manuſcriptis ad hiſtoriæ lucem collegit, & ad locorum explicationem & familiarum illuſtrium cognitionem notis illuſtravit S. Guichenon, Dominus de Paineſſuyt, Regi à Conſiliis, Franciæ, Sabaudiæ, & Dombarum Hiſtoriographus, Eques auratus & Comes Palatinus, Sacræ Religionis S S. Mauritii & Lazari miles.*

[*B*] *Le Laboureur, ... ſeems to accuſe the Court of France of ingratitude, with reſpect to their Hiſtoriographers.*] Here follow le Laboureur's words. "At the "ſame time that ſhe (1) enlarges their limits by her "victories, ſhe gives orders for writing the genealo-"gical Hiſtory of the Dukes of Savoy. It will be "ſaying ſufficient to applaud her choice, and the me-"rit of the work which is now printing (2), to name "the author of it, the Sieur Guichenon, who has al-"ready illuſtrated Breſſe, his native country, by a "moſt excellent collection of its antiquities; with the "hiſtory of its antient Lords, and all the Nobility of "that Province. Were not this Princeſs the daughter "of Henry the Great, I ſhould bluſh, for our Nati-"on's ſake, to ſay, that ſhe proved to Guichenon, by "the honours ſhe indulged him, whilſt he was writing "this work, that the generoſity and goodneſs of Princes "are not to be judged of from the extent of their "Dominions; and that there is not now in the world "any character ſo glorious and happy, as that of Hi-"ſtoriographer of Savoy (3).

(1) i. e. The Ducheſs of Savoy, ſiſter to Lewis XIII.

(2) Le Laboureur wrote in the year 1659.

(3) Le Laboureur, *Addit. au Mem. de Caſtelneau*, tom. I. pag. 752.

[*C*] *He .. is charged with being a plagiary.*] This accuſation is found in the following words of Varillas. "I take notice, in the eleventh book, of the Duke "of Savoy's pretenſions, and thoſe of the Biſhop of "Geneva, to the city of that name; and acknow-"ledge that Mr. Guichenon's work has been of ſervice "to me. Not but that I find this author too ſtrongly "attached to the Houſe of Savoy, whoſe ſubject he "was born: but as this attachment did not prevent "his reading all the printed books and manuſcripts "which were of uſe to his work, I have found ſome "fragments in it which I had not ſeen before. Sincerity, "however, will not permit me to omit one of his "faults, which I take to be ſo groſs, that it is ſur-"prizing no perſon has yet thought of animadvert-"ing upon it. He accuſes, in his Preface, Wil-"liam Paradin, of having extracted almoſt all "his Hiſtory of Savoy from the antient Chronicle of "that Houſe; and from Jerom Champier's Hiſtory, "without once citing either of thoſe authors; and yet "I find that Guichenon is guilty of the ſame ingra-"titude with which he reproaches Paradin. Nani's "Italian Hiſtory is well enough known; and it is "owned, that few writers in our age come near him "in politeneſs and delicacy. Any one who takes the "pains to compare it with what Guichenon relates of "the laſt Dukes of Savoy, will find, that he has in-"ſerted it literally, in his laſt volume, without doing "juſtice to the author whom he copied (4)." [The genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of Savoy, is wrote with great care and accuracy; and as to Varillas's accuſing Guichenon of tranſcribing word for word Nani's Italian Hiſtory, without citing him, this is a mere chimera of Varillas, "becauſe the firſt part of Nani's "Hiſtory was not printed till 1662, that is, two years "after that of Guichenon; whence it follows, that "Nani, if either of them, was the plagiary. But it "may be preſumed, that the reaſon of their ſometimes "relating the ſame incidents, is, becauſe they both bor-"rowed from the ſame authors; and it is poſſible that "neither of them copied the other (‡).". There are two other pieces of Guichenon; 1ſt *Epiſcoporum Bellicenſium Series chronologica &c.* Pariſ. 1642, 4to; 2dly, *Projet de l'hiſtoire de Breſſe & de Bugey*, 1645, in 4to (†). It may be obſerved, that an epitome of the Hiſtory of Breſſe was written by Germain Guichenon, and publiſhed in Lyons, 1709, 8vo. *Addit. by the Tranſl.*]

(4) Varillas, Preface du 3 Tome *de l'Hiſtoire de l'Heneſie*.

(‡) *Hommes Illuſtres, du Pere Niceron*, vol. 38 pag. 367, 368.

(†) Ibid. pag. 364.

I have been accuſed of believing, *without any foundation*, that he had been a Proteſtant. This criticiſm has been refuted in the *Memoirs de Trevoux* for January 1703 (*b*); but I am now going to obſerve ſome particulars which are ſtronger than any thing ſaid there. I ſhall cite a Calviniſt Miniſter, who publickly reproached Guichenon with abjuring the Proteſtant Religion. He employs very harſh expreſſions [*D*]; whence it may be inferred, that he knew very well that what he advanced was true.

(*b*) Amſterd. edit. pag. 59.

[*A*] *A Calviniſt Miniſter . . . publickly reproached Guichenon, with abjuring the Proteſtant Religion. He employs very harſh expreſſions.*] Conſider only the parentheſis of the paſſage I am going to copy. "Guichenon, .. has juſt now publiſhed a large Hiſtory in "three great volumes in folio, in which he evidently "falſifies, againſt his knowledge and conſcience, what-"ever relates to the right, innocence and conduct of "theſe Waldenſes, as well in general as in particular; "and he is not aſhamed to employ his mercenary pen "in contradicting both the truth of the maſſacres in "1655, and whatever he thinks may tend to the ju-"ſtification of thoſe good Chriſtians and in repreſent-"ing the greateſt cruelty and perfidy of their enemies, as "acts of great mildneſs and forbearance (WHICH I DO "NOT THINK STRANGE OR SURPRIZING IN A RENE-"GADO WHO HAS APOSTATIZED FROM THE KNOWN "TRUTH, TO GO OVER TO THE INTERESTS OF "LYING (5)." This is what is declared, (in his Preface) by John Leger, Miniſter and Moderator of the Church of the Valleys. We will now ſee what he ſays in the body of the Book, where he endeavours to juſtify Anthony Leger, his uncle, whom Guichenon repreſents as a factious man, and *guilty of ſeveral crimes*. "It would be ſufficient to refute this Guichenon, to "obſerve that he himſelf was born and brought up in "the Proteſtant Religion; and that he went through "part of his ſtudies with the ſaid Leger, whoſe familiar "companion he was, as the ſaid Sieur Leger told me "himſelf; but that ſince, in order to attain the ho-"nours he now enjoys, he turned his coat, and deni-"ed the known truth, to embrace the Romiſh Reli-"ligion; taking for his motto the following Italian "proverb, *Guelfo io fui, e Gibbelin m'apello, à chi "più mi darà volterò il mantello.* For no one doubts "that *he who ſells his ſoul for bread, and his birth-right "for a meſs of pottage*, may be eaſily prevailed upon "to let out his tongue and pen, to ſay and write any "thing which thoſe may require whoſe hireling he is. "And I know it for a truth, that he did not dare to "write a line in his book, which had not been ſifted "and reſifted in Turin; and that he could not refuſe "to foiſt in it, whatever anſwers were made by the "oracles of Marquis de Pianeſſo, and the Preſident "*Truquis* (6): and I have now in my hands where-"with to prove this (7)."

(5) John Leger, *Hiſtoire générale des Egliſes Vaudoiſes*, at the end of the preface, Leyden edit. 1669, folio.

(6) He calls him *Truchis*, Part 1. pag. 164.

(7) Leger, *Hiſt. des Egliſes Vaudoiſes*, Part 2. pag. 68, 69.

He refutes him elſewhere (8) with regard to two incidents; and obſerves farther, that *he is a man who betrayed his religion, and denied the known truth, for the ſake of worldly advantages.*

(8) Ibid. pag. 262. *See alſo* pag. 111.

☞This article by Mr. Bayle being very imperfect, we ſhall here give a ſupplement to it [*E*].

[*E*] *We ſhall here give a ſupplement . . to this article.*] Samuel Guichenon was born the 18th of Auguſt 1607, of Gregory Guichenon a Phyſician, and of Claudina Chauſſat, as is proved by a writing in his father's hand, and which is now preſerved in his family (†). Some other original pieces preſerved alſo in this family take notice, that Gregory Guichenon his father, born at Chatillon-les-Dombes, had gone and ſettled at Bourg in Breſſe; that he married there in 1595; and that his firſt child was baptized in the church of Notre-Dame; but that having been moleſted on account of his religion in that city, where the Calviniſts were not tolerated, he removed with his family to Mâcon, where they were allowed liberty of conſcience. He afterwards went and ended his days in Châtillon-les-Dombes, leaving three ſons, Daniel who was a Counſellor, Peter a Phyſician, and Samuel whom we are now writing of (§). The laſt mentioned was born a Calviniſt, and continued ſuch till after the year 1630, when he embraced the Romiſh Religion; which he did, either in a journey he was then taking into Italy; or in Lyons, at his return; he abjuring the Proteſtant Religion before his Archbiſhop (‡). Having drawn up the plan of his Hiſtory of the Houſe of Savoy, he went to Turin, and preſented it to Chriſtina of France, mother to the Duke of Savoy, who then governed in that Court. This Princeſs gave him a conſiderable ſum of money, upon the genteel pretence of defraying the expences of his journey; and afterwards created him Hiſtoriographer of Savoy, and Knight of the Order of St. Maurice. The croſs and ring with which ſhe preſented him on this occaſion, (each valued at ſix thouſand crowns) were ſtill preſerved in his family in 1704. Beſides theſe rewards, a handſome penſion was ſettled upon him, and was paid him till he died (‡). He had married three wives. His firſt was a rich widow, which made his circumſtances extremely eaſy, and gave him an opportunity of devoting his time, undiſturbed, to his writings. He married her about the year 1615, but had no children by this wife, nor by his third. His ſecond wife, named Anne Pouillet, was daughter of the *Châtelain* of Bourg, a very conſiderable employment in that city (*), and he had by her one ſon and three daughters, who ſurvived him. His ſon married before he died, but had no iſſue. Two of the daughters were Nuns; and the third, who died the 24th of July 1724, was remarkable for her good ſenſe, and had been twice married. Our Guichenon died at fifty ſeven years of age, and was buried in the Dominican Church of Bourg. His picture, prefixed to his Hiſtory of Savoy, publiſhed in 1660, declares him to be but 51 years of age. But we may preſume that it had been engraved ſome time before that date; ſince he was then three and fifty (§). There have been ſome Refugees of this name, and there are ſtill ſome in Brandenbourg. They came from the neighbourhood of Chatillon-lez-Dombes (α).

(†) *Hommes Illuſtres, du Pere Niceron*, vol. 31. pag. 360.

(‡) Idem, ibid.

(‡) Ibid. pag. 363.

(*) Idem, ibid.

(§) Ibid. pag. 361, 362.

(§) Ibid. pag. 364. Moſt of the particulars in this note are from Mr. le Clerc, and Father Niceron.

(α) From the critical remarks added to the laſt Dutch edition of Bayle's Dictionary.

GUIGNARD (JOHN) a Jeſuit, born in Chartres (*a*), and Profeſſor of Divinity in the College of Clermont (*b*), was executed at Paris the 7th of January 1595, for high treaſon. He was found guilty of having written a book, filled with rebellion and fury againſt Henry III and Henry IV [*A*]; and as the juncture, at that time, required that the

(*a*) Thuan. lib. 112. pag. m. 653.

(*b*) *Appendix Apologiæ Franciſci Montani pro Societate Jeſu*, pag. 352.

[*A*] *He was found guilty of having written a Book, filled with rebellion and fury, againſt Henry III and Henry IV.*] Here follows the manner in which this was found out. "As the Parliament were carrying "on the proſecution againſt John Chaſtel, ſome of "them, who were deputed for that purpoſe, went to the "college of Clermont, and ſeized ſeveral papers, a-"mong which was found a book, in the hand-"writing of the ſaid Guignard the Jeſuit; contain-"ing ſeveral propoſitions and means, to prove that "it was lawful to kill the King; with ſeveral infe-"rences, to adviſe the murther of his ſucceſſor alſo. "Here follow ſome of them, extracted from the ſaid "Book, which are ſtill extant in the Records of "the Court (1)." The author of Anti-Coton gives afterwards ſome extracts from the Book in queſtion; but as Victor Cayet has given them more at large, I chooſe rather to employ his narrative. "With regard "to Guignard, he could not deny but that he had "wrote the nine propoſitions following, viz.

(1) *Anti-Coton*, pag. 15.

the Government ſhould puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity, a doctrine which, not long before, had expoſed the King's life to the wicked attempt of John Chaſtel, it was not thought proper to ſhew the leaſt favour to this Jeſuit. He refuſed obſtinately to make the *Amende honorable*; and perſiſted till his death, in not acknowledging Henry IV for King of France [*B*]. He has been applauded as a martyr by the Apologiſt for John Chaſtel [*C*]. We ſhall ſee what the Jeſuits anſwered, when they were reproached for giving him a place in their Martyrology [*D*]. They declared it to be a falſe aſſertion; and

" I. That in 1572, on St. Bartholomew's Day, had " the baſilical vein been opened, (the King being mur- " thered) we ſhould not have fallen out of Scylla into " Charybdis, as we find by experience has happened; " *ſed quicquid delirant Reges*; by being ſparing of " blood, they have involved France in fire and blood, " *& in caput reciderunt mala.*

" II. The cruel Nero was killed by a Clement; and " the ſimulated Monk was diſpatched by the hand of " a true Monk.

" III. Shall we call a Nero Sardanapalus of France, " a Fox of Bearne, a Lyon of Portugal, a She-wolf " of England, a Griffin of Sweden, and a Hog of " Saxony?

" IV. What a fine ſight muſt thoſe three Kings " be, (if they deſerve the name of Kings) viz. the late " Tyrant, he of Bearne, and the pretended Monarch " of Portugal Don Antonio.

" V. That the fineſt Anagram that was ever made " on the name of the deceaſed Tyrant was the follow- " ing *O le vilain Herodes* (*the wretch of a Herod!*)

" VI. That the heroic action performed by James " Clement, as a gift of the Holy Ghoſt, ſo called by " our Divines, was juſtly applauded by the late Prior " of the Dominicans, Burgoing, Confeſſor and Mar- " tyr, by ſeveral reaſons, as well in Paris which I " myſelf was an ear-witneſs to, when he taught the " Book of Judith, as before that fine Parliament of " Tours. And this the ſaid Burgoing (which is ſtill " more) ſigned with his blood, and conſecrated by his " death: and we muſt not believe what is related by " his enemies, viz. that with his laſt breath he diſal- " lowed of this action as deteſtable.

" VII. That the Crown of France might and ought " to be transferred from the Bourbon Family to ano- " ther.

" VIII. That he of Bearne, tho' now converted to " the Catholic Faith, would be treated with more gen- " tleneſs than he deſerved, ſhould he be obliged to ſub- " mit to the tonſure in ſome well-regulated Monaſtery; " there to do penance for the many calamities he has " brought upon France; and to thank God for giving " him the grace to know himſelf before his death.

" IX. That if he cannot be dethroned without a " war, let war be waged: that if war cannot be made " on him, let him be aſſaſſinated (2)."

(2) Cayet, *Chronol. Novenaire, ad ann.* 1594, folio, 435 *verſo.*

[*B*] *He refuſed obſtinately to make the* Amende honorable, *and perſiſted till his death, in not acknowledging Henry IV for King of France.*] Here follows the ſequel of Cayet's Narrative. " The Court having " ſeen theſe writings, Guignard the author being in- " terrogated concerning them, owned that he had " compoſed and written them with his own hand; and " therefore was ſentenced by the Court or Parliament " (*) to make *Amende honourable*, ſtript to his ſhirt, " a halter about his neck, before the chief gate of the " Church of Paris; and there, being on his knees, " holding in his hands a lighted wax-torch, weighing " two pounds, to ſay and declare, that, wickedly, " traiterouſly and falſely he had written, that the late " King had been juſtly murthered by James Clement; " and that if the now reigning Monarch ſhould not " die in the field, he ought to be put to death; of " which he repented, and aſked pardon of God, of " the King and of Juſtice. This done, to be led to " the Greve (†), there to be hanged and ſtrangled on " a gibbet erected for that purpoſe; and afterwards " his dead body to be burnt to aſhes, in a fire lighted " under the ſaid gallows. This ſentence was exe- " cuted the 7th of January, and the ſaid Guignard " was hanged and burnt at the Greve. Being, be- " fore, carried before the Church of *Nôtre-Dame*, there " to make the *Amende honourable*, being ſtript to his " ſhirt, and having the torch in his hand; he aſked " the Sieur Rapin, the Lieutenant criminal, what was " required of him. He anſwered, that he muſt beg " pardon of God and of the King, repeating after " the Regiſter. I will readily beg pardon of God, " replied he; but why of the King? I have not of- " fended him. You have offended the King, ſays Ra- " pin, by your writing againſt him. Guignard an- " ſwered; what I wrote on this ſubject, was before " Paris ſubmitted to him. What you ſay, replied " Rapin, is not true; and tho' it ſhould be ſo, you " have forfeited the pardon and general indemnity " which the King has granted to his ſubjects of Paris, " ſince their ſubmiſſion; ſince you know very well, " that the ſtricteſt orders were given, upon pain of " death, for every perſon to burn ſuch writings; but " as you kept ſuch, contrary to the tenor of theſe E- " dicts, you have offended both him and the public. " After both of them had conteſted above a quarter of " an hour, notwithſtanding all the reaſons and me- " naces of the ſaid Sieur Rapin, Guignard would not " make the *Amende honorable*, and was led to execution " without performing it (3). It is manifeſt that Guig- " nard, by ſaying he had not offended the King, ſup- " poſed that Henry IV was not King. We ſhall now " ſee that he is applauded for entertaining this opinion, " and never renouncing it.

(3) Cayet, *Chronol. Nouvaire, ad ann.* 1594, folio, 435 *verſo.*

(*) Sentence pronounced on Guignard.

(†) The place of execution.

[*C*] *He has been applauded as a Martyr, by the apologiſt for John Chaſtel.*] The tenth chapter of Part V of the apology for that villain, is intitled, *The Martyrdom of Father Guynard juſtified in every particular.* The author declares him *happy* in dying, " as one " who kept himſelf immoveable on the baſis and " ſolidity of the Goſpel Stone, i. e. of the obedience " and for the obedience of the Church (4). The " conſtancy of this man (†) to his laſt breath, *adds* " *he* (5), in refuſing to recognize him for King, " whom the Church has condemned; nor for law- " ful judges, thoſe who have ſeparated themſelves " from the Church, and judge contrary to the " Church; and for refuſing to repeat the words " by their ſentence, to make the *amende honorable*; " perſiſting in the truth, as well of what he had " preached, as of what he had writ in his Memoirs, " (for which reaſon his execution was haſtned, on the " ſpot, he being in his ſhirt, and not carried " back to priſon); all which circumſtances ſhew it " to have been a martyrdom, in as much as it had " no other foundation than a pure Catholic truth, " aſſerted and maintained till death incluſively, the " contrary of which is hereſy. This will ſerve as a " witneſs, in order for their proſecution one day; " to keep them chained hand and foot; to pronounce " their ſentence, and condemn them by a definitive " and irrevocable judgment, as *this Glory is to all the* " *Saints* (§): when he, *who holds the truth eter-* " *nally* (‡), who keeps the books of the eternal re- " giſter, in which all things are written, *ſhall do* " *judgment to thoſe who ſuffer injuries* (†)."

(4) *Apologie pour Jehan Chaſtel*, pag. 5. chap. 10. pag. 238.

(†) Father Guynard's conſtancy.

(5) Ibid. pag. 239.

(§) Pſalm cxlv.

(‡) Rev. xx.

(†) Pſal. cxli.

[*D*] *We ſhall ſee what the Jeſuits anſwered, when they were reproached for giving him a place in their martyrology.*] We will firſt cite a paſſage from the Anti-Coton (6). " The reader may aſk, if he pleaſes, " whether any Jeſuit ever condemned this Guignard " of treaſon and perfidy. Richeome, on the contrary, " in his apology, excuſes him as much as he can; " ſaying that Guignard treated the abovementioned " propoſitions only by way of a theological diſpute. " And in this we are agreed; for I alſo ſay, that *to* " *kill the King*, has always been one of the reſolutions " of the theology of the Jeſuits. If any Jeſuit, " through force or ſhame, condemns him, it is be- " cauſe he was not diſcreet enough; or for having " taken his time wrong, or for ſome ſuch reaſon. " This appears by the Jeſuits having ranked this " Guignard in the catalogue of their Martyrs, which " they got printed at Rome, in two ſizes, in one of " which Guignard is taken notice of, and not in the " other; in order that ſome copies of it might be " ſold

(6) *Anti-Coton*, pag. 18, 19.

and, with regard to his being executed, they had recourſe to turns of wit, endeavouring to extenuate his horrid tenets; and apologizing for him, by alledging that great numbers of people held the ſame tenets at that time [*E*]. It is certain that the whole Kingdom abounded

" ſold in France without danger. Thus Bonarſcius " the Jeſuit, chapter the 8th of his Amphitheatre, " applauds this Guignard to the ſkies, although with- " out naming him, for fear of offending our King, " and yet ſo plainly as for us to diſcover him in the " following words: Shall I be ſilent of thee, O thou " ſtar ſhining both in heaven and earth; and laſt ex- " piation of the houſe which was to ſuffer nothing " more after this? No time ſhall ever expunge the " footſteps of thy death; *after which he adds*, all " France will joyn in my wiſhes. *Tacebo ego te cla-* " *rum cœlo terraque ſidus, & ultimum nil amplius doli-* " *turæ domus innocuum piamentum. Nullus tui ſanguinis* " *veſtigia dies exteret, totaque in hæc vota mea ibit Gal-* " *lia.*" Now this can be applied only to Guignard who was a French Jeſuit, and who was the laſt Jeſuit executed in France. Father Coton anſwered among other things (7), that no Jeſuit had ever " diſallowed " the judgment of the Court, and that every perſon " had endeavoured to perſuade himſelf, that Guignard " had been juſtly condemned; that every particular " which is added to it is not equally certain, and " that many things muſt be aſcribed to the licentiouſ- " neſs of tongues, and the unhappineſs of the times (8); " that in caſe no Jeſuit has cenſured Guignard as " guilty of treaſon and perfidy, it is becauſe not one " of them was thoroughly acquainted with the proſe- " cution." I have ſeen, *added he*, ſeveral catalogues of Jeſuit-martyrs, " but not one in which Guignard is " found, though ſome of them were engraved in " Rome. But though he had been exhibited in this " manner elſewhere, who does not know the liberties " which Poets and Painters take?" He denies that the paſſage of Bonarſcius relates to Guignard; but this is denying a moſt indiſputable fact. Another apologiſt was not ſo peremptory, he only attempting to evade the queſtion. Here follows the anſwer he made the author of the Anti-Coton. " Thou art angry, that " Clarus Bonarſcius ſhould applaud this Father in " his *Amphitheatrum*, and call him *ſhining ſtar in* " *heaven*. How doſt thou know that he ſpeaks of " this Father, ſince he does not name him? Doſt thou " gueſs this, becauſe he was the laſt who was exe- " cuted in France! he is alſo the firſt. But ſuppoſing " thy conjecture ſhould be true, why art thou angry " at his extolling this Father as one of the bleſſed " ſouls (9)?... Now accuſe and complain of this " Clarus as much as thou pleaſeſt; but thou ſhalt " not keep me from applauding him for this praiſe; " and from praiſing, (as he does) this Father, becauſe " he was a great Divine, and did honour to France, " his native country, which thou diſhoureſt; and " I believe with the abovementioned Clarus, that " he is in heaven, if not in the rank of martyrs, " at leaſt in the number of the bleſſed; not becauſe " he was ſentenced to die, but for having forſaken " the vanities of this world in order to ſerve God " and the public, in a religious ſtate, to the utmoſt " of his power; for having lived the life of a true " Religious many years, for having taught the Ca- " tholic faith, and combatted hereſy, which thou de- " fendeſt under the cloak of the ſtate; in fine, for " having patiently ſubmitted to all the pangs and tor- " ments of death, and the ſhame of the execution, and " reſigned his ſoul as a good and zealous Catholic (10)." He had delivered himſelf thus in page 181. " Thou " art diſpleaſed at our ranking the ſaid Father in " the catalogue of Martyrs. Who told thee ſo, " except the ſpirit of lying, which directs thy pen? " For among the many thouſands of worthy people " who have peruſed this catalogue, not one of them " has found therein what thou pretendeſt to have diſ- " covered. If thou haſt ſeen this catalogue, (which " is moſt probable) why doſt thou ſpeak ſo confidently " of a thing unknown to thee? Haſt thou ſo little re- " gard to thine own honour as to take all falſe re- " ports as true; to publiſh them as matters of fact, " and thereby become thy ſelf the ſubject of laughter, " imagining to prejudice the Jeſuits?" Eudæmon Johannes the Jeſuit, in his reply to the Anti-Coton, denied that Guignard had been placed in the martyrology of the Jeſuits; and obſerves that the engraved prints of their Martyrs had been made and ſold by people, whoſe only view was profit, and who did not depend or belong in any manner to the Jeſuits (11). *Verebaris nimirum, ne prolatiis Martyrum noſtrorum Catalogis, impudentiſſimi mendacii convincere, quæ te cauſa impulit, ut frigidam hanc Catalogorum varietatem dignam planè ſtupore iſto animi ſomniares. Nam neque mendacium tegis, & vecordiam tuam prodis: Martyrum enim noſtrorum effigies non à nobis, ſed ab exteris lucri ſui cauſa typis excuſæ, venales per orbem palam expoſitæ ab iis ſunt, ut in noſtra poteſtate nullo modo fuerit quis Martyrum Catalogus, aut à Gallis emeretur, aut in Galliam ab emptoribus importaretur. Neque vero ita ſtolidos quiſquam Jeſuitas exiſtimaturus eſt, ut cum rem eam aggrederentur, non viderent fieri non poſſe, ne Gignardus quoque cum cæteris martyribus vel ab amicis, vel ab inimicis in Galliam mitteretur. Mirum vero eſt, ſi cum utriſque generis Catalogi venderentur, non niſi unus in Galliam, iſque ad tuas unius manus venerit, in quo Gignardus legeretur, quem ſi apud te habes, profer ſodes, ſi non habes indica, apud quem inveniri poſſit. Nam nos quidem Romæ nunquam Gignardum adſcriptum Societatis Martyribus vidimus: numquam in Martyres retulimus.* i. e. " You doubtleſs was afraid, that, ſhould we " produce our catalogue of Martyrs, you would be " found guilty of a moſt impudent lie, which made you " invent this ridiculous and ſtupid variety of cata- " logues. For you do not cloak your lie, but diſplay " your own folly. For the prints of our Martyrs, " engraved not by our ſociety, but by Foreigners " for the ſake of gain, are expoſed to ſale publicly " by them all over the world; ſo that it is no ways " in our power, what catalogue of Martyrs ſhall be " purchaſed by the French, or imported into France " by the buyers. Nor ſhould any one think the " Jeſuits ſuch fools, as to ſuppoſe they would attempt " to hinder Guignard from being ſent into France; " ſince this he would certainly be, with the reſt of " the martyrs, either by friends or enemies. It is " certainly ſtrange, that ſince both ſorts of catalogues " are ſold, one only ſhould come into France; and that " that very one ſhould fall into your hands, in which " Guignard appears. If you have it, I beg you to " produce it; but if you are not poſſeſſed of it, tell " us where it may be found: for we at Rome never " ſaw Guignard inſerted in the catalogue of Martyrs " of the ſociety, nor ever ranked him among the " Martyrs."

(11) Eudæmon Johannes, *Confut. Anti-Cotoni*, cap. 2. pag. 51.

(7) *Réponſe Apologétique à l'Anti-Coton*, pag. 42.

(8) Ibid. pag. 43.

(9) Richeome, *Examen Catégorique de l'Anti-Coton*, chap. 21. pag. 182.

(10) Richeome, *Examen Catégorique de l'Anti-Coton*, chap. 21. pag. 183.

[*E*] *The Jeſuits... endeavouring to extenuate his horrid tenets; and apologizing for him, by alledging that great numbers of people held the ſame tenets at that time.*] See Guignard's doctrine, which ſhould ſtrike every man with horror, in the remark [*A*]. In 1602, a book was printed, intitled *The free and authentic Addreſs to the King, with regard to the re-eſtabliſhment (deſired of him) of the Jeſuits.* We therein find among other particulars, " that if the Pope can " lay his hand on the SCEPTER of Kings and their " temporalties, as the Jeſuits ſay; it plainly follows " that when his Holineſs excommunicates a King, " he thereby is deprived, becomes a private perſon, " and is no longer King. And if he continues to " reign any longer, he is a tyrant. Whoever grants " the firſt propoſition, will be forced to admit the laſt. " Now the book in the hand-writing of John Guig- " nard the Jeſuit, and which he owned in full Par- " liament, the two chambers being aſſembled, contain " theſe two propoſitions, written in the moſt flagrant " and moſt outrageous ſtyle and manner; for, among " other particulars were the following, *That the* " *Nero &c....* THAT IF HE OF BEARN CANNOT " BE DETHRONED WITHOUT A WAR, LET WAR " BE WAGED: THAT IF WAR CANNOT BE MADE " ON HIM, LET HIM BE ASSASSINATED. Your " Majeſty may ſee the original; this well deſerves " it (12)." Here follows the reply which Richeome made in the name of the Jeſuits (13). " MAY IT " PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY, I will not accuſe any " perſon

(12) *Franc & veritable Diſcours* pag. 31.

(13) Richeome, *Plainte Apologetique*, pag. 135, 136.

" perſon here, nor plead for the perſon in queſtion " deceaſed; he is now out of the reach of the Par- " liament, and of proſecution of every kind; nor " ſhall I call for vengeance, any more than he does, " whom I believe to be praying in heaven for his " enemies. I obſerve only that your Majeſty had " pardoned whatever had paſſed of that kind; " and that after a prudent and royal manner, in " imitation of the Emperor Octavius (*), who cauſed " all papers relating to debts, which might occaſion " ſlanders conteſts, to be thrown into the flames; " and of the Emperor Conſtantine the Great (†), " who alſo burnt all contentious libels. And indeed, " had all thoſe of the League been proſecuted, who " wrote and ſpoke, there would never have been an " end of the troubles and enmities; and there were " thouſands of men at that time, who had worſe " pieces by them, than that which this man here " counterfeits and produces, who yet have continued " your very faithful ſervants and ſubjects: wherefore " then does he produce this writing againſt the " law of oblivion and againſt a perſon deceaſed? " If he were guilty of a fault that merited puniſh- " ment, has it not been ſufficiently expiated by " his execution? Ought he who had been execut- " ed ſo many years, to have, eight years after, his " proſecution revived, and his ſentence again paſſed " upon him? I ſay farther, that this piece (§) was " not written by this Divine, but it is a mere in- " vention of his adverſary." It is to be obſerved, that they pretend that John Guignard's piece was not ſuch as his adverſaries pretended it to be. The obſervations made by Richeome (14), in order to prove this, are extremely weak; but in caſe Henry IV, on this plea of falſification, did not demand to have a ſight of the original, and if he did not order the enemies of the Jeſuits, to prove inconteſtably, that the propoſitions which they aſcribed to Guignard were really in his book, he was guilty either of the moſt extreme negligence, or of a certain policy which might be looked upon as fear. Be this as it will, the author of the *Anti-Coton*, who doubtleſs was ſenſible that the Jeſuits had publicly denied what was publiſhed concerning the manuſcript of their brother, continued nevertheleſs to object the ſame propoſitions to them as the *Franc & Libre Diſcours* (Free and Genuine Addreſs); and to declare that they were extracted from Guignard's manuſcript, *which was ſtill in the Records of the Court or Parliament* (15). He was anſwered, that what he advanced is one of thoſe particulars which muſt be aſcribed to the licentiouſneſs of tongues, and the unhappineſs of the times; and *that it was denied that the following words are ſtill extant in the records of the Parliament*: if war cannot be made on him, let him be aſſaſſinated; *in which words nevertheleſs the ſting of the ſerpent lies* (16). Theſe words, replied another to him (17), *contain the poiſon of thy calumny, but they are mere words and lies: for nothing like them is found in the records of the Parliament.* Theſe are wretched replies; for the author of the *Anti-Coton* did not ſay, that theſe words were found in the regiſters of the Parliament, but in the manuſcript that was preſerved in the Rolls. In order therefore to have made a ſolid anſwer, they ſhould have aſſerted, that they were not in this manuſcript. Now this the Jeſuits who have refuted the *Anti-Coton* did not dare to aſſert; and therefore we may very naturally ſuppoſe, that this propoſition was in Father Guignard's writing. Several reaſons induce me to believe that it was.

I. It is declared in the Arret of Parliament (18), that conſidering *the criminal Proſecution .... carried on againſt John Guignard .... for ſeveral Books which were ſeized in his Poſſeſſion, containing, among other Particulars, more than one Approbation of the moſt cruel and moſt inhuman murther of the late King, whom God abſolve,* AND INFERENCES TO EXCITE TO THE MURTHER *of the* REIGNING MONARCH .... *The Court had declared and declares the ſaid Guignard attainted, and convicted of High Treaſon; and of having compoſed and written the ſaid Books, containing ſeveral falſe and ſeditious Methods to prove, that it was lawful to commit the ſaid murther,* AND THAT IT WAS PERMITTED TO KILL KING HENRY ——THE FOURTH, NOW REIGNING. We are therefore not to doubt but that the words of the Arret which are here in capitals, were grounded on thoſe, which according to the Author of the *Anti-Coton*, were contained in Guignard's Book.

II. Farther, who can doubt, but that Thuanus, who was preſident in the Parliament of Paris, had been poſſeſſed of this Jeſuit's Book? Now Thuanus, as well as a vaſt many more writers, declares that the words in queſtion were found in it (19).

III. The Jeſuits have never proved, that the Propoſitions which were objected to them, (as taken from this Manuſcript) were not inſerted in it. They have only denied, that the laſt was included in the Records of Parliament, which was not the thing in queſtion; and they have given only weak and ſpecious reaſons with regard to the reſt. They never boaſted their having ſeen the Book, and conſequently have only ſpoke at random of it; they did not offer the King, in imitation of their adverſaries, to ſhew him ſuch and ſuch Particulars in the Manuſcript preſerved in the Records of Parliament. Had they entertained any hopes of proving their Enemies guilty of Slander, they would have beſought the King or Parliament to ſuffer this Book to be examined before them, by any Commiſſioners they might appoint. Is it not plain, that by their not taking this ſtep, they have ſhewn to the World that they miſtruſted this Book; and that when they treated the propoſitions which their Adverſaries quoted from it as fictitious, they therein acted only as Lawyers? It is well known that pleaders treat as fictitious, ſo long as they poſſibly can, whatever makes againſt them. I know not whether the Adverſaries of the Jeſuits have taken the courſe above hinted at, *viz.* to pray the Parliament to appoint Commiſſioners to examine the Manuſcript in Preſence of the Parties concerned. Had Enquiries and Informations been made in a legal way, with regard to this Affair, it would have ſtruck the moſt obſtinate Caviller dumb for ever. But tho' no ſuch Enquiries have been made, we yet have reaſon to believe, that Guignard had inſerted in his treatiſe the Propoſitions laid to his charge.

This being ſo, we may juſtly be ſurprized at the falſe Idea which his Apologiſts give of it. To cite Richeome. " What was found in John Guignard's " Chamber, ſays he (20), and for which he was ſen- " tenced to die, was a queſtion he had formerly treated " on, when he read Divinity, viz. *whether it be lawful " to kill a Tyrant*; a queſtion which all the Canoniſts " and moral Philoſophers introduce in their diſcourſes; " and which Bodin among the moderns, has diſcuſſed " in his Republic." Richeome informs us in another place (21), that Henry IV. was ſatisfied with this Anſwer. It follows, that this Prince muſt have been ſacrificed at a very eaſy rate; this being a very bad Anſwer, ſince it gives a moſt unfaithful Character of John Guignard's Book. We have ſeen, above (22), the reflection which was made on this paſſage of Richeome, by the Author of *Anti-Coton*. It does not point out the Defect which is found in the words of this Jeſuit; and only endeavours to ſnatch an opportunity of laſhing the whole Society of the Jeſuits. So true it is, that ſome people had rather ſatyrize a whole Body, than refute one of the members of it in form.

The Jeſuit Eudæmon Johannes has improved on Richeome; he ſaying, that Guignard only diſputed for and againſt the Theological Queſtion, whether it be lawful to kill a Tyrant; and adds, that he did not merit Death for this, any more than thoſe Divines who exerciſe themſelves, not only on his queſtion, but alſo on that of the exiſtence of God (23). *Theologica quæſtione in utramque partem ſcripta ſupplicium non magis meritus eſt, quam S. Thomas, quam reliqui Theologi, qui non modo de Tyrannorum nece, ſed de ipſa etiam Dei exiſtentia, in utramque partem diſputare ſoliti ſunt.* But this ſurely is a moſt abominable miſrepreſentation of the State of things, ſince Guignard was not ſatisfied with examining a doubtful Queſtion, by producing Reaſons *pro* and *con*; but had declared for the affirmative, and expreſly approved of the Aſſaſſination of Henry III. and every the like action, which ſhould be executed on Henry IV.

Father Gretſer inſerted in one of his Books (24) an account of John Chaſtel's Tryal, in which father Guignard's Book is deſcribed, meerly as a Collection of different Paſſages, concerning the Theſis, whether it be lawful for private perſons to take away the life of a Tyrant. He adds that Guignard had mentioned the

(*) Octavius Cæſar burnt all ſuch papers, as might afford matter for calumny. *Suet. in Octav.* c. 32.

(†) Conſtantin. Sozom. lib. 1. c. 16.

(§) Suppoſititious writing.

(14) Richeome, *Plainte Apologetique*, pag. 136, 137.

(15) *Anti-Coton*, pag. 15.

(16) *Reſponce Apologétique à l'Anti-Coton*, pag. m. 42, 43.

(17) Richeome, *Examen Catégorique de l'Anti-Coton*, pag. 181.

(18) Paſquier, *Catechiſme des Jéſuites*, liv. 3. chap. 18. pag. m. 447, 448.

(19) *Si ſine bello deponi non poſſit, bellum cum eo gerendum. Si bellum geri non poſſit, de medio quavis ratione tollendum.* Thuan. lib. 17. pag. 653. col. 2.

(20) *Reſponce de René de la Fons, pour les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jeſus*, chap. 14. pag. 72, 73.

(21) *Examen Categor. de l'Anti-Coton*, pag. 184.

(22) In the remark [D] citation (6).

(23) Eudæm. Johan. *Confut. Anti-Cotoni*, cap. 2. pag. 51.

(24) The Latin tranſlation of *Réponſe de Richeome*, diſguiſed under the name of *François des Montagnes, au Plaidoié d'Antoine Arnauld.*

abounded then with ſeditious preachers [*F*], and perſons, who, both in their writings and private converſations, hinted at the aſſaſſination of Princes like Henry IV, whom they ſuſpected

the Dominican who aſſaſſinated Henry III. only in an hiſtorical way; and that he declared on the Scaffold that this was the true genius aud character of his Book; and that he had not writ a ſingle word in it that could offend the King (25), *In cubiculo P. Joannis Guignardi Theologiæ Profeſſoris perbrevis Tractatus repertus eſt quem ipſe ante annos quatuor vel quinque conſcripſerat, quo illa Quæſtio continebatur à Doctoribus in Scholis paſſim tractata & agitata:* Utrum Tyrannum qui ſe palàm hoſtem gerit Reipublicæ liceat privato occidere? *De quâ Quæſtione Argumenta, quæ in utramque partem, ut ſolet, ad diſcutiendam diſquirendamque veritatem, à variis Auctoribus adferuntur, ibi quoque congeſta erant. Inter alia item narratione comprehenſum fuit, quid Frater Clemens Dominicanus Monachus in Henricum III. auſus fuiſſet.* (26) *Cum jam patibulum à longè conſpexiſſet cui appropinquabat, S. Andreæ Apoſtoli exemplo & verbis illud piè & alacriter conſalutavit; lætâ mente ac fronte ſcalas conſcendit, è quibus allocutus circumfuſam ſpectantium multitudinem: quod ſupplicii hoc genere enecaretur, aliam non ſubeſſe cauſam, quam quia ante annos quatuor vel quinque perbrevem Tractatum conſcripſiſſet, nullius injuriâ, nullius incommodo, in quem collegiſſet opiniones & ſententias Sanctorum Patrum, variorumque Auctorum, quos ipſi ante monumentis commendaverant de hac Quæſtione*: Utrum liceat privato homini occidere manifeſtum Tyrannum; *Tractatum illum ſe neque typis in lucem editum evulgaſſe; quin in aliorum manus eum nunquam perveniſſe. Regem ibi neque verbulo læſum aut offenſum. Quæ Patris verba omnem circumſtantem Populum in magnam commiſerationem inflexerunt.* i. e. "In the Bed-chamber "of Father John Guignard, profeſſor of Divinity, a "very ſhort Treatiſe was found, which he himſelf had "wrote four or five years before; and wherein that "Queſtion was contained, which is treated and diſcuſſed by the Doctors in different Schools, *viz.* "*Whether it be lawful for a private man to kill a "Tyrant, who is an open enemy to the State?* The "arguments relating to which Queſtion, which are uſually brought by Authors on both ſides, for diſcuſſing and enquiring into the truth, were alſo there "collected. There was a narrative among other "things, concerning the attempt made by Father Clement a Dominican Friar on Henry III. When "he ſpied the Gibbet, to which he was approaching, "at a diſtance, he ſaluted it piouſly and chearfully, in "imitation of, and in the words of St. Andrew the "Apoſtle; he went up the Ladder with a joyful mind "and countenance, and from thence ſpoke to the crowd "of people who were round him. He obſerved to them "that the only cauſe of being condemned to die was, "that four or five years before he had written a very "ſhort Treatiſe, with no evil Deſign, nor to the prejudice of any Perſon; wherein he had collected "the opinions and ſentiments of the holy Fathers, "and of different Authors, with regard to the following Queſtion, *Whether it be lawful for a private "perſon to kill a manifeſt Tyrant* he declared that he "had neither ſent the Treatiſe in Queſtion to preſs, nor "ſuffered it to go out of his hands: that the King "was not therein offended by the leaſt word; "which Speech of this Father excited the higheſt "compaſſion in the minds of the people round "him."

(25) *Appendix Apologiæ Franciſci Montani pro Societate Jeſu in Gallia*, pag. 352.

(26) Idem, ibid. pag. 553.

What ſtrange diſguiſes, or rather what impoſtures! But it muſt be obſerved that Guignard, by having recourſe to an equivocation, might declare that he had not ſaid any thing which could offend the King; he not recognizing Henry IV as King.

I will now cite a very long paſſage from a Book which is rarely met with. This may apologize for the length of the quotation, not to mention that this paſſage will inform us, I, that Guignard had preached the ſame doctrine he aſſerted in the piece written by him; II, that it was pretended this doctrine was conformable to that of the antient Fathers, a deciſion of the Church, and the opinion of the whole Catholic Party. Here we have a mixture of truth and falſhood. "But the outrage, committed in the perſon of Father "Guynard, was ſo much the more cruel, as it was "altogether unjuſt; viz. for collections and memoirs, "extracted both from the Fathers and Decrees, to "ſhew that it is lawful to wage war againſt heretical "and excommunicated Princes, found in his ſtudy; "on ſpecial notice which had been given them to "ſearch it, and to make uſe of them for this purpoſe, "by a certain Miniſter, who, ſome years before, had "heard the ſaid Guynard, preaching, in Bourges "on this ſubject. For if men are to be ſentenced to "die for ſcholaſtic Collections, how injurious is this "to the holy Fathers from whence they were extracted? If theſe memoirs are damnable, why are not "thoſe from whence they were taken? And what will "become of St. Hilary, the Luminary of the French, "and Lucifer Biſhop of Sardinia, who wrote with ſo "much ſtrength in their times on this ſubject, againſt "the Emperor Conſtantius, and ſent their Books to "him? Likewiſe of St. Cyril, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, againſt Julian the Apoſtate? If theſe things "have been diſcuſſed from time immemorial, digeſted "by the conſent of the ancients, ratified by the judgment of the Church, which has the ſole right of "deciding theſe truths, and ſince received and publiſhed in the Divinity Schools; what are theſe upſtart cenſors who exclaim ſo highly againſt them? "Do they condemn the Holy Ghoſt? And do they, "who are ſtone-blind and leaders of the blind, dare "to judge of colours? And if ſuch collections are "condemned, and ſo ſeverely puniſhed, how will they "bear with thoſe of heretics? How will they endure "their books and peſtilent writings, their propoſitions and maxims, judged and condemned as they "are, as well by the Church as the Parliaments of "France? Why are their ſermons and blaſphemies a-"gainſt God and the Church, tolerated, nay even "approved by Edicts, and verified by them? And if "it is not lawful to wage war againſt an heretical "Prince, how is it lawful for a heretic to make war "on a Catholic King? And how can he be juſtified, "who, as chief or head of the hereticks, made "war all his life againſt the Catholic Kings of France? "which is all he has ſignalized himſelf by; for which "reaſon he has been condemned; and for which they "acknowledge him as their Prince? Why is it not "lawful againſt him, ſince, beſides the authority of "Decrees, he himſelf ſet the example? Add, that "this was no ways to be condemned, becauſe it was "a propoſition of the Schools, a general one, and "merely the doctrine of the Church: and, however "it be, belonging to the party in general; and conſequently covered, as well by the Edict of the treaſon of Paris, as by that which was afterwards publiſhed; ſince that, according to this way of reaſoning there was no one, not only of the ſaid ſociety; "but even no zealous Eccleſiaſtic, nay, not ſo much "as one Catholic, but ought to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment (27)."

[*F*] *The whole Kingdom abounded at that time with ſeditious Preachers.*] The abſolution which the Pope granted to King Henry IV, the 16th of September, 1595, did not put a ſtop to the evil. Read the following words of Cardinal d'Oſſat, which are extracted from a Letter wrote from Rome by him to the Duke de Villeroy, and dated the 14th of May 1601. "I "afterwards ſpoke to the Pope, of what the King deſired, viz. that his Holineſs would order his new "Nuncio to take care to oblige the Preachers in "France, to preach with the requiſite moderation and "diſcretion, without intermeddling with State-affairs, "the ſprings and motives of which were concealed "from them; nor to hold diſcourſes of a ſeditious "tendency; and I alſo left him a memorial in writing, a copy of which I now ſend incloſed. His "Holineſs anſwered, that he would order his new "Nuncio accordingly (28)." Amelot de la Houſſaie has made a moſt admirable commentary on this paſſage of Cardinal d'Oſſat. "It as ill becomes, *ſays he*, "Preachers, to talk about affairs of political Government, of which moſt of them are wholly ignorant; "as it does Politicians to determine in matters of "Faith and Religion. State-affairs are of ſo delicate "and tickliſh a nature, that it is almoſt always dangerous to ſpeak of them before the people, who are

(27) *Apologie pour Johan Chaſtel*, Part 5. chap. 9. pag. 234, & *ſeq.*

(28) D'Oſſat, *Lettre* 273. pag. 369, 370. of tom. 2. Paris edit. 1698.

ſuſpected to favour the enemies of Popery. This perhaps was one of the reaſons which induced the Parliament of Paris to involve all the Jeſuits of France in the cauſe of John Chaſtel and John Guignard [G]. The Government might poſſibly hope, that, by baniſhing the Kingdom all thoſe who were looked upon as the chief authors of dangerous doctrines, the audaciouſneſs of the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtics would be reſtrained.

" ſeldom ſatisfied with a Government. *Omni populo,* " ſays Plutarch, *ineſt malignum quiddam & querelum* " *in imperantes.* I confeſs that all Preachers have a " worthy zeal; but as this zeal is not always accom- " panied with knowledge and prudence, it is for the " welfare of the public, that thoſe who have abilities " ſhould forbear, out of modeſty, to introduce theſe " ſubjects into their ſermons; in order to oblige others " to confine themſelves within the limits of the Chri- " ſtian doctrine, which exhorts every where to peace " and obedience. In the latter part of the reigns of " Henry III, and the former part of that of Henry " IV, the Doctors Aubry, Bouchey, Pelletier, Lince- " ſtre, Roſe, Feu-ardent, and ſeveral others of that " ſtamp, had profaned the Miniſtry of the Word to " ſuch a degree, that the pulpit, whence nothing " but truth ought to have been uttered, was become " in France the ſeat of calumny and impoſture; and " that the people, receiving infection at the ear, ador- " ed no other Croſs but that of Lorrain. It therefore " was abſolutely neceſſary, to reſtrain this phariſaical " licentiouſneſs, and to re-eſtabliſh a good diſcipline in " the ſacred Miniſtry, which the ſpirit of rebellion " had transformed into a myſtery of iniquity."

In caſe the Pope's Nuncio diſcharged the Commiſſion in a juſt and requiſite manner, he yet could not remove the irregularities and licentiouſneſs here complained of. Men ſtill preached and talk'd ſeditiouſly, and thereby gave riſe to conſpiracies againſt the life of Henry IV (29). The true Frenchmen, fautors of this independent power of the King, and attached to the monarchic maxims of the State, aſcribed to the Jeſuits in particular this republican and ultramontane ſpirit. Not that they look'd upon them as the firſt authors of it (30); they conſidering them only as its ſtrongeſt ſupport. This recalls to my remembrance a remark made in a Book printed in 1701, and entitled, *The preſent State of the Faculty of Divinity of Louvain, treating of the conduct of ſome of its Divines; and of their ſentiments againſt the ſovereignty and ſecurity of Kings, and againſt the fourth Article of the Clergy of France.* Theſe are three Letters written by a Canon of Tournay to a Doctor of the Sorbonne. A Letter of the Doctor in queſtion is prefixed to them, in which are the following words (31): " But whence is it, that in mentioning, " in your letters, the ſentiments of thoſe Divines, who " teach, that the ſubjects of Kings may be abſolved " from their oath of fidelity; you ſpeak only of ſome " particular Doctors of Louvain, of ſome Auguſtin " Friars, of ſome Recollects, and ſcarce any thing of " the Jeſuits? Don't you know that all theſe deteſta- " ble opinions are derived from them? It is not that " they are the firſt who maintained them; ſeveral Ca- " noniſts, ſome Divines, eſpecially the Italians, who " were ſubject to the Pope, had taught thoſe opinions " before them; but their writings were ſo very inſig- " nificant, that they fell of themſelves; and rather " diſgraced thoſe opinions than brought them into " vogue. But the Jeſuits have revived and heighten'd " them, and endeavoured to bring them into credit."

(29) *See* chap. 3. of the *Anti-Coton.*

(30) Compare the remark [S] of the article LOYOLA.

(31) *Lettre d'un Docteur de Sorbonne à un Chanoine de Tournai,* folio a 4.

[G] *This perhaps was one of the reaſons which induced . . them . . to involve all the Jeſuits in France, in the cauſe of John Chaſtel and John Guignard.*] Some people were ſurpriſed that, as there were but preſumptions, at moſt, that the Jeſuits had adviſed John Chaſtel to engage in his wicked attempt; they yet ſhould be baniſh'd the Kingdom by the ſame Arrêt which condemned the aſſaſſin. But to juſtify the conduct of the Parliament in this particular, it muſt be obſerved, that the action of that young fellow was not the foundation of the baniſhment to which the Jeſuits were ſentenced; it was only the occaſion of determining a cauſe which had been tried ſome months before; the cauſe I mean was that of the Univerſity of Paris againſt the Jeſuits. Anthony Arnauld, who pleaded for the Univerſity in queſtion, had concluded, " That the Court or Par- " liament might be pleaſed, in confirming the peti- " tion of the Univerſity, to order all the Jeſuits in " France to leave the Kingdom and all the Domini- " ons of his Majeſty, within a fortnight after notice " thereof ſhould have been given in every one of their " colleges or houſes, ſpeaking to one of them for " all the reſt. *Alias*; and upon their non-compliance " with this, wherever any of them ſhall be found in " France after the ſaid notice, they ſhall immediately " be condemned without any farther trial or proſecu- " tion, as guilty of high-treaſon, and attempting to " murther the King (32)." The judgment of the cauſe was referred to another time; but with regard to the affair of John Chaſtel, they complied with the petition of the Univerſity, and the methods employed by Anthony Arnauld. Some other Parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; but the Parliament of Toulouſe and that of Bourdeaux refuſed to do this (33); by which means the Jeſuits kept their ground in Languedoc and in Guyenne till their Re-call, which they did not obtain till the beginning of anno 1604.

(32) Cayet, *Chronol. Novenaire, ad ann.* 1594. folio 387 *verſo.*

(33) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. m. 124.

(*) She is called *Guillemete* in French.

GUILLELMA * of Bohemia, head or chief of an infamous Sect which ſtarted up in Italy in the thirteenth Century, had impoſed ſo effectually upon the world by a ſpecious ſhew of extraordinary devotion, and played her part ſo well her whole life-time, that ſhe not only was reputed holy at her death, but alſo was revered as a Saint a conſiderable time after it. However, her frauds were at laſt diſcovered, and the deluſions ſhe had employed; and therefore her body was dug up, and burnt in 1300. She died in 1281, and had been buried in Milan, in the Church-yard of San Petro del Horto. Six months after ſhe was removed to the Convent de Caravalla (*a*), where a monument was erected to her memory, and the ruins of it are ſtill ſeen in the burying-place of the Friars. Puricellus and Boſſius, both learned men, have wrote upon this Sect, and are not agreed in all particulars. Boſſius was the firſt who ſtigmatized that Sect on account of the lewdneſs of its members [A]; but Puricellus has aſſerted, that the impurity had not paſſed from

(*a*) Of the Order of the Ciſtertians, two leagues from Milan. It is erroneouſly called *Claræ vallis.* Mabillon, *Muſæum Italic.* Part 1. pag. 19.

[A] *Boſſius was the firſt who ſtigmatized this Sect on account of the lewdneſs of its members.*] This Sect was accuſed of a practice, wherewith many other Conventicles have been charged in various times and places. It was ſaid that the followers of Guillelma uſed to meet in a cave in the night; and that after ſaying certain prayers, they uſed to put out the candles, when the men and women uſed to couple together, as chance ordered it. *Quos ipſi in quadam Synagoga ſubterranea conventibus antelucanis congregantes, cum ad modum Preſbyterorum induti certas orationes ad altare fudiſſent, extincto aut ſub modio abſcondito lumine ad fortuitos concubitus hortari conſueverant* (1). It is added, that a rich Merchant, whoſe wife uſed to ſteal frequently to this cave, followed her once privately, and enjoyed her, a proof of which he gave by a ring he took from her finger; after which he informed againſt that Sect (2). We have already ſeen (3), that the like incident is related of the Fratricelli. I am of opinion that calumny has ſometimes been employed in this kind of accuſations; however, there is no doubt but that a great many lewd actions have been carried on in ſuch Conventicles. I don't at all wonder that ſo many huſbands do not approve, that their wives ſhould ſo zealouſly frequent

(1) Spondanus, *ubi infra.*

(2) *Ex* Spondano, *ad ann.* 1300, num. 10.

(3) Citation (12) of the article FRATRICELLI.

from their minds to their bodies; and that Guillelma and her followers were guilty of an abominable enthuſiaſm, which he proves by the judiciary enquiries of the Inquiſition (b) [B]. Guillelma's feſtival uſed to be ſolemnized three times a year at a grave, viz. on St. Bartholomew's day, which was that of her death; on the day of the removal of her body to Caravalla; and on Whitſunday (c). Her enthuſiaſtic viſions were not compleatly extirpated [C].

(b) Extracted only from the *Muſeum Italic.* of Father Mabillon, Part 1. pag. 19, 20.

(c) Idem, ibid.

quent certain devout aſſemblies; for Cupid never fails to get acceſs to them one time or other; and we cannot enough admire the docility of the fair-ſex, with regard to ſuch doctrines as are moſt repugnant to chaſtity (4). I do not ſo much wonder, that women ſhould have been prevailed upon to proſtitute themſelves under the Pagan Syſtem; it being, as we are told, a kind of divine worſhip, and the Goddeſs Venus was honoured after this manner. But it is amazing that, in the midſt of the Chriſtian world, after the endeavours that are uſed to check the impulſes of nature; and notwithſtanding the prudent counſels of mothers, and the pathetic exhortations of Preachers; the firſt hypocrite that comes in their way, has ſo great an aſcendant over them, as to engage them to commit a thouſand abominable actions. If he ſays to one of his female Devotees, as St. Aldhelme did (5), *Come and lie down by me; I want to know whether you will be ſo powerful an inſtrument in the hands of Satan, as to compel me to yield to this temptation*; ſhe obeys his command. If he ſays to her, like certain hereticks who were puniſhed by the Inquiſition of Toulouſe, *Let us lie down ſtark naked one by the other; one upon the other; let us kiſs and tickle one another; we thereby ſhall give proofs of our ſpiritual ſtrength* (6); he is obeyed. Can any thing be more tractable? Would not ſhe proceed farther if he were willing? Have not many women complied in polluting themſelves with the firſt who came in their way, after the lights were put out, in the Conventicles of the Brotherhood?

(4) See the article FRATRICELLI, remark [A] at the break.

(5) See the article FRANCIS *of Aſſiſi*, remark [C].

(6) *Nonne eſt bene magnum meritum quod ſic ſtemus oſculando, amplexando, tangendo, & tamen non conſentiamus in perpetratione carnalis peccati?* In the trials of the Inquiſition of Toulouſe, printed at Amſterdam in 1692, pag. 382. *Erat opinio aliquorum, quod non debebat reputari homo vel mulier virtuoſus vel virtuoſa, niſi ſe poſſent ponere nudus cum nuda in uno lecto, & tamen non perficerent actum carnalem.* Ibid. pag. 383.

Let us take notice of a docility or tractableneſs which, though not ſo criminal, is yet very odd. When men who are infirm want to have their natural heat reſtored, there are young women who will not ſcruple to lie with them, in order to do them that good office. A Panegyriſt of the fair ſex furniſhes me with a remarkable paſſage on this occaſion. "Phyſicians, *ſays he* (7), cannot deny, but that the heat of a young "woman's breaſt, applied to an old man's ſtomach, "may revive, keep up, and increaſe his natural heat. "The Royal Prophet was not ignorant of this, he "making choice (*) of the beautiful Shunamite, to "repel in that manner the frigidity of his old age. "And it is probable that, in imitation of David, "the grandfather of the laſt King of Navarre deceaſed, "called Monſieur d'Albret, being 120 years of age, "kept two handſome young women for that purpoſe. "He lived a long time on their milk only, himſelf "lying between them, and therefore were honoured "as Princeſſes in his Palace. However, I would not "adviſe every man to do the like, becauſe the ſame "might often befall them as happened to a Notary "in the Chatelet of Paris, Maſter Martin Maupin "by name. This man taking advantage of theſe "ſtories, made his jealous wife believe, that he was "often afflicted with David's diſtemper, in order "that ſhe might give him leave to make uſe of his "ſervant-maid to warm a little his ſtomach; and "the poor woman was ſometimes deceived by this." I ſhall obſerve by the way, that St. Jerom does not approve of our taking in a literal ſenſe, the incident related of the Shunamite. He explains it allegorically, and will have us underſtand thereby, that David, in the decline of life, was more intimately united to wiſdom. This great Luminary of the Church rejects the literal ſenſe with the utmoſt indignation. *Nonne tibi videtur, ſi occidentem ſequaris litteram, vel figmentum eſſe de mimo, vel Attellanarum ludicra? ... Quæ eſt igitur iſta Sunamitis, uxor & virgo, tam fervens ut frigidum calefaceret, tam ſancta, ut calentem ad libidinem non provocaret? Exponat ſapientiſſimus Salomon patris ſui delicias, & pacificus bellatoris viri narret amplexus. Poſſide ſapientiam, poſſide intelligentiam &c* (8), i. e. "Are you not of opinion, that by following "the letter, which kills, you make a mere farſical "fiction of it? ... What therefore is that Shunamiſh woman, both wife and virgin, ſo hot as to repel the cold; ſo holy as not to provoke him, when "heated, to luſt? Let the moſt wiſe Solomon, deſcribe his father's delights; and the pacific man relate the embraces of the warlike one: Get wiſdom, "get underſtanding &c."

(7) Billon, *Fort inexpugnable de l'Honneur du Sexe feminin*, folio 112.

(*) Reg. 3. cap. 1.

(8) Hieronym. *Epiſt. ad Nepotianum*, pag. m. 207.

[B] *By the judiciary enquiries of the inquiſition.*] Theſe enquiries, drawn up, in 1300, relate, that Andrew Saramita and Mayfreda Pirovana, the chief followers of Guillelma, aſſerted that ſhe was the Holy Ghoſt made fleſh in the female ſex, and born of Conſtantia, wife to the King of Bohemia; that ſhe was dead only according to the fleſh; would riſe before the general reſurrection, and aſcend to heaven in ſight of her diſciples; that ſhe had left, as her Vicar upon earth, Mayfreda Pirovana, a Nun of the Order of the *Humiliatæ*; that this Nun would ſing Maſs at the tomb of Guillelma; and that ſhe at laſt would poſſeſs the Holy Apoſtolical See; that ſhe would drive the Cardinals from it, and have four Doctors who would write four new Goſpels. Puricellus gives an ample account of all theſe horrid impieties: but his book was never printed, and it is not known whether it ever will. It does not appear that Guillelma boaſted this pretended incarnation; but even ſeems, from a falſe modeſty, to have affected not to own it (9).

(9) Mabill. *in Muſeo Italico*, Part 1. pag. 20.

[C] *Her enthuſiaſtic viſions were not compleatly extirpated.*] The author of the continuation of the chronicle of Nangis, ſays, in the year 1306, that one Dulcinius of Verceil, advanced the like doctrines with regard to the Holy Ghoſt (10). Poſtel and Joan his mother, gave into as wild chimæra's; and one could eaſily ſhew, that this kind of fanaticiſm revives from time to time. One would imagine, that the Devils had plotted together to bring Religion under petticoat government; and that, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of ſo great a number of attempts, they renew them from time to time in different places.

(10) Idem, Mabillon, ibid.

☞GUILLIM or AGILLIAMS (JOHN), was of Welch extraction, and born in Herefordſhire, according to Dr. Fuller (a), and ſon of John Guillim of Weſtbury in Glouceſterſhire (b). He was educated in the Univerſity of Oxon; but in what College is uncertain (c). Mr. Wood informs us (d), that there was one of both his names who was a Student of Braſen-Noſe College in the year 1581, aged ſixteen, and another of Glouceſter-Hall in 1598, aged twenty five; both of whom were, according to the *Matricula*, born in Herefordſhire. Our author upon his leaving Oxford retired to Minſterworth in Glouceſterſhire, and was ſoon after called thence, and made one of the Society of the College of Arms in London, by the name of *Portſmoutb* (e); and on the 26th of February 1617 (f) was appointed *Rouge Croix* Purſuivant of Arms in ordinary. He publiſhed, *The Diſplay of Heraldry* at London 1610 in fol. [A]. He died May the 7th

(a) *Worthies of England, in Herefordſhire.*

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 459. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) Idem, ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Idem, ibid.

(f) *Pat.* 15. *Jacob.* 1. p. 10.

[A] *He publiſhed the* Diſplay of Heraldry *at London* 1510 *in folio.*] Mr. Wood tells us (1), that *it was written moſtly (eſpecially the ſcholaſtical part) by* John Barcham of *Corpus Chriſti College in Oxon.* And in another

(1) *Ath. Ox.* vol. 1. col. 459.

7th 1621; but where he was buried, unleſs at Minſterworth, is uncertain; for the Regiſter belonging to the Church of St. Bennet near Paul's Wharf in London (in which pariſh the Herald's Office is ſituated) doth not mention any thing of his burial there (g).

(g) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

another place (2) he obſerves, that "this Book being "moſtly compoſed by him [Dr. *Barcham*] in his "younger years, he deemed it too light a ſubject for "him to own, being then, (when publiſhed) a grave "Divine, Chaplain to an Archbiſhop (3), and not "unlikely a Dean (4). Wherefore being well acquainted with *John Guillim*, an Officer of Arms, "he gave him the copy, who adding ſome trivial "things to it, publiſhed it with leave from the author, "under his own name, and it goeth to this day under "the name of *Guillim's Heraldry.*" In 1660 there were publiſhed two editions of this book in folio, *with many inſignificant, ſuperfluous, and needleſs additions to it, purpoſely to gain money from thoſe, whoſe coats of arms the Publiſhers added, without any conſideration had to the ſpoiling the method of the Book* (5). One of theſe editions was publiſhed by *Alexander Nowers*, an Heraldry Painter, who was burnt in his bed in his houſe near Lothbury in London, by a fire which happened July the 25th 1670. The other edition was publiſhed by *Richard Bloome*, "then, *ſays Mr.* Wood (6), a kind of Arms-Painter, "but originally a Ruler of Books and Paper, who hath "ſince practiſed for divers years progging tricks, in "employing neceſſitous perſons to write in ſeveral "arts, and to get contributions of Noblemen to promote the work. What he hath done as to the "arms, creſts, and ſupporters of the Nobility, is moſt "egregiouſly erroneous, and falſe alſo in the quarterings. In 1679 he ſet forth the ſaid book again, "which is the fifth edition, with the pictures at "large of the Nobility, whereby the book is ſo much "diſguiſed, that I verily believe, if the author or "authors of it were living, they could ſcarce know "it." To the ſaid edition is added *Analogia Honorum: Or, a Treatiſe of Honour and Nobility*, &c. in two Parts: ſaid by Mr. *Bloome*, to be written by Captain *John Logan* of Idbury in Oxfordſhire. H

(2) Ibid. vol. 2. col. 19.

(3) Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(4) Of Bockyng in Eſſex.

(5) Wood, vol. 1. col. 459.

(6) Ibid.

GUIMENE (Princeſs of). Colomeſius ranks her among thoſe who were ſkilled in the Hebrew Language [*A*]. Menage informs us of a whimſical particular which bears ſome relation to this [*B*].

[*A*] *Colomeſius ranks her among thoſe, who were ſkilled in the Hebrew Language.*] His words are as follow: *Lutetiæ apud D. Hardy hujus Principis Horas (ut vocant) vidi Hebraicè & Gallicè excuſas, unde colligo ipſam fuiſſe Hebraici idiomatis haud ignaram. Claruit circa A.* 1625 (1). i. e. "I ſaw in Paris, at "Mr. Hardy's the Horæ or Prayer book of this "Princeſs, printed in Hebrew and French, whence I "ſuppoſe that ſhe underſtood Hebrew. She flouriſhed "about the year 1625."

(1) Colomeſ. *Gall. Oriental.* pag. 261.

[*B*] *Menage informs us of a whimſical particular, which bears ſome relation to this.*] "The Prince of "Guimené ſeeing a man (Mr. des Vallées) with ragged breeches, come every morning into the Princeſs's "chamber, aſked one day, what buſineſs he came "about. He ſhews me, *replied ſhe*, the Hebrew "tongue. Madam, *ſays the Prince*, he will ſoon ſhow "you his backſide (2)."

(2) *Menagiana*, pag. 189. of this 1ſt Dutch edit.

GUINDANO (SIGISMUND) a native of Cremona, having written a Poem on the actions of Charles V, preſented it to that Prince at ſuch an unlucky juncture, that he did not receive the leaſt reward for it. He did not chooſe a proper time [*A*]; for he paid his compliment, holding his manuſcript in his hand, at the time that Charles V was carrying on a mighty war in Germany. The Poet was ſo highly exaſperated at the unfavourable reception he met with, that he threw his Poem into the fire. It is thought that had he been in circumſtances to defray the expences of the impreſſion, he would not have been ſo cruel to the offspring of his mind; but his extreme poverty would not permit him to print his Poem; and this circumſtance, joined to his indignation, was motive ſufficient to prompt him to deſtroy it (*a*).

(*a*) Extracted from *Lancellotti di Perugia* in the *27th Diſingamo*, tom. 1. of his *Hoggidi*, p. 273. He cites *An. Campo*, lib. 3. *Aug. Ju.* lib. 5.

[*A*] *He did not chooſe a proper time.*] All writers who intend to preſent works to a great man, ought to obſerve the counſel which Horace gives in the following lines.

Ut proficiſcentem docui te ſæpe diuque,
Auguſto reddes ſignata volumina, Vinni;
Si validus, ſi lætus erit, ſi denique poſcet.
Ne ſtudio noſtri pecces, odiumque libellis
Sedulus importes opera vehemente miniſter (1).

(1) Horat. Epiſt. 13. lib. 1.

"As I adviſ'd you oft before you went,
"I beg thee, Vinnius, now my books preſent
"To Cæſar, ſeal'd; when vexing cares are fled,
"If well, if merry, if he aſks to read:
"Left over-buſy in thy kind deſigns,
"You chuſe ill hours, and make him hate my lines."
Creech.

The meaning of this is, that a writer ſhould take care to avoid improper ſeaſons; for all Princes are, in this reſpect, of Auguſtus's humour; they will not be interrupted at an unſeaſonable hour.

——— *Niſi dextro tempore, Flacci*
Verba per attentam non ibunt Cæſaris aurem (2).

(2) Horat. Sat. 1. lib. 2. ver. 18, &c.

"Well, when occaſion ſerves, my muſe deſigns
"To try that way, but my unpoliſhed lines,
"Unleſs by chance a happy time appears,
"Will never paſs the judging Cæſar's ears."
Creech.

An author may very probably miſcarry, if he does not pitch upon the propitious minute; and what the Romans call, *molles aditus, molliſſima fandi tempora*. Our Guindano had this ill fortune, he chuſing an improper time; he attempting to preſent a Poem conſiſting of XII Books, to an Emperor, who was involved in a very troubleſome war (3). *O eſſendo preſentati con poco garbo, ò non à tempo trovandoſi egli occupatiſſimo nelle guerre d'Allemagna, non bebbe mai niente* (4).

(3) *Havea queſti compoſto dodici libri de fatti di Carlo V Imperadore, intitulati* Auſtriados. Lancelotti de Perugia, *Hoggidi*, Part 1. cap. 26. p. 273.

(4) Idem, ibid.

GUISCARD. This name the Lords of la Coſte, la Bourlie, la Laurie, &c. have given to their family, which is one of the nobleſt and moſt antient in the Province of Quercy. They made choice of this name out of reſpect to one of their anceſtors, whoſe proper name was GUISCARDUS. The cuſtom was not yet eſtabliſhed, of preſerving the inſtruments or monuments of the origin of families, for the uſe of their poſterity; but nevertheleſs, theſe Lords can produce inſtruments or writings near five hundred years old; for they prove, not only that they are poſſeſſed of lands which were never out of their family,

mily, during ſo many Centuries; but alſo that their Nobility has been tranſmitted in all its ſplendor, and without interruption, to Count de GUISCARD, who treads (*a*) in the ſteps of his renowned anceſtors, and ſhews himſelf worthy of the glory they throw round him. BERNARD DU GUISCARD forms the firſt degree of the genealogy of this Houſe. The account which has been tranſmitted of his actions, makes it believed, that his family had ſignalized itſelf before the age in which he lived. He ſtiled himſelf Knight in all the leaſes of his lands, from the year 1247 till 1283. This is a manifeſt proof that he had ſignalized himſelf in war; and that his ſervices had procured him this title, which was then, as it was many ages afterwards, the moſt honourable reward that could be beſtowed on military valour. There are fourteen degrees, in a direct and male line, from this Bernard to Count de Guiſcard; and this ſeries of ſucceſſions exhibits ſeveral illuſtrious alliances, and many perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit [*A*]. But it muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that theſe perſons who have reflected the greateſt luſtre on this houſe, are GEORGE DE GUISCARD Lord de la Bourlie [*B*], and LEWIS DE GUISCARD his eldeſt

(*a*) I write this in March 1700.

[*A*] *Several alliances, and many perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit.*] Here follows ſome of them. BERTRAND DE GUISCRRD *Damoiſeau* (1), third ſon of BERNARD (2) DE GUISCARD, left a ſon named GAILLARD DE GUISCARD, "concerning whom an "uncommon record is preſerved in the Archives. "Having been knighted, as his forefathers had been, "one Peter de la Tour, who in all probability ſerved "under him, and was upon his death-bed, having "entreated Guiſcard to honour him with the ſame "title, he accordingly beſtowed it upon him anno "1334. *In infirmitate qua deceſſit, fecit ſe militem fieri "per Gaillardum Guiſcardum militem, & per eundem "Guiſcardum inſignia militaria ſibi dari.* King Philip "de Valois approving this action, by his Letters Patents dated at Paris in Auguſt 1337, confirmed "that Knighthood, and ordered that the poſterity of "him on whom it had been beſtowed, ſhould enjoy, "by vertue of it, all the privileges belonging to Nobility. The abovementioned Gaillard de Guiſcard "ſerved alſo in the wars of Gaſcogne, anno 1339, "with four Eſquires; under the command of Meſſire "Peter de Marmande Senechal of Perigord, according "to an account given of that year by Bartholomew de "Drack, Treaſurer of the war. But it is not known "whether he married and left any children (3)."

(1) This title was given, by way of diſtinction, to ſuch children of good families as were not yet knighted.

(2) He was ſon to this Bernard de Guiſcard, with whom the genealogy begins.

(3) Hoſier, *Genealogie de la Maiſon de Guiſcard.* See citation (10).

BERNARD DE GUISCARD IV of that name, Lord de la Coſte and de la Laurie, Damoiſeau, married the 28th of April 1315, Helis de Montaigu, daughter and heireſs of Bernard de Montaigu, Lord Montcuc. "His ſeat or caſtle of la Coſte being "at that time an important fortreſs, Galois de la "Baume, Lord of Valſin, who had the conduct of "the war in Languedoc, and was born in Cahors, "gave him the government of it; and kept him in "the pay of Charles V, by Letters dated the 10th "of May 1348, with ſix men of arms, and twelve "foot Sergeants, to defend that place. There is "reaſon to believe, that he preſerved it out of intereſt "as he had promiſed to do; for he made his will "in that caſtle the 27th of April 1353 (4)."

(4) D'Hoſier, *Généalogie de la Maiſon de Guiſcard.*

WILLIAM BERTRAND DE GUISCARD, II of that name, married, firſt, the 5th of October, 1413, Margaret de Veirac, daughter of Guy de Veirac, Lord of Merle and of Coſſac in the Dioceſe of Tulles; and afterwards Helis de Landore, ſiſter to Bernard de Landore, Viſcount de Cadars in Roüergue. ANTHONY DE GUISCARD Lord of La Coſte and of Montcuc, married, the 16th of October 1492, Iſabella de Lomagne, daughter of John de Lomagne, Lord of Montagu in Agenois. JOHN DE GUISCARD I of that name, Gentleman in ordinary of the King's bedchamber, married the eleventh of Auguſt 1528, Souveraigne de Ricard de Genouillac, daughter of John de Ricard ſirnamed de Genouillac, Knight, Baron of Gourdon, and Lord of Genouillac, of Vaillac, and of Margaret Daubuſſon. JOHN DE GUISCARD his ſon, one of the hundred Gentlemen of the King's Houſhold (5), married, the 12th of November 1554, Frances de la Barthe, daughter to Matthew de la Barthe, Baron of Montcornel, and firſt Baron of Aſtarac, and of Catherine de Lomagne, Lady de Montarac. JOHN DE GUISCARD his ſecond ſon, Lord of Puy de Sirects, married Agnes de Temines the 5th of January 1625.

(5) This was, at that time, a company, compoſed of none but perſons of quality.

[*B*] GEORGE DE GUISCARD, *Lord de Bourlie.*] This family was divided into two branches, about the cloſe of the fifteenth Century, viz. that of the Lords of Puys de Sirects (6), and that of the Lords of Cairou and of Bourlie. The head of the firſt was ſecond ſon of John de Guiſcard II of that name. The chief of the other was GABRIEL DE GUISCARD, Lord of la Gardelle, of Cairou and of la Bourlie, third ſon of John de Guiſcard, ſecond of that name. This Gabriel de Guiſcard had eight ſons, the ſixth of which is the Count de la Bourlie, whoſe name is in the text of this remark. He was born the 19th of Auguſt 1606. "He has been ſucceſſively Captain of Foot "and of Horſe, in the regiment of Vaillac and of Coa"lin. One of his legs was ſhattered with a muſket"ball, at the deſcent into the Iſlands of St. Margaret "and St. Honorat; was run thro' the arm with a pike "at the battle of Rocroy; and having ſignalized "himſelf in that of Lens (7), at the ſiege of Arras, "and on ſeveral other occaſions, he was appointed, "(on account of his high deſerts) one of the King's "Penſioners in 1644. He was made Serjeant of Bat"tle, and Governor of Courtray, anno 1647. The "year following, the late Queen Mother thought him "worthy of the choice ſhe made of him for Sub-Go"vernor to the King. He was afterwards appointed "Counſellor of State in 1649; Marſhal de Camp in "1651; and his Majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with his "ſervices in his ſeveral employments, that he gave "him, in 1662, the command of the Sovereignties "of Sedan, Raucour and Saint Mange; and he had "the government of that important place in 1671, he "having been chief Bailiff of it. His Majeſty was of "opinion, that he could not beſtow upon a more faith"ful perſon, the command of the Cities and Citadels "of Dunkirk, Bergues, Furnes and Graveline; and "of the Troops appointed for the defence of that fron"tier, which was beſtowed upon him, with the power "of Lieütenant General anno 1672. The next year "he defeated near Furnes, with 500 troopers, upwards "of 800 of the enemy, a great part of whom were left "dead in the field, and brought 140 priſoners into "Dunkirk. Laſtly, crowned with the reputation, "which he had juſtly acquired by his wiſdom and "valour, during the ſpace of a very long life, he "died the 9th of December anno 1693, aged four "ſcore and ſeven years, and four months. He had "been married at the Royal palace, (in the preſence of "the King and the late Queen-Mother the 28th of "November 1648) to Genevieve de Longueval, Lady "of Fourdrinoy in Picardy, daughter to Anthony de "Longueval Lord of Tenelles and of Lemont, and of "Elizabeth de Margival; and left four children by "this Lady." LEWIS DE GUISCARD Count de Neuvy, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the following remark. "JOHN GEORGE DE GUISCARD, born the 27th of "September 1657. He gave great proofs of his va"lour, when Enſign in the Colonel's Company of "the regiment of Normandy, at the defence of "Grave, where he received a muſket-ſhot in the head, "and whilſt he was Captain in the Regiment of "Guards, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery in "ſeveral battles and ſieges. He was ſhot through the "body at that of Ypres; and was afterwards Colo"nel of the regiment of Normandy, at the head of "which Count de Guiſcard his brother had ſerved "with great diſtinction. ANTHONY DE GUISCARD, "born the 27th of December anno 1658, Abbot of "Bonnecombe in Roüergue, and Prior de Dieu in

(6) It is extinct.

(7) It is to be obſerved that the battle of Lens was fought in 1648; and therefore either one name is put for another, or there is a ſmall error in the date.

eldeſt ſon [C]. Read the following remarks. The arms of this family are argent, a bend gules; the ſupporters, two golden lions; and the creſt, a lion naiſſant in like manner (b).

(b) Extracted from the genealogy of the Guiſcard family, drawn up from Records in Dec. 1696, by Mr. D'Hoſier.

" Souvienne. GENEVIEVA CATHERINA DE GUIS-
" CARD was married the 30th of October 1683, to
" Camillo Savari, Count de Breves (8)."

(8) *Généalog. de la Maiſon de Guiſcard.*

It is to be obſerved, that the eldeſt branch is now in the 15th degree, in the perſon of FRANCIS DE GUISCARD Lord of St. John and of la Coſte.

[C] ... LEWIS DE GUISCARD, *his eldeſt ſon.*] He was born the 27th of September 1651, and " ever
" ſince he has been in the troops, has had uſeful and
" important employments in the King's ſervice. For,
" animated by the ſame ſentiments which had gained
" Count de la Bourlie his father all the glorious re-
" wards with which he had honoured his courage; he
" began by ſerving in the regiment des Vaiſſeaux,
" which was beſtowed upon him in 1671. He ſerv-
" ed in this quality the year following, at the ſieges
" of Orſoy, Rhimberg, Duiſburg, and Zutphen; and
" at thoſe of Maeſtricht and Unna, in the country of
" Marck in 1673. The King made him Colonel of
" the regiment of Normandy in March anno 1674;
" immediately after which he entered Grave, which
" was already inveſted, and where the ſaid regiment
" was. He forced a guard, ſixteen of whom he car-
" ried priſoners into the place, with thirty troopers
" belonging to the garriſon of Mazeyck, whom he
" had taken for a convoy. He was dangerouſly
" wounded by a muſket-ſhot in the arm-pit, at the end
" of the ſiege, when he commanded the Infantry. The
" following year he was again wounded with a muſket-
" ſhot in the head, at the ſiege of Bouchain; and
" having been detached, the ſame campaign, to bring
" ſix battallions to the body commanded by Mar-
" ſhal de Crequi near Thionville; he fought in the
" battle of Conſarbrick, and was ſo happy as to march,
" to Metz, the ſhattered remains of the Infantry, with
" the men who ſurvived of the regiments of Nor-
" mandy and Bourlemont. He ſerved the following
" year in Germany, and was at the ſiege of Friburg
" and Fort Khel; as likewiſe, in 1684, at the ſiege
" of Luxemburg. He ſtill ſignalized himſelf with ſo
" much bravery, in all places where he had occaſion
" to act at the head of the body in queſtion, that his
" Majeſty granted him, in 1689, a commiſſion of Bri-
" gadier in his Infantry; and inveſted him with the
" power of commanding in Dinant, and a general
" inſpection over the troops garriſon'd in that town,
" and in thoſe of Charlemont, of Rocroy, of Beau-
" mont, and of Philippeville. Having diſcharged the
" duties of that poſt with the utmoſt vigilance and ac-
" tivity (9), the King was pleaſed to appoint him, the
" year following, Marſhal de Camp, and commander
" of Rocroy and Charlemont, with orders to throw
" himſelf into Philippeville, in caſe it ſhould be at-
" tacked. And, as his wiſe conduct, and his indefa-
" tigable application to the duties of his different
" poſts, to which his bravery had deſtined him, were
" now preparing new rewards for him; Count de la
" Bourlie having reſigned the government of Sedan,
" the King thought it was but juſtice to beſtow it on
" Count de Guiſcard his Son. Accordingly it was
" given him in 1692, and his Majeſty, pleaſed with
" the zeal and intrepidity with which he had executed
" his orders in all places, judged that he ought to en-
" truſt to his courage only, the guarding of the city
" and caſtle of Namur; the moſt important fortreſs in
" Europe, which he had lately conquered at the head
" of his army. He there was inveſted with the power
" of commanding as governor; and this ſo glorious
" choice was accompanied with the poſt of Lieutenant-
" general, with which he was honoured the 30th of
" March 1693. His Majeſty gave him the command
" of a conſiderable corps, to inveſt Huy, in order to
" make a diverſion, and thereby favour the ſiege of
" Furnes, carrying on by Marſhal Boufflers; which
" was ſucceſsful, by their keeping on that ſide part of
" the enemy's troops commanded by the Earl of Ath-
" lone. He ſuſtained in Boſſu the vigorous attack
" made by the enemy on a convoy, which he was
" marching from Maubeuge to Marſhal de Luxem-
" burg's army, with ſuch a reſolution as was the more
" extraordinary, ſince he had no more than thirteen
" ſquadrons, and Mr. du Puy, Lieutenant-general of
" the Armies of Spain, having eighteen ſquadrons,
" and two thouſand four hundred foot, belonging to
" the garriſon of Charleroy, was entirely defeated and
" put to flight, a great number of his ſoldiers being
" ſlain and taken priſoners. He was ſo fortunate as
" to be preſent at the victory of Nerwinde, he having
" marched out of Huy by day-break. Marſhal de Lux-
" emburg poſted him on the left wing, where he did
" great ſervice. Having gained a new acceſſion of
" glory, by the defence of Namur, attacked by all the
" forces of the Allies; he was honoured, by his Ma-
" jeſty, with the order of the Holy Ghoſt, to which
" he was nominated the 17th of December 1695; and
" he was received with the uſual Ceremonies, the 1ſt
" of January of this year 1696. He married, the
" 24th of February 1677, Angelica de Langlée,
" daughter of Claudius de Langlée, Knight, Lord of
" l'Epicheliere, Marſhal-general of the Camps and
" Armies of the King, by Catharine Roze; and there
" ſprung from this marriage LEWIS AUGUSTUS DE
" GUISCARD, born the 20th of May 1680, and Co-
" lonel of the regiment of Guiſcard, &c. CATHERINE
" DE GUISCARD, born the 12th of June, anno
" 1688 (10)."

(9) I have followed the original which I had by me, but it is evident the copy is incorrect in that place; and that we muſt not aſcribe to Mr. D'Hoſier, any of the errors in conſtruction that may be found in it.

(10) D'Hoſier, in the *Genealogy of the Guiſcard Family*, drawn up from the Records in Dec. 1696.

In this manner Mr. D'Hoſier wrote, in December 1696. He would not mention at that time, either the embaſſy of Sweden, to which Court de Guiſcard was nominated, anno 1698 (11); nor of the immature Death of this Count's only ſon. The young Lord had been brought up with wonderful care, and made a moſt happy Progreſs. Nature had indued him with the fineſt Diſpoſition; he being fond not only of military Exerciſes, but alſo the Belles Lettres and Philoſophy, in which he had made very great Advances. He had viſited the Engliſh Court in the retinue of Count Tallard, Embaſſador from the French King, anno 1698, and attended his Father to Stockholm in 1699. He was preparing to go to Rome, when being arrived at Vienna in Auſtria, he there fell ſick of the Small-Pox, which carried him off in a few days about the end of December 1699, to the great regret of all who had the honour to know him, and who might have admired his exalted Qualities. As Count de Guiſcard was ſo tenderly fond of this only ſon, he muſt have poſſeſſed a moſt ſteady and reſolute mind, otherwiſe he could never have bore up under ſo ſevere a ſhock.

(11) He has exerciſed this employment for theſe ſeven or eight months. I write this in March 1700.

GUISE (JAMES DE) a Franciſcan Friar, was born at Mons in Hainault. He was Doctor of Divinity, which he taught, as alſo Philoſophy and the Mathematics, about twenty five years in the Convents of his Order. He applied himſelf with uncommon aſſiduity to illuſtrate the antiquities and hiſtory of his native country; but he adopted fabulous traditions, he aſſerting, that the place of his birth had been founded by the Trojans. The epitome only of his chronicle of Hainault (a) has been publiſhed [A], and

(a) [Extracted from Val. And. *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 411.

[A] *The Epitome only of his Chronicle of Hainault has been publiſhed.*] His Epitome is not in Latin, in which tongue the Chronicle is written, but in French, and was printed, anno. 1531, in folio (α). Here follows the Title of it: *Les illuſtrations de la Gaule Belgique, Antiquitez du pays de Hainault & de la grand cité des Belges, à preſent dite Bavay, dont procedent les chauſſees de Brunehaut, & de pluſieurs Princes qui ont regné, & fondé pluſieurs villes & citez audit pays, & autres choſes ſingulieres & dignes de mémoire, advenues durant leurs regnes, juſques au Duc Philippes de Bourgogne dernier decedé. Par Frere Jacquees de Guiſe Religieux l'Ordere de Saint Francois, Oeuvre diviſe en ſix Volumes, deſquels il 'ny a que les trois prémiers imprimez.*

and there is no probability that the whole work will ever be printed. The author died at Valenciennes the 6th of February 1399 (*b*). Moreri has committed ſome errors [*B*].

(*b*) Valerius Andreas, *ibid.*

primeæ. i. e. " the illuſtrations of Gallia Belgica, " the antiquities of Hainault, and of the great city of " the Belgæ, now called Bavay, where the cauſeway " of Brunehault begins ; and of ſeveral Princes who " have reigned and founded many cities in the ſaid " country, and other remarkable things which hap- " pened in their reigns, till that of the late Philip " Duke of Burgundy : by Friar James de Guiſe, a " Franciſcan : a work divided into ſix volumes, the " three firſt of which only have been printed." In this manner Andrew du Cheſne gives the title of this work (1). Du Verdier does not give it ſo fully, but he has not forgot a circumſtance which du Cheſne has omitted; viz. that this book was *tranſlated into French* (2). La Croix du Maine falſely believed that James de Guiſe was author of that verſion (3). He adds, that the Latin Chronicle of this work *is to be ſeen in manuſcript in the convent of the Friars Minors*, of Valenciennes, as is declared by John le Maire in his *Illuſtrations des Gaules*; that it was written *at the requeſt of Count William de Haynau*, and that it extends to the year 1244. This laſt circumſtance does not agree with the title of the Epitome; for there was no Duke of Burgundy, named Philip, who died at that time. Philip de Rouvre, the laſt Duke of Burgundy of the firſt branch, died the 21ſt of November 1361. Valerius Andreas obſerves (4) that the Paris edition of 1531 is intitled *Extraict des Chronicques de Jaques de Guiſe*; and that there was, at Mr. Gevart's at Antwerp, another epitome of theſe Chronicles, drawn up by order of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. He alſo ſays, that the manuſcript of this Chronicle of Hainault, in three volumes, was in the poſſeſſion of the Franciſcans of Mons.

(1) Du Cheſne, *Biblioth. des Hiſt. de France*, pag. m. 198.

(2) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Franc.* pag. 608.

(3) La Croix du Maine, pag. 188.

(4) Valer. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 411.

§ (*a*) The *Chronique de Hainault*, Paris 1531, in folio, in a Gothic letter, is only an abridgment of the Latin of James de Guiſe. See the end of the table, and the advertiſement of this Chronicle. REM. CRIT..

I was informed yeſterday (5) by Mr. le Baron le Roy, a Gentleman of great curioſity and abilities, that a little before his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty beſieged the city of Mons in 1691, he wrote a letter to the Father Guardian, or Warden of the Convent, in which that manuſcript was lodged, to deſire that he would get ſome chapters of it copied for him ; and that the Father Guardian anſwered, that having begun to copy a little of it, he had diſcontinued his work, he not being able to decypher the author's letters and abbreviations ; and that the moſt experienced Monks in his convent were no leſs puzzled than himſelf. Mr. Baron le Roi added, that during the ſiege, a Lay-brother of this convent ſet himſelf up as Gunner; and ſhowed, that he had not forgot the experience he had formerly acquired in this art. That a deſerter to the French camp, having told this, ſeveral bombs were thrown on that convent, which by that means, was ſet on fire ; ſo that the manuſcript of James de Guiſe was conſumed together with the library of the Monks.

(5) I write this in Nov. 1697.

[*B*] *Moreri has committed ſome errors.*] I. James de Guiſe was not *a native of Valenciennes*, but of Mons. It is to be obſerved by the way, that la Croix du Maine, who conjectured that he was born in Guiſe (6), is miſtaken ; beſides, he did not know that this Friar lived in the fourteenth century. II. He ſhould not have ſaid that he died in 1348 or 1399 ; for authors do not vary in this manner, with reſpect to the year in which James de Guiſe died. Their variations conſiſt in this, *viz*, that ſome begin the year in January, and others after Eaſter. According to the latter he died 1398 ; and. according to the former, in 1399 (7).

(6) La Croix du Maine, pag. 188.

(7) *See* Valerius Andreas, *Biblioth. Belgic.* page 411.

GUISE, a city of Picardy on the river Oiſe, in the dioceſe of Laon, was the antient patrimony of the younger brothers of the Houſe of Lorrain, and gave the title of Duke and Peer in January 1527 (*a*). It ſuffered a variety of revolutions during the wars of Francis I and Charles V. It was taken by ſtorm in 1536. *As the caſtle, which could have held out, was ſurrendred in a cowardly manner, the Captains were branded with infamy on that account* (*b*) ; but in 1543, Ferdinand de Gonzaga, who beſieged it, having early notice of the march of Francis I, raiſed the ſiege ; and was charged with ſo much vigour in his retreat, that two thouſand of his ſoldiers in the rear of his army were cut to pieces, and a *great number taken priſoners* (*c*). In 1636, the Spaniards who had made ſome conqueſts in Picardy, did not think it adviſeable to beſiege Guiſe ; they fearing that Count de Guebriant who commanded in it would make a vigorous reſiſtance (*d*). They could not make themſelves maſters of it in 1650, though all things ſeemed to declare in their favour. See the book intitled, *Le Triomphe de la Ville de Guiſe*. It was compoſed by John Baptiſt de Verdun, a Minim, and was printed at Paris anno 1687. Notice is taken of it in the *Journal des Savans* (*e*). We ſhall ſee elſewhere (*f*), that the Marquis de Bougi was chiefly inſtrumental in defeating this enterprize of the Spaniards.

(*a*) Du Cheſne, *Antiq. des Villes de France*, pag. m. 438.

(*b*) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 595.

(*c*) Ibid. *Hiſtoire de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1021.

(*d*) Le Laboureur, *Hiſt. du Maréchal de Guebriant.*

(*e*) Of May 17, 1688. In the Dutch edit. put 1550 for 1650.

(*f*) In the remark [*G*] of the article REVEREND.

GUISE (CLAUDE of Lorrain Duke of) ſecond ſon to Renatus Duke of Lorrain, went and ſettled in France, after having attempted in vain, as we are told, to exclude Anthony his elder brother from ſucceeding to the honours and eſtate of their father [*A*]. As

[*A*] *He attempted in vain (as we are told) to exclude Anthony his elder brother from ſucceeding to the honours and eſtate of his father.*] Here follows what Thuanus informs us on this ſubject, in relating the ſpeech which it is ſuppoſed that la Renaudie made to his accomplices (1). Renatus Duke of Lorrain, marrying Margaret d' Harcourt (2) heireſs of Tancarville, obliged her, by the marriage contract, to make over to him, by deed of gift, all her poſſeſſions. But after this the ſaid Duke, upon pretence of her being ugly ; and then of her being barren, cruelly divorced her without reſtoring her poſſeſſions ; and married the Duke of Guelderland's ſiſter, in his firſt wife's life time. His ſecond wife brought him, among her children, Anthony who ſucceeded him, and the Claudius of the preſent article. The latter being born after the death of Margaret d'Harcourt, pretended that as Anthony was born in that Lady's life-time, he ought to be reputed a baſtard, and conſequently was incapable of ſucceeding his father ; ſo that he was not aſhamed to diſhonour his own mother, by making her paſs for a concubine, in order to make himſelf Duke of Lorrain, in prejudice of his elder brother. But having failed in his attempt, he left his country and retired into France. *Et Claudius quidem . . Antonium fratrem, quod is viva Margarita ex Philippa natus eſſet, tanquam ex adulterio procreatum Lotaringiæ ſucceſſione dejicere voluit, ne communis quidem matris pudori parcens : quod cum fruſtra tentaſſet, & in patria amplius eſſe non poſſet, ſpes iniquas ſecum in Galliam . . . attulit.* (3). I am not very ſure that this is true ; and I give little credit to all that ſpeech-makers ſay, in ſuch circumſtances as la Renaudie was in : but this I am certain of, that a man who is fired with a ſtrong thirſt of ambition, cares

(1) At the time of d'Amboiſe's conſpiracy, anno 1560.

(2) Daughter of William d'Harcourt Count of Tancarville.

(3) Thuanus, lib. 24. pag. 490, *ad ann.* 1560.

As he was a man of great bravery and exalted merit, he gained prodigious eſteem. He married a Princeſs of the blood (*a*), and was raiſed to very high employments. It was in his honour that the Earldom of Guiſe gave title to a Duke and Peer. Counties, &c. had never been honoured in this manner, except in favour of Princes of the blood. It is ſaid that Francis I was diſpleaſed with him on ſome occaſions [*B*], and that he did not ſuffer him to be recognized Prince [*C*], nor to aſſume all the marks of one. However this be, Claude of Lorrain became ſo powerful, that he founded a family which had like to have dethroned the lawful ſucceſſors. He died in 1550, leaving ſix ſons and four

(*a*) *Antoinette de Bourbon*, ſiſter to Charles Duke de Vendome, the 18th of April 1513. Anſelme, *Hiſt. Genealogiq.* pag. 285.

cares very little how much ſoever he may diſhonour his mother, provided he does but reap great advantage by it. I ſhall here cite ſome words of Thuanus that ſeem a little obſcure. *Cum primo ſimulatis nuptiis Margaritam Gulielmi Haricuriani Tancarvillæ Comitis filiam, & ampliſſimorum bonorum, quæ Lotaringi hodie in Caletenſi agro poſſident, heredem duxiſſet, & tabulis dotalib. ad donationem illorum bonorum adegiſſet, poſtea deformitatem & ex deformitate ſterilitatem cauſſatus miſeram feminam repudiavit, & tamen bona retinuit* (4). One would conclude that Thuanus means, that the Duke of Lorrain's two pretences were grounded on one another, i. e. that he alledged firſt, that Margaret was ugly, and ſecondly, that her uglineſs had made her barren. None but a poor naturaliſt could argue after this manner; for there is no other connexion between the uglineſs and ſterility of a woman, than what the malignity of an over-nice huſband may occaſion, by not paying his wife what we call a due benevolence. Perhaps Duke Renatus ordered matters ſo, that he might not want a pretence of barrenneſs upon occaſion; but I am perſuaded Thuanus's words ſignified only this, that after the Duke had made his Lady's uglineſs one pretence, he gave another reaſon for his divorce, viz. his wife's not bringing him any children.

(4) Thuan. lib. 24. pag. 489, *ad ann.* 1560.

I know not whether Varillas had any other authority than la Renaudie's ſpeech; but, however this be, it may be proper to cite him (5). "When "Claudius of Lorrain was of age to think of his "own intereſt, he had pretended that the Dukedoms "of Lorrain and Bar belonged to him; and that his "elder brother Anthony was not legitimate becauſe he "was born during the life of their father's firſt wife (6). "The abovementioned Claudius could not forbear "ſaying this to ſome perſons who told it to Duke "Renatus; which circumſtance made their father "fear, leſt his two eldeſt ſons ſhould endeavour to "make away with each other. The beſt expedient "he could think of for this purpoſe was, to ſend "Claudius into France, and to marry him there to "Antoinette de Bourbon, eldeſt daughter to Count de "Vendome; and to beſtow on him all the lands he "poſſeſſed in that Kingdom, which were in ſuch great "numbers, that they fill two pages in the manu-"ſcript original of the contract (*); and ſo conſide-"rable, that the revenues were not inferior to thoſe "of the Dukedoms of Lorrain and Bar." Beloi ſays the very contrary; he aſſuring us, that the firſt Duke of Guiſe had but *fourteen or fifteen thouſand livres* a year *when he married Madam Antoinette de Bourbon* (7).

(5) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henry III.* liv. 12. pag. m. 311, 312.

(6) Varillas calls her *Joan de Harcourt-Tancarville.*

(*) Among the MSS. of Lomenie.

(7) Beloi, *Apologie Catholique*, folio 10 *verſo.*

[*B*] *Francis I was diſpleaſed with him on ſome occaſions.*] This la Renaudie affirms in his ſpeech. He relates that Claudius of Lorrain having ſent, without the King's order, ſome troops out of the province of which he was governor, exaſperated his Majeſty to ſuch a degree, that his pardon could not be obtained on any other condition, than that he ſhould never appear again at court. The pretence he made uſe of, in order to draw theſe troops out of his government of Champagne was, to repulſe the Anabaptiſts who made incurſions into the Duke of Lorrain's territories (8): *Antonio ab Anabaptiſtis, uti ajebat, infeſtato injuſſu regis ex præfectura ſua auxiliareis copias adduxit. Quod adeo impatienter tulit Franciſcus, qui his præludiis patientiam ſuam tentari interpretabatur, ut niſi in Joannis fratris* (9) *& Annæ Momorantii, qui factum excuſavit, gratiam, nunquam eam injuriam condonaturus fuiſſe credatur: quam tamen ea lege remiſit, ut Claudius in poſterum aula abſtineret, neque in ſuum conſpectum veniret.* As I before obſerved, I do not much depend on la Renaudie's Speech; however, a conſiderable part of what he ſays is found in a good Hiſtorian, and this let us depend on. "The late King Francis, *ſays he* (10), never "had a good opinion of the father (11), after he "knew that he, during his impriſonment, had march-"ed the forces of the kingdom to Saverne, to appeaſe "the troubles of Germany, and defeat thoſe who in-"feſted the Netherlands and other hereditary countries "of the houſe of Auſtria. The ſaid King took it ſo "ill, that at his return from his impriſonment at "St. Sever, he ordered him to be thrown into priſon; "and had it not been for the interceſſion and the re-"monſtrances of the Conſtable, it would have gone "hard with him. He likewiſe was greatly blamed, "not only by the Nobility, but alſo by the King "himſelf, for his attempt on the government of Bur-"gundy, in the life-time of Philip Chabot, admiral "and governor of the ſaid country; for the doing of "an ill ſervice to the crown, and the incroaching on "the eſtate of a gentleman in his life time, are two "things which are taken notice of in France; and "theſe actions made both father and ſon ſo obnoxious "to the great King Francis, that they would never have "been advanced, had it not been for the alliance and "favour of Madame de Valentinois.." I am ſurprized that he did not add that this Prince, a little before his death, adviſed his ſucceſſor not to beſtow any employments on the Guiſes. This particular is mentioned by ſome Hiſtorians, and is not omitted by la Renaudie. Here follow his words from Thuanus. *Ejus rei memoria cum tenaciſſime in Franciſci prudentiſſimi principis animo, quamdiu vixit, hæſiſſet, moriens ille inter ſalutaria præcepta, quæ de poſteritate ac regno ſolicitis Henrico F. dedit, imprimis eum monuit, ut ſibi à Guiſianorum ambitione caveret, ac proinde eos publicæ rei gubernaculis ne admoveret* (12).

(8) Thuanus had ſaid a little before, that Claudius had obtained the government of Champagne and of Brie, at the ſollicitation of John his brother, the Cardinal, who had great intereſt with the King.

(9) Thuanus had ſaid a little before, that Claudius had obtained the government of Champagne and of Brie, at the ſollicitation of John his brother, the Cardinal, who had great intereſt with the King.

(10) Preſident de la Place, *Commentaire de l'Eſtat de la Religion & République*, liv. 2. folio m. 54 *verſo*, *ad ann.* 1560.

(11) That is, Claudius Duke of Guiſe.

(12) Thuan. lib. 24. pag. 490. See, hereafter, citation (2) of the article of the Duke de Guiſe, grandſon of this.

[*C*] *. . . and that he did not ſuffer him to be recognized Prince.*] Preſident de la Place, above cited, gives us a ſpeech that was made to Catherine de Medicis, by Lewis Regnier, Sieur de la Planche. *The gentlemen of France* (ſays Lewis Regnier) *honour foreign Princes when they keep in due bounds; but otherwiſe they cannot bear them, much leſs recognize or acknowledge them for Princes, but only as Lords and Gentlemen. This was confirmed by the judgment of the late King Francis, when Duke d'Aumale married; for he would not permit his lady to be dreſſed as a Princeſs on her wedding-day; ſaying, that he would not beſtow on the houſe of Lorrain, thoſe honours which belong only to the Princes of the blood; and that, if they would ſet up for Princes, they might leave the kingdom, and do it elſewhere at their own expence. And the Duke de Guiſe, who had ſtrongly ſollicited the place of Grand-huntſman, which before had been exerciſed only by meer Gentlemen, was ſatisfied at his daughter-in-law's not appearing in a mantle at Fontainebleau on the day of her nuptials* (13). We ſhall now ſee that Henry II did not tread in his father's ſteps, and that Francis I himſelf was not always ſo ſtrict on that occaſion. *The late King Francis*, ſays the Sieur de la Planche (14), *was willing, merely for his pleaſure, at the entrance of Queen Eleanor, not to permit Madamoiſelle de Guiſe, who afterwards was Queen of Scotland, to be dreſſed as a Princeſs; but at her brother's nuptials, he plainly ſhewed that he would not have this made a precedent. And if the late King, at the ſolicitation of Madam de Valentinois (to whom all thoſe of the houſe of Guiſe now living owe their grandeur) changed and depraved, for its ſake, the antient cuſtom, which was, that no maiden on her bridal day ſhould be cloathed in the dreſs of a Princeſs, unleſs ſhe were a Princeſs of the blood, or married one; it is certain that had he lived, he was determined to humble them ſufficiently for it.* There are two other incidents in Lewis Regnier's ſpeech that merit to be quoted. *The late Mr. du Saint Paul never heard Claudius of Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe, call himſelf Prince, but ſmiling he obſerved to ſome Perſons about him, that he ſpoke German in French; and that whenever he was deſirous of*

(13) Preſident de la Place, *Comment. de l'eſtat de la Religion & Repub.* folio 59. See alſo *Hiſtoire de l'Eſtat de France ſous François II*, written by *Lewis Regnier Sieur de la Planche*, p. 399.

(14) Preſident de la Place, ibid. and folio 60.

four daughters, the eldeſt of whom married James Stuart, the fifth of that name, King of Scotland. He had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral remarkable occaſions, and particularly in the battle of Marignan [*D*]. John his brother, who went by the name of the Cardinal of Lorrain, was a great ſupport to him (*b*).

(*b*) See the marginal note (9) of the remark [*B*].

(15) Preſident de la Place, ibid. fol. 59 *verſo*.

(16) Ibid. fol. 60.

(17) Here follow the Sieur de la Planche's own words, pag. 400. of his Hiſtory under Francis II. *Even in Parliament, a Counſellor pleading for the late Duke of Guiſe, and giving him the title of Prince; it was inſtantly ordered, that this title ſhould be ſtruck out; which is thought to have been partly the cauſe why the late firſt Preſident Lizet loſt his place, at the ſollicitation of the Cardinal of Lorrain, though I believe upon another pretence.*

[*D*] *He had ſignalized himſelf . . . . and particularly in the battle of Marignan.*] Francis I won a victory over the Swiſs at Marignan, in 1515. "Claudius "Duke of Guiſe who commanded the Lanſquenets, "in the abſence of Charles Duke of Guelderland, his "uncle on the mother's ſide, was trampled under foot; "when a German gentleman, his 'ſquire, ſaved his "life and loſt his own, by covering him with his "body, and receiving all the ſhot and thruſts levelled "at him (18)." See Father Anſelm (19), who relates this incident more to the advantage of the Duke of Guiſe.

(18) Mezeral, *Abregé Chronolog.* tom. 4. pag. 480.

(19) Anſelme, *Palais de la Gloire*, pag. 442.

GUISE (FRANCIS of Lorrain Duke of) eldeſt ſon of the preceding, was one of the greateſt captains of his age. He did very important ſervices to the Government, by his defending Mets againſt the Emperor Charles V, by taking Calais, and on ſeveral other occaſions. However, it may be affirmed, that the evils he cauſed to France were much greater in proportion than the advantages he procured to it by his valour and conduct. His ambition and that of Cardinal Charles of Lorrain his brother, which was ſtill more exorbitant than his, brought a dreadful deſolation on the Kingdom; beſides, the bloody ſpirit with which they were animated againſt thoſe called Huguenots or Proteſtants, occaſioned the civil wars, which ſo often brought France to the brink of ruin. This hatred was at firſt a mere political handle; for could they have had a proſpect of a more exalted fortune among the Proteſtants, they doubtleſs would have engaged in their party [*A*]; but at laſt it roſe to a true hatred. The greateſt Panegyriſts of this Duke of Guiſe

[*A*] *Could* the Guiſes *have had a proſpect of a more exalted fortune among the Proteſtants, they doubtleſs would have engaged in their party.*] The Author of a little Romance (1) publiſhed in France anno 1675, introduces the Prince of Conde ſpeaking as follows to Admiral de Chatillon. "Does the religion which "you profeſs, and which I do not, becauſe the Guiſes "are of another, (for I ſhall not ſcruple to tell you, "that ſhould they take it into their heads to turn Pro"teſtants, I would turn Roman Catholic the next "day) does that religion, I ſay, forbid a man of ho"nour, and a gentleman, to love the moſt beautiful "woman that eyes ever beheld?" The application of theſe words to this Prince may be injurious to him; but it is true, generally ſpeaking, that the chiefs of great factions engage one way, merely becauſe their antagoniſts or rivals are engaged in the very oppoſite: and we are not to doubt but that the Guiſes were greatly confirmed in their religion, becauſe their moſt formidable enemies were in the other party. Had the Prince of Conde and the Chatillons diſcovered a mighty zeal for the extirpation of the Proteſtants, and had this enabled them to oppreſs the Guiſes; there is no doubt but that theſe would have left the church of Rome, to make themſelves dreaded at the head of the Proteſtants. It is ſaid that they were wavering for ſome time on this affair; but this is denied by Varillas, who pretends to have good reaſons for it. Here follow his words (2). "This is the "proper place for refuting an error, which is ſo much "the more dangerous, as it has not been always a"voided by the ableſt Hiſtorians. It is ſaid, that "the houſe of Guiſe deliberated, in the juncture in "queſtion (3), whether it would be moſt to their ad"vantage to continue ſtill in the Romiſh Religion, or "to put themſelves at the head of the Calviniſts; but "that, after duly weighing their intereſts, they pre"ferred the antient religion to the new one. The "two brothers Meſſieurs du Puys, ſo renowned for "their abilities, whiſpered this particular in the ear "of all the Literati, who uſed to viſit the King's "Library, as one of the moſt important ſecrets in "the Hiſtory of France. They aſſerted that this "ſecret was found in the book written againſt the "League of Gonzaga Duke of Nevers. They had "got this book very curiouſly bound, and kept it as "a treaſure. However, this treatiſe, after their death, "was examined with ſo much the greater care and "curioſity, becauſe ſeveral people remembred the par"ticular they had told of it, but no ſuch thing was "found in it. Farther, Marin le Roy de Gomber"ville, having engaged himſelf to print the Memoirs "of the Duke of Nevers, borrowed the book in queſ"tion; copied it; and inſerted it in the firſt volume "of his Memoirs (α); and yet not the leaſt mention "is made of this pretended deliberation of the Guiſes, "tho' Gomberville knew what Meſſieurs du Puy had "ſaid of it. In fine, all the circumſtances at that "time ſeem to prove, that this incident is wholly "chimerical; for, on one ſide, the houſe of Guiſe "could not have gained any thing by turning Calvi"niſt, but, on the other ſide, would have been totally "ruined. It would not have reaped any benefit, be"cauſe that this party, had they engaged in it, would "never have put them at the head of it, in prejudice "of the two firſt Princes of the blood; and eſpecially "of the Prince of Conde, who was too ambitious to "reſign the command to Foreigners, in a faction "which he had partly formed; and wherein he had "taken proper meaſures to tranſact every thing under "his brother's name, and to ſucceed him in caſe he "ſhould return to the pale of the Catholic Church. "Further, ſuppoſing that the Princes of the blood had "ſubmitted, on ſo very delicate a point, to the houſe "of Guiſe, the three Chaſtillons would not have done "the ſame; but would immediately have had the "direction of all the Proteſtant affairs, to which they "were afterwards ſo ſolemnly raiſed after the deſer"tion of the King of Navarre, and the Prince of "Conde's death."

(1) Intitled, *The Prince of Conde.*

(2) Varillas, *Hiſt. de l'Hereſie*, liv. 23. pag. *m.* 131. *ad ann.* 1560.

(3) That is, after the death of Henry II.

§ (α) Not in the firſt volume, but the ſecond. By the way, the original of this Treaty, which conſiſts of 583 pages in 8vo, has not a word of what Varillas declares that Meſſieurs du Puy was ſo well pleaſed to have found in it. It is dated anno 1590, without the name either of the Author or Printer; but in all probability was printed by James Metayer, at Tours, whither this able Printer had followed King Henry III. REM. CRIT.

I could eaſily acquieſce with theſe reaſons of Varillas, though I am ſenſible that thoſe who publiſh Memoirs add or retrench at pleaſure (4). I do not remember any juncture, in which the Guiſes could have imagined, that their forſaking the Romiſh Religion would

(4) This the *Journaliſts of Leipſic* have obſerved againſt Varillas in the *Acta Eruditorum* for Jan. 1691, pag. 29.

Guiſe cannot clear him of a very unjuſt and very violent uſurpation; for a perſon may merit the odious name of uſurper, not only for uſurping the ſovereign authority, but for ſeizing upon the power which belongs only to the Princes of the blood; and depriving them of the ſhare which they ought to have in the Government, during the minority of a King. But this is what the Guiſes did under the reign of Francis II, who had married their niece (a), by taking advantage, in the moſt indecent manner, of the weakneſs of this Prince. It is even ſaid that they had a deſign to put to death the firſt Princes of the blood [B]. This uſurpation, joined to a horrid cruelty againſt the Proteſtants, gave riſe to

(a) Mary Stuart daughter to James V King of Scotland.

would have been advantageous to them, and they never had leſs reaſon to entertain ſuch a thought, than in the reign of Francis II, what grounds would there then be for the deliberation which Meſſieurs du Puy told their common friends as a great ſecret? What ſeems very likely to me is, that had the Guiſes found that the Chaſtillons had greater intereſt with the Roman Catholic party than themſelves, they would have gone over to the Proteſtants; for there is great probability to believe, that the only motive of their adhering to the Romiſh principles was, becauſe it ſecured their temporal intereſt; and that they diſcovered an averſion to that of the Proteſtants, in no other view but to win the hearts of the populace, and the affection of the clergy. What I here ſay relates to the times, when private feuds and libels had not yet exaſperated their minds; for, at laſt, when political hatred had made them execrable to the party they perſecuted, they hated one another heartily, and yet could diſſemble very artfully, whenever political reaſons made it neceſſary. I have read in one of the pieces publiſhed at that time (5), that Cardinal Charles of Lorrain inſinuated that, by his advice, *the Sieur d'Aumalle, his brother, favoured, to the utmoſt of his power, the churches of Burgundy and Champagne, purſuant to the edict; that he had cauſed to be burnt, at Châlons, in his preſence, ſuch informations as had been drawn up againſt the Proteſtants, ever ſince the declaration of the peace; that he knew Madame de Guiſe, his ſiſter, was a Proteſtant, and cauſed her ſon to be privately inſtructed in the Augsburg Confeſſion; and this*, would he ſay, *does not diſpleaſe me in any manner* (6). It was anſwered, among other things, *I am ſenſible that you make ſome German Princes believe, that you bring up your nephew in their Confeſſion); but it is only that you may get an opportunity of inveſting him with the four baronies of the Biſhopric of Metz, that he may be created a Prince of the empire. To that end, when you paid your laſt homage, you made him harangue the nobility in Germany, in order to get the love of the people of that country by inſenſible degrees.* Some pages before, he was reproached, *as having given, with one hand, ſome ſilver cups gilt to the German Miniſters at Saverne; and executed, with the other, the maſſacre of Vaſſy.* During the maſſacre at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, the Duke of Guiſe *harboured in his palace upwards of an hundred Huguenots, in hopes of bringing them over to his party* (7).

(5) Printed in 1565. It is intitled, *Réponſe à l'Epiſtre de Charles de Vaudemont, Cardinal de Lorrain.* This letter had been publiſhed under the name of a Gentleman of Hainault, both to excuſe the Cardinal for taking up arms, as he did in January, at Paris, in oppoſition to the King's Ordinances; and to accuſe Marſhal de Montmorency.

(6) *Réponſe à l'Epitre de Charles de Vaudemont*, folio Diiii.

(7) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 157.

The author of the anſwer to Cardinal de Lorrain's letter was a zealous Proteſtant. Now he makes the following confeſſion with regard to the hatred which the Proteſtants had conceived againſt the Guiſes. "It was, *ſays he* (8), and ever will be the unanimous "reſolution of all our Churches, to oppoſe all thoſe "whom you ſhall favour directly or indirectly; and "to join with all your enemies, of what quality or "religion ſoever they may be. I am ſurpriſed you ſhould "ſtill be ignorant of our will which is known to the "Pope, ſince he declared lately to the Biſhop of Auxerre, "that he would willingly have given an hundred thouſand crowns to make you turn Huguenot; being "firmly perſuaded, conſidering the irreconcileable enmity we bear you, that we ſhould forſake our religion were you to profeſs it. Since therefore this "unanimous reſolution which all our Churches have "to oppoſe you, cannot but reſult from the ſpecial "goodneſs of God; we certainly have reaſon to "hope, that he will preſerve us from the evil effects "of your deſigns, which you carry on by a cruel "attempt againſt our lives and fortunes."

(8) *Réponſe à l'Epitre de Charles de Vaudemont*, folio, Ciii.

Mark well the following words of Brantome. "Cardinal de Lorrain was very devout, and on that account, greatly hated by the Huguenots; but yet "he was looked upon as a great diſſembler and hypocrite in matters of religion; and this in order to "raiſe himſelf ſtill higher; for I have often heard "him diſcourſe of the Auſburg confeſſion; approve "it in a great meaſure, and even preach it, and all "this chiefly in the view of pleaſing ſome Germans "and for other reaſons as we are told. I heard him "talk publickly in this manner, in paſſion week, "in his mother's preſence at Rheims (9)." Add to this the remark [Q] of the article Lorrain.

(9) Brant. *Eloge du Duc de Guiſe*, tom. 3. of his *Memoirs*, pag. m. 135.

The following paſſage I ſhall here cite is no leſs remarkable. It is extracted from a piece which du Pleſſis Mornai wrote in April 1589, to juſtify Henry III, for joyning with the King of Navarre. That author's buſineſs was, to anſwer the clamours of the league with regard to this confederacy of the King with the Huguenots. Du Pleſſis alledges, not only the alliances which the King of Spain made with Proteſtant Princes. but alſo what the Guiſes had done. "We need "not go farther than our Leaguers. How often has "the Duke of Guiſe endeavoured to treat with the "King of Navarre and thoſe of his party? To how "many Huguenot Gentlemen has he wrote? Were "not his words as follow? *Friend, I am no enemy "to thy religion; If thou art not ſatisfied with one "Miniſter, take two.* Who does not know how "often the Vice-Seneſchal de Montelimart went, in "Duke de Mayenne's name, backward and forward "to Rochelle; the things he made him ſay; that he "would be his Servant; that he was no enemy to "his religion, his mother having brought him up in "it; that a method would be found out to accommodate matters; that, upon his word, he would "come to him with four horſes, and give his wife "and children as hoſtages. And yet, at this very "time he was returning from Caſtillon, and made a "mighty ſhew of zeal and devotion for the Church. "And indeed he did not ſcruple to make uſe of "Lutheran (*) Reiſters, who received the ſacrament "publickly. after their own way, in his army. The "letters he wrote lately to his agents may be ſeen, "that he is armed to extirpate the ſacramentarian "Huguenots, but not thoſe of the Auſburg confeſſion, "whom he loves and intends to preſerve; and yet "they have not been leſs condemned by the Pope than "the reſt: and were the firſt who roſe up againſt "the Church of Rome (10)."

(10) *Memoires de Du Pleſſis Mornai*, tom. 1. pag. 922, 923.

[B] *It is even ſaid that they had a deſign to put to Death the firſt Princes of the Blood.*] "A reader cannot peruſe without horror what was ſaid in thoſe times "(11), and has been written ſince: That the Guiſes, "fearing the reſentments of the King of Navarre, and "judging beſides that their authority would never be "unruffled and ſettled, ſo long as a Prince of the Blood "ſhould be living to conteſt it, had undertook to "make away with them; and that the method they "pitched upon was ſuch, that had it ſucceeded, the "whole royal family would have been deſtroyed. That "the King, to whom they had obſerved, that it would "be of higheſt Importance not to ſuffer any Prince of "the Blood to live, who might revenge the Prince of "Conde's Death, was to ſend for the King of Navarre "into his Chamber. That he ſhould reproach him "in the moſt ſevere terms with his Brother's Death, "and tell him that he had juſt cauſe to complain of "him alſo. That the Prince would bodly deny "this, or at leaſt would defend himſelf with too much "heat; and that thereupon he ſhould be ſtabbed by "Perſons lying in ambuſh, whom the King ſhould "make a ſign to advance forward. It is farther "ſaid, that this Prince was admoniſhed of the danger "which threatened him; and that, after having long "conſidered how it would be proper for him to act, "he reſolved to venture let what would happen; and "that as he was going into the King's Chamber, he "ſpoke

(11) i. e. At the time that the States of the Kingdom were held in Orleans, under Francis II, anno 1560. *The Prince of Conde was ſeized at his arrival; and a few days after, being tried by Commiſſioners he was ſentenced to be beheaded.* The author of the Life of *Francis of Lorrain Duke of Guiſe*, printed at Paris anno 1681, who afterwards ſays what I have quoted in this remark.

to the famous conſpiracy of Amboiſe, by which their authority was the more encreaſed. They went ſuch lengths, as to cauſe the ſecond Prince of the blood to be condemned to die; and doubtleſs the ſentence would have been put in execution, and a general maſſacre made of all the Proteſtants in the Kingdom, had Francis II lived a little longer (*b*). After his death, the Guiſes had not authority ſufficient to prevent the Proteſtants from enjoying liberty of conſcience, by vertue of the edict of January (*c*): but not being powerful enough to prevent this toleration, as they had before done in the aſſembly *des Notables* [C] under Francis II, they found means to invalidate the effects of that edict, by the maſſacre of Vaſſi. It is to no purpoſe to ſay, that this was not a premeditated deſign, ſince the moſt flattering Hiſtorians acknowledge certain facts, which plainly ſhew it to have been ſo [D]. This maſſacre was ſoon followed by a religious war, as the Guiſes

(*b*) *See* Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 2. pag. 157, & *ſeq.* Dutch edit.

(*c*) It was made the 17th of Jan. 1562.

" as follows to one of his moſt faithful Domeſticks: " *If it ſhould ſo happen*, ſays he, *that I ſink under* " *the multitude and treachery of my Enemies, take my* " *bloody Shirt, and carry it to my Wife and Son.* " *They may read in my blood what they ought to do, in* " *order to revenge my death.* That he afterwards " went into the King's chamber, who either could not, " or did not dare to give the ſignal that was agreed " upon; and that Guiſe, vexed at the ill ſucceſs of " this attempt, cried to thoſe that were with him, " *What a pitiful Prince have we got* (12)!

(12) *Vie du Duc de Guiſe*, anno 1681, pag. 78. Dutch edit.

[C] *As they had before done in the aſſembly* des Notables.] It was held at Fontainebleau in Auguſt 1560 (13). The admiral there preſented a petition in the name of all the Proteſtants of France, to deſire that leave might be granted for them to have churches for the public exerciſe of their Religon. John de Monluc, Biſhop of Valence, voted in favour of the admiral; but the Duke of Guiſe, and the Cardinal his Brother, oppoſed this petition with ſo much violence, that it was rejected. They had run ſuch great lengths, as almoſt to ſettle the Inquiſiton in France (14); they employed their utmoſt endeavours for this purpoſe; and, in *order to divert this, the Chancellor was forced to propoſe to his Majeſty the Edict of Romorantin*, which was extreamly rigorous againſt the Proteſtants. All the calamities of the civil wars of that very time may therefore be aſcribed to theſe two Brothers. They oppoſed the allowing a Liberty of Conſcience to Proteſtants, promoted perſcution, and kept up, in the Kingdom, a ſanguinary ſpirit, in oppoſition to the moſt eſſential and moſt indefeaſible right that man can enjoy, and which Monarchs ought to conſider as the moſt inviolable.

(13) *See* Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, pag. 145, & *ſeq.*

(14) Ibid. pag. 144.

[D] *The moſt flattering Hiſtorians acknowledge certain Facts, which plainly ſhew* that the Maſſacre of Vaſſi had been premeditated.] Varillas owns (15), I. that the Duke of Guiſe and Cardinal Lorrain, not doubting but that the Civil Wars *would break out ſoon*, and that the Roman Catholic party *would be victorious, provided that the Proteſtants of Germany did not engage in the Diſpute*, went to Saverne, and there had a ſecret conference with the Duke of Wittemberg. II. That they uſed their utmoſt efforts *to raiſe a jealouſy in the Lutherans with regard to the Progreſs of Calviniſm; and to make them believe, that the only deſign of the* PERSECUTION WHICH WAS GOING TO BE RAISED AGAINST IT IN FRANCE (weigh well theſe words, they plainly ſhowing that a reſolution was formed to begin acts of hoſtility) *was but to endeavour afterwards, by gentle methods, to unite the Lutherans with the See of Rome* (16). III. That the German Prince having given them his word, *that he would uſe his intereſt with thoſe of his party, to get their conſent, in order to prevent as much as poſſible the Principles of Calvin from taking root in France, they* returned *to Joinville, in order to divert themſelves there for ſome days* (17). IV. That the Ducheſs Dowager of Guiſe, their Mother, who led a *very ſolitary life in* Joinville (18), *employed all the intereſt and credit, ſhe had with them, in order that they might no longer ſuffer in their neighbourhood the Church of Vaſſi, the infection of which would ſoon reach to Joinville.* V. *That the Duke of Guiſe, being determined to comply with his Mother's Deſires, ſo far as lay in his Power, without infringing the Edicts, paſſed through Vaſſi accompanied by Cardinal de Guiſe his youngeſt Brother* (19). VI. *That he was far from intending to commit any Violence, he ſuppoſing that his bare preſence would be ſufficient to make Calviniſts break up from their worſhip wherever he ſhould come.* VII. *That he entered the Town of Vaſſy the firſt of March* 1562; and that having been forced to interrupt his Prayers during Maſs, becauſe that the Calviniſts, *whoſe Church was near the place where he was at his Devotions, were ſinging Pſalms at the ſame time . . . he ſent and deſired them to leave off for a quarter of an hour; aſſuring them, that they afterwards might go on, becauſe Maſs would be ended by that time.*

(15) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, tom. 1. pag. 121, Dutch edit.

(16) Ibid. pag. 122.

(17) Ibid. pag. 124.

(18) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Charles IX*, tom. 1. pag. 125.

(19) Ibid. pag. 126.

I need make but two reflexions on theſe incidents. I, that they ſhew very evidently, that the Duke of Guiſe uſed his endeavours to get the Edict repealed, and was taking meaſures in order to perſecute the Huguenots; and that, beſides this general diſpoſition, he did not go through Vaſſi till after he had promiſed his mother, that he would comply with the very ſtrong deſire ſhe had, not to let the heretics preach there. It is therefore highly probable, that at his going to Vaſſi, he had before formed a reſolution to uſe forcible methods againſt the Proteſtants. My ſecond reflexion is, that Varillas could not diſguiſe matters, but by intermixing incidents that are contradictory one to the other. For firſt, how could the Duke of Guiſe have kept his word with his mother, had he intended to let the Calviniſts continue their pſalms unmoleſted, as ſoon as the maſs he was at ſhould be ended? This is a contradiction; and therefore it muſt be owned, that he never ſent a meſſage to aſſure the Calviniſts that he would not diſturb them in the exerciſes of their devotion; or that he did not go to Vaſſi, in order to content the Ducheſs Dowager of Guiſe, or that he ſent a falſe meſſage. The laſt circumſtance is ſo unworthy a man of honour, that no one who ſhould attempt to juſtify the Duke of Guiſe, could aſcribe it to him. We therefore muſt keep to the two firſt, both which contradict Varillas; ſo that it will be impoſſible to juſtify the Duke of Guiſe, without giving the lye to thoſe Hiſtorians who are moſt favourable to him. Secondly, it ſeems a direct falſhood, to aſſert, that the Duke of Guiſe ſuppoſed his preſence alone was ſufficient to make the Proteſtants, when aſſembled in their public worſhip, diſperſe. He knew but too well, that a ſet of people, ſo greedy of hearing ſermons as they were at this time, and who had ſuffered ſo many perſecutions and puniſhments in order to get liberty for that purpoſe, would not renounce their privilege on account of his preſence. Thirdly: had this Duke ſuppoſed, that his preſence would be ſufficient to make their aſſemblies break up, he could not have gone thither without infringing his Majeſty's edicts, whence it follows evidently, that he contradicts himſelf in Varillas, when he ſuppoſes that his bare preſence would make the congregation at Vaſſi diſperſe; and yet, that he will comply with his mother's deſires no farther, than that this could be done without violating the edicts. He could not poſſibly ſatisfy his mother without obliging that aſſembly to break up; and Varillas confeſſes, that at leaſt he intended to make it diſperſe by his preſence. Beſides, it was impoſſible to break it up, without infringing the laſt edict. The Duke is therefore repreſented as acting inconſiſtently. Such are the extremities to which Hiſtorians may commonly be reduced, when they attempt to throw a cloud over the moſt glaring truths.

Several particulars might be added (20), which ſhew evidently, that the Duke of Guiſe fully intended to get the edict of January annulled; but we need but weigh what he himſelf confeſſed, as related by Davila. After that the tumult of Vaſſi was appeaſed, the Duke of

(20) Among others, the retreat of the Chiefs of the Roman Catholic party. *Percoſſe queſt' editto i capi della parte Cattolica; nè volendo, che il mondo ſtimaſſe, che conſentiſſero alle coſe, che ſi facevano, il Duca di Guiſa, il Conteſtabile, & i Cardinali, de' quali era mancato di vita il Cardinale di Tornone, i Mareſcialli di Briſſac, e di Sant' Andrea, ſi partirono dalla Corte, machinando già di diſturbare l'editto, e d'opporſi per ogni modo alla fattione Ugonotta.* Davila, lib. 2. pag. m. 79.

Guiſes had hoped. The ſucceſſes of it was fatal to both parties, and conſequently extremely pernicious to France. It was of advantage only to this family. Our Duke of Guiſe had the art of engroſſing all the fame of the battle of Dreux; and, in all probability, the taking of Orleans would have enabled him to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, had he not been aſſaſſinated by Poltrot. He died of his wound (*d*) the 24th of February 1563, aged forty four years (*e*) [*E*]. It is ſaid that he *proteſted on his death bed, that he had no hand in* the maſſacre of Vaſſi (*f*); but I know not whether ſuch a proteſtation could outweigh the proofs we have of the contrary [*F*]. The writers of his party

(*d*) Poltrot ſhot him with a piſtol during the ſiege of Orleans, the 18th of Feb. 1563.

(*e*) He was born at the caſtle of Bar the 17th of Feb. 1519. Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 424.

(*f*) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de Calviniſme*, liv. 4. pag. m. 259.

Guiſe ſent for the Judge or chief magiſtrate of that town; and cenſured him very ſeverely, for indulging the Huguenots in ſo pernicious a liberty of meeting together. The Judge excuſed himſelf by alledging the King's edict, which impowered them to aſſemble publicly. The Duke, being no leſs exaſperated at this anſwer than at the thing itſelf, laid his hand on his ſword, and cried, *The edge of this ſword ſhall ſoon cut this ſo cloſely twiſted edict.* Nature ſpoke on that occaſion; and this is not the firſt inſtance of the greateſt diſſemblers being betrayed, by a ſudden emotion of anger. Theſe words did not paſs unheeded, but were afterwards employed as a ſtrong proof of the violent deſigns, which the Duke of Guiſe entertained. This is Davila's obſervations, whoſe words are as follow. *Finito il tumulto, il Duca di Guiſa, chiamato à ſe l'ufficiale del luogo, cominciò con gravi parole à riprenderlo, che permetteſſe in danno de' paſſaggieri queſta perniciosa licenza, & iſcuſando egli di non poterle impedire per la permiſſione dell' editto di Gennaio, che concedeva le radunanze publiche à gli Ugonotti, il Duca ſdegnato non meno della riſpoſta, che del fatto, meſſa la mano ſù la ſpada, replicò pieno di colera, che l'editto così ſtrettamente legato, preſto ſi troncarebbe con il filo di quella: dalle quali parole dette nell' ardore dell' ira, e non traſcurate da quelli ch'erano preſenti, molti poi l'arguirono per autore, e per machinatore delle guerre ſeguenti* (21). The Proteſtant Hiſtorians afford ſeveral other circumſtances againſt the Duke of Guiſe. As for thoſe who ſhall obſerve, they may be ſuſpected becauſe they come from that quarter, what will they alledge againſt Davila?

(21) Davila, lib. 3. pag. 86.

[*E*] *He died the 24th of February 1563, aged forty four years.*] Father du Londel, notwithſtanding his great accuracy, was yet ignorant of the true date of his death; he fixing to the 26th of February (22). The error which has been continued in all the editions of Moreri's Dictionary is far greater. The death of this Duke of Guiſe is here fixed to anno 1553 (23). I am ſurpriſed how Mr. de Valincourt came to omit both the day and year of this Duke's death, as well as the year of his birth, in this Duke of Guiſe's life, publiſhed by him in 1681 (24); but I am ſtill more ſurprized at his declaring him to be fifty years of age.

(22) Du Londel, *Faſtes des Rois de la Maiſon d'Orleans*, pag. 71.

(23) Under the word *Guiſe*, but under *Francis*, which is not the proper place to look for the hiſtory of the Dukes of Guiſe. Moreri has fixed the true date, viz. 1563.

(24) It is that which I cite in the remark [*B*].

[*F*] *I know not whether ſuch a proteſtation could outweigh the proofs we have of the contrary.*] We now do not know what ſtreſs is to be laid on the proteſtations of dying perſons. The authors who have writ for and againſt the conſpiracy diſcovered, in England, by Titus Oates, exhibit perſons impeached for high treaſon, proteſting their innocence to the laſt gaſp, and witneſſes againſt them who did the ſame. It muſt neceſſarily be, either that the perſons impeached or the witneſſes made falſe proteſtations in the very article of death; ſo that we are hereby drove out of one fortreſs which we had oppoſed to ſcepticiſm, I mean the depoſition of dying people (25). The ſentence of Lucretius, viz. that mankind in their expiring moments (26), unmaſk themſelves, and appear in their genuine colours, does not hold true on all occaſions. A falſe ſhame often accompanies us to the grave, and that love of glory which the great make their idol ſo long as they live, obliges them to conceal, till they are leaving the world, whatever might tarniſh their reputation. A prevailing paſſion has ſometimes ſo very great an aſcendant, as not to be checked by the proſpect of approaching death. This was obſerved in Tiberius, with regard to diſſimulation, his darling quality. *Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, non dum diſſimulatio deſerebat. Idem animi rigor, ſermone ac vultu intentus, quæſita interdum comitate, quamvis manifeſtam defectionem tegebat* (27). i. e. "Tiberius's "bodily ſtrength began to fail him, but not his hy- "pocriſy. The ſame ſtern diſpoſition of mind, and "earneſtneſs with regard to ſpeech and countenance; "ſometimes affecting a ſpecious courteſy, which at "the ſame time covered a manifeſt decay." The hiſtory of Duke d'Epernon furniſhes us with another proof of what I ſay. He was an extremely haughty nobleman, and had made it his delight, all his life-time, to ſtamp a character of haughtineſs on all he ſaid and did. He was animated with this ſpirit on the very day he died, although he was prodigiouſly weakened by a tedious fit of ſickneſs, and his very old age. A Prieſt who was preparing him for death, having prevailed upon him to ſay, that he forgave his enemies, and all ſuch of his domeſtics as had diſpleaſed him, took it into his head to aſk, whether he did not alſo beg pardon of ſuch of his ſervants as he might have offended. The reaſon of the Prieſt's aſking him this queſtion was, becauſe the Duke a few days before, had uſed a perſon ill who lived in his family. He ſeemed diſpleaſed at this queſtion, and anſwered in an angry tone of voice, *that it was enough he had forgiven thoſe who had diſpleaſed him; and that he had never heard that a maſter, in order for his dying in a Chriſtian manner, was obliged to beg pardon of his ſervants* (28). The Duke of Guiſe who is charged with being the cauſe of the maſſacre of Vaſſi, having endeavoured all his life-time to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner as might ſave appearances, and diſcover more probity and candor than the reſt of the Courtiers, had declared and proteſted a thouſand times, that he was innocent of this maſſacre; and it became him to proteſt it; becauſe, had he owned it, he would have proved himſelf to have been the firſt cauſe of the calamities with which France was afflicted, and as ſuch have been deteſted by all men. He therefore was obliged to continue his proteſtations to his death; not only to prevent his memory from being abhorred by all thoſe who had the civil wars in the utmoſt deteſtation; but alſo to keep all Europe from knowing, that he had been a liar in all the proteſtations he had made, that he had no concern in the ſlaughter committed at Vaſſi. Few ambitious men can prevail with themſelves to retract a thing, when the doing it is ſo ignominious to them.

(25) Le Grand, *Defence de Sanderus*, pag. 164. alledges Smeton's teſtimony againſt Anna Bullen, and puts the reader in mind, that Dr. Burnet took advantage of the like depoſition. This ſhews that oppoſite parties object to one another the teſtimonies of dying people; and either reject or adopt them, as they find them of advantage or prejudicial to them.

(26) *Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo Ejiciuntur, & eripitur perſona, manet res.* Lucret. lib. 3. ver. 57.

(27) Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 6. cap. 50.

(28) See *Vie du Duc de Eperon*, written by Girard.

But this is not the only thing that may be alledged againſt the proteſtations of dying people; moſt particulars that are related of them may alſo be doubted, becauſe they have no other foundation than the teſtimony of perſons who may be very much ſuſpected (29). Who can prove to us, that a dying man declared ſuch and ſuch things; and that theſe are not put into his mouth by his relations or friends, out of love for his reputation, in order to perſuade the world of his innocence? Nothing could more eaſily be done, than to publiſh, *that ſuch a one, in his expiring moments, declared ſuch a thing; and this is affirmed by thoſe who ſaw him breath his laſt.* If this be an affair in which the public are concerned, one hour is ſufficient to ſpread a report of it in every part of a great city; every one informs his friend of it by letter; no one examines whether it be juſtly grounded or not; it is immediately publiſhed in the News-papers; and we may be aſſured, that, ſo long as the world laſts, thoſe who ſpeak or write in favour of the dying perſon, will alledge the declaration he made in his laſt moments with as much confidence, as if it had been verified by the moſt exact enquiries of the Magiſtrates. To ſhew how little this kind of declarations ought to be depended upon, we need but conſider the manner in which that of the Duke of Guiſe is related by Maimbourg and by Varillas, two famous Hiſtorians who publiſhed their works almoſt in the ſame time. The former affirms, on the authority of Brantome, that the Duke proteſted he had no hand in that action, and yet begged pardon of God for it (30); but the other aſſerts, *that he implored God to forgive him all his faults, that*

(29) See the remark [*N*] of the article HENRY II. It is ſaid that he did not ſpeak after he was wounded, and yet authors make him ſay a thouſand things.

(30) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, pag. 259.

party applaud him prodigiouſly for a Chriſtian maxim, which it is ſaid, he alledged, againſt a Proteſtant who ſought to kill him; however, this maxim was no way graceful in his mouth [G]. It were to be wiſhed, that the Proteſtants had not printed ſo many libels and ſatyrs againſt this Duke and the Cardinal his brother [H]. In ſo doing, they did not

(31) Varillas, *Vie de Charles IX.* tom. 1. pag. 128.

that of Vaſſy excepted (31). Now how will it be poſſible to reconcile theſe two things? It muſt be remembred, that it was very much the intereſt of the Roman Catholics, to perſuade the world that the Duke of Guiſe had made ſuch a proteſtation on his death-bed; this giving them an opportunity to deny a thing with which the Proteſtants had ſo ſeverely upbraided them on all occaſions. What will not men do to refute ſuch reproaches, when they are fired by a religious hatred?

[G] *This maxim was no ways graceful in his mouth.*] Here follows a reflexion of one of thoſe Proteſtant authors, who have wrote with the greateſt warmth againſt the perſecutions which the Proteſtants ſuffered in France (32). "It is related that, during the ſiege of "Roan, a Proteſtant Gentleman, who had a deſign to "kill the Duke, having been brought to him (33); "and confeſſing, that it was not out of any "hatred to his perſon, but that he thought that he "was bound to make ſuch an attempt, for the ſer-"vice of his religion; the Duke gave him his liberty, "and ſaid theſe words: *Get thee gone; if thy reli-"gion commands thee to aſſaſſinate thoſe who never of-"fended thee, mine obliges me to give thee thy life, "which I may juſtly take away. Judge, from theſe "two actions, which religion is the beſt* (34). This "would have been a wiſe and a Chriſtian ſpeech, had "not the Duke been a Roman Catholic, and at the "head of a perſecuting army. But when we call to "mind that the Perſon who made this ſpeech was "a perſecutor, we cannot forbear to ridicule him, as a "man who plays the comedian, and makes a farce "of religion; who, out of pride and a mere bravado, "pardons one man who deſerves death, at the ſame "time that he behaves with a moſt ſavage and moſt "deteſtable cruelty towards a whole body of innocent "people. Did not this Duke of Guiſe profeſs the "ſame religion as Francis I and Henry II? Had he "not approved and adviſed the edicts of Chateau-Bri-"ant and of Romorantin, whereby the Proteſtants "were ſentenced to death? Had he not exerted his "utmoſt endeavours in order to get the Inquiſition "eſtabliſhed in France, whereby a ſlaughter of men "would, in propriety of ſpeech, have been ſettled in "France, and a perpetual court of juſtice ſurrounded "with executioners? Was he not the chief promoter "of the deſign, which the ſudden death of Francis II "prevented, viz. of ſending troops into all the pro-"vinces, and obliging every man in France to ſub-"ſcribe a formulary; and, upon pain of refuſal, to "leave the kingdom, (which was the greateſt puniſh-"ment) and to be diſpoſſeſſed of all their goods and "chattels? But what numbers of thoſe would have "been put to death? Again, was it not the ſame "Duke, who permitted his men to murder a great "many Huguenots who were addreſſing their prayers "to God in a barn in Vaſſi? In a word, was not "the obſtinacy, with which he always declared that "thoſe unhappy people ought to be put to death, the "cauſe of all the civil wars on a religious account "with which France was afflicted, but which would "never have happened, had they been ſuffered to "worſhip God in their own way? Did he not act in "this manner out of a religious zeal, and would he "have done this had he been a Heathen? Would he "not have tolerated the Proteſtants as well as Papiſts? "Were not his actions on this occaſion approved by "the Pope and Romiſh clergy? With what face "then could he aſſert, that his religion enjoined him "to forgive thoſe who had offended him, ſince it "prompted him to inflict a variety of torments on a "numberleſs multitude of people who did not do him "the leaſt injury, and only deſired to ſerve God as "their own conſciences dictated? Such is the horrid "turpitude, and which has very much the air of a "farce, of thoſe religions which perſecute others, and "will force men to enter in. A man who profeſſes ſuch "a religion, will not make a difficulty to proteſt, that, "with regard to himſelf, he forgives a man of a dif-"ferent religion, for the injuries he may have received "from him; but he nevertheleſs does not ſcruple to "ſend him to the gallies or the gallows, upon pre-"tence of his not profeſſing the true Faith, and though "he had received kindneſſes from ſuch a man. It "is certain that the Duke did not think when he "ſpoke, ſince he preſumed to make a compariſon "between the two religions, and to give the prefe-"rence to his own in point of charity. The Gentle-"man, who had entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, "from an opinion that his death would be of ad-"vantage to the Proteſtant Religion, did not therein "follow the true doctrine of his church; for there is "no Proteſtant divine, but in his converſation, and "his Sermons, aſſerts, that it is not lawful for one "man to murder another, in order to procure advan-"tage to his religion: But the Duke, conformably "to a doctrine that was approved, and had been a "thouſand times commanded in his religion, gave his "vote in the King's counſel, for publiſhing edicts "which might ſentence to death a numberleſs mul-"titude of worthy perſons; and exerted his utmoſt "endeavours in order to extirpate the Proteſtants by "the moſt violent methods. Now, is it not all a "jeſt for a man who entertains this way of thinking, "to boaſt his profeſſing a religion which ordains its "members to forgive others? I muſt beg thoſe whoſe "buſineſs it is to make converts, to conſider this. "Their conduct is ſuch, that the moſt excellent max-"ims of Chriſtian morality become, in their mouth, "ſo many idle ſtories, farces, or nonſenſe."

(32) *Commentaire Philoſophique, ſur* Contrain-les d'entrer, in the preface, pag. 64, *& ſeq.*

(33) i. e. to the Duke of Guiſe.

(34) *See* Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, liv. 4. pag. m. 316.

[H] *It were to be wiſhed, that the Proteſtants had not printed ſo many Libels and Satyrs againſt this Duke, and the Cardinal his Brother.*] In the aſſembly *des Notables*, mentioned above, Cardinal de Lorrain ſays in a haughty tone, *That he gloried in being the object of the hatred and fury of the Huguenots: That there had been ſpread in Paris, and from Paris into all the Provinces, a vaſt multitude of Libels filled with the moſt injurious Invectives, as well as the moſt violent threats againſt himſelf and the Duke of Guiſe his Brother; that he himſelf had two and twenty of theſe which he preſerved very carefully, and took a pleaſure in ſhowing, as ſo many moſt conſpicuous Marks of their zeal for Religion; and of their inviolable fidelity to the King, who had been pleaſed to make choice of them for his Miniſters* (35). I again repeat it, it were to be wiſhed that the Proteſtants had not publiſhed ſuch a number of ſatyrical pieces; great prejudice accruing from them to this day, by the reflections they furniſh the Miſſionaries with. As for inſtance, Maimbourg did not fail to make a malicious and ſatyrical reflection, on what the Cardinal had ſaid of thoſe Libels. "And indeed it is very manifeſt, that it was com-"mon for the Huguenots at that time, to abuſe unmer-"cifully by a thouſand ſcandalous Libels and impudent "Satyrs, againſt all thoſe who did not favour them, "without ſhewing the leaſt regard to merit or quality; "or without ſparing Kings, Princes or Prelates, and "whatever is looked upon as moſt ſacred and invio-"lable among men. I myſelf have ſeen a large col-"lection in ten Volumes in folio, made up of thoſe "ſorry pieces which the Huguenots publiſhed at that "time againſt Henry II. and Francis II.; againſt "Queen Catherine, when ſhe was not diſpoſed to fa-"vour them; againſt the King of Navarre after he "had gone over to the Roman Catholicks; and par-"ticularly againſt the Duke of Guiſe and Cardinal "de Lorrain archbiſhop of Rheims; wherein they "brutally inſerted, without the leaſt wit or judgment, "the moſt injuroius reflections and calumnies (†) that "the moſt ſlanderous tongue could invent. So that "any perſon of the leaſt ſenſe or honour, who caſts "his eye but a moment on theſe ſtupid and inſolent "pieces, muſt have the utmoſt contempt and the moſt "juſt indignation againſt the impudent Authors "of them (36)." Theſe are the odious reflections made by Maimbourg. Thoſe who anſwered his hiſtory of Calviniſm did not forget to refute them. He adds (37), that Cardinal de Lorrain, "whoſe greatneſs of "ſoul

(35) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, pag. 151. *Here follow his citations.* Dupleix, under Francis II, pag. 619. Spond. *ad ann.* 1560, n. 16. Mezerai, tom. 2. pag. 785. *Extracted from* La Popeliniere, lib. 6. pag. 104. & *de Belcar.* lib. 28. pag. 946.

(†) *Memoirs de Caſtelnau.*

(36) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, pag. 151, 152.

(37) Ibid. pag. 153.

not act in conformity either to the rules of the Goſpel or thoſe of prudence, ſince thoſe kind of pieces only exaſperated ſtill more a very powerful enemy [I], and furniſhed him with a handle for increaſing his hatred, and heightning the perſecution [K]. It would be unjuſt to aſcribe to the whole body the impatience of ſome particular perſons, and their too violent itch of writing [L]. This Duke of Guiſe had been created Duke of Aumale, and

" ſoul equalled that of his Genius, would take no " other revenge of thoſe libellous writers, than by ge- " nerouſly deſpiſing their impotent Fury; but not- " withſtanding this, the Magiſtrates (as was their " duty) ſeized ſome of them, and made them undergo " the utmoſt ſeverity of the Law, whereby it is enact- " ed, that they ſhould be puniſhed as publick Poy- " ſoners; and accordingly two of them were hang'd †, " *viz.* the author (38) of one of thoſe ſorry Libels, inti- " tled, *The Tyger*, and the perſon who ſold it privately."

† *Mem. de Caſtel.* lib. 1. cap. 7. On which occaſion a Printer was taken up, for printing a work intitled, *Le Tigre* (the Tiger) the ſuppoſed author whereof and the book-ſeller were hanged.

[I] *Thoſe kind of pieces only exaſperated ſtill more a very powerful Enemy.*] Maimbourg ſhould not have aſſerted, that Cardinal de Lorrain's greatneſs of ſoul prompted him to *take no other revenge of thoſe libellous writers, than by generouſly deſpiſing them*; for could there poſſibly be a more unjuſt and more violent revenge than that which he employed? He indeed did not give himſelf the trouble to enquire after the particular Authors of thoſe Libels, which is all that Maimbourg can pretend to ſay; but then he did all that lay in his power to extirpate the whole Body of the Proteſtants. He was the grand promoter of all the penal Laws and capital puniſhments enacted againſt them, and endeavoured to ſet up the Inquiſition againſt them. Did he not hereby take a more cruel revenge, than that had he confin'd his indignation barely to the puniſhing the Authors of thoſe Satyrs? However, the reader will now ſee, that he did not ſtifle his reſentment with reſpect to this ſet of writers.

(38) This is a falſhood. See the ſubſequent remark.

Of the Libel intitled, *The Tyger*.

Caſtelnau, cited by Maimbourg (39), makes the following obſervation. *The Huguenots were continually publiſhing ſome injurious Libel or other againſt the Houſe of Guiſe. Upon which a Printer was ſeized, who had printed a little Book, entitled* The Tyger, *for which the ſuppoſed Author and a Merchant were hanged.* This relation is not accurate; he does not ſay what became of the Printer; and it is not true that the ſuppoſed Author of that Book was hanged. He ſhould have ſaid as the Sieur de la Planche has done, that the Printer and a Merchant were hanged; and neither of theſe were the *ſuppoſed Author*. Here follow the very words of that Hiſtorian (40): *The Parliament made a ſtrict enquiry againſt thoſe, who either printed or expoſed to ſale, the pieces written againſt the Guiſes. Some days were ſpent ſo ſucceſsfully in this, that they at laſt diſcovered the printer of a certain little very ſatyrical Book entitled* the Tyger, *a Counſellor named du Lyon had the direction of this Affair, which he accepted very willingly, upon his being promiſed the Preſident's Seat in the Parliament of Bourdeaux, which he might ſell in caſe he thought proper. Having therefore ſent out his Spies, one Martin Hommet, a Printer, was found with thoſe Books in his cuſtody. Being asked who had given them to him, he anſwered, that they were given him by a perſon unknown; and at laſt accuſed ſeveral Perſons of having ſeen and read it, who were immediately ſought for, but they made their eſcape. As this Printer was carrying to execution, a Merchant of Roan, who was in good Circumſtances and made a handſome appearance, ſeeing the Populace of Paris greatly exaſperated againſt the Priſoner, ſpoke only theſe words to them: Friends, Is it not enough that he is going to execution? Leave him to the Hangman, would you torment him more than he is ordered to be by his Sentence? (now he did not know his Crime, and was juſt lighting from his Horſe at an Inn hard by.) Some Prieſts hearing theſe words, went up to him, calling him Huguenot, and the Priſoner's accomplice; when immediately the mob ruſhed upon him, and beat him in a moſt grievous manner. Upon this, thoſe who are called Officers of juſtice come up; and, by way of refreſhing him, carry him to goal, whither he was no ſooner come, but du Lion aſked him ſeveral particulars with regard to the book intitled,* the Tyger, *and the words he had ſaid to the populace: the poor merchant ſwore he knew nothing of the matter, and ſaid that he had never ſeen or heard of Meſſieurs de Guiſe; that he was a merchant, and minded nothing but his own concerns.* He proteſts, that he was an entire ſtranger to the man who was *leading to execution*; notwithſtanding which, he had been *moved to pity*; and that he had deſired the populace *to leave him to the Hangman*. He intreated, that his life and converſation might be inquired into; and declared *that he would willingly ſubmit his cauſe to the judgment of the world. Notwithſtanding this, du Lion, without making any other enquiries, gives in his report to the Parliament and to the Judges delegated by them, who ſentenced him to be hanged in Maubert Square, and in that very place where the Printer had been executed. Du Lion, ſome days after, being at ſupper with a great company, fell a joking on the poor merchant; when the injuſtice of that ſentence being proved to him by his own words: what could we do?* replied he, *we were obliged to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Cardinal, ſince we could not ſeize the author; otherwiſe he would never have let us be at reſt*. Hence the reader may judge whether the Guiſes were unconcerned at a Satyr that had been publiſhed againſt them. Brantome ſhews in the following Paſſage, how ſtrongly they were affected on thoſe occaſions. " A great number of Libels " were publiſhed againſt thoſe who governed the King- " dom at that time (41); but none gave greater of- " fence than one entitled, *The Tyger*, (in imitation of " Cicero's firſt invective againſt Catiline) becauſe it " mentioned the amours of a beautiful Lady, of very " high quality, married to a Nobleman her Relation. " If the ſmart Author of it had been apprehended, tho' " he had had an hundred thouſand livers, he would have " loſt them all; for the great Man and great Lady in " queſtion were ſo exaſperated, that it almoſt di- " ſtracted them (42)." I obſerved in another place (43), that Francis Hotman was thought to be the Author of this Satyr.

(39) He quotes lib. 1. cap. 7. inſtead of lib. 2.

(40) La Planche, *Hiſt. de France ſous François II*, pag. m. 385.

(41) i. e. under Francis II.

(42) Brantome, *Dames galantes*, tom. 2. pag. m. 374.

[K] *. . . and furniſhed him with a handle for increaſing his hatred, and heightening the perſecution.*] How wicked ſoever we may ſuppoſe the Guiſes to have been, it is certain, that a thouſand things were laid to their charge in thoſe Libels, of which they were wholly innocent. It will inevitably happen, that all thoſe who attempt to write, without having been concerned in publick Affairs, or having conſulted good memoirs, will advance a thouſand falſhoods, when they write againſt men by whom they have been ill uſed. The writers in queſtion, are for ſatiating their vengeance, and thence are deſirous of aſperſing thoſe who perſecute them to the utmoſt of their power; ſuch being their frame of mind, they believe all they hear; and if they do not believe it, they yet think themſelves lawfully impower'd to publiſh it, becauſe it was told them. Now when the perſons who have been aſperſed in theſe libels, find that they are charged with many crimes of which they know themſelves to be wholly innocent, they look upon the authors and applauders of thoſe libels as men of no honour and conſcience; think they deſerve the utmoſt hatred; and imagine it to be no crime, to extirpate ſuch ſlanderers, or encouragers of ſlander. It is certain therefore, that the authors of ſuch defamatory pieces, either vent their ſpleen, or give a ſcope to their zeal, with very great imprudence; and the whole party pays dear for it.

(43) In the remark [N] of the article HOTMAN.

[L] *It would be unjuſt to aſcribe to the whole body the impatience of ſome particular perſons, and their too violent itch of writing.*] We may form a judgment of the 16th century from the preſent time (44). We know that thoſe who publiſh daily a vaſt multitude of anonymous libels, make no manner of figure in the world. They live in ſo much obſcurity, that they eſcape the ſearch of the moſt prying enquirers; and when the name of one of thoſe writers happens to be found out, he is often found to be neither a good Chriſtian nor an honeſt man. I am perſuaded that moſt of thoſe authors who wrote the great number of libels, which Maimbourg pretends to have ſeen in ten volumes in folio, were the moſt ignoble part of the Proteſtant Church in France. The greateſt part of thoſe authors were poor creatures, who were not

(44) I write this in 1695.

and Governor of Dauphiné in 1547 (*g*). He was Knight of the Order, Lord High-Steward, Lord High Chamberlain, and grand Huntſman of France (*h*). His Barony of Joinville, which was under the juriſdiction of the city of Vaſſi (*i*), was made a Principality anno 1552 (*k*), and ſome villages belonging to the ſame town were added to it (*l*). He married Anne of Eſte, daughter to Hercules of Eſte II, Duke of Ferrara, the 4th of December 1549 (*m*), and had ſeveral children by her.

If what is related in the hiſtory of the Proteſtant Churches of France be true, he hinted, a little before his death, that he did not believe that his Lady's virtue had been free from ſtains [*M*].

(*g*) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 424.

(*h*) Ibid. pag. 425.

(*i*) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. 721. Book 4.

(*k*) Baudrand, *in Geograph.*

(*l*) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Book 4. pag. 721.

(*m*) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, p. 425.

owned by the party, and it was not even neceſſary that they ſhould be very numerous. Five or ſix people of a ſatyrical turn of mind, who have no other buſineſs, and get a few pence by this ſort of writings, may, in leſs compaſs of time than thirty years, fill a large Kingdom with their libels. Now is it juſt to charge a whole body, with the faults committed by three or four people, ſuch as we have mentioned? To draw their characters in a proper manner, it is not enough to ſay that they are credulous, but it muſt be added that they are knaviſh, they publiſhing things which they know to be very falſe, and for this reaſon, becauſe they themſelves invent them. Here follows a paſſage from Mezerai with regard to ſuch frauds (4). "Some have been of opinion that thoſe memoirs (46) "were ſuppoſititious; and the moſt equitable perſons "thought that if they were really written by the "Counſellor to whom they were aſcribed, they only "flowed from his deep melancholy, occaſioned by "ſome injurious treatment he had received from the "Huguenots. Thoſe memoirs, in all probability, were "forged by the Minions, the Huguenots, or the "Queen-mother, who all were mortal enemies to "the Guiſes; and it is certain that they invented a "great many more ſlanders in order to make them "odious. However the Guiſes took care to be even "with them For theſe reaſons, little credit ought "to be given to the pieces written at that time, unleſs they are carefully examined."

(45) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 200. *ad ann.* 1577.

(46) i. e. thoſe of Counſellor David, with reſpect to the excluſion of the deſcendants of Hugh Capet, and the reſtoring of the Crown to the Guiſes, deſcended from Charlemagne.

[*M*] *He did not believe that his Lady's virtue had been free from ſtains.*] "With regard to the manner of his dying, Carles Biſhop of Riez, made a very impertinent diſcourſe upon it, putting into his mouth "ſeveral theological expreſſions and phraſes of the "ſcriptures which he had never once looked into. "Among other things, thinking to applaud him, he "does great injury to the Ducheſs his widow; he "making the Duke confeſs, that he had not always "been faithful to her bed, for which he intreats her "to forgive him, as he forgives her the like (47)." Theſe words are found in a work of Beza. But it is not very probable, that a Biſhop ſhould have given ſuch a turn to his Hero's laſt words, which reflect ſo great diſhonour on his wife and children. This made me almoſt diſtruſt Beza, and I endeavoured to conſult Lancelot Carles's, but not being able to procure it, I deſired Mr. de Larroque to get me ſome information about it, who was ſo kind as to ſend me the following anſwer. "There have been three editions (48) of the Letter of Carles Biſhop of Riez "to Charles IX, with regard to the expiring moments of the Duke of Guiſe. This is proved by the "Advertiſement to the Reader, prefixed to the ſecond French edition, where it is ſaid that the edition "printed before this, *was but an incorrect copy, which "the author, who was preſent at that diſcourſe, wrote "down ſummarily, in order to ſerve him as a memorandum.* I have not been able to find this firſt "edition, and therefore cannot ſay, whether what "you have read in another work was contained in "it. There are no ſuch words in the ſecond, the "Duke therein addreſſing his wife as follows: *We "have been long united together by the holy bands of "faith and friendſhip, enjoying all things in common between us. You know that I always loved "and eſteemed you as much as any woman can be, "and that our mutual friendſhip has not been leſſened "all the time we have been married; as I have always endeavoured to convince you of this, and you have "done the like to me; we giving each other all the "reciprocal contentment in our power: I will not deny "but that the ſuggeſtions and frailties of youth have "ſometimes made me commit ſome things which you "have been offended at, and which I intreat you to forgive. I muſt needs ſay, that I am not, in this "reſpect, one of the greateſt ſinners, nor one of the "leaſt, though I am one of the guilties in the ſight "God. But you are ſenſible with how reſpectful a regard I have behaved towards you for ſome years paſt; "avoiding all occaſions of giving you the leaſt diſcontent.* "Page 84, 85, 86, 87. John le Vieux has tranſlated "this paſſage into Latin, in manner following. "*Nos enim arctiſſimo matrimonii vinculo conjugati & "conſociati ſumus, ut individuum non bonorum dumtaxat, "ſed etiam conſiliorum & voluntatum, ſine ulla exceptione, communitatem, ſocietatemque ſervaremus. Et "certè ut nihil mihi optabilius, aut antiquius adhuc "fuit, quàm ut nodum illum amabiliſſimum ſanctè conſtrictum tenerem: ſic me viciſſim inviolabili obſervantia & officio coluiſti.* Page 30.

(47) Beze, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. des Egliſes réformées*, liv. 6. pag. 270.

(48) Two French and one in Latin, all three were publiſhed in 1563.

As Mr. de Larroque could not procure a copy of the firſt edition, I cannot ſay any thing for or againſt Beza. I only conjecture, that it is probable he did not ſlander the Biſhop of Riez, for the advertiſement prefixed to the ſecond edition, intimate plainly enough that the firſt was pretty much confuſed; and that many things were left out, or placed otherwiſe. Now ſince the Latin tranſlator thought it incumbent on him to leave out, in the ſecond, the paſſage which remained in it relating to the love-intrigues of the Duke of Guiſe; it is probable that Lancelot Carles had left out of the firſt, what he had therein inſerted with regard to the intrigues of the Ducheſs. This may ſhew us, how eſſential it is to preſerve the firſt editions of books, and how much we ought to ſuſpect tranſlators. Here we find that John le Viex or Jean le Vieil (42) boldly left out, all that was told in the original concerning the adulterous practices of the Duke of Guiſe,

(49) La Croix du Maine, pag. 271. ſpeaks of *John le Vieil*, who probably might be him in queſtion.

GUISE (HENRY of Lorrain, Duke of) eldeſt ſon of the foregoing, had a certain mixture of good and bad qualities [*A*], which made him very fit for overthrowing a government. On one ſide, he had abilities ſufficient to find out arts for that purpoſe, and wickedneſs enough

[*A*] *He had a certain mixture of good and bad qualities.*] Let us employ the colours in which he has been painted by a modern author. "He wanted none of "thoſe things, (whether of a good or bad kind), "which could conſpire to give ſucceſs to any affair he "was fully determined to purſue . . . He was a Prince, "who . . . . poſſeſſed all ſuch perfections both of body "and mind, as were beſt adapted to win the hearts "of people; and to procure, with the greateſt eaſe, "thoſe who enjoy them, an abſolute aſcendant over "the minds of the people, whom they inchanted ſo "much, that they perfectly idolized them. For he "was tall, and admirably well proportioned, reſembling that which is aſcribed to Heroes; all the "features of his face being exquiſitely beautiful; his "eyes were piercing, and darted a certain fire that "was equally ſoft and active and ſagacious; his "forehead was large, ſmooth, and ever ſerene, with "ſuch an agreeable ſmile about his mouth, as charmed ſtill more than all the obliging words in "which

enough to put them in execution. He ſuffered his aſpiring and ambitious temper to gain ſo great an aſcendant over him, that after having brought numberleſs calamities on the whole Kingdom, he himſelf was involved in its ruin. He went ſuch violent lengths, that no other expedient could be found to ſtop his attempts, than to put him to death. The manner in which Henry III got him diſpatched, and Cardinal of Guiſe in the caſtle of Blois, during the aſſembly of the States (a), is ſo univerſally known, that I ſhall not make any mention of it. I ſhall only obſerve that ſeveral Hiſtorians have advanced a falſity, in aſſerting that, a little after the Duke of Guiſe's execution, the Pope's Legate (b) ſpoke to the King with ſo much unconcern, or rather with an air of ſo much gaiety [B], that one would have concluded the King and the Court of Rome had

(a) In December 1588.

(b) His name was Morofini.

" which he addreſſed thoſe who were fond of ap-
" proaching him. His aſpect was lively, and his
" complexion compoſed of the fineſt mixture of white
" and red. . . . . He had a grave and ſtately gait,
" but without any ſhew of pride or affectation; and
" in his whole carriage he diſcovered a certain air
" (which words can never expreſs) of heroic grandeur,
" that was made but of ſweetneſs, intrepidity, and
" loftineſs, unmix'd with any thing diſagreeable; which
" inſpired (at one and the ſame time) all thoſe who
" ſpoke to him with love, fear, and awe. This ad-
" mirable advantage of outward beauties was animated
" with an interior that was ſtill more wonderful, by
" the noble qualities he poſſeſſed of a ſoul truly great,
" he being liberal and magnificent on all occaſions;
" employing his utmoſt endeavours to gain creatures;
" and to win over perſons of all conditions, eſpecially
" the nobility and officers. He was civil, obliging,
" and popular; ever ready to ſerve thoſe who begged
" his aſſiſtance; generous, magnanimous, incapable of
" injuring others, even his greateſt enemies, by any
" other but honourable means. He had a very per-
" ſuaſive tongue; diſſembling under the ſpecious ap-
" pearance of the greateſt candor and frankneſs; wiſe
" and prudent in his counſels; bold, ready and brave
" in the execution; bearing all the inconveniencies of
" war with as much chearfulneſs as the meaneſt ſol-
" dier; expoſing himſelf on all occaſions, and con-
" temning the greateſt dangers in order to ſucceed in
" any enterprize he had once undertaken . . . . . But
" as there is no gold mine, in which this precious
" metal is pure and without a mixture of a great deal
" of earth; ſo the exalted natural endowments of the
" Duke of Guiſe were corrupted by a mixture of
" many faults and vices, the chief of which was,
" an inſatiable deſire of grandeur and glory, and a
" vaſt ambition to which he made all things ſub-
" ſervient; being, beſides, raſh, preſumptuous, fol-
" lowing nothing but his own opinion, and deſpiſing
" that of others, without appearing to do ſo. Re-
" ſerved, artful, inſincere, and no true friend; con-
" ſidering nothing but his own intereſt, though he
" was the moſt polite and officious man of all men;
" all the good he did to others, being done in no
" other view but to compaſs more immediately his
" own ends; and always covering his vaſt deſigns
" with the ſpecious pretence of the public welfare,
" and the preſervation of the true religion; he con-
" fiding too much in his own good fortune; loſing
" and blinding himſelf in proſperity, which made him
" taſte the preſent happineſs, with ſo much pleaſure,
" that he took no care for futurity. In fine, he de-
" voting himſelf too much to the love of women,
" whom nevertheleſs he artfully made uſe of, (and
" without their diverting him from his main deſign),
" to forward and promote, by their intrigues, the
" grand object he had in view, but at the ſame time
" unperceived by them (1)." The dangerous ſpirit of the Guiſes, which Francis I ſaw ſo well through, that he adviſed his ſon to guard againſt it, grew worſe and worſe by deſcent. *Hoc adverterat Rex Franciſcus I, & levia licet quæ tunc ab iis cæpta, cavenda nihilominus liberis ſuis edixerat, ut parva ex queis magnarum rerum motus orirentur: nunquam ſatis fidam potentiam, ubi nimia eſt, rebus ſuis proſpicerent, nec majores domus eos crearent, quibus mos erat vim principis complecti, nomen remittere. Utinam Henricus II patris conſilium haud aſpernando liberis ſuis conſuluiſſet, nec Guiſianos rebus gerendis præfeciſſet* (2). i. e. " This was ob-
" ſerved by King Francis I, and though the attempts
" then made by the Guiſes were not conſiderable, he
" yet adviſed his children to be aware of them, as
" great commotions might ariſe from ſmall beginnings;
" he told them, that an over-grown power ought
" never to be truſted; he adviſed them to take care of
" themſelves, nor raiſe thoſe to be Major-Domo's of the
" palace, whoſe cuſtom it was to exerciſe the kingly
" power without aſſuming the name of it. It were
" to be wiſhed that Henry II, in conſequence of the
" advice given him by his father, had conſulted his
" childrens intereſt, and not have ſet the Guiſes to
" preſide in the adminiſtration." What was ſaid by
" an old Poet, of the whole Roman people, may be
" applied by way of eminence to them (3).

Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores mox daturos
Progeniem vitioſiorem (3).

(3) Horat. Od. 6. lib. 3.

The ſenſe is,

Each generation ſtill adds crime to crime,
And ſons are found more vicious than their fathers.

(1) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, liv. 1. pag. m. 18, *& ſeq.*

(2) Vindic. *Secundum Libertat. Eccleſ. Gallic.* pag. 6, 7.

[B] *Several Hiſtorians have advanced . . . that the Pope's Legate . . . . ſpoke to the King with an air of ſo much gaiety.*] Few incidents are more proper than this, to confirm ſcepticiſm with regard to Hiſtory. I ſhall mention this, according to my uſual cuſtom, in the very words of the author who furniſhes me with them.

" Davila the Hiſtorian ſays that after this (4), the
" King, coming down into the court, walked a con-
" ſiderable time with the Legate, to whom he gave
" an account of all his reaſons, which the Hiſtorian in
" queſtion ſets down very much at large, as though he
" had been preſent at this long Conference, and that
" he had heard, without loſing a ſingle word, all
" that the King ſaid to this Cardinal, whoſe political
" reflexions, and the anſwer he made to the King's
" long diſcourſe, he informs us of. For he relates
" that, for fear of leſſening this Prince's love to the
" Holy See, he aſſured him, that the Pope . . . . He
" adds, that the King promiſed him with an oath
" . . . . that he would not ſuffer in his kingdom any
" religion but the Romiſh. That after this oath, the
" Legate did not think it proper to proceed in this
" conference; and therefore, without ſpeaking at that
" time, about the Prelates who were Priſoners, he
" treated with him with the ſame confidence as he
" had done before. Some even ſay (†), that his free
" behaviour to the King (he ſometimes whiſpering
" him in the ear, and laughing with him) made it
" be thought that this Prince had acted in concert
" with the Pope; and they add with Davila, that this
" gave the King an occaſion to go greater lengths,
" and alſo to cauſe the Cardinal of Guiſe to be made
" away with, when he found that little notice was taken
" of the impriſonment of the Cardinal. This is what
" the Authors in queſtion have writ in the moſt ſe-
" vere manner, as tho' it had been an undoubted
" truth: this conference, according to them, having
" been held publickly, in the court of the Caſtle of
" Blois. Nevertheleſs it is a direct falſhood; and all
" that Davila ſays on this matter, is one of thoſe
" fictions which none but poets are allowed to invent.
" This can be proved in the cleareſt and moſt un-
" anſwerable manner. There are extant the printed
" memoirs of the life of Cardinal Morofini written
" with great elegance and ſtrength, in Italian, by
" Monſieur Stephano Coſmi, Archbiſhop of Spalato,
" who honoured me ſo far as to ſend them me from
" Venice above three years ſince, and we find by
" the Letters (*) of this cardinal Legate to Cardinal
" Moltalto, nephew of Pope Sixtus V, to whom he
" gives an exact account of whatever was tranſacted
" there, the 23d of December and the following days;

(4) i. e. after he himſelf had carried the news to Catherine de Medicis of the Duke of Guiſe's death; and after having ſent Cardinal de Gondi to the Legate, to inform him of what had been done, and of the reaſons which prompted him to it, and after he had heard maſs.

(†) D'Aubigné.

(*) *Memor. del vit. del Card. Moroſ.* lib. 3. cap. 16, 17, 18.

" that

had acted in concert. It may be affirmed, that the violent resolution which the French Court took on this occasion, was one of those master-pieces of State-policy, which can be excused upon no other account, than because they are absolutely necessary for the public welfare; for had the Duke not been killed, the States would doubtless have acted the same in his favour, which they had formerly done for Pepin and Hugh Capet [C]; but the transferring of the Crown would have been of much more fatal consequence to the whole Kingdom [D] in the sixteenth Century, than in the time of Pepin and Hugh Capet. The Duke of Guise's party was so powerful, that notwithstanding their Chief had been executed in Blois, they nevertheless supported themselves with so much vigour, that they brought the King himself to his end, and forced Henry IV to forsake his Religion. France cannot call to mind those times without blushing for shame; since there never was any democracy in which the kingly authority and majesty were more slighted, than in that Kingdom in the age we are speaking of. The Preachers inveighed against the King in a furious manner [E], and described the Duke of Guise as a martyr who deserved

" that tho' he had earnestly desired, at the request of the " Duchess of Nemours, to obtain audience of the King, " that day in the morning; he was even refused admit- " tance into the Castle, tho' he employed his utmost " endeavours for that purpose; and had not the desi- " red audience till the 26th, three days after the " Cardinal's death. What Construction after this " shall we pass on all those fine Speeches and of all " those particulars of the pretended Conference of " the twenty-third; and of the Cardinal's speaking " in so soft and easy, or rather in so pleasant a manner " in the King's ear, and laughing so heartily; which " made people think, that he acted, by the Pope's " orders, in concert with the King; who seeing him " behave in this manner, resolved to go still farther, " and also make away with the Cardinal de Guise? " This may justly be called writing a History from one's " own invention, that is, a Fiction, as has been here " done by two Protestant writers (*), d'Aubigne, and the " author of the *Transactions which happened at Blois, till the Duke of Guise's death*; and our Catholick Historians, by their being imposed upon by those Hugonots, have also imposed upon their readers (5)."

(*) D'Aubigne, tom. 2. liv. 2. chap. 15. *Mem. de la Ligue*, tom. 3. p. 161.

(5) Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, pag. 279, *& seq.*

If Historians are so grosly misled in incidents of this Nature, how can we depend on a thousand particulars that are still more difficult to be discovered, and which Historians relate with an air of so much confidence? It is to be observed, that this falsity which Maimbourgh has refuted, is still inserted by writers; and I lately read it in a romantick History of the Duke of Guise (6).

(6) Printed anno 1694.

(7) He was threatned with this, in the following distich, which was posted up publickly: *Qui dedit ante duas unam abstulit, altera nutat; Tertia tonsoris munc facienda manu* This was by way of answer to the motto of the palace-clock, *Qui dedit ante duas, triplicem dabit ille coronam.*

[C] *The States would doubtless have done the same in his favour, which they had formerly for ... Hugh Capet.*] Doubtless the chiefs of the Leagues intended to divest Henry III. of the Sovereign Power; to confine him in a Monastery (7), and seat the Duke of Guise on the Throne. The Duchess of Mompensier, this Duke's Sister, made no mystery of this. She (8) *one day said to several Persons, showing the golden scissars,* (†) *, that they should quickly clip the King's hair in order that being confined to a Monastery, he might quit the Throne of which he was unworthy, and thereby make room for a man who was better qualified to sway the Scepter and extirpate the Hereticks. This man was her Brother. Maimbourg does not deny but that the Duke in question aspired to the Crown, at least after the Death of the Valois.* He joined, *says he*, (‡), in the League, in order to make himself the head of the Party, which after the death of the Valois, might raise him still higher. Among other things preparatory for this, a Genealogy had been published, by which the House of Lorrain was made to descend from Charlemagne (9). The aim of this was to show, that the French would only restore the Crown to the descendants of that King who had been deprived of it by Hugh Capet. The decrees of Providence will break through all obstacles, *fata viam invenient*; but to speak according to the course of human things, it may be said, that Henry III. shortened and made way for them, by his causing the Duke of Guise to be married; for if on one side, the King of Navarre's Situation enabled him to oppose the Usurpation with vigour; it is certain on the other, that there never was a more favourable concourse of Circumstances, than those which paved the way for the Duke of Guise to the Throne, A modern Author had reason to assert, that nothing but the power of fate could have stopped that Duke in his career. *The event*, says he (10), *shows that this Providence, which disposes in a supreme manner of Empires, would divest the Valois of that of France, in order to transfer it to the Bourbons; and there was a necessity, that every thing which might oppose it, should at last (through its unavoidable misfortune) submit to the invincible power of this decree* (11), *which no Conspiracy, League, Fortune, or any earthly Power could resist.* It was the King of Navarre's good Fortune, that he who was so resolute, had not resolution enough when he stood in need of it; and that he who was so weak, grew bold, when it was necessary he should be so. These two Circumstances saved his crown. Henry III. at his waking out of his Lethargy, struck a great blow; but the Duke of Guise had not resolution enough, to abandon himself to the stream of his good fortune. The heads of the League *would indeed have crowned him, had he dared to compleat the guilt for which he was justly punished, as great Criminals generally are, when they want resolution.* This observation is made by the Author of the romantick History of the Duke in Question. It is certain, and experience comfirms it, that the surest way of succeeding in such Attempts, is not to stop, upon pretence that it would be too great a crime (12).

(†) Thuanus, lib. 95.

(‡) *Hist. du Calvin.* pag. 491.

(9) *See* Varillas, *Hist. de Henri III*, liv. 7. pag. 216.

(10) Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, pag. 284.

(11) Apply here what Horace, Od. 35. lib. 1. says so well of Fortune,

Te semper anteit saeva necessitas
Clavos trabales & cuneos manu
Gestans aena: nec severus
Uncus abest, liquidumque plumbum.

[D] *The transferring of the crown would have been of much more fatal consequence to the whole Kingdom.*] For as the Prince who was to be the lawful successor of Henry III, possessed the most exalted merit, extremely valiant, and supported, not only by those of his own religion, but even by a considerable number of Roman Catholics? the usurper would have been obliged to fight a hundred battles in order to support himself, and both parties would have fought almost to the last man. Now the reader may judge what would have become of France during the furious contest; it would have been a theatre, as it were, of the most horrid tragedies; and to compleat the scandal, religion would have been not only the handle, but likewise the most powerful engine of those bloody operations; and it might have been said more than ever,

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum (13)!

" Religion cou'd, such horrid acts persuade.

(12) See the remark [A] of the article EDWARD IV, at the break.

(13) Lucret. lib. 1. ver. 102.

When Pepin and Hugh Capet usurped the crown, things were in a very different situation. The lawful party was so weak, that not a soul dared to appear in their favour, whereby the revolutions were not fatal to particular persons; whence it may be concluded, that there are times, as well as countries, in which such kind of enterprizes are less criminal; because the persons, who head them, may be morally assured that little blood will be shed, since the lawful possessor will be soon abandoned by all his friends; or that so few of these will adhere to him, that he will not be capable of making a resistance, every one joyning with that party which he takes to be the strongest. I have declared more than once (14), that all things have their use in a government. The ingratitude of men of high distinction, their little fidelity, their indolence, and a hundred other defects, are sometimes of greater advantage to the public than their opposite virtues.

(14) See the text of the article DOLABELLA (PUBLIUS) between the citations (*b*) and (*c*).

[E] *The Preachers inveighed against the King in a furious manner.*] " They (15) changed their sermons " into

(15) Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, liv. 3. pag. m. 295, *& seq.*

ſerved to be canonized [*F*]. The people imitated the wild frenzy of the Preachers [*G*]; and the moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance, and which the Proteſtants did not fail to make a handle of, was, that the Sorbonne, applauding the ſedition, made ſuch decrees as were entirely republican [*H*]. The Parliament of Paris heard the complaints of the Duke

" into invectives againſt the ſacred perſon of the King; " and deſcribed in ſo pathetic a manner, the tragical " death of the two brothers, whom they raiſed to the " ſkies as Martyrs, that they melted all their hearers " into tears, and made them vent the deepeſt ſighs (†); " and inſpired them with a ſtrong thirſt of revenge, " inſtead of propoſing St. Stephen as their example, " So that even thoſe who were not prompted to weep " or ſigh; and were offended at ſuch a way, ſo very " unworthy of ſo holy a miniſtry as that of the " word of God, were obliged to feign weeping, " for fear of being knocked down... Francis Pige- " nat... Rector of St. Nicholas des Champs,..... " preaching the Duke of Guiſe's funeral ſermon... " (*) carried his fury to ſuch lengths, as to aſk his con- " gregation, whether ſome one would not ariſe, and " attempt to revenge the Duke's murder, by killing " the tyrant. And, to ſtir up the people, he in- " troduced the Ducheſs, (the widow of the deceaſed) " and who was ready to lie in; and put the following " dreadful words, imitated from Virgil, into her " mouth:

" *Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor*
" *Qui face Valeſios ferroque ſequare Tyrannos.*

" Let ſome avenger, from my aſhes riſe,
" And on the Valeſian tyrants, dart red vengeance."

(†) Cayet, *Chron. Nob. Lettere di Moroſ. Mem. del vit. del detto*, lib. 3. cap. 16.

(*) *Journal manuſcrit d'Antoine Loyſel.*

" (16) The furious Guinceſtre ſhowing, as he was " preaching, ſome ſmall ſilver candleſticks (17), very " beautifully wrought, above an hundred years ſince, " in the form of ſatyrs carrying torches; accuſed the " King of being a wizard, declaring that thoſe were " the idols and figures of devils to whom Henry de " Valois uſed to ſacrifice in his retirement at Vin- " cennes, and who had commanded him to murder " the Duke of Guiſe, Defender of the Faith." Add to this, that (18) the " Pariſh Prieſts and Confeſſors " of the faction of the ſixteen, abuſing ſacrilegiouſly " the power with which they are inveſted by their holy " function, of binding or unbinding, refuſed abſolution " to thoſe who owned to them, in confeſſion, that they " could not help recognizing Henry III as their King.

(16) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 311, 312.

(17) They were found in the Oratories or Chapels of Henry III, at Bois de Vincennes, when the mob plundered them.

(18) M. de Nevers, *Traité de la priſé des Arm.* pag. 467. cited by Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 301.

[*F*] ... *and deſcribed the Duke of Guiſe as a Martyr.*] The Ducheſs of Nemours was revered, in Paris (19), " as the mother of two holy Martyrs; " and the little Feuillant, preaching one day before " her, was ſo enthuſiaſtic as to turn to her, and to " addreſs his ſpeech to the late Duke as follows. *O* " *holy and glorious Martyr of God; bleſſed is the womb* " *that bore thee, and the breaſts that gave thee ſuck* (‡)." Thuanus relates, that this Ducheſs (20) " having " humbly beſought Henry III to reſtore to her the " bodies of her ſons, his Majeſty was counſelled not " to do it, becauſe, as the people were ſo greatly " prejudiced in their favour, they would not fail to " make them worſhip thoſe dead bodies as relicks of " Saints, which would conſequently bring a ſtill " ſtronger odium on the King's perſon (§); and there- " fore care was taken to get the bodies in queſtion " conſumed with lime, by a precaution almoſt like " that whereby God would not permit the Jews to " know where the body of Moſes was. The event " ſhewed, that thoſe who gave this advice to the " King had great reaſon to do it; for among other " extravagant actions committed in Paris, after the " death of theſe two brothers, Thuanus obſerves, " that their effigies, as big as the life, all bloody, " and with the ghaſtly wounds like as when they " were aſſaſſinated, were carried daily to the al- " tars. *His accedebant libelli ineptiſſimi de martyrio* " *fratrum cum imaginibus eorum inſcite pictis nec con-* " *tenti libris, eorundem effigies juſtâ hominis menſurâ ad* " *pulvinaria templorum quotidie ſiſtebant, ſanguinolentas,* " *& pallore violentæ mortis horridas.*" See the firſt paſſage cited by me in the following remark.

(19) Maimb. ibid. pag. 305.

(‡) *Journal de Henri III.*

(20) *Critiq. Generale du Calviniſme de Maimb.* Lettre 3. pag. 37.

(§) *In Regis invidiam etiam tanquam beatorum felices exuvias ad adorationem vulgo expoſituros.*

[*G*] *The people imitated the wild frenzy of the preachers.*] " At the ſame time, that, by vertue of this " unhappy decree (21), he was diveſted of the title of " King, and called ſimply Henry de Valois, the fu- " rious populace employed their impotent malice in " inſults of every kind; they venting their rage in " ſatyrs, invectives, libels, calumnies, and outragi- " ous expreſſions of every kind, the mildeſt of which " was tyrant and apoſtate; they fell, with the moſt " brutal fury, on his arms, ſtatues, and pictures, " which were torn, trod under foot, dragged through " the dirt, burnt, caſt into the river; loading him " with a thouſand imprecations, at the ſame time that " they revered the Duke of Guiſe and his brother as " Martyrs, ſo far as to place their pictures on the " altars (22)." The reader muſt take particular notice of what Maimbourg had ſaid juſt before; as ſoon, *ſays he*, as the decree of the Sorbonne was publiſhed in Paris, *they proceeded on a ſudden to ſuch horrid lengths, and to ſo deteſtable an exceſs of fury, contrary to the duty which ſubjects owe their lawful Prince; that altho' they have been publiſhed by our writers, I yet think it will be better to ſuppreſs them than to profane my hiſtory with a detail which could render it diſagreeable and odious.* An act (23) of the pretended parliament, *ſent to all the towns which ſided with the League, increaſed the fury of the people, who committed worſe actions than before; nay ſome, by an abominable mixture of parricide, ſacrilege, and magical inchantments, placed waxen images, reſembling the King, on the altars, and pricked them in ſeveral places, uttering certain diabolical words at each of the forty maſſes, which were celebrated for them in ſeveral churches, in order to enforce their incantations, and, at the fortieth, they pierced thoſe images in the heart, as though they gave him the mortal ſtab* (24).

(21) i. e. The decree of the Sorbonne.

(22) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 300.

(23) Whereby all the members of this Parliament, being an hundred and twenty ſix in number (including the Princes and Prelates, ſwore, on the crucifix, that they would never depart from their League; but would purſue, by all kinds of methods, the juſt revenge of the death of the two Guiſes, againſt all thoſe who were the authors or accomplices of it. Ibid. pag. 311.

(24) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 300.

[*H*] *The Sorbonne ... made ſuch decrees as were entirely republican.*] I took notice elſewhere (25), of the reaſons which prompted me to employ the very words of Maimbourg; and therefore I ſhall not now make any farther apology on that account, but will here cite his very words (26). " The livery-men of " the city took it into their heads to propoſe to the " Doctors of the Sorbonne, not only by word of " mouth, but alſo by an authentic inſtrument ſigned " by the magiſtrates, and ſealed with the Town-ſeal, " the two great caſes of conſcience following: (†) firſt, " *whether the French were actually freed from the* " *oath of fidelity and obedience which they had been taken* " *to the King*; ſecondly, *whether they might take up* " *arms and join together; might levy money; and en-* " *deavour to defend and preſerve the Catholic, Apo-* " *ſtolical and Romiſh religion in France* (‡); *to oppoſe* " *the deteſtable deſigns and efforts of the King and of all* " *his adherents, ſince his having violated the public* " *faith at Blois, in prejudice of the Catholic religion,* " *the edict of the Holy Union, and the natural liberty of* " *the States.* Whereupon the faculty (conſiſting of " ſeventy Doctors) being aſſembled the ſeventh of Ja- " nuary; after a ſolemn proceſſion, and a maſs of " the Holy Ghoſt, *concluded for the affirmative, on* " *theſe two points, with a common conſent, and with-* " *out the leaſt oppoſition; theſe are the very words of* " *the decree; and that they ſhould ſend this reſolution* " *to the Pope, in order that he might approve and con-* " *firm it by his authority; and might be graciouſly* " *pleaſed to ſuccour the Gallican Church, which ſuf-* " *fered greatly, and was grievouſly oppreſſed.* The " Sorbonne, the 5th of April of the ſame year 1589, " made another decree, by which they declare, *That* " *Henry de Valois cannot be prayed for in any eccleſiaſti-* " *cal prayer, much leſs in the canon of the Maſs,* " *becauſe of the excommunication he has incurred; and* " *that the following words,* pro Rege noſtro, *ought to* " *be ſtruck out of the Canon, leſt it ſhould be thought* " *that he is prayed for, though the prieſt, directing his* " *intention to ſome other perſon, means thoſe who go-* " *vern, or the perſon for whom God deſigns the kingdom.* " *They declare that, inſtead of theſe words, three prayers,* " pro Chriſtianis principibus noſtris (‡), *be ſaid at* " *maſs out of the Canon; they were printed, and are* " *ſtill ſeen. Laſtly they add, that thoſe who ſhall re-* " *fuſe to comply with this reſolution, ſhall be deprived*

(25) In the article of GREGORY I, between the citations (46) and (47). GREGORY VII, at the end of the remark [*E*].

(26) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 297, 298. *ad ann.* 1589.

(†) *Mem. de Ligue*, tom. 3. Mr. de Nevers, *Traité de la priſe des Armes.*

(‡) *Mem. de la Ligue*, tom. 3.

Duke of Guiſe's widow, who ſued for juſtice on Henry III, for his putting her huſband o death [*I*]. I ſhall cite an elogium which is found in the *Entretiens* of Balzac [*K*]. This

" *of the prayers and rights of the faculty, whence they* " *ſhall be expelled, as excommunicated perſons; which* " *was unanimouſly approved by all the doctors.* Theſe " republican principles ſpread ſo much among the " French divines, that Genebrard, one of the chief " Deputies of the Clergy to the States which were " held in Paris, anno 1593, preached a ſermon be- " fore the Aſſembly, *in which, inſtead of exhorting,* " *by the word of God, the Deputies to devote their whole* " *thoughts to the preſervation of the government, and of* " *religion, which is the firmeſt ſupport of it; he en-* " *deavoured to prove, by very poor reaſons, that their* " *Aſſembly had power to change and annul the Salic* " *Law, which is the fundamental law of the ſtate,* " *and which has been always obſerved inviolably, from* " *the eſtabliſhment of the French Monarchy to the preſent* " *time* (27)."

(27) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 458.

[*I*] *The parliament of Paris heard the complaints of the Duke of Guiſe's widow, who ſued for juſtice on Henry III, for putting her huſband to death.*] The particulars we read in the *Critique generale du Calviniſme de Maimbourg* (28), with reſpect to the proſecution carried on againſt that King, are curious enough; but here follows what is ſtill more ſo. It was communicated to me by a gentleman of great abilities (29), who has collected a numberleſs multitude of literary particulars, and who is wonderfully well ſkilled in all ſorts of books, though ever ſo ſcarce and little known. He has been ſo good as to write me word, that he is poſſeſſed of a little book, containing ſixteen pages in 8vo, the title of which is as follows. *Advertiſement and firſt draughts of the proſecution for the Deputies or Repreſentatives of the kingdom of France, to the pretended States which were to aſſemble in the city of Blois, plaintiffs. The people, and the heirs of the deceaſed Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe, likewiſe plaintiffs, and joined together: Againſt Henry de Valois, third of that name, heretofore King of France and Poland, otherwiſe called the Theſſalonian, in the name and quality which he proceeds in courſe of law, defendant. With the approbation of the Doctors. Sold by Denys Binet, with permiſſion,* 1589. The book begins as follows.

(28) Letter 13. pag. 228. of the 3d edit. He cites a very remarkable paſſage of Mr. de Perefixe, *Hiſtoire de Henri le Grand.*

(29) Mr. Bourdelot, Phyſician to Mr. Boucherat Chancellor of France, and ſince of the Ducheſs of Burgundy.

Advertiſement of the Proſecution.

" The Deputies of the kingdom of France, plain- " tiffs, purſuant to the ſummons and declaration of " Mr. Peter du Four l'Eveque, dated the 12th of Ja- " nuary 1589, on the one part, and the people and " aſſociates, alſo joined plaintiffs on the one part: " Againſt Henry de Valois, in the name and quality " in which he proceeds in courſe of law, defendant " on the other part; declare, in preſence of you the " Officers and Counſellors of the crown of France, " holding the court of parliament in Paris; that " for the cauſes, reaſons, and means hereafter ſet " forth,

" The ſaid Henry de Valois, on account of the " murder and aſſaſſination, committed in the perſon " of the moſt illuſtrious the Duke and Cardinal of " Guiſe; ſhall be ſentenced, as an atonement for the " ſaid aſſaſſination, to make *amende honorable* (do pe- " nance) he being ſtript to his ſhirt, bare-headed and " bare-footed, with a halter about his neck, attended " by the Executioner; carrying in his hand a burning " flambeaux weighing thirty pounds; which ſaid " Henry ſhall declare in the Aſſembly of the States, " upon both his knees, that he wrongfully, and " without cauſe, either committed, or cauſed to be " committed, the ſaid aſſaſſination in the perſons of " the ſaid Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe; for which " he ſhall beg pardon of God, of Juſtice, and of the " States: that from this time, he ſhall be depoſed as " a criminal, and declared to be ſuch, and denounced " unworthy of the crown of France, renouncing all " the rights he might claim to it; and that for the " things more fully mentioned and declared in the " proſecution, of which he ſhall be found well and " duly attainted and convicted. Farther, he ſhall " be baniſhed to, and confined for ever, in the con- " vent and monaſtery of the Hieronymites, near " the wood of Vincennes, there to live on bread and " water the remainder of his days; he likewiſe is " ſentenced to pay the coſts; and for theſe cauſes ſay, " &c. By theſe means, and others, which the *Cour* " *de Grace* may better ſupply, the plaintiffs conclude " with coſts. In the abſence of the Counſellor, " ſign'd

CHICOT.

" *Arret of the Supreme Court of the Peers of France,* " *againſt the murderers and aſſaſſins of the Cardinal* " *and Duke of Guiſe. Paris, ſold by Nicholas Ni-* " *velle,* 1589, 8vo. *with permiſſion.*

" The Court, all the Chambers being aſſembled, " having ſeen the petition preſented to it by the Lady " Catherine of Cleves, Ducheſs Dowager of Guiſe, " &c. and heard, at her requeſt, the Attorney-general, " and all things conſidered, has enacted, and ordained, " that the commiſſion be delivered to the ſaid petition- " er, directed to two Counſellors, to examine into the " contents of the ſaid Petition, its circumſtances and " dependencies; to the end that the enquiries being " made, reported to the ſaid court, and communicated " to the ſaid Attorney-general, they may enact as to " them ſhall ſeem fitting. Enacted in Parliament the " laſt day of January, 1589, ſign'd

BOUCHER.

" On the petition preſented this day by Lady Ca- " therine de Cleves, &c. the court, in all the Cham- " bers being aſſembled, has appointed and appoints, " Meſſieurs Peter Michon, and John Courtin, Counſel- " lors, to examine into the contents of the ſaid pe- " tition, its circumſtances and dependencies; and the " execution of the preſent arret ſhall be made by ver- " tue of the extract thereof. Enacted in parliament " the laſt day of January, 1589.

BOUCHER.

" *Extracts of the Regiſters of Parliament.*

" The court, all the Chambers being aſſembled, " having ſeen the petition preſented to it by Lady " Catherine of Cleves, &c. importing that in another " petition preſented by her, &c. and having heard " the Attorney-general on that ſubject, and all things " conſidered, the ſaid court has admitted and admits " the ſaid de Cleves, appellant, from the grant of " the ſaid commiſſion, the execution thereof, and " all that enſued or may enſue upon it; enacts, that " a commiſſion of the ſaid court be delivered to her, " to ſummon whomſoever it may concern on the ſaid " appeal; and, in the mean time, forbids particu- " larly commiſſioners and all others, to proceed far- " ther; or to attempt any juriſdiction or cognizance " of the fact contained in the ſaid petition, its cir- " cumſtances and dependencies, upon pain of having " their proceedings annulled. The ſaid court enacts " farther, that all ſummons made in general, and " proclaimed in the neighbouring places of ſafe " acceſs, ſhall be as good and valid, as if they were " made to the perſons, or at the habitations of thoſe " whom it will be neceſſary to ſummons. Enacted in " parliament the firſt day of February, 1589, and " ſign'd

DU TILLET.

[*K*] *I ſhall cite an elogium which is found in the Entretiens of Balzac.*] I don't doubt but it was written by Balzac, and that being ſo particularly fond of the figure called the Hyperbole, he has exaggerated greatly on this occaſion. But be this as it will, here follow his words:

" France was madly fond of this man; for it would " be too faint an expreſſion, to ſay that ſhe was in " love with him. We are not to wonder that ſhe " deviated ſo much as ſhe did from her duty. Such " a paſſion reſembled very much Idolatry. Some peo- " ple invoked him in their prayers; and others put " the copper-plate repreſenting him in their Prayer- " books.

This Duke was born the 31ſt of December 1550 (c). He married in 1570, Catherine of Cleves, ſecond daughter of Francis of Cleves Duke of Nevers, who died in Paris the 11th of May 1633, aged eighty five years (d). Varillas relates a very ſingular particular with regard to this marriage [L]. They both violated their conjugal fidelity [M]; and if this Hiſtorian may be credited, it was not the huſband who revenged himſelf on his wife's gallant; he contenting himſelf with putting her into a prodigious fright [N]. He left ſeveral children (e).

(c) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 284. ſays that he was killed at 42 years of age; but he is miſtaken in four years.

(d) Hilarion de Coſte, *Elog. des Dames illuſtres*, tom. 1. p. 301.

(e) He had 14 by her; not in 14 years, as Varillas aſſerts, *Hiſtoire de Henry III*, liv. 12. pag. 343; for he was married 18 years, and left his Lady with child.

He

" books. As to his Portrait, it was every where. " Some uſed to run after him in the ſtreets, in order to " rub their heads againſt his cloak; and one day as he " was returning from Champagne, and coming into Pa- " ris through St. Anthony's Gate, the people not only " cried to him *long live Guiſe*; but ſeveral ſung, *Hoſan- " na to the ſon of David:* (Hoſanna filio David). Some " aſſemblies, that were far from being little ones, were " inſtantly ſtruck with his good mein. No heart " could reſiſt his Face, he perſuading before he opened " his Mouth. It was impoſſible for any one to bear " him ill-will in his preſence. The firſt glance he " darted at his enemies immediately took away all " the rancour from their minds which they had enter- " tained againſt him at their coming; and produced " ſuch an emotion in their blood, and ſo great a " change in their tempers; that they after this were " forced to ſtruggle with themſelves a conſiderable time " before they could reſume the hatred which was dead " in them. So that what I heard a courtier under that " reign ſay, ſeems to me well obſerved, viz. *That the " Huguenots were for the League, when they caſt their " eyes on the Duke of Guiſe.* I ſhall leave to Hiſto- " rians the relating his actions; and even to extend " their curioſity to thoſe which he meditated. " I ſhall not venture to explain thoſe court-riddles; " my ſpeculations not reaching ſo far. It is enough " for me to believe, without gueſſing, that he muſt " have been a very extraordinary man, ſince his bare " name, after his death, was ſufficient to continue the " war againſt two potent Kings; and ſince the greateſt " captain in Europe, the ſecond founder of this Go- " vernment, Henry the Great, of glorious memory, " took cities and won battles, merely to deſtroy the cre- " dit of a perſon who had been dead ſome time. I " muſt not omit a ſmart ſaying which you will be " pleaſed to hear. It is not of the elogium-kind, " and is aſcribed to Marſhal de Rais's Lady. *Thoſe " Lorrain Princes*, would ſhe ſay, *have ſo noble a mein, " that other Princes in their preſence, looked like ſo ma- " ny Plebeians.* This is a pretty bold way of " ſpeaking, and a ſcrupulous Grammarian would ſay, " it was vulgar. But the court is above the Schools, " and does not recognize any more than the church, " the juriſdiction claimed by Grammar (30).

(30) Balzac, *Entretien* 24. pag. m. 260.

[L] *Varillas relates a ſingular Particular with regard to this Marriage.*] He ſays (31), that the Duke of Guiſe hearing that Charles IX. reſolved to get him aſſaſſinated, conſulted the Ducheſs of Nemours his Mother, *who told him, that he could not ſhun the misfortune with which he was threatened, any otherwiſe than by marrying that very Night* (32); *and that ſhe undertook to procure him a wife. Accordingly ſhe ſent for the Princeſs of Porcien, who did not think it adviſeable to refuſe the match. Thus the marriage was propoſed, negotiated, concluded, conſummated, and the Ducheſs was with child of a ſon, who was afterwards the fourth Duke of Guiſe; and the whole was tranſacted in the ſpace of four hours. The King being informed of this the next Morning, annulled the order he had given to la Tour Gondy.* If this incident were true, I am ſurprized it ſhould have eſcaped le Laboureur; he knowing ſeveral curious particulars relating to the Ducheſs of Guiſe. He relates (33), that the Prince of Porcien, a little before his Death, deſired his wife, *whom he ſuſpected had ſome affection for the Duke of Guiſe, not to marry him. You are young, ſaid he to her, you are handſome, and likewiſe rich; all theſe circumſtances joined to that of the greatneſs of your extraction, will invite many ſuitors to you. I approve of your marrying again, and leave to yourſelf the choice of a Huſband, in any part of the Kingdom, except one man. The Perſon I mean is the Duke of Guiſe, who of all men is the moſt odious to me, and I earneſtly intreat you not to let my greateſt Enemy inherit, what I valued more than any other terreſtial Bleſſing. He died of a Fever at Paris in 1564; and ſix years after his Widow, after the comparing the memory of a deceaſed Huſband, with the preſence of ſo conſiderable an object as Henry of Lorrain Duke of Guiſe, was won by his merit, and married to him.* This relation and that of Varillas, are little conſiſtent.

(31) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henry III*, liv. 13. pag. 342.

(32) The reader is to know, that Charles IX would have put him to death, becauſe he imagined he entertained a paſſion for Princeſs Margaret. See the romantic hiſtory of the Duke of Guiſe, printed at Paris in 1694, where this Princeſs is repreſented ſo very fond of the Duke of Guiſe, that it exceeds all the decorum of romance, but not of veriſimilitude, except that the author ſuppoſes, that, in the moſt favourable opportunities for enjoyment, the lovers always ſeparated without &c.

(33) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Caſtelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 390.

[M] *They both violated their conjugal Fidelity.*] The Duke of Guiſe's amours are pretty well known, they forming part of the picture which Maimbourg has drawn of him, as was ſeen above. " He had ſpent " the night before that in which he was aſſaſſinated " with a Lady of the Queen's houſhold, which was " the occaſion of his coming later to council; and it was " even thought that his bleeding at the Noſe in the " Council-hall, which obliged him to ask for ſome " ſweat-meats, was owing to his having exhauſted " himſelf with that Lady. If you will not take this " on my credit, at leaſt believe Thuanus, whoſe " words I cite in the margin (*), and wonder at the " injuſtice of this Duke. Tho' he ſo often violated " his conjugal fidelity, he would not ſuffer his Lady " to pay him in the ſame coin; for he cauſed a hand- " ſome young Gentleman to be cruelly aſſaſſinated, one " Mr. S. Megrin, a Minion of the King's; becauſe of " certain reports which were ſpread with relation to " him and the Ducheſs of Guiſe (*). With ſubmiſ- " ſion to the King of Navarre, who had his private " reaſons for approving S. Megrin's murther (34), " this action of the Duke of Guiſe was highly crimi- " nal (35)." We ſhall ſoon quote an Author who declares that the Duke of Guiſe had no hand in St. Megrin's murther. However the Court of France thought he had (36); and the King of Navarre was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded of this, that he ſaid; *I am pleaſed that the Duke of Guiſe, my Couſin, could not bear that ſuch a Spark as St. Megrin ſhould cuckold him. In the ſame manner ſhould all trifling Court-ſparks be treated, who preſume to addreſs Princeſſes in an amorous way* (37). But the Author I am going to cite does not deny the Ducheſs of Guiſe's intrigues. However it muſt be obſerved, that he does not pretend to warrant the truth of them.

(*) *Ultimus comparuit Guiſius, quem ea nocte ſecurum Veneri furtivæ cum quadam Gynæcei matrona, quam perdite deperibat, indulſiſſe, eoque tardius ſurrexiſſe conſtans rumor fuit. Dulciaria quædam Cubicullariis regiis ad refocillandas vires petita, quod tamen ab aliis non tam pavori quàm laſſitudini ex contubernio feminæ illius cum qua concubuerat, contractæ aſſignatum eſt.* Thuanus, lib. 93.

(*) *Journal de Henri III*, 21 July 1578.

(34) See the citation (37) below.

(35) *Critique générale de l'Hiſt. du Calviniſme*, Lett. 3. pag. 41.

(36) See the *Journal de Henri III*, pag. m. 31.

(37) Ibid.

[N] *He contenting himſelf with putting his wife into a prodigious fright.*] Cauſſade Saint Maigrin, a Gentleman of Bourdeaux, became the favourite of Henry III, merely on account of his beauty ... He had the impudence to affirm, that the Ducheſs of Guiſe (*) had yielded herſelf to his embraces. The Duke " of Guiſe being of all men the leaſt ſuſceptible " of jealouſy with regard to women, he was not pri- " vately told, at firſt, the ridiculous vanity of Saint " Maigrin. The Duke's neareſt relations and beſt " friends were made acquainted with it, on which " occaſion they all were ſo urgent with him, that in " order to get rid of their importunity, he promiſed to " take vengeance, firſt of his wife, and afterwards " of her pretended gallant, and accordingly he did " not lie, as his cuſtom was, with her the night " following; but the next morning he came into her " chamber, by four a clock, holding a dagger in his " right hand, and a ſilver porringer filled with a " blackiſh Liquor in his left. He then awaked the " Ducheſs out of a deep ſleep, when reproaching " her with infidelity in few words, he told her, with " an air and tone of voice which were expreſſive " of the greateſt fury and deſpair, that he gave her " the choice, either of being murthered with the " dagger, or dying with the poiſon contained in the " porringer he held (38)." *The Ducheſs's intreaties not availing, ſhe took the pretended poiſon, ſwallowed it, and fell upon her Knees, before her little altar, expecting to die every moment; but as this pretended poiſon was the beſt gelly broth that could be made, ſhe received no harm; and an hour after her Husband came and informed her in what manner he had been ſollicited to make away with her; and the whimſical courſe he had taken*

(*) In the *Memoires of Mr. de Boiſſy*. They are in Mr. de Meſme's Library.

(38) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Henri III*, liv. 12. pag. 343.

He was ſirnamed *Gaſh-Faced* [O], on account of a wound which he had received in the cheek, in a battle fought anno 1575. The Duke of Mayenne, his brother, ſet himſelf up as head or chief of the League, and in this quality he exerciſed a power which differed very little from that of Monarchs. He might have aſſumed the title of King [P]; but there doubtleſs were ſome reaſons why he contented himſelf with the title of *Lieutenant General of the Eſtate and Crown of France*, accompanied with an almoſt

taken in order to be revenged on thoſe who had given him this advice. The Duke of Guiſe's friends and relations thinking that it would now be impoſſible for them to ſet that Nobleman againſt his Lady, after this attempt, gave it over, and bent their whole thoughts to murther St. Maigrin. Accordingly about twenty men on Horſe-back waited for him, as he was coming out of the Louvre at mid-night; and gave him thirty-three wounds, moſt of which were mortal, with their ſwords or piſtols. The King did not ſeem offended at this, *becauſe it was told him, that a man was ſeen among the aſſaſſins extreamly tall, and with hands in a Shoulder of Mutton form, and who ſeemed to be the Duke of Mayenne.*

I am to obſerve, that this Ducheſs of Guiſe had been a Proteſtant whilſt her firſt Husband lived; but after his death, ſhe turned Roman Catholic *in the chapel of the caſtle of St. Germain en Laye, at the deſire of Queen Catherine of Medicis her Godmother* (39).

(39) Hilarion de Coſte, *Vies des Dames Illuſtres*, tom. 1. pag. 295.

[O] *He was ſirnamed Gaſh-faced.*] A celebrated Hiſtorian makes a remark which appears to me not juſt. "The Duke of Guiſe, *ſays he*, (40), Governor "of Champagne, charged the German Horſe, and "defeated them near Chateau Thierry. He was there "wounded in the left cheek, with a Musket, the "mark (*) of which continued to his death, and which "were very glorious with reſpect to the Catholicks, and "of great advantage to him with regard to the Ladies, "who fancy that valiant men are ſo on all occaſions." There is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe, that marks of valour are a powerful recommendation in the minds of the Fair. Mademoiſelle de Scuderi has ſaid ſomewhere (41), "that though valour is not the virtue of Women, it "is yet certain that they love it; and even ſome-"times act unjuſtly with regard to other good qua-"lities, for the ſake of this; by preferring perſons "who are only valiant, to others who poſſeſs many "virtues inſtead of one." It is certain that women deſpiſe men who are ſuſpected to be cowards (42); and that many put the courage of their Admirers to the trial; I mean that they expoſe them to quarrels, to ſee whether they are capable of behaving with courage in them. How many raſh actions were attempted in the armies of France in the XVI Century, for the love of a miſtreſs, and to gain her favour (43)? Mezerai's remarks cannot therefore be found fault with in all reſpects; but it may be aſſerted, that the reaſon on which he grounds it is not ſolid. It is granted that the Ladies love courageous men, and valiant admirers; but it's not becauſe they are brave in all reſpects; it is rather on account of the exalted fame that is inſeparable from bravery, and which reflects an honour on the miſtreſſes of thoſe who have acquired ſo great a renown. Therefore, when Women prefer Warriors to thoſe of a peaceable profeſſion, and Warriors of diſtinguiſhed bravery to thoſe who are otherwiſe, this ariſes more from pride than from lewdneſs. They think it is more glorious to captivate a man of exalted courage than to enſnare one of a pacifick diſpoſition. The advantage in this reſpect is real, but all the reſt is caſual. Some valiant men do not equal in love combats, thoſe who never ſtirred out of their houſes. Many a Roman, who had ſerved twenty glorious campaigns, and received the higheſt military rewards, was much inferior, with reſpect to the other kind of valour, to an Ovid and an Horace (44), and to an hundred finical fops, very unable to manage a ſword. I do not think that the braveſt man in France could have diſputed on this head, with Zacachriſt; nor that Marſhal de Rantzaw, who bore ſo many glorious marks of his valour, and had many more ſcars than the Duke of Guiſe, had near ſo much ſtrength as the tender Voiture.

(40) Mezerai, *Abrege Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 207. *ad ann.* 1575.

(*) He there was called *Gaſh-faced.*

(41) In one of the volumes of *Clelia.*

(42) See the remark [B] of the article CERISANTES.

(43) Brantome ſpeaks of them in many places.

If we trace things higher, we ſhall find that the valiant Hector was not the raviſher of Helena, but the cowardly and effeminate Paris; and we ſhall find that the famous Homer, who painted all the paſſions in ſo natural and happy a manner, quotes the examples of that Poltroon, to ſtigmatize the wild impatience of thoſe who dally with their wives in the day-time. There is not one man in all his poem, who does this but Paris. It is to be obſerved, that he burns with this impatience, even in the midſt of the confuſion with which he ought to have been filled, for having fled but a moment before from a battle. Did not the poet intend thereby to denote the venereal ſtrength of cowards? Plutarch does not ſay ſo; but he perhaps might have aſſerted it with as much reaſon as he had for the following words (45): "To what purpoſe ſhall "I inſtance what Homer ſays of Paris, who, flying "from the field, goes to bed to the fair Helen; for "ſince the poet does not introduce in any other part "of his poem, any man lying with his wife in the "day time; he thereby ſhews clearly enough, that he "looks upon ſuch an incontinence as a very ſhameful "action (46)." See in the ſecond book of the Iliad, the reproaches which Hector made to this fugitive, and here follows what Helen ſaid to him.

(44) He himſelf owns Ode 7. lib. 2. that he run away in a battle; and Suetonius, in *Vita Horatii*, affirms that this Poet was very immoderate in venereal pleaſures; *ad res venereas intemperantior traditur, nam & ſpeculato, &c.*

(45) Plut. *de audiendis Poetis*, pag. 18, F.

(46) Οὐδένα γὰρ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἡμέρας συγκοιμώμενον γυναικὶ ποιήσας ἢ τὸν ἀνόλαστον καὶ μοιχικόν, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δῆλός ἐστι καὶ ψόγῳ τιθέμενος τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκρασίαν. Idem, ibid.

Quod bene te jactas, & fortia facta recenſes;
A verbis facies diſſidet iſta ſuis.
Apta magis Veneri, quam ſint tua Corpora Marti.
Bella gerant fortes: tu, Pari, ſemper ama.
Hectora quem laudas, pro te pugnare jubeto;
Militia eſt operis altera digna tuis (47).

(47) Ovid. *Epiſt. Helen ad Paris.* ver. 251. pag. m. 74.

The ſenſe is,

"Thy boaſtings, and recital of thy Deeds,
"Ill ſuit thy ſoft, and even gentle aſpect.
"For Venus thou, and not for Wars wer't born.
"Let Warriors fight, but thou for love wer't form'd.
"Bid Hector, whom thou praiſeſt, combat for thee:
"A different warfare, Paris, claims thy valour.

[P] *The Duke of Mayenne . . . . exerciſed a power which differed very little from that of Monarchs. He might have aſſumed the title of King.*] News being brought him, at Lyons, of the death of the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe, his Brothers, he immediately withdrew to Burgundy, of which he was Governour (48); he there aſſembled Troops, and afterwards marched towards Paris. *At his coming to Troyes, he was received with the ſame honours which are paid the King. He there acted as Sovereign, diſpatching from thence Commiſſions to the Creatures of the Duke of Guiſe, and particularly to Roan and St. Paul, whom he ordered to command in Champagne and Brie* (49). "He came February 12, "1589, into Paris (*), where, as tho' they had ſeen "the Duke of Guiſe riſen from the dead in this Per-"ſon, the people were ſo exceſſive in the wild tranſ-"ports of their Joy, that they even exhibited his "Portrait with a cloſe Crown to publick view, and "raiſed a royal throne to him (*); and had he been "ambitious and bold enough to ſeat himſelf on it, "there would, perhaps, have been people enough to "recognize him, in order to hold under him Govern-"ments, which he would have beſtowed on them un-"der the title of Dukedoms and Counties with "homage, as Hugh Capet did (50)." But he refuſed to accept of this honour, and would not afterwards ſuffer another to poſſeſs it. He contented himſelf *at firſt with eſtabliſhing his authority*, by making himſelf the ſtrongeſt in the council of the League (51). "He therein ordered all things according to his will, "in ſpite of the Sixteen, and cauſed himſelf to be "inveſted with an authority which very much re-"ſembled the ſovereign power of Kings. For the "firſt thing agreed upon in this new council was, "that to denote this almoſt abſolute and ſovereign "power which they ſuffered him to aſſume, or gave "to him; he ſhould enjoy, thenceforwards, till the "holding of the States, the very extraordinary and "unparallelled quality of Lieutenant-general, not of "the King (for the League did not yet recognize any) "but of the State and Crown of France (52). He "took

(48) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 294.

(49) Ibid. pag. 315.

(*) *Journal MS. de M. Loyſel.*

(*) *Journal de Henri III.*

(50) Maimb. *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 315.

(51) Ibid. pag. 316.

(52) Ibid. pag. 317.

most despotic power that was real. He and the League laid it down as a supposition that the throne was vacant, and thereupon overturned the most solemn and most fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. I shall take notice of an act that was taken surreptitiously out of the Records of the Parliament of Paris [Q], and which will shew, that, in whatever concerns the creation of Presidents of this Parliament, he exercised all the functions of a King. He convened the Estates of the Kingdom (*f*), and caused them to be held at Paris in 1593. He therein created an Admiral, and four Marshals of France (*g*). He declared in this Assembly, that the *only motive of their assembling, was, to proceed to the election of a King who should be a Catholic* (*h*). But when he found that he

(*f*) Maimb. *Hist. de la Ligue*, pag. 456.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 460.

(*h*) Ibid. pag. 462.

took an oath for this new and odd dignity, the (‡) 13th of March, in the Parliament, who confirmed the patent sealed with new seals, that were made in lieu of those of the King which were broke; and, to begin the exercise of his employment by an act of sovereignty (*), he immediately published new laws compris'd in twenty one articles, to unite, under a like form of government, all the cities that had joined in the League, or should hereafter join, the number of which was very great in a short time (53)." He took the field, and attacked the King's army more than once. He brought Spanish forces into the kingdom; and, if he opposed the design which the Leaguers had to elect a King who should marry the Infanta; it was only because he was not to be concerned with this nomination, as he was married, and because it was calculated for the Duke of Guise his nephew. He persisted so obstinately in his rebellion, that he continued to make war on Henry IV, even after the city of Paris had submitted to this Prince, who was then turned Roman Catholic. He did not submit, till after such advantageous offers were made him by the King, that he could hardly have expected so great favours from a monarch who had the highest obligations to him (54). The edict which was enacted in his favour, was dated at Folembrai, the 11th of January 1596 (55).

(‡) *Journal MS. de M. Loysel.*

(*) Cayet, tom. 1.

(53) Maimb. *Hist. de la Ligue*, pag. 318.

(54) *See* Maimb. *Hist. de la Ligue*, pag. 518. *& seq.*

(55) Ibid. pag. 519.

[Q] *I shall take notice of an act, that was taken surreptitiously out of the words of the Parliament of Paris.*] I have a copy of it taken from the original, signed Du Tillet. The tenor of this act is as follows.

"*Extract of the Registers of Parliament.*

"This day the Sieur Duke of Mayenne, Lieutenant-general of the royal State and Crown of France, the chambers being assembled, and the King's Council being present; having remonstrated to the Court the causes of his coming into this city, and leaving a great army; and that since the fourteenth of the last month, the said Court did not sit (56), and there being no President now in it, he had thought it proper to come and advise with them about it, in order to appoint four Presidents, that this great Chamber, and that of the Tournelle, may not be without Heads or Chiefs; and that he may cause Letters-Patents to be issued for those who shall be elected, he not being willing to nominate any of them himself, but refers the whole to the said Court. Whereupon, having called several times upon the Court to name them, and the King's Council being heard, it has been remonstrated to him by Mr. Mathew Chartier, Dean, and the most antient Counsellor, that upon a vacation of the said States, or Offices, the Court used to nominate some of them to the King, out of whom he chose one or two who were put in possession of them. But as there is now no King, and considering the condition of the city; the said Court referred it to him, and desired him to nominate some. And at last, after many excuses he said, that since it was so desired by the Court, and pursuant to the prayer he had offered up in the morning, to Almighty God, and to his Holy Spirit, that this affair might be carried on with the requisite sincerity; he was resolved to nominate, as first President, the Sieur Chartier, eldest Counsellor, before nominated by the Court to be President, whose virtue, integrity, and abilities were universally known; and, for the second President, the Sieur Hacqueville President of the great Council; and for the office of third President, the Sieur de Nully, first President in the Court of *Aids*, and before invested with one of the said employments; and for the fourth President, the Sieur le Maistre, the King's Advocate he having never seen, that he remembers, the said Sieur Chartier and le Maistre, or any others whom the Court shall think fit to nominate; which nomination being approved by the said Court, the matter being debated; and notwithstanding the excuses and remonstrances of the said Sieur Chartier, on account of his great age of seventy nine years, of his known indisposition, and his being newly recovered from a grievous fit of sickness; and because so advanced age required rest rather than fatigues of such an employment, it yet has been resolved that he shall take the oath of first President in the said Court. And after having sworn that, in order to obtain that employment, he has not given, nor promised to give, or cause to be given, by himself or others, either gold, silver, or any other valuable consideration: and farther, that he will truly and faithfully exercise the said state and office of first President, he has been admitted, and made a profession of his faith to Mr. Stephen Fleury, eldest Counsellor. Enacted in Parliament the second day of December, one thousand five hundred and ninety one. Duly collated. Signed

DU TILLET.

(56) The reader is to know, that after the Sixteen had hanged President Brisson, the Parliament would not meet any more; which obliged the Duke of Mayenne to go to Paris for the affair in question.

FORMULARY of provisions in execution of the abovementioned Arret.

"CHARLES of Lorrain, Duke of Mayenne, Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France, to all those to whom these presents shall come, greeting. The greatest sign of the authority and holy will of those who have governed States, and what they have been most esteemed for by the Nations subject to them, and, admired by foreigners, has been, when they took care to raise and maintain the two pillars, on which the preservation of all Monarchies is founded, viz. piety and justice. Wherefore, since it has pleased God to call us to the government of the affairs of this Kingdom; after having considered, to the best of our power, the regulations and provisions requisite for advancing the glory of God; our chief intent has been, to fill the posts of the chief offices of justice, with persons of such a life and integrity as was suitable to those employments which we were desirous they should fill. And it having been remonstrated to us, and we being sensible of it, that it was very necessary to fill up the States and Officers of the Presidents of the Court of the Parliament of Paris, lest for want thereof the Court of Justice should be interrupted, as it has been for some time; having resolved to appoint four of them, in order that neither the great Chamber of Pleas, nor the Tournelle may remain without heads; be it known, that after having this day communicated our desires and intentions to the Gentlemen of the said court, the chambers being assembled; and having nominated the four persons whom we judged worthy or qualified for those employments, and whom they have greatly approved, as appears by the act and decree of this day here affixed under the counter-seal; we considering the good and acceptable services which Mr. &c. For such is our desire. In witness whereof we have caused the seal of the Kingdom of France to be affixed to it. Enacted in Paris the 2d of December, 1591. Signed *Charles of Lorraine*; and on the fold of the Patent, by Monseigneur *Pericard*."

Mr. Marais a Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, was so obliging as to send me the copy he had taken of this act. He has also favoured me with some observations on my Dictionary, which give me a high idea of his genius and erudition.

he himſelf could not be elected, for he was married, and was reſolved to make choice of a Prince, who might marry the Infanta of Spain; he artfully diverted that deſign, and ſo much the more earneſtly, becauſe he knew that the Duke of Guiſe, his nephew, was to be choſen King. He was extremely troubled at this nomination (*i*). His Ducheſs could not bear this, and therefore ſhe adviſed the Duke her huſband *to make a peace with the King, rather than be ſo mean-ſpirited as to recognize, as his Maſter and his King*, this little boy; *for ſo ſhe called her nephew out of contempt.* Thoſe who reflect on theſe attempts of the Guiſes, cannot conceive what James Rohault the Carteſian Philoſopher was dreaming of [*R*], when he wrote the dedication prefixed to his Phyſics.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 479.

[*R*] *Thoſe who reflect on thoſe attempts of the Guiſes, cannot conceive what James Rohault the Carteſian Philoſopher was dreaming of &c.*] He publiſhed his Phyſics, anno 1671, and dedicated it to the Duke of Guiſe, to whom he addreſſed the following compliment. "Tho' I had been at liberty to deliberate with "regard to the choice; what other protection could "I have deſired for the natural truths I exhibit to "the public, but that of a name which has ever "been deſtined to ſupport the greateſt truths in the "world? Your anceſtors have defended, with ſuch a "piety as is ever worthy of being propoſed as an "example, the divine truths of the faith, againſt "thoſe who declared themſelves enemies to it. Theſe "illuſtrious heroes have maintained at the expence of "their blood and lives, political truths; I mean "the fundamental laws of the ſtate, and the immu-"table rights of our ſovereigns (α), againſt foreign in-"vaders, and the inteſtine fury of rebels; and it was "reſerved for YOUR HIGHNESS, over and above "all this, to be the protector of the truths of nature; "after inheriting the exalted ſentiments of your an-"ceſtors in all other reſpects. We ſhould even ſee, "in imitation of them, the ſame zeal ſhine forth in "the perſon of your Highneſs, if the want of an op-"portunity did not ſuſpend the exerciſe of it under "the glorious reign of the greateſt and wiſeſt Mo-"narch in the world (57)." Were a Poet to write ſuch things, even in very beautiful verſe, one might naturally ſuppoſe, that he had done it, for his ſins, and to expiate ſome great crime; and the following thought of Horace might be applied to him:

(57) Rohault's *Dedicat. to his Phyſics.*

> *Nec ſatis apparet cur verſus factitet, utrum*
> *Minxerit in patrios cineres, an triſte bidental*
> *Moverit inceſtus: certe furit* (68).

(58) Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. 470.

> "'Tis hard to ſay, whether for ſacrilege,
> "Or inceſt, or ſome more unheard of crime,
> "The rhiming fiend is ſent into theſe men;
> "But they are all moſt viſibly poſſeſt."
>
> Roſcommon.

What then are we to think of a famous Philoſopher and an able Mathematician, who commits ſuch a folly? had he not perpetrated ſome abominable action, for which he deſerved to be given over to ſo reprobate a ſenſe? To ſpeak in milder terms: has he not diſhonoured his profeſſion. by affirming ſo palpable a falſhood? Let us excuſe his Carteſianiſm to the beſt of our power. In order to this we muſt ſuppoſe, that Rohault did not write his Dedication in quality of a Philoſopher, he having quite diveſted himſelf of that character, and aſſumed that of a Panegyriſt, by the unlucky engagement with which thoſe who write Dedications bind themſelves. An excellent leſſon to divert every good Philoſopher from ſuch a deſign. To go farther, I ſay that the Philoſoper in queſtion, even when he appeared under a foreign character, did not quite ceaſe to be a Philoſopher; and that, if he publiſhed a groſs untruth, it was not through mean adulation but through ignorance. He probably was one of thoſe Philoſophers and Mathematicians, whoſe taſte is confined merely to natural Philoſophy and Euclid; and who deſpiſing all other kinds of learning, do not deign to enquire into the hiſtory of their own country. Perhaps too his application in making experiments againſt a vacuum, on the properties of the loadſtone, and the various refractions of light &c. did not allow him leiſure to read Thuanus or Mezerai; and therefore he knew no more of Meſſieurs de Guiſe's Hiſtory, than their having ſtrongly oppoſed the rebellion of the Hugenots. In this light we may conſider him, in ſome meaſure, as ſincere. But then we muſt not aſſert that his ignorance clears him; for it was not invincible, and he might eaſily have removed it. Any one of his pupils could have told him, of the attempts made by the Dukes of Guiſe againſt Henry III and Henry IV; and the meaneſt Lawyer, or Practitioner in the Law could have told him, that theſe attempts were diametrically oppoſite to the Laws of the kingdom; a total ſubverſion of the moſt eſſential principles of the French monarchy; and a perpetual ſeries of the greateſt crimes of felony and high-treaſon, that can poſſibly be committed. If therefore he was not guilty of ſpeaking againſt his conſcience, he at leaſt may be juſtly accuſed of neglecting to inſtruct himſelf in thoſe incidents which he ſpoke upon. I fancy that his fault lay only here; and I cannot think that he acted againſt his knowledge, in order to ſet up for a flatterer; for had he been but a little acquainted with the hiſtory of the ſixteenth century, and the political ſyſtem of the French, would he have preſumed to incenſe his hero in the manner he has done? Would he have preſumed to praiſe him, as being ready to imitate his anceſtors, in caſe an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that purpoſe? Is not this ſaying in reality, "ſhould an occaſion offer, your Highneſs "will always be ready to raiſe a ſedition in Paris; "to carry on the barricadoes as far as the Louvre; to "force the King to fly; to expoſe him to the moſt "injurious invectives of the Preachers; to proſecute "him before the Parliament of Paris; to depoſe him; "to ſpirit up a Monk to aſſaſſinate him; to exclude "the Dauphin, and all the Princes of the blood, from "the ſucceſſion; to march an army of Spaniards into "the kingdom, in order to prevent their aſſerting their "juſt right &c." We muſt therefore conclude, that Mr. Rohault would not have expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner, had he known that his words really implied all propoſitions abovementioned; and therefore, if we are to excuſe this fault, it is becauſe he did not know what he ſaid.

By the way, the Proteſtants are not the only writers who have given a diſadvantageous deſcription of the actions and deſigns of the Guiſes, ſeveral good Roman Catholics having done the ſame. Read a piece that is aſcribed to Lewis Servin, Attorney-general in the Parliament of Paris (59).

(59) Intitled, *Vindiciæ ſecundum Libertatem Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ, & Regii Status Gallo-Francorum.* I make uſe of the edition of 1593, in 8vo.

§ (α) Baptiſt le Grain, lib. 6. of his Decad of Henry the Great, pag. 635 of the Rouen edition, printed in 1633, ſpeaking of the Duke of Mayenne, ſays expreſsly, that though this Duke was the chief of the League, *he would never ſuffer any breach to be made in the fundamental laws of the government*; and the edict of Folembrai, dated the 11th of January 1596 (*), applauds the Duke in queſtion, for the affection he had ſhewn, *in preſerving the kingdom entire, which he would never ſuffer to be diſmembered, at the time that the proſperity of his affairs ſeemed to offer him ſome opportunity for doing it; as he has not ſince attempted after he was weakned.* In all probability Mr. Rohault, being better ſkilled in Philoſophy than Genealogies, took the Duke of Guiſe to whom he dedicated his Phyſics, anno 1671, for one of the deſcendants of the Nobleman in queſtion. Rem. Crit.

(*) *Mem. de la Ligue*, tom. 6. pag. 376. edit. of 1599.

GUISE. (CHARLES of Lorrain, Duke of), eldeſt ſon of the preceding, was born the 20th of Auguſt 1571. He was ſeized, with many others, on the day of the execution of Blois, and continued in priſon till the month of Auguſt 1591, at which time he eſcaped

eſcaped out of the caſtle of Tours (a). *The partizans of the League made bonfires for joy in all parts of the Kingdom, and the Pope gave public thanks to the Almighty for it.* This young Prince was received in Paris with great acclamations (b), and not only the common people, but alſo ſuch of the Nobility as were concerned in the League, flocked out to meet him. He joined in a ſtrict confederacy with the faction of the Sixteen; but this great proſperity proved the ruin of the party, by reaſon of the jealouſy which it raiſed in the Duke of Mayenne. I have ſpoke of it in the foregoing article. It is ſaid that the Ducheſs of Mompenſier fell in love with this young Duke of Guiſe, her nephew [A]. The latter deprived the League of one of its *worthies*; he killing the brave St. Pol with his own hand [B]. He was made Governor of Provence, when he ſubmitted to Henry IV anno 1594 (c). He held ſome employments both by ſea and land under Lewis XIII (d); but he was not ſuffered to grow too powerful, and was even forced to leave France, which was owing to the wiſe politics of Cardinal Richelieu [C]. He retired to Florence (e), and died in Cuna in the Sienneſe, the 30th of September 1640. He had married, in 1611, Henrietta Catherina de Joyeuſe, only daughter of Henry de Joyeuſe Marſhal of France, and widow of Henry of Bourbon Duke of Mompenſier (f), and had ſeveral children by her [D]. He is greatly applauded by Marſhal de Baſſompiere (g). I ſhall make a remark with regard to the Duke of Chevreuſe, brother to this Duke of Guiſe [E]. I ſhall

(a) Mezerai, *Abr. Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. m. 59. See in Book 14. of *Paſquier's Letters*, pag. 173, *&* *ſeq.* in what manner he made his eſcape.

(b) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 435. *ad ann.* 1592.

(c) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 427.

(d) Idem, ibid.

(e) Idem, ibid.

(f) The daughter he had by this Henry of Bourbon, was married to Gaſton of France, brother to Lewis XIII. This Henrietta Catherina de Joyeuſe, died anno 1656.

(g) In the laſt page of his Journal.

found by ſad experience, that the name of the Guiſes was very powerful, even after that the League was diſſolved. This houſe was, in ſome meaſure, a State within a State; and there was reaſon to fear, that the folly and falſe zeal of the people would idolize it, every time any wars ſhould break out on a religious account. Prudence therefore required, that this power and credit be leſſened; and this the firſt miniſter took care to do under Lewis XIII.

[A] *It is ſaid that the Ducheſs of Mompenſier fell in love with this young Duke of Guiſe her nephew.*] Here follows a paſſage from Menage (1). "The "Ducheſs of Mompenſier was very much in love with "her nephew the Duke of Guiſe, ſon of Henry the "Gaſh-fac'd. I have formerly ſeen ſome very paſ"ſionate letters which ſhe had wrote to him. Hence "it is that, in the *Satire Menippée*, when every one "is marſhalled according to his rank, the Herald "cries, Madam de Montpenſier, place your ſelf under "your Newhew." Menage did not call to mind all that the Herald ſaid, and forgot a very remarkable clauſe, there being in the Catholicon, *Ducheſs Dowager of Mompenſier, as Princeſs in your own right, place yourſelf under your nephew.* See the reflection which the author of the New Remarks on the *Satire Menippée* makes on this paſſage (2).

(1) *Menagiana*, Part 2. pag. m. 57.

(2) Pag. 390, 391. of the edit. of 1699.

[B] *He deprived the League of one of its* Worthies *by killing the brave St. Pol with his own hand.*] "St. "Paul, a ſoldier of fortune, who had acquired his "ſtile of nobility by his bravery aud conduct in the "army (3)," was one of the four Marſhals of France, created ſuch by the Duke of Mayenne in 1593. This Duke, "after the death of the Duke of Guiſe, whoſe "creature this Captain was, had given him the go"vernment of Champagne, where, after winning Reims, "Mezieres, and Vitry, he had the boldneſs to "ſeize in a forcible manner, on the Dukedom of "Retelois, and to poſſeſs himſelf of it in quality of "Duke, by vertue of a grant which, he declared, "the Pope had made to him of it, as the King "wrote, from the Camp before Chartres, to the Duke "of Nevers. But at laſt, his inſupportable pride, "together with the tyranny which he exerciſed in "that province, occaſioned his being killed by the "young Duke of Guiſe, who thruſt his ſword into "his heart, and by that means laid him dead at his "feet. The cauſe of it was as follows. This Prince "having deſired him, in very civil terms, to with"draw from Reims thoſe ſoldiers he had poſted in "that city, in order to ſecure it; the pretended Mar"ſhal in queſtion, who was determined to be abſolute "maſter of it in ſpite of him, had declared to him in "a haughty tone of voice, laying his hand to his "ſword, that he abſolutely would not do it (4)." It is uſual enough for courageous men, who rebel againſt their lawful Prince, to aim, in ſome meaſure, at independency: but they very often find, that the leader of the rebels, requires a greater ſubmiſſion than the lawful Sovereign. I am of opinion that Henry IV would have been more indulgent to St. Pol's rough behaviour, than the Duke of Guiſe was. It is to be obſerved, that Mezerai lays the whole blame on the Duke, who inſiſting, ſays he (5), *upon the conquered poſſeſſion of that brave man, in order to make up matters, quarrelled purpoſely with him one day in the ſtreets at Reims, and run him into the belly.* The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that Sainct Pol, *the day before the barricadoes, had ſaved* the Duke of Guiſe's life. How ſtrangely was this ſignal ſervice rewarded!

(3) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. de la Ligue*, pag. 460.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Mezerai, *Abr. Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. 124. See in the remark [G] below, what Mary de Medicis ſaid of this action of the Duke of Guiſe.

[C] *He was even forced to leave France, which was owing to the wiſe politics of Cardinal Richelieu.*] It was

[D] *He had ſeveral children by her.*] I will ſpeak only of the ſons in this place. The reader will ſee elſewhere (6) whatever relates to the daughters. The Prince of Joinville, his eldeſt ſon, died in Florence the 7th of November 1639, in the twenty eighth year of his age, and unmarried (7). The name of his ſecond ſon was Henry, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the following article. The name of the third was CHARLES LEWIS, his title being Duke of Joyeuſe, and he died in Italy unmarried, the 15th of March 1637. Then Lewis their brother, born in 1622, aſſumed the title of Duke of Joyeuſe. He was Lord High Chamberlain of France; and married at Toulon, in November 1649, Franciſca Maria of Valois, only daughter and heireſs of Lewis Emanuel of Valois, Duke of Engoulême. He died at Paris the 27th of September 1654, of a wound he had received, in charging a party of the enemies near Arras (8). His ſon LEWIS JOSEPH of Lorrain Duke of GUISE, of Joyeuſe and Engoulême, born the 7th of Auguſt 1650, married in 1667 Elizabeth of Orleans, younger daughter of Gaſton of France Duke of Orleans, and died of the ſmall-pox at Paris, the 30th of July 1671 (9), leaving a ſon, viz. FRANCIS JOSEPH of Lorrain, Duke of Alençon, of GUISE, of Joyeuſe and Engoulême, who was born the 28th of Auguſt 1670 (10), and died the 16th of March 1675 (11). In him were extinct all the males of that famous branch of the houſe of Lorrain. There are ſtill many living of the other younger branches of that of Guiſe. See the laſt remark of the following article; and obſerve that ROGER of Lorrain, fifth ſon of our Charles Duke of Guiſe, died Knight of Malta, in Cambray, the 6th of September 1653, in the thirtieth year of his age (12).

(6) In the laſt remark of the following article.

(7) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, pag. 428.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid. pag. 459, 460.

(10) Ibid. pag. 460,

(11) *Etat de la France* 1680, tom. 1. pag. m. 544.

(12) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, p. 428.

[E] *I ſhall make a remark with regard to the Duke of Chevreuſe, Brother to this Duke of Guiſe.*] He was named Claude of Lorrain, and was ſecond ſon to Henry Duke of Guiſe. He was born the 5th of June 1578, and his firſt title was, Prince of Joinville. He ſignalized himſelf anno 1596, at the Siege of la Fere; and in 1597 at that of Amiens. The King being offended at him, on account of ſome Court-Intrigues, he was obliged to ſerve in the war of Hungary. He was created Duke of Chevreuſe and Peer of France in March 1612, and made Knight of the Holy Ghoſt, the 1ſt of January 1620. He ſerved anno 1621 at the Sieges of St. John of Angeli, of Montauban, &c. and was appointed Lord high Chamberlayn of France, and great Falconer. He was ſucceſſively Governor of the upper and lower Marches of Auvergne, Bourbonnois, and Picardy; and married in quality of proxy of the King of Great-Britain, Princeſs Henrietta Maria of France,

I ſhall make another on the Chevalier of GUISE [F], another brother of his, and who killed within a very ſhort time of one another, the Barons de Luz, father

France, anno 1625; and conducted her into England, with a magnificent retinue. He was at the Siege of Rochelle in 1628. He died at Paris of an apoplexy, the 24th of January 1657, without having any male iſſue, he having never had any but Daughters (13). He had married, anno 1622, Mary de Rohan, Widow of the Conſtable of de Luines, and eldeſt daughter of Hercules de Rohan, Duke of Mombazon (14). It is this Ducheſs of Chevreuſe, who was ſo much talked of during the Court-diſſenſions under Lewis XIII, and the Civil War of Paris under Lewis XIV. Cardinal de Richelieu cauſed her to be baniſhed, upon which ſhe fled into Lorrain, whence ſhe retired to Bruſſels. After the death of Lewis XIII. ſhe had leave to return to France, where ſhe ſoon renewed her intrigues; being ſeconded by the Ducheſs of Mombazon her Mother-in-law. We ſhall ſee proofs of this hereunder (15). She had ſtipulated, during the impriſonment of the Princeſs, that her Daughter ſhould be married to the Prince of Conti (16), but it came to nothing.

(13) Extracted from Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 458, 459.

(14) Ibid.

(15) In the remark [D] of the following article.

(16) *See* Priolo, lib. 5. cap. 40; & lib. 6. cap. 4.

[F] *I ſhall make another Remark on the Chevalier of Guiſe.*] He was a poſthumous ſon of that Duke of Guiſe, who was murthered at Blois in 1588, named FRANCIS ALEXANDER PARIS (17). He killed in the open ſtreet at Paris, the Baron de Luz the 5th of January 1613; and a month after, killed the ſon of the ſame Baron; but ſo powerful was this family, that not the leaſt notice was taken of it, even by the Court or by the Judges. This is ſtrongly expreſſed by the following Author (18). "The Chevalier of Guiſe "and the Baron de Luz met one morning in St. Ho-"nore-ſtreet; the Baron being on foot, (19), and the "Chevalier on horſeback. The latter alighted, and "bid the Baron draw his ſword, he unſheathing his at "the ſame time. The Baron did not dream of fight-"ing, and therefore was far from thinking him in "earneſt. However he drew his ſword, but to little "purpoſe. He was advanced in years, and had not "exerciſed himſelf a long time in that way, ſo that "he was no match for a young Prince, who had prac-"tiſed ſo very lately under a fencing maſter. Ac-"cordingly the Chevalier gave him but one thruſt, "which went quite through his Body, ſo that he only "ſtaggered into a Shoemaker's ſhop, and expired "there. With regard to the Chevalier, he mounted "his horſe very calmly, and rode ſlowly to the King's "Stables, as tho' nothing had been the matter. Thus "died the Baron de Luz, for having boaſted, as we "are told, his having been one of the Council of Blois, "which conſpired the death of the late Duke of Guiſe. "The Baron had a ſon of the ſame age with the Che-"valier de Guiſe, who received the News of this ſad "accident, with the grief which an only ſon ſhould "naturally feel at the death of a father .... Every "one talked differently of what he would do, were he "in his place; and every one would have been greatly "puzzled on that occaſion. He was concerned "with a Prince, whom he muſt either kill, or be kill-"ed by him. Should he kill him, he could not be "ſecure in any Chriſtian Country; and to be killed "by the man who had killed his Father, would not "ſatisfy his thirſt for vengeance. To ſeek for ſatiſ-"faction by due courſe of Law, rather than by the "ſword, was not to be ſo much as thought of. The "Chevalier was in the Hotel of Guiſe, where he had "lain, and where no one dar'd to go and ask for him. It "is a misfortune for private Gentlemen to have any "diſpute with Princes; this being like the braſs and "earthen pitchers, which if they ſtrike together, the "latter muſt break. However the King ought to do "juſtice to all his ſubjects, and no Prince whatſoever "is exempt from it (20)." The young Baron de Luz reſolved to fight a Duel with the Chevalier of Guiſe. *The Challenge was carried by his Squire, who acquitted himſelf worthily of the commiſſion given him by his maſter. It was a dangerous attempt; for had he been known, and his Deſign been ever ſo little ſuſpected, he would have been thrown from the higheſt Windows of Guiſe; but he went ſo early in the morning, that no body was awake. He entered into the Chevalier's Bed-chamber before day-break, and waking him in the name of the Baron de Luz, beſought him moſt humbly &c.* (21). The Chevalier went to the place appointed, killed his enemy, *and returned to the hotel of Guiſe, where he was viſited by the Hectors of the Court. Several Poems were wrote on this Battle, under the names of Paris and Lucidor, becauſe the Chevalier de Guiſe's Name was Paris* (22). It is to be obſerved, that the Poets declared in favour of the Conqueror; they ſaying that this Chevalier Prince,

Pouſſé d'un de vif reſſentiment
Avoit fait paſſer vaillamment
Au fil d'une juſte cholere
Celuy-là qui s'eſtoit vanté
D'avoir peu (chere vanité)
Empeſcher la mort de ſon pere (23).

The Senſe is,

"Fir'd by ſtrong Reſentment, he had courageouſly "ſacrificed to a juſt Vengeance, him, who from a "ſtrong principle of Vanity, had boaſted that the "night might have prevented his Father's death."

People did not fail to make remarks with regard to the inequality of ſucceſs in combats, where juſtice ſeemed to be equal. If the Chevalier ought to be victorious in the firſt fight, becauſe he ſought to revenge his father's blood; he ought to have been conquered in the ſecond, becauſe he was to give Satisfaction to the ſon of a man whom he had killed; and yet, fate was as propitious to him in the ſecond as in the firſt. This circumſtance ſurprized many people, and ſeveral reflections were made upon it. But ſuch quarrels, generally ſpeaking, are decided according to the greater or leſſer skill, courage, and ſtrength of the combatants, or by the concourſe of ſome fortuitous cauſes; and not according to the more or leſs juſtice. I know not whether any perſon formed two other reflections which naturally ſuggeſt themſelves. The one is, that taking things ſtrictly, the firſt combat was repugnant to the juſt Laws of Chivalry; for a young man, juſt come from the Fencing School, and prepared for fighting, to attack an old Gentleman who expects no ſuch thing; has not drawn his ſword for a great many years; has forgot all the rules of fencing; and, in a word, whoſe arms and legs are weak; is not this almoſt the ſame as if two men ſhould attack one, or if a Lad of fifteen ſhould fall upon a Boy of ten? The other reflection is, that the Guiſes were very unjuſt under King Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. to purſue with ſo inveterate a revenge the Maſſacre at Blois, on thoſe who had been any way concerned in it. Theſe people had obtained a general pardon for all their acts of rebellion, and been indulged as many favours as if theſe had been ſo many ſervices done to their Monarch. Ought they not to have been as indulgent to thoſe who had only executed the orders of Henry III. or had diſſuaded him from an atteempt which he thought very neceſſary to the preſervation of his crown? Ought they not to have included all this under the general Pardon which was ſo beneficial to them? Another reflection might be made, with regard to thoſe who ſo bitterly bewail the loſs, which, according to them, the Princes and great Lords of France have ſuffered in their authority. Power, ſay theſe, is too much concentred, and ought to be divided as formerly. But how can theſe forget the dreadful confuſions to which the Kingdom was expoſed, when the Court had little or no power, during the minority of Lewis XIII? Do they deſire a return of thoſe pretended happy times, in which a Chevalier of Guiſe killed a man of quality in the open ſtreet at Paris; and was not obliged ſo much as to make an excuſe, for that action, to his King, or the Juſtice of his Kingdom?

This Chevalier died at Beaux in Provence (24), *about a year after* (25). He himſelf was *ſetting fire to a cannon* which burſt, *and carried off one half of his Body .... Being carried into the city of Arles the day after his Death, the populace, crying and groaning after a ſtrange manner, tore the nails out of his Coffin, ript open his Shroud, and finding no change in his countenance, they had his picture drawn, which was ſet up in their Town-houſe, as an exhortation for the living to regret him, and for poſterity to preſerve his memory for ever. But what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, the two chief cities of the Province, Aix & Arles, having a conteſt about his*

(17) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 427.

(18) D'Audiguier, *vrai & ancien Uſage des Duels*, pag. 538.

(19) The Continuator of Thuanus, lib. 6. *init.* pag. 327; and the *Mercure François*, tom. 3. pag. 43. ſay he was in a coach.

(20) D'Audiguier, *Uſage des Duels*, pag. 540.

(21) Ibid. pag. 542.

(22) *Mercure François*, tom. 3. pag. 50.

(23) Ibid. pag. 48.

(24) D'Audiguier, *Uſage des Duels*, pag. 552.

(25) Ibid. pag. 550. Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 427. fixes his death to the 1ſt of June 1614.

father and ſon, without being called to account for it in any manner [*G*]. He ſignalized himſelf in the Carouzal, ſolemnized in anno 1612, and had like to have won the prize, in running for the ring [*H*].

GUISE

body, and each of them ſtriving to have it, in order to have the honour of burying it; this diſpute could not be ended but by the following expedient, viz. that the one ſhould have the Heart and the other the Body. He alſo was regretted at Court, not only by his relations, but likewiſe by the King and the Queen-mother, who went and viſited the Duke of Guiſe, and condoled him in his palace. But the Princeſs of Conti, his Siſter, grieved to ſuch a degree, that the fineſt writers of that time employed their Pens in comforting her (26). We here ſee ſome ſtrong remains of the idolatry of the French Roman Catholicks for the name of Guiſe. Had thoſe perſons only, who laboured with a perpetual vigilance to live after a Chriſtian manner, loved that name, ſo great a ſcourge to the Huguenots, a Philoſopher would not be ſo much ſurprized. But what ſort of people were the greateſt idolaters this way? Thoſe who were moſt addicted to the common vices, ſuch as uncleanneſs, drinking, gaming, avarice, lying, ſlander and envy. Such are the men, who, to ſupport the temporal proſperity of their religion, and to extirpate what they call hereſy, carry their zeal to moſt undue limits.

(26) D'Audiguier, *Uſage des Duels*, pag. 551.

[*G*] *Without being called to account for it in any manner.*] This reſults manifeſtly from the relation I have extracted from the book intitled, *Of the true and antient Uſe of Duels*. But I will not employ this teſtimony without examining what is found in Baſſompiere (27). "The Queen was prodigiouſly offended "*at the Chevalier of Guiſe for killing the Baron de Luz.* I went at the ſame time to the Louvre, where "I found her weeping, ſhe having ſent for the Prin"ces and Miniſters, to hold a council on that affair, "which ſhe laid very much to heart. She then ſaid "to me; You ſee, Baſſompiere, in what manner I "am addreſſed; and how brave an exploit it is to "kill an old Gentleman, without defence, or giving "him the leaſt warning. But theſe are the artifices "of that family. It is like the killing of St. Paul "... (21). The Council was aſſembled in the other "hall, whither I led the Queen, and I happening to "ſtand near her, heard people murmur greatly at "this action; and every one was ſhocked at word "being brought in, that a great number of the No"bility were met in the Hotel de Guiſe; and that "the Duke of Guiſe was to wait upon the Queen "with conſiderable attendance. Upon this, the Queen "was adviſed to ſend Mr. de Chaſteau-vieux to the "ſaid Duke of Guiſe, and forbid him to wait upon "her Majeſty, till ſhe ſhould ſend for him; and to "command, in her Majeſty's name, all the Nobility "who were in his palace, to retire... (29). Mr. de "Chaſteau-vieux obeyed the Queen's command, and "ſaid at his return, that ſome having ſcrupled a "little to retire, the Duke of Guiſe deſired them to "withdraw, ſince the Queen commanded it. Upon "his being aſked who thoſe Noblemen were that "ſcrupled to withdraw, he named three or four, and "among the reſt Mr. de la Rochefoucaut. Some "immediately incenſed the Queen againſt him, who, "as he was Maſter of the King's Wardrobe, ought, "for that reaſon, to have ſhewn more readineſs in "obeying the Queen's orders; and thereupon a reſo"lution was taken to forbid him the Court. They "alſo reſolved, that the Parliament ſhould take cog"nizance of, and enquire into that affair. The Queen "was in ſome meaſure pacified, by the ſpeedy obe"dience of the Duke of Guiſe; and becauſe "upon the Chevalier's coming to his Palace, after "his killing the Baron, he (the Duke of Guiſe) had "not permitted him to ſtay in it, but ſent him into "the country." Marſhal de Baſſompiere adds, that the Duke of Guiſe "ſpoke in ſo ſubmiſſive and "reſpectful a manner to her Majeſty, that ſhe ſoft"ned a little; but that Madam de Guiſe his mother "ſpoke ſo haughtily to the *Queen*, that ſhe exaſpe"rated her anew; that Mr. de Rochefoucaut was or"dered to leave the Court (30);" that the Duke of Guiſe joyned in the Prince of Conde's faction; and ſaid, ſpeaking of la Rochefoucaut; "yes, by God, he "ſhall come again, and I will not be obliged to the "Queen for it (31);" that the Queen was ſo alarmed at the union of the Duke of Guiſe with the Prince of Conde, that ſhe bid Baſſompiere to offer that Duke *an hundred thouſand crowns in ſpecie; the general Lieutenancy of Provence for the Chevalier his brother; the reverſion of the Abbey of St. Germain* for the Princeſs of Conti his ſiſter, and *la Rochefoucaut's return* (32); that the Duke of Guiſe accepted theſe offers, and promiſed to leave the cabal (33). I ſhall conclude with the following words of Marſhal de Baſſompiere (34). "A few days after, the young Baron "de Luz ſent a challenge to the Chevalier of Guiſe, "who killed him. I ſaw another extraordinary thing "in the changes of the Court; the Chevalier of Guiſe "having killed the Baron de Luz, her Majeſty com"manded the Parliament to take cognizance of it; "to make the neceſſary informations, and proſecute "him in due form; and yet, in leſs than a week "after, though he had alſo killed the ſon of the ſaid "Baron de Luz, the Queen ſent to enquire how he "did, after the wounds he had received in the laſt "duel (35)."

(27) Baſſomp. *Memoir.* tom. 1. pag. m. 274, 275.

(28) See the citation above.

(29) Baſſompiere, *Mémoirs*, tom. 1. pag. 276.

(30) Ibid. pag. 277.

(31) Ibid. pag. 281, 282.

(32) Ibid. pag. 284.

(33) Ibid. pag. 292.

(34) Ibid. pag. 303.

(35) Baſſomp. *Memoirs*, tom. 1. pag. 303.

Baſſompiere's relation ſeems contradictory to what I have ſaid in the preceding remark, ſuppoſing d'Audiguier's narrative to be juſt. For we do not here find the leaſt intimation, that the Judges took the leaſt notice of the affair in queſtion, or that the Chevalier of Guiſe was brought into the leaſt trouble: however, theſe two narratives may, in the main, be eaſily reconciled. All the inference which can be drawn from Baſſompiere's relation is, I, that the Queen's Council ordered the Parliament to take cognizance of that cauſe; II, that this order continued in force, till ſuch time as the Duke of Guiſe had gone over to the Prince's faction. But this interval was ſo ſhort, that it is very probable the Parliament had not begun the proſecution, or that it advanced ſo ſlowly, that very few perſons heard of it; ſo that d'Audiguier is very excuſable for not mentioning it. He ſuppoſes that the Chevalier did not lie out of the Hotel de Guiſe, and yet Baſſompiere aſſerts, that the Duke ſent him into the country. I am of opinion that the Duke of Guiſe aſſured the Queen, that he had taken ſuch a courſe with regard to the Chevalier; and I am at the ſame time of opinion, that d'Audiguier is not miſtaken. The Duke knew very well, that Commiſſioners would not be ſent to his houſe, to ſee whether the Chevalier was ſtill there. And it is to be obſerved that all authors agree, that young Baron de Luz's challenge was ſent to the Hotel of Guiſe, where the Chevalier was in bed. The latter therefore uſed to lie there, and his abſence would conſequently have been very ſhort, had he really been ſent into the country, as the Duke affirmed. But the circumſtance which moſt deſerves our attention is, that the relations of Baſſompiere evince ſtill more clearly than thoſe of d'Audiguier, the horrid confuſions and abominable diſorders to which France is reduced, when the Court is not powerful enough to make itſelf to be feared. This is the true way to refute thoſe republican writers, who on every occaſion are crying aloud, that thoſe happy times are paſt, in which power was divided between the King and the Great Lords. Thrice charming muſt be that golden age, in which the Chevalier of Guiſe killed, in the ſpace of a month, a Gentleman and his ſon, and nevertheleſs obtained General-Lieutenancies; and in which a perſon's joining with a Prince's faction, would at once put a ſtop to all proceedings of Kingly juſtice, and be well paid for it beſides. It is to be obſerved, that although Baſſompiere was an eye-witneſs of the tranſactions related by him, he yet does not relate the minuter circumſtances of them, more juſtly than they are told by the common Hiſtorians. He ſometimes is groſly miſtaken. Here follows an inſtance of what is here aſſerted. He declares that (36) only a week paſſed between the death of Baron de Luz and that of the Baron de Luz his ſon; and it is nevertheleſs certain that there was the interval of a month between one and the other.

(36) Ibid. pag. 303.

[*H*] *He ſignalized himſelf in the Carouzal .. and had like to have won the prize in running for the ring.*] I ſhall give a commentary on theſe words, not ſo much

GUISE (HENRY of Lorrain, Duke of), ſon to the preceding, was born the 4th of April 1614 (*a*), and was one of the moſt gallant and moſt accompliſhed Noblemen in all France; as being handſome in his perſon, ſkilful in exerciſes of every kind, witty and courageous. There could be no occaſion to add many fictions to the hiſtory of his life, to give it the air of a romance. He was deſigned for the Church, and a very great number of Abbies were beſtowed upon him [*A*], *and he was even nominated to the Archbiſhopric of Rheims* (*b*); "but having promiſed to marry Princeſs Anne of Mantua [*B*], . . Cardinal Richelieu found means to deprive him of all his benefices; upon which he retired "to Bruſſels, where he married the Counteſs de Boſſu [*C*], but left her ſoon after, and "returned to France. Falling a ſecond time in diſgrace, he withdrew to Rome, where "he

(*a*) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, pag. 460.

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

to give proofs of what I advance, as to have an opportunity to take notice of a Law which is obſerved in this kind of exerciſes. "When ſome of the Knights "or Competitors in running for the ring hit an equal "number of times, they contend for the prize among "themſelves, till ſuch time as one only is victorious. "And if, on the ſame day, their ſkill and agility "are ſo equal, that it is not poſſible to decide who "has the preference; then the whole company have "the privilege of beginning the races anew, as was "done at the grand Carouzal of the late King, in "which the Duke of Vendôme, the Counts de St. "Aignan and de Monrevel, and the Barons de la "Chaſtaigneraye and de Fontaines Chalandray were e-"qual, each having hit the ring twice in three races; for "which reaſon they were obliged to run at it again "thrice, and being ſtill equal, as, by their conquer-"ing, they had debarred others from contending for "the prize, they, by their equality loſt their preten-"ſions to it, according to the laws of thoſe races, "which, in ſuch caſes, inveſt the Lady who beſtows "the prize with the right of beſtowing it. Thus "the races being ſuſpended till another time, the "ring remained in diſpute between the Chevalier de "Guiſe, the Marquis de la Valette, and the Mar-"quiſs de Rouillac, who all hit the ring in their "ſeveral races, ſo that they were obliged to begin "again; when the Chevalier de Guiſe and the Mar-"quis de la Valette having hit the ring but twice, "the Marquis de Rouillac, who hit it every race, "won the prize (37)." The Chevalier de Guiſe belonged to the firſt band or company of aſſailants in this Carouzal, and aſſumed the name of *Olivante de Laro*. This band was that of the Knights of the Sun, and was headed by the Prince of Conti (38).

(37) [Meneſtrier, *Traite des Tournois, Jouſtes, Carouſels, & autres Spectacles publics*, pag. 304.

(38) Extracted from the *Mercure François*, tom. 2. pag. m. 536. *ad ann.* 1612.

[*A*] *A very great number of Abbeys were beſtowed upon him.*] Thoſe of "St. Denys in France, St. "Remy of Rheims, St. Nicaiſe, St. Peter of Cor-"bice, Feſcamp, Mount St. Michael, St. Martin of "Pontoiſe, Orcamp, Chambon and Montirandé (1)." He poſſeſſed benefices to the amount of five hundred thouſand livres *per annum*, if we may believe the author of *The State of France* (2), printed in 1657. It is to be obſerved that he was but a child, when an immenſe eſtate, which had been enjoyed by two rich Cardinals, fell to him. He inherited, in 1615, the eſtate of Cardinal de Joyeuſe, his mother's uncle; and in 1621, that of Cardinal de Guiſe his uncle. This particular I read in Preſident de Gramond (3), who obſerves, that Cardinal de Guiſe had an hundred thouſand crowns a year, which the King beſtowed on the young Abbot de Feſcamp.

(1) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 460.

(2) Pag. 53.

(3) Gramond, *Hiſt. Galliæ*, lib. 8. pag. m. 407. *ad ann.* 1621.

[*B*] *Having promiſed to marry Princeſs Anne of Mantua.*] We ſhall now cite an author, who, ſo far from ſaying that this promiſe was the cauſe of the Duke's being deprived of his benefices, affirms that he had reſigned them, before he had promiſed to marry the Princeſs in queſtion. "This Prince, "being the youngeſt brother, was deſigned for the "Church, and made Archbiſhop of Rheims. After "his brother's death, he gave up his benefices, and "would have married Anne de Gonzaga, ſiſter to "Princeſs Mary abovementioned. Cardinal de Richelieu "knowing that this match was diſadvantageous to the "government, employed the King's authority to put "a ſtop to it, and confined this Princeſs in a convent. "The Duke of Guiſe, exaſperated to find his paſſion "croſſed, left the Kingdom, and withdrew to Colen, "whither his miſtreſs came to him diſguiſed in man's "apparel; but he ſent her back, and went to Bruſ-"ſels, where he found the other exiles (4)."

(4) *Intrigues Galantes de la Cour de France*, tom. 2. pag. 179. edit. of 1695.

[*C*] *He married the Counteſs de Boſſu.*] The Ducheſs de Chevreuſe, who was then in Bruſſels, brought the Duke of Guiſe acquainted with that Counteſs (5), "who was a young widow, of a ſoft and gay temper. "She was brought into a company where the Duke of "Guiſe was; and ſhe made ſo many advances, that "he could not forbear anſwering them. It is true "indeed that, for fear leſt ſhe (6) ſhould form a diſ-"advantageous idea of her conduct, ſhe ſpoke to him "immediately of marriage; and the Duke ſeemed to "deſire nothing ſo much as to make her his ſpouſe, "but in ſuch terms, as ſhewed that he thought of "nothing ſo much as to divert himſelf during his "exile. Though the Counteſs ſaw through his de-"ſigns, ſhe yet did not ſeem to have diſcovered them; "hoping to win him the more eaſily by her ſimu-"lated ingenuity. She took him one day to a fine "houſe of her's, ſituated at a league from Bruſſels; "and gave him all the diverſions that could poſſibly "be enjoy'd, during that ſeaſon, which was the moſt "agreeable in the whole year. The Duke could not "forbear ſhewing his gratitude to her on that account, "and addreſſing her according to his uſual cuſtom, "in an amorous ſtrain. The Counteſs told him, that "were he really as much in love as he pretended to "be, he would diſcover a more earneſt deſire to marry "her. The Duke ſwore, that there was nothing he "ſo paſſionately deſired, as to ſpend the remainder of "his days with ſo amiable a Lady, and that ſhe "might put him to the trial whenever ſhe pleaſed. The "Counteſs taking him at his word, reply'd, that "ſhe would ſoon ſee whether his proteſtations were "ſincere, there being both a Notary and a Prieſt in "her houſe, who would marry them that moment. "The Duke was ſurprized at theſe words, but con-"cealed his thoughts; and imagined he might pro-"ceed without running any hazard, and catch the "Counteſs in her own ſnare, ſince a marriage "of this kind, devoid of all the formalities preſcribed "by the Canons, and made without the King's con-"ſent, could not ſtand. The Counteſs ſeeing the "Duke inclined to comply with her deſires, ſent for "Manſele Chaplain to the army, who gave them the "nuptial bleſſing, and diſpenſed with their publiſhing "the Bans, as though he had been inveſted with the "ſame authority as the Archbiſhop of Mechlin. The "Duke ſpent the night in that ſplendid palace with "his bride, to whom he was ſo laviſh of his careſſes, "that ſhe was extremely well ſatisfied with the happy "ſucceſs of her deſigns. The day after he returned "home; having firſt deſired the new Ducheſs to keep "their marriage ſecret, till ſuch time as he ſhould "have obtained the conſent of the Court and of his "family. But though the utmoſt care was taken to "hide it from the public, it nevertheleſs reached "the ears of Duke d'Elbeuf and the Ducheſs of "Chevreuſe, who upbraided the Duke of Guiſe with "it, as an action of the utmoſt baſeneſs. The reſ-"pect he owed to Ladies would not permit him to "quarrel with the Ducheſs, but he fell into ſuch a "paſſion with the Duke d'Elbeuf, that they would "have fought a duel, had they not been reconciled "by the Archduke. The Duke finding he had no "hopes left of taking his revenge by the ſword, "ſought other methods to vex the two perſons "who had offended him, and thought the beſt would "be, to take the Counteſs into his palace, and to treat "her publicly as his wife. He accordingly did this, "and lived in good intelligence with her, ſo long "as he continued in Bruſſels." The author, who relates theſe ſeveral particulars, ſuppoſes that the only reaſon

(5) Ibid. pag. 180.

(6) It is *qu'elle* (*ſhe*), as here, in the edition of 1694; but I am perſuaded we are to read *qu'il* (*he*).

" he endeavoured to get his marriage annulled. From thence he went to Naples, to " command the army of the people; a little after which he was taken priſoner, and " carried into Spain (*c*)." Theſe particulars are related of him in a book printed at Paris in 1657. This relation wants a ſupplement. It muſt be added, that the Duke of Guiſe was concerned in the treaty which the Count de Soiſſons, the Duke de Bouillon, and ſome other malecontents concluded with Spain (*d*); that he *undertook a journey, publickly, to Bruſſels, for the greater ſecurity of this treaty*; that he was proſecuted as a criminal; was condemned for non-appearance the 6th of September 1641, and that he made his peace in Auguſt 1643 (*e*); that ſome months after he fought a duel with Count de Coligni [*D*]; and that this quarrel aroſe from a diſpute in which Madam de Longueville, daughter to the Prince of Conde, was concerned. He was victorious, and did not

(*c*) *L'Eſtat de la France*, pag. 53. edit. de Paris 1657.

(*d*) *Mem. de Montreſor*, pag. 369.

(*e*) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, pag. 460.

reaſon why the Duke of Guiſe endeavoured to get his marriage annulled was, that he might be at liberty to marry Mademoiſelle de Pons. Here follows another quotation from him (7). " As it would be " impoſſible for the Duke of Guiſe to marry Made- " moiſelle de Pons, without getting his marriage with " the Counteſs of Boſſu annulled, he reſolved to go " to Rome, in order to obtain a divorce from the " tribunal of the Rota. The ſuit was already com- " menced, and the Ducheſs of Guiſe, his mother, " had ſent a Gentleman thither for that purpoſe: " but when ſhe heard that her ſon was fallen in love " with Mademoiſelle de Pons, ſhe ſent orders to her " agent to deſiſt. At laſt the Duke ſet out, and " after having undergone many dangers at ſea, he ar- " rived happily in Florence; and obliged the Grand " Duke to write in his favour to Innocent X, who " was juſt raiſed to the Pontificate. Upon this Prince's " arrival in Rome, he met with a gracious reception " from the Pope, who even, at his requeſt, preſented " Cardinal Mazarine's brother with a Cardinal's hat. " The Duke of Guiſe had flattered himſelf with the " hopes, that this ſervice would engage this firſt Mi- " niſter to favour his deſign; but ſo far from this, the " French Embaſſador was commanded to traverſe it." I am to obſerve, that the queſtion relating to the marriage of the Duke of Guiſe with the Counteſs of Boſſu was debated again not long ſince. The public News take notice, that the Rota at Rome has declared it valid (8), but that the Parliament of Paris have made a contrary deciſion. It conſequently is ſtill a ſubject for controverſy. *Adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.* We muſt call to mind that Marſhal Baſſompiere relates, that the Duke of Guiſe, who died in 1640, *had ſuffered very much in his family by the loſs of his two children, . . . and by the ill conduct of a third, who did not live in a manner ſuitable to his profeſſion* (9). He whom this Marſhal calls the third ſon of this Duke of Guiſe was the ſecond, the ſame who courted the Counteſs of Boſſu, who poſſeſſed ſo many Abbies, and led a life ſo unbecoming thoſe, who are deſigned to fill the high employments in the Church.

(7) *Intrig. Galant. de la Cour de France*, tom. 2. pag. 234.

(8) See the *Mercure Hiſt.* for February 1700, pag. 183; but ſee eſpecially the remark [*C*] of the following article.

(9) Baſſompiere, *Journ. de ſa Vie* pag. ult.

[*D*] *He fought a duel with Count de Coligni.*] This affair made a great noiſe, and I am perſuaded that my readers will be pleaſed to read the particulars of it here. It is a remarkable inſtance of the diſorders which the jealouſy and gallantry of the fair-ſex are apt to occaſion. The reader may depend on the truth of the circumſtances there related; for though it is tranſcribed from an anonymous author, who is ſometimes miſtaken and often confounds incidents, without taking care to keep clear of anachroniſms; he yet had very good informations with regard to the incident in queſtion, and relates it in almoſt the ſame manner as Labardæus, who was a very accurate Hiſtorian (10). " (11) The Ducheſs of Chevreuſe imagining that the " Prince was the chief cauſe of Duke de Beaufort's con- " finement, and the diſgrace of Châteauneuf, reſolved " to be revenged of him. Tho' the Ladies always " flatter themſelves in point of beauty, yet her glaſs " had told her ſeveral times, that her fading Charms " ſtood in need of a younger perſon, to ſtrengthen her " intereſt; and ſhe was not obliged to look for one " out of her own family. The daughter of the Coun- " teſs de Vertus, whom the Duke de Montbaſon her " father had married, was, as I before obſerved, the " moſt beautiful woman in France; beſides, ſhe en- " tertained a ſecret averſion againſt the Prince's ſiſter, " who having married the Duke de Longueville, had " deprived her of a lover; ſo that ſhe found it no " difficult matter to bring her over to her intereſt. " The Duke of Guiſe, who, after his return, had " declared for that beautiful Ducheſs, prevailed with " all the Princes of Lorrain to ſide with him; not to " mention that they ſeemed already prompted to it, " out of reſpect to the Duke de Chevreuſe who was " of the ſame family (12). Theſe two Ladies, be- " ing ſtrictly united, reſolved to begin their vengeance " by aſperſing the reputation of Madam de Longueville. " Accordingly they publiſhed the Letters which this " Princeſs had wrote to the Duke de Beaufort, and " which he had given to the Ducheſs of Montbaſon. " They even forged others, which they aſſerted Ma- " dam de Longueville had wrote to Coligny. The " Princeſs of Conde, being told that the Ducheſs of " Montbaſon had ſpread ſuch a report, diſcovered the " greateſt reſentment on that account, and engaged " all her friends to aid her revenge on this occaſion. " This quarrel occaſioned a diviſion in the whole " Court, and made the Queen fear leſt it ſhould re- " vive the antient hatred between the houſes of Bour- " bon and Guiſe. The two parties were pretty equal; " becauſe that the Duke of Orleans, who had mar- " ried a Lady of the houſe of Lorrain, had declared " for Madam de Montbaſon, therefore this diſpute " might be attended with fatal conſequences; tho' " it was the Queen's intereſt to prevent too ſtrict an " union between the Duke of Orleans and the Prince " of Conde, for fear leſt their authority ſhould pre- " judice hers; nevertheleſs, as it would be ſtill " more dangerous, ſhould ſhe let them carry their " reſentment to extremes, ſhe employed her endea- " vours to reconcile them. Accordingly, ſhe obliged " the Princeſs of Conde and the Ducheſs of Longue- " ville, to receive ſatisfaction from Madam de Mont- " baſon; and that Ducheſs went and declared to the " two Princeſſes, in her preſence, that ſhe had been " no way concerned in ſpreading thoſe reports, and " therefore diſowned them. The two Princes declared " likewiſe, as had been agreed between them, that they " believed it, ſince Madam de Montbaſon ſaid ſo. It was " ſtipulated by the ſame agreement, that this Ducheſs " ſhould avoid all opportunities of medling with the " two Princeſſes, which however ſhe did not obſerve af- " terwards. The Ducheſs of Chevreuſe, having in- " vited the Queen to a collation, which ſhe had pre- " pared for her in Renard's houſe, near the Confe- " rence-gate, took her mother-in-law with her, in " order to aſſiſt her on that occaſion. The Queen " was accompanied by the Princeſs of Conde, who, " ſeeing the Ducheſs of Montbaſon, would have re- " tired; but the Queen detained her; and deſired " that Ducheſs, if ſhe had any affection for her, to " go and divert herſelf ſome where elſe. This the " Ducheſs did, but diſcovered ſo much unwillingneſs " on that occaſion, as highly exaſperated the Queen, " inſomuch that being come back to the Royal Pa- " lace, ſhe commanded her, by Guenegaud, Secretary " of State, to retire immediately to her ſeat in Ro- " chefort. This diſpute ſeemed to be at an end by " the removal of the Ducheſs; but Coligny, not " thinking himſelf revenged of thoſe who would have " put him at variance with the houſe of Bourbon, " to which he had the honour to be related, ſent a " challenge to the Duke of Guiſe by the Marquis " d'Eſtrades. The Duke accepted it, and took the " Marquis of Bridieu for his ſecond. This duel was " fought in the Place Royale, and the Duke of " Guiſe had the advantage in all reſpects, he diſarm- " ing his enemy, after having wounded him in a " dangerous manner; after which he went and ſe- " parated the ſeconds, who had fought with the ut-

(10) See Book 2. *de Rebus Gallicis Hiſtoriarum Joannis Labardæi*, pag. 71, & *ſeq.*

(11) *Intrigues Galantes de la Cour de France*, tom. 2. pag. 228, & *ſeq.*

(12) See the remark [*F*] of the preceding article.

not much dread the conſequences of it, altho' it was a duel in all reſpects, and had been fought in the middle of the *Place Royale*; and though part of the Princes of the blood were againſt him. But notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances and ſeveral others, and the enquiries which the Parliament of Paris began to make at the ſollicitation of the King's Attorney General (*f*); the Duke of Guiſe appeared in public, and went and made a campaign the following year (*g*), under the Duke of Orleans, at the ſiege of Gravelines. However, it is not to be doubted but that this duel was the chief cauſe of the journey he took, ſome time after, into Italy. He was at Rome when the Neapolitans made an inſurrection, and deſired him for their leader. He accepted of their offers, and ſet out the 13th of November 1647 (*h*). The obſtacles which he was forced to ſurmount, in order to get into Naples (*i*), were ſuch, that perhaps neither la Calprenede nor Scuderi ever invented incidents that ſuited more a hero of romance. This Duke was received by the Neapolitans with the moſt extraordinary teſtimonies of joy; and it was enacted the 17th

(*f*) Sarravius, Epiſt. 55. pag. m. 53.

(*g*) In 1644.

(*h*) Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Naples*, Book 2. pag. m. 72.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 73, *& ſeq.*

" moſt bravery, without the leaſt advantage on either " ſide. This duel gained the Duke of Guiſe great " reputation, and would have heightned the eſteem " which his miſtreſs already entertained for him, had " he perſiſted in his love; but his heart was enflamed " for another ſoon after (13)."

(13) He means, that the Duke of Guiſe fell in love with Mademoiſelle de Pons, maid of honour to the Queen.

It is to be obſerved, that Mr. de la Barde fixes this duel at 1644, and declares that the two ſeconds wounded each other very much. *Eſtrada atque Brideus, qui unà cum his alter alteri ſocius decertabant, ambo vulnerati graviter, eorum, qui his intervenere, operâ quominus alter alterum necaret, prohibiti ſunt* (14). But Sarrau, in a letter wrote by him a few days after this duel, aſſerts, that d'Eſtrades was not wounded (15), and that the duel was fought the 12th of December 1643. Grotius agrees with him as to the time; for in a letter (16) which he wrote from Paris the 19th of December 1643, he declares, that it was then a week ſince the Duke of Guiſe and Count de Coligni had fought a duel. He obſerves one particular which Sarrau omitted, viz. that the Count was diſarmed. It is ſurprizing that Sarrau ſhould have omitted it. Is it poſſible that a man could write ſo conſiderable a piece of news, without taking notice of ſo very eſſential a circumſtance as this, viz. whether one of the combatants conquered the other; or whether they were parted after having fought with equal ſucceſs? We here ſee an effect of the paſſions and prejudices of men. Sarrau, being a zealous Proteſtant, was very much grieved that the Duke of Guiſe ſhould be victorious. Count de Coligni, Marſhal de Chatillon's eldeſt ſon, deſcended, in a direct line, from Admiral de Coligni. He was a Proteſtant; and his quarrel ſeemed like a revival of the antient enmity between the Guiſes and Chatillons. For theſe reaſons Sarrau wiſhed very heartily, that this Count might be victorious in this combat. It grieved him to hear of his diſadvantage; he would have hid it from himſelf; but as it was not in his power to do this, he at leaſt hid it from others. This is the reaſon why he made no mention of it in the letter he wrote to Salmaſius. Such is the diſpoſition of men's minds upon their hearing news that is diſpleaſing to them. They ſtrive not to believe it, and in caſe they have not ſtrength of mind enough to impoſe upon themſelves, nor to aſſert that it is falſe, they at leaſt ſpare themſelves the reſtraint they would be obliged to put themſelves to, in caſe they ſhould make a plain confeſſion of it, or acquaint thoſe with whom it was till then unknown. Some days after, Sarrau wrote word to his friends, that the Prince of Conde would abſolutely oblige Duke d'Enguien, who had harboured Count de Coligni in his houſe, to ſend him away; and that this unhappy Count took ſanctuary in a Miniſter's houſe (17). He died of grief (18), five months after the duel (19).

(14) Labardæus, *de rebus Gallicis*, pag. 74.

(15) *Solus Stradius invulneratus receſſit.* Sarravius, Epiſt. 55. pag. 53. edit. Ultraj. His letter is dated from Paris the 18th of Dec. 1643.

(16) Grotius, Ep. MDCXXX. Part 2. pag. 719.

(17) Sarravius, Epiſt. 57. p. 55.

(18) *Collinius mœrore & tædio vitam finivit.* Priolus, lib. 2. cap. 9.

(19) About the cloſe of May 1644. Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, p. 244.

Whoſoever reflects ſeriouſly on this duel, cannot but highly applaud Cardinal de Richelieu's great wiſdom, in ſending the Ducheſs of Chevreuſe out of the Kingdom. Thoſe Ladies who employ their wit and beauty, to inſinuate themſelves into ſtate intrigues, are the peſts of a Court. The ſafeſt courſe is to get rid of them as ſoon as poſſible, and ſend them to grace foreign Countries. Had the Ducheſs in Queſtion continued in Paris, after the conſpiracy of Chalais, her favourite gallant (20), ſhe herſelf would have hatched many. We find that ſhe was no ſooner returned to France, but ſhe laid the foundation of that unhappy duel which proved fatal to Count de Coligny, a young Nobleman who might have done great ſervices to the Crown; a duel in which Mr. d'Eſtrades might have loſt his life; a Gentleman whoſe genius and bravery might be of great advantage to the Kingdom, as he manifeſted afterwards both in the cabinet and the field, by his military actions, and the important embaſſies in which he was employed. If we examine into the duel of the Duke of Guiſe and Count de Coligni, we ſhall find that it aroſe from the ambition of the Ducheſs de Chevreuſe, who employed the jealouſy of another Ducheſs as an inſtrument on this occaſion (21). Theſe two Ladies, who agreed perfectly well together, tho' one was ſtep-mother to the other, contrived a ſtory, that was highly injurious to the reputation of a Princeſs of the Blood. Here follows the origin of this duel. A Plot, attended with ſuch conſequences, would, from that conſideration only, create horror. But the thing will appear in ſtill more horrid colours, if we expoſe the motives of Revenge on which it was grounded. Was it out of kindneſs for the Ducheſs of Longueville's Husband; was it to revenge an injury done to his honour, that a ſtory was ſpread to the diſadvantage of that Ducheſs? No; it was from a far different thirſt of Vengeance; the Husband's honour, ſo far from being repaired, ſuffered ſtill more. A married Lady was reſolved to be revenged of this Ducheſs, becauſe ſhe had married the Duke of Longueville, and thereby deprived her of a gallant. To revenge this offence, certain expreſſions were dropt, which, among other conſequences, occaſioned a famous Duel which hiſtory has tranſmitted to us; and ſuch was the means by which the Step-mother and the Daughter-in-law have acquired an immortal name; for their conduct will be known, ſo long as the French hiſtorians of the reign of Lewis XIV. ſhall exiſt. Some perſons are of opinion, that the true merit of a woman conſiſts in prudently concealing, under the veil of modeſty, her moſt exalted qualities, in ſuch a manner that they may not afford a Subject either for authors or converſation (22). Such a moral precept is very rigid, and perhaps too much ſo; and therefore it may not be improper to ſoften it, and to ſuffer a Lady to be inſpired with the ambition, of having her name enrolled in the Temple of Fame, and the writings of an hiſtorian. But then ſhe ſhould deſire to be mentioned only by authors, who, like Valerius Maximus, give a catalogue of the moſt ſhining examples of piety, chaſtity, conjugal love, charity, conſtancy, &c. Women might very juſtly deſire a place in ſuch a work: but when their conduct is ſuch, as muſt reflect eternal infamy on them if tranſmitted to poſterity, either in hiſtory, or in pieces written in the taſte of the new Atalantis; this deſerves all the indignation which the heart of man can poſſibly harbour.

(20) See the *Miniſtre du Card. de Richelieu*, tom. 1. pag. 310 and 317; and the *Hiſtory of the ſame Cardinal*, printed at Amſterdam 1694, tom. 1. pag. 303.

(21) *Noverca*, a ſtep-mother, a name that is expreſſive of ſtill greater enmity than that of *Soccrus*.

(22) See the remark [*D*] of the article JUDITH.

By the way, writers differ with reſpect to the manner in which the Court of France deſcribed its reſentment to the Ducheſs of Chevreuſe, at the time of Chalais's affair. Some ſay, that this Ducheſs was baniſhed to Lorrain; and thoſe are the very words of the Author of the hiſtory of Cardinal de Richelieu printed at Amſterſtam in 1694 (23). Preſident de Gramond ſays barely, that this Lady ſecured herſelf by flight; and yet that ſhe would have been impriſoned, had it not been on account of her ſex. He adds, that the confining of her would have proved of the greateſt benefit to the publick, both within and without the Kingdom, ſhe raiſing combuſtions in moſt of the Courts in Europe. *Fuga item conſulit ſibi Duciſſa Capruſii multis rea nominibus: ſexus fragilitas, & veneratio inhibuerant nuper, quo minus & ipſa in carcerem traheretur: certe magnum*

(23) Pag. 303. of tom. 1. *ad ann.* 1626. See alſo *Miniſtere du Cardinal de Richelieu*, tom. 1. pag. 319.

17th of November, that *he ſhould be ſtiled Generaliſſimo of the Army, and Defender of Liberty, with the ſame honours the Prince of Orange enjoyed in Holland, under the protection of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* (*k*). He ſtruggled with many difficulties whilſt he exerciſed this new employment, and exhibited many proofs of his great genius and bravery; but Fortune was his enemy. The French Court not being able, or not willing to ſuccour him, he could not ſupport himſelf, and was forced to make many dangerous attempts, which proved ſo fatal to him, that he was taken by the enemy, who carried him into Spain, where he was impriſoned a conſiderable time. He afterwards recovered his liberty in Auguſt 1652 (*l*), at the ſollicitation of the Prince of Conde (*m*); and it is thought that the Court of Spain conſented to it the more willingly, becauſe they flattered themſelves with the hopes, that the Duke of Guiſe, at his return to France, would create new diviſions and factions in that Kingdom (*n*). It is univerſally thought, that the reaſon why the French Court neglected to ſuccour him was, becauſe they were not deſirous that he ſhould eſtabliſh his authority in the Kingdom of Naples; and judged that it was more for their intereſt, that the inhabitants of this country ſhould be under the power of the Spaniards, than ſubject to the Houſe of Lorrain? When the Duke of Guiſe was returned to France, he did not endeavour to form cabals, in order to make up the Prince of Conde's affairs, but ſpent much more of his time in amorous intrigues; and though he undertook an expedition, in order to recover his authority in Naples [*E*], yet this was rather

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 74.

(*l*) Father Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, pag. 460.

(*m*) See the remark [*E*].

(*n*) See the ſame remark.

magnum erat Galliæ, magnum principibus externis ab ea detentione beneficium, auctrice paſſim in res novas intra & extra Galliam eâ fœmina, aularumqae ferme tota Europa omnium perturbatrice, quod ſuo infra loco reddemus (24). The true relation of this Affair is, that ſhe firſt was ordered to leave the Court; and that afterwards ſhe was kept in Cuſtody, notwithſtanding which ſhe found an opportunity to eſcape out of the Kingdom. *Perdifficilia Reginæ tempora hanc diligentiſſimè coluerat, atque obſervaverat* (Rohana Mombaſon) *atque eâ cauſâ & Ludovico XIII. & Richelio inviſa, Aulâ pulſa, in cuſtodiam conjecta, poſtremò fugâ ſibi conſulere, atque in Hiſpania, & Belgio exulare coacta fuerat* (25). De la Barde (whoſe words theſe are) had reaſon to obſerve, that ſhe became odious to Lewis XIII. for we read in Rochefoucaut's memoirs (26), that the reaſons why the Queen was wavering and irreſolute with reſpect to the recalling of the Ducheſs de Chevreuſe, was, *a particular clauſe of the declaration, and a ſtrange averſion which the King had diſcovered againſt her in his expiring moments.*

(24) Gramond, *Hiſt. Galliæ*, lib. 10. pag. 701. *ad ann.* 1626.

(25) Labardæus, *Hiſt. de Rebus Gall.* lib. 2. init. pag. 71.

(26) Pag. m. 14.

This Lady died in Auguſt 1679, in the 79th year of her age (27).

(27) *Merc. Galant.* Auguſt 1679, pag. 121. Dutch edit.

[*E*] *He ſpent much more of his time in amorous intrigues; and undertook an expedition, in order to recover his authority in Naples.*] This expedition was formed in 1654. The Duke poſſeſſed himſelf of Caſtell'a-mare, but loſt it a little after (28). Here follows a paſſage from Priolo, which ſhows that the Duke of Guiſe's releaſe from his confinement, was of no advantage either to the Spaniards or the Prince of Conde. *Guiſius ante paucos annos dux electus Reipublicæ Napolitanæ, & inter ſævos tumultus captus ac deductus in Hiſpaniam, nunc libertate donatur, id maximè procurante Condæo. Iberica fuit vafrities, Guiſium Galliæ redonare, & Condæo concedere; ut qui avorum non immemor, poſſet rurſus moliri nova, & ciere turbas. At oblitus donatæ libertatis, & Condæi negligens, choreas & haſtiludia cogitavit. Rurſus ab eo tentatum iter Neapolitanum oſtentui fuit, renovaturum in animo levi ſpes acciſas per vanum ludibrium. Nullus mortalium tam vana concepit, editus atavis, qui tam grandia, tam ſolida captabant* (29). i. e. "The Duke of Guiſe having been elected, a few years before, general or chief of the common-wealth of Naples, and being amid cruel tumults, taken Priſoner, and carried into Spain; is now releaſed, and that chiefly by the interpoſition of the Prince of Conde. It was Spaniſh craft to give back Guiſe to the French, and comply with the deſires of Conde; ſince by recollecting the actions of his forefathers, he might have raiſed new commotions. However, Guiſe being forgetful of the gift he had received (his Liberty) and neglecting the Prince of Conde, his thoughts were wholly employed on balls and tournaments. The expedition he afterwards attempted to Naples, was merely for oſtentation ſake; no man, deſcended from anceſtors who had attempted ſuch noble, ſuch ſolid exploits, having ever entertained ſuch vain and idle notions." Labardæus relates, "that the Queenmother

(28) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, p. 461.

(29) Priolus, lib. 8. cap. 5. pag. m. 312.

"had conſented to the exchange propoſed by the "Spaniards. They had offered to releaſe the Duke "of Guiſe, upon condition that the French ſhould re"ſtore to them all the Priſoners of their party. But "upon ſecond thoughts, they conſidered that the Duke "of Guiſe might be a powerful inſtrument in the "Prince of Conde's hand, in order to foment many "troubles in that Kingdom, and therefore releaſed him "at that Prince's requeſt. However, the inſtant "the Duke was returned to France, he declar"ed, that ſince he had been ſo ill uſed by the "Spaniards, he therefore would not do any thing in "their favour; nor would ſhow any gratitude to the "Prince, ſo long as he ſhould continue in their in"tereſt; but ſtill, that he would exert himſelf to the "utmoſt to ſerve him, provided he would break off "from it. He thought himſelf, however, greatly o"bliged to the Queen-mother, ſince ſhe had done the "Duke the honour to conſent that, in order for his "releaſe, four thouſand Spaniards (ſome of whom "were conſiderable perſonages) ſhould be delivered "up (30)." Be this as it will, the Duke ſpent more time in making love, than in war. *At his return to Paris he was more paſſionately fond of Mademoiſelle Pons, than he had been before his impriſonment*, and he reſolved to *marry her* (31); but hearing that ſhe was unfaithful to him, *he gave her very ſhameful treatment. He even ſued her at Law, demanding back ear-rings, valued at fifty thouſand crowns, and a rich ſuit of hanging, both which he had given her. However, he had not the ſucceſs with which he had flattered himſelf on this occaſion; the loſs of his ſuit redoubled his anger, inſomuch that he was determined to go to her houſe, and inſult her in it* (32). The Ducheſs got notice of this, and thereupon ſecured herſelf from the Affront; and ſome time after this left the Kingdom. *The Duke of Guiſe hearing that ſhe was gone* (53), went on board with the King's Fleet, *in order to make a ſecond Voyage to Naples* (34). At his return to France, he fell in love with Mademoiſelle de Gorce, *who had a more ſincere affection for him*: and *after his death retired to a Monaſtery of Carmelites, and there took the habit* (35). Theſe ſeveral particulars ſhew, that if he was a Hero, he was not one according to the notions of Corneille, but to thoſe of Racine and Quinault. He was an ever-amorous hero (36), and ſometimes reſembled him of the Æneid. He enjoyed all the privileges which appertain to a Husband; he ſuffered his miſtreſs to perſuade herſelf that ſhe was his wife; and at the ſame time never intended to marry her. Thus ſhe reſembled Dido,

Nec jam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
Conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam (37).

That is,

"The Queen, whom Senſe of Honour could not move,
"No longer made a ſecret of her love;
"But call'd it marriage, by that ſpecious name,
"To veil the crime, and ſanctify the ſhame.

DRYDEN.

(30) *Extracted from* Labardæus, lib. 10. pag. 756. *ad ann.* 1652.

(31) *Intrigues Galantes de la Cour de France*, pag. 251.

(32) Ibid. pag. 253.

(33) Ibid. pag. 254.

(34) It is to be obſerved that, in order to clear himſelf, he publiſhed a relation of this pitiful expedition. It is inſerted in a *Recueil Hiſtorique de diverſes Pieces*, printed in Holland in 12ma, *anno* 1666.

(35) *Intrig. Gal. de la Cour de France*, pag. 258.

(36) See the *Life of Henriette Sylvie de Moliere*, Part 1. pag. m. 55, 56. and Part 2. pag. 162, 163.

(37) Virg. *Æn.* lib. 4. ver. 171.

And

rather out of oſtentation, than from any hopes he had of ſucceeding in it, and accordingly it came to nothing. He was appointed Lord High Chamberlain; that poſt being vacant ſince the death of the Duke de Joyeuſe his brother (*o*). He was ordered in 1656 to go and meet the Queen of Sweden who was coming into France. The Court could not have made a more judicious choice; no man being better qualified to execute ſuch commiſſions, and whatever required pomp and magnificence. He made a moſt ſplendid figure in the famous Carrouſal ſolemnized in 1662. He headed the troops or band of Moors on that occaſion. Nature had formed him for ſuch ſort of ſhews and feſtivities; and no man in the world would have better ſuited the times of tournaments and knight-errants. A very remarkable particular is related, concerning the extraordinary talent he had, in order to make the Ladies fall in love with him. It is ſaid that thoſe who had a paſſion for him, could tell by a certain emotion or fluttering at the heart, and without ſeeing him, whether he was preſent [*F*]. He fell ſick, and died in Paris the 2d of June 1664 (*p*), and was carried to Joinville, in order to be buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors [*G*]. He left no children; all his brothers died before him; and his two ſiſters died ſince unmarried [*H*]. His Memoirs were publiſhed in 1668; and an elogium was made

(*o*) He died in 1654.

(*p*) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grands Officiers*, pag. 460.

And thus the Duke of Guiſe reſembled Æneas,

——nec conjugis unquam
Prætendi tædas, aut hæc in foedera veni (38).

That is,

" I never hoped a ſecret flight from hence;
" Much leſs pretended, to the lawful claim
" Of ſacred Nuptials, or a Husband's Name.

DRYDEN.

(38) Idem, ibid. ver. 338. See the remark [*B*] of the article GARNACHE, where a Duke de Nemours and a Lady de Rohan, are in circumſtances like to thoſe of the Duke of Guiſe and Counteſs de Boſſu.

But it does not follow from thence, that the Duke's adventures are of the heroic kind; here being nothing in them but what are often found among the lower ſort of Gentlemen and Tradeſmen?

[*F*] *It is ſaid that thoſe Women who had a Paſſion for him, could tell without ſeeing him, whether he was preſent.*] I do not relate this as fact, I only mentioning it as a particular I have read. *Theſe two lovers*, that is the Duke of Guiſe and Counteſs de Boſſu, *muſt have had a violent paſſion for each other; and I wonder how it happened that their love ended before their Life. They had a ſecret fore-knowledge, which told them of their being together in the ſame place, a long time before they ſaw one another; and do you your ſelf, Madam, judge whether this fore-knowledge was juſt. The Duke was grown jealous of Count de * * *, who indeed had a ſtrong paſſion for the Counteſs, and is known to have been an extreme handſome man. However, ſhe did not love him; and notwithſtanding whatever has been ſaid to the contrary, Angelica ſwore to me, that Madam de *** loved no one but the Duke of ***: But then, he was not ſo well perſuaded as he ought to have been of his felicity; and being told every day that his rival was very aſſiduous, and very paſſionate, he reſolved to examine unperceived, into the truth of it, and came for that purpoſe incognito to Bruſſels, where great rejoicings were made for the birth of a Prince, born in Spain, and named Balthaſar* (39). .. The Duke being arrived, was " told, that ſeveral young Noblemen of that Country " made a maſquerade of Indians, in which diſguiſe he " himſelf went to the Counteſs de Cantecroix, where " was to be a very large Aſſembly. He got one of thoſe " habits brought to him, which was not a difficult " matter, there being no orders to conceal them. He " then ordered juſt ſuch a habit to be made for him-" ſelf, when going among the Masks, he entered the " Ball-room with them. He there ſaw Madame de***, " who appeared more lovely in his eyes than ever, " and the Count de *** near her; for he conſtantly " frequented thoſe Aſſemblies; which ſhe could not " prevent, becauſe of the reſpect which his quality " claimed. . . . The moment the Duke came in, the " Counteſs felt that certain emotion which his preſence " uſed to inſpire. She could not think this emotion " fallacious; and notwithſtanding her lover had writ " word to her, that he was going upon a Journey, " which was a fiction, ſhe yet ſought for him at-" tentively among the Masks, and at laſt diſcovered " him. This blazed their paſſion; for the Lady in " her firſt tranſports, at ſeeing him again, could not con-" ceal her thoughts; and the lover was ſo over-joyed, " that he forgot the reaſons he had ſtill to conceal his " paſſion. I have ſeen an original Letter of the Duke " on this effect of Sympathy; and that Letter ſeem-" ed to me exquiſitely well written. He therein com-" plained of the exceſs of this felicity; he confeſſing " that it was a very great one, to be thus diſcovered " by one's Miſtreſs: But he obſerved on the other " ſide, that this deprived him of the pleaſure to ſee " what paſſed in her heart, when ſhe had no mind to " let him know it. Theſe kinds of Diſcoveries were, " in his opinion, one of the moſt exquiſite joys that a " lover could taſte; and nothing appeared, to him, " more affecting, with regard to tender Souls, than " thoſe openings or diſplays of tenderneſs and ſin-" cerity, in which art and foreſight cannot be ſuſpected " to have any ſhare (40)."

(39) This chronology is erroneous; for Balthazar was born in 1629, and the Duke of Guiſe was then but 15 years of age; and it is to be obſerved that Father Anſelme, pag. 441. of his *Palais de l'Honneur*, ſays, that he married in Dec. 1641, Honorine de Berges, daughter of Count de Grimberghe, widow of Albert Maximilian de Hennin Count of Boſſu.

(40) *Vie de Henriette Sylvie de Moliere*, Part 6. pag. 151, *& ſeq.* Dutch ed. 1674.

[*G*] *He ... was carried to Joinville, in order to be buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors.*] I obſerved elſewhere (41), that the Barony of Joinville was raiſed to a Principality in 1552. It fell to the houſe of Lorrain, by the marriage of Ferri de Lorraine, firſt of that name, with Margaret de Joinville, eldeſt daughter of Henry V of that name, Count de Vaudemont, and Lord of Joinville, which Ferri was killed at the battle of Agencourt anno 1415 (42). Renatus II Duke of Lorrain left, by his laſt will dated the 25th of May 1506, to Claude his younger ſon, the eſtates of Guiſe, Elbeuf, Aumale, Mayenne, JOINVILLE, and others which he poſſeſſed in France (43). The tombs of the Dukes of Guiſe are in St. Lawrence's Church at Joinville. See the deſcription of that of Claudius in Remi Belleau (44).

(41) The citation (*k*) of the article (FRANCIS Duke of) Guiſe.

(42) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 455.

(43) See the *Miniſtere du Cardinal de Richelieu*, tom. 1. pag. m. 237.

[*H*] *His two ſiſters died unmarried.*] The name of the one was Mary, who was born the 15th of Auguſt 1615, and was known under the name of Mademoiſelle de Guiſe (45). I have read ſomewhere (46), that ſhe was upon the point of marrying Uladiſlaus, King of Poland. The other ſiſter, called Frances Renata, was born the 10th of January 1621, and was put into a Monaſtery. She was *Abbeſs of St. Peter at Rheims*, and afterwards *of Montmarte* (47). After the death of theſe two daughters, there remained neither male or female of the branch of Guiſe; and it is to be obſerved, that though the firſt four Dukes of that name had each a great number of ſons, nevertheleſs their whole poſterity is extinct, except that of Renatus de Lorrain, Marquis of Elbeuf, eighth ſon of Claudius firſt Duke of Guiſe. All the Princes of the houſe of Lorrain, now in France, deſcend from this Renatus. They are ſtill very numerous, and in a flouriſhing condition. If the title of Duke of Guiſe ſhould be beſtowed on any perſon, he will find it a very heavy burden. By the way, I know not who is now poſſeſſed of that Dukedom. I could not receive, time enough, the Memoirs I had requeſted, with regard to the conſequences of the laſt will of Mademoiſelle de Guiſe. She had enjoyed the title of Ducheſs of Guiſe for many years, and died in March 1688. She bequeathed by her laſt, *the Dukedom of Guiſe, worth an hundred thouſand livres a year, to the Duke of Lorrain's younger ſon, with the principality of Joinville, worth not much leſs; and her fine hotel in Paris, upon condition that he ſhould* go by *that name, and live in France, with the good pleaſure of the King* (48). The writer who publiſhed theſe particulars, adds the following words. " But beſides that this donation " was

(44) Folio 134. Part 1. of his works, Lyons edit. 1522.

(45) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Officiers*, pag. 428.

(46) In a work intitled, *L'Etat de France.*

(47) Anſelme, *Hiſt. des grans Offic.* pag. 428.

(48) *Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique*, for March 1688, pag. 279.

made on them by Abbé Gallois (*q*). See the article CERISANTES.

(*q*) In the *Journal des Savans* of the 12th of Nov. 1668.

" was diſpleaſing to the King, the Duke of Elbeuf " pretends that it is doing him injury, he being the " next heir in the male line. He therefore has al- " ready begun a law-ſuit, in order to get it declared " void, eſpecially with reſpect to the Dukedom of " Guiſe; aſſerting that the late Ducheſs could not " diſpoſe of it in his prejudice. . . (49). The de- " ceaſed Lady is ſuſpected to have been clandeſtinely " married to the late Mr. de Montreſor, a Gentleman " of quality and merit. It was even reported that " they had ſeveral children, two of whom, girls, " ſurvived. This report prevailed eſpecially four " years ſince, when that Princeſs made a deed of gift " to the Prince of Harcourt, which however had " no effect. It was pretended, that the money he was " to give her, was to ſerve as portions for thoſe two " daughters; but whether they died ſince, or that the " whole was a mere fiction, it is certain that no " mention is made of them in her will (50)."

(49) Ibid. pag. 280.

(50) Ibid. pag. 281.

GUISE (LEWIS of Lorrain, Cardinal of). There were three Cardinals of this name, the firſt being brother to Francis of Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe; and the ſecond was ſon to the ſame Duke. Moreri has ſpoke of both theſe (*a*), but made no mention of the third, for which reaſon I will take notice of him only. He was ſon to Henry of Lorrain Duke of Guiſe, killed in Blois, and was born in 1575. He was of ſo martial a temper, that he breathed nothing but war, though he was an Eccleſiaſtic, a Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of Rheims. He followed the King in his expedition to Poitou in 1621; and ſignalized himſelf among the braveſt and moſt intrepid in the army, at the attack of a Suburb at the ſiege of St. John d'Angeli (*b*). Falling ſick ſome days after, he ordered himſelf to be carried to Saintes, and died there the 21ſt of June 1621. His law-ſuit with the Duke of Nevers, concerning a Priory, turned to a quarrel; and the Cardinal ſeemed very much inclined to draw the ſword on that occaſion. I have given ſome particulars of this affair below [*A*]. He declared, on his death-bed, his repentance, for the

(*a*) Under the word *Lewis*.

(*b*) *See* Malingre, *Hiſt. de la Rebellion*, tom. 1. pag. m. 297, 298; and tom. 7. of the *Mercure François*, pag. 515.

[*A*] *His law ſuit . . . turned to a quarrel . . . I have given ſome particulars of this affair below.*] " (1) During " the ſiege of St. John d'Angely, Cardinal de Guiſe " died at Xainctes of a fever, which he got by over- " application. He was a Cardinal, but only a Dea- " con, and had never chaunted Maſs. He was a " Prince of a diſpoſition wholly martial, and whoſe " mind was more addicted to arms than letters. " Several have writ concerning the quarrel between " him and the Duke of Nevers, with regard to the " collation to the Priory of Charity, and of what " had been tranſacted at the houſe of the Advocate " who was to make a report of their cauſe. Thoſe " perſons who, by their writings produced in the ſuit, " put theſe two Princes at variance, were the occaſion " of their coming to blows, and their leaving Paris, " with their reſpective friends, in order to meet and ter- " minate their quarrel at the expence of their lives. " But his Majeſty having ſent his Light horſe to ſeize " upon their perſons, he who headed them, and was " expreſly ordered to arreſt the ſaid Cardinal, exe- " cuted his Majeſty's Command, and brought him " to Paris; where for fear of a ſecond ſally, be- " cauſe the Duke of Nevers was ſtill abroad, he was " carried one Evening to the Baſtile, and from thence " to Bois de Vincennes (2)." Preſident de Gramond relates ſome other curious particulars, viz. that the Cardinal of Guiſe, meeting the Duke of Nevers in the houſe of the Advocate who was to report his cauſe, immediately addreſſed him in very injurious expreſſions; that the Duke anſwered him in as ſevere terms, upon which the Cardinal ſtruck him with his fiſt, in preſence of the Advocate who was to make the report. Prince de Joinville, brother to this Cardinal, immediately drew his ſword, and ſtruck ſeveral times, with the flat ſide, Monſieur Mareſcot, Maſter of the Requeſts, who, with his Majeſty's permiſſion, managed Duke de Nevers's affairs. The King knowing that this Duke wanted to fight a duel with the Prince of Joinville, interpoſed his authority in order to reconcile them, and obliged the Cardinal to aſk the Duke's pardon. With regard to the affront which had been put upon the Maſter of Requeſts, it was atoned for as follows. The Prince of Joinville was forced to ſpeak the following words before the Umpires. *Mr. Mareſcot, out of conſideration for the Duke of Nevers, I am ſorry that I beat you. I deſire you therefore to obliterate the remembrance of it, and to believe that I will be your friend, for the ſake of Duke de Nevers.* Preſident de Gramond makes a very ſolid remark on the diſorders and irregularities of thoſe times, in which a Maſter of Requeſts might be caned with impunity. This diſorder was owing wholly to the diminution of the royal authority, and ceaſed the inſtant that Cardinal de Richelieu had caſt down, at the foot of the throne of Lewis XIII, all thoſe Princes and Noblemen of high diſtinction, who uſurped a very conſiderable part of the ſovereign power. Does not this ſavour very much of anarchy, viz. that in a country which bears the title of a Kingdom, thoſe perſons who have caned and abuſed a conſiderable Magiſtrate, ſhould not be obliged to ſay, that they are ſorry, on account of the quality and character of that magiſtrate, for what they have done, but only out of affection for the perſon of high quality whoſe affairs he managed? Weigh well the following words of Preſident de Gramond. *Principum per ea tempora ſumma erat ratio, affectabantque diſtingui ab omni ordine, prærogativa ſanguinis. Per injuriam Joinvillius percuſſerat magiſtratum, & ait dolere ſe ex perſona Niverni, quod percuſſerit; quaſi adeo infra poſitus in quem collata offenſa, ut gratis cædi poſſet. Erat hæc labes ejus ætatis, qua à principibus Rex parum diſtinguebatur: quo jure utimur hodie, nempe anno* M. DC. XLII. *quo hæc ſcribo, externi principes parum à Regni primoribus, parum hi à nobilibus differunt, uno ferme ordine habemur omnes; eoque ventum ut nemo publice, nemo privatim peccare poſſit ſine ultore, quod ejus ſapientiæ & æquitati debitum, qui ætate noſtra ſummam rerum tenet in Gallia* (3). i, e. " The higheſt regard " was paid to the Princes of the blood; and they af- " fected to be diſtinguiſhed from every rank and order, " by the prerogative of their birth. The Prince of " Joinville had wrongfully beat a Magiſtrate, and " ſaid that he was ſorry for it, on account of the " Duke of Nevers; if the injured Magiſtrate was ſo " greatly inferior to him, that he might be ſtruck with " impunity, it was the ſhame and reproach of that " age, in which little diſtinction was made between " the King and the Princes of the blood. But in the " year in which I now write, 1642, foreign Princes " differ little from the chief men of the Kingdom, " and theſe but little from the Nobles. We now " ſeem to conſiſt almoſt of one order; and things " are come to that pitch, that no man can offend " either publicly or privately without an avenger; " for which we are obliged to the wiſdom and equity " of that man, who now heads the adminiſtration in " France."

(1) *Mercure François*, tom. 7. pag. 570, 571.

(2) *It is to be obſerved, that he did not continue long in it*; for, a little after, the King intending to go into Poictou, ſent for him to Fontainebleau to accompany him. Ibid. pag. 571.

(3) Gramondus, *Hiſt.* lib. 8. *in fin.* pag. 408.

Abbé de Marolles will furniſh us with ſome other particulars. *About the beginning of the winter in* 1620, ſays he (4), *the Duke of Nevers had a great quarrel with the Cardinal of Guiſe, for the Priory of Charity, dependent on the Abbey of Cluni; for, having procured it to be conferred, by the Court of Rome, on the Prince of Timeraye his ſecond ſon, on a letter or promiſe of the Cardinal of Guiſe, Abbot of Cluni; and this Cardinal wanting to go from his word, in favour of one of his ſons whom he had had by the Lady des Eſſars, it occaſioned a mighty law-ſuit, which made ſo much noiſe that it divided all the perſons of diſtinction*

(4) Marolles, *Memoirs*, pag. 45, 46.

(c) *Aulico luxu & militari licentia traduxerat vitam.* Gramond, *Hiſt.* lib. 8. pag. m 407.

(d) Idem, ibid.

the licentious life he had led (*c*), and the injury he had done the Duke of Nevers (*d*). Preſident de Grammond cenſures our Cardinal for concerning himſelf with war, in which a man muſt imbrue his hands in blood; but ſpares him as to the article of fornication [*B*], which, though infinitely more common among the Clergy than the military functions, is nevertheleſs an infraction of the Canon Law.

To conclude, I believe ſome reflections have been made on this, viz. that the deſcendants of the ſame Prince of Conde, whom Francis of Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe, endeavoured to deſtroy, are become heirs to the deſcendants of that Duke [*C*], in

at Court... It was found a very difficult matter to pacify theſe quarrels, becauſe ſome blows were ſtruck on both ſides; and the Duke of Nevers who was firſt offended, miſtruſting nothing, had no time to draw his ſword, which Fouques his Gentleman held out of the chamber of the Advocate that made the report, where he was alone.

[*B*] *Preſident de Gramond cenſures our Cardinal for concerning himſelf with war .... but ſpares him as to the article of fornication.*] He employs the antitheſis following (5): *Militiam effectabat, impatiens ſui; non miles, quia Cardinalis; non item Cardinalis, quia miles erat .... Indebitum certe characteri, quod in Engeriaca obſidione ſæpe ferrum in hoſtem ſtrinxit; immemor Eccleſiam neſcire ſanguinem.* i. e. "He ſeemed to be fond "of warfare from a ſort of ſelf-impatience; he not "being a ſoldier, becauſe he was a Cardinal; and "not a Cardinal, becauſe he was a ſoldier .... He "certainly did not act in character, when, at the ſiege "of St. John d'Angeli, he frequently drew his ſword "againſt the enemy; forgetting that the church is a "ſtranger to blood," Perhaps ſome one will ſay, that the only reaſon why he did not ſpeak of the amours of this Cardinal, was becauſe he knew nothing of them, but I myſelf cannot fancy that he was ignorant of them; they having been too public, and children having been got on that occaſion. The *Chronique des Favoris* printed anno 1622, ſuppoſes (6), that a diſpute aroſe between Cardinal of Guiſe and the Duke du Mayne, concerning who ſhould firſt ſtep into Charon's boat. *The Cardinal ſaid, that he was the firſt who died, and conſequently that he ought to go into it firſt. This the Duke could not deny; but then he remonſtrated that he ought to go in firſt, becauſe he had been killed in the King's ſervice, whereas the other had died only of ſickneſs. The Cardinal replied, that he had left his wife and children for God's cauſe, of which he deſired no other witneſs but the Duke de Nevers; whereas he, the Duke du Mayne, had not left any thing of that kind.* It was univerſally known at that time, that this Cardinal had cohabited with one of the miſtreſſes of Henry IV, I mean Charlotte des Eſſars. This was imprinted the ſtronger in peoples memories, becauſe this woman had been ſo fortunate as to be married to a perſon of high quality, notwithſtanding the public diſgrace ſhe had brought upon herſelf; after ſhe had had children by one of the Kings of France, and afterwards by an Archbiſhop of Reims (7). Mr. du Hallier, who perhaps would have thought it beneath him, to marry Charlotte des Eſſars at a time when her reputation was unſpotted; did not ſcruple to make her his wife, after ſhe was quite ruined in her character. He was a perſon of quality, and brother to a Marſhal of France (8). He was Knight of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, and Captain of the Life-guard; and had exhibited proofs of that military virtue, which afterwards raiſed him to the dignity of Marſhal of France. Nevertheleſs, in his marrying, he contented himſelf with the leavings of a Cardinal. The public could not forbear taking notice of this incident. There is ſuch frequent occaſion to cite examples of this kind, that this ſort of adventures are ſeldom forgot. But at a time when that in queſtion was, perhaps, very little taken notice of, there aroſe certain perſons who laid claim to Mademoiſelle de Guiſe's eſtate, which called up, in people's memories, all the particulars of that affair. Read what follows, which is extracted from the *Hiſtorical and Political Mercury*, for April 1688. "The Marchioneſs d'Acy, "wife to the younger brother of Count de Gamache, "Knight of the King's orders, diſputes at this time "the eſtate belonging to the houſe of Guiſe; and that "by vertue of a certain box brought her by a perſon "unknown, in which ſhe found a marriage-contract "between the Cardinal of Guiſe and Mademoiſelle "Des-Eſſars, mother to Count de Romorantin, her "father, who was always reputed that Cardinal's "baſtard. This contract is enforced with the nuptial "bleſſing, made in due form; and farther, with a "diſpenſation from the Pope, impowering that Car-"dinal to poſſeſs his benefices, notwithſtanding his "marriage. In fine, nothing ſeems wanting but a "ſupport powerful enough to be able to contend for ſo "great an eſtate with thoſe concerned in it. However, "from what quarter ſoever that box may come, it "very probably may occaſion a great deal of noiſe "in the Law Courts, eſpecially as it is in the hands "of a Lady, who has learned all the chicane of the "law, as though ſhe knew the want ſhe would one "day have of it. Since this happy diſcovery, ſhe "has taken off the bar, which was in her arms, as a "token of illegitimacy. But ſhe may juſtly fear that "ſhe will ſoon be obliged to fix it in again, ſhe being "oppoſed by the Prince of Conde, who pretends to "be the chief heir of that houſe, in right of the "Princeſs of Conde his wife; and as there is ſo "great a diſproportion between them, the box may, "in time, be found ſuppoſititious." It is to be obſerved that the author of the *Mercure* ſuppoſes (10), that this Cardinal of Guiſe was he who was murdered in Blois; but it is a miſtake.

[*C*] *The Deſcendents of the ſame Prince of Conde, whom Francis of Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe, endeavoured to deſtroy, are become heirs to the deſcendents of that Duke of Guiſe.*] It is here that I muſt introduce the Memoir, which I did not receive till after the page (11), where I might have inſerted it conveniently, was printed off. This Memoir will acquaint us with the law-proceedings which the marriage of the Duke of Guiſe and the Counteſs de Boſſu occaſioned, and the foundation of the pretenſions of the Prince of Conde who gain'd the ſuit.

"(12) The 16th of November 1641, there was a "marriage between the Duke of Guiſe and Honorée "de Berghes, at that time relict of Count de "Boſſu.

"The 9th of June 1666, there was a definitive "ſentence pronounced, contradictory to that of the "Rota, which declares the marriage valid *ad quoſ-"cunque effectus, & dictam Comitiſſam veram & legi-"timam conjugem.* Note, the Duke of Guiſe was "then dead, but then he had produced in Rome his "inſtruments and vouchers in his life-time. Note "farther, that during this time, Mademoiſelle de "Guiſe obtained certain ſentences of the Law-courts, "which annulled the proceedings of the Rota; for-"bid ſuing in that court; and all the ſerjeants in "France were forbid to preſent any ſummons for that "court, or to execute the ſentences of it. The Coun-"teſs de Boſſu acted, all the reſt of her life, as Du-"cheſs of Guiſe. She for ever aſſerted the validity "of her marriage, and always inſiſted upon the exe-"cution of it. She had flattered herſelf with the "hopes of getting it recognized in France, by the "recommendation or authority of the League, or of "the King of Spain at the Treaty of Nimeguen in "1678. But the French party was too powerful "there; and the Miniſters of France refuſed abſo-"lutely to hearken to any affairs relating to the "intereſts of private perſons. Counteſs de Boſſu "attempted this ſeveral times, but all to no purpoſe, "and died in 1679, having appointed Count de "Berghes, one of her nephews, her heir. Count "de Berghes regulated the affairs of the ſucceſſion, "and got together all the inſtruments or writings of "the marriage that were diſperſed in Rome, Paris, "Madrid, Vienna, the Netherlands, and other coun-"tries. By the favour of the truce of Luxemburg, "he came to Paris, and there put in his demand, at "the Chatelet, the 3d of Auguſt 1687, againſt Ma-"demoiſelle de Guiſe, as heireſs of her late brother, "that

(5) Gramond. *Hiſt.* lib. 8. pag. 407.

(6) *Chronique des Favoris*, pag. 14.

(7) Father Anſelme, pag. 441. of the *Palais de l'Honneur*, ſays that Cardinal of Guiſe left, *by Charlotte des Eſſars, three ſons and two daughters*; that the eldeſt of the ſons was Biſhop of Condom; the ſecond, Count de Romorantin; killed in Candia in the Venetian ſervice, and father to the Marchioneſs d'Acy. I omit what he ſays of the third ſon, and of the daughters.

(8) Of Nicholas de l'Hoſpital, Marquis, and afterwards Duke of Vitri.

(9) *Mercure Hiſt. & Politique*, April 1688, pag. 375, 376.

(10) Ibid. pag. 386, 387.

(11) At the cloſe of the remark [*H*] of the preceding Article.

(12) Memoirs, communicated to me by Mr. Dalencé.

in no longer time than about an hundred and thirty years.

" that the contract of marriage, of the 16th of November 1641, might be executed againſt her; and thence, that all the contracts and other rights reſulting from it, might be judged in his favour. Mademoiſelle de Guiſe immediately obtained an arret of the Parliament, containing the following prohibitions, viz. to proceed in the court of the Chatelet; to ſtyle the Counteſs of Boſſu, Ducheſs of Guiſe; to make any demands on account of that pretended marriage; and all Serjeants were forbid to give any ſummons for that purpoſe. March the 8th 1688, Mademoiſelle de Guiſe departed this life; after having made ſeveral wills and codicils, the laſt whereof is dated the 2d of March 1688. A war broke out during this interval, which contributed to keep things in ſuſpence. At laſt, a peace being concluded at Ryſwick, Count de Berghes returned to France, honoured with the title of Prince and Knight of the Golden Fleece. He renewed his demand the 25th of October 1698, not to the Court of the Chatelet, but directly to the Parliament. He demanded, by vertue of a commiſſion under the great Seal, to be admitted opponent to the execution of the ſentence or arret of 1687, and the other two pronounced a long time before, againſt his aunt; and that juſtice ſhould be done him on his oppoſition: together with the appeal lodged by Mademoiſelle de Guiſe and my Lords her heirs, concerning the ſolemnization of the marriage and the ſentence of the Rota, bringing his firſt demand, from the Chatelet, petitioning, that all the contracts and other rights of marriage ſhould be judged entirely in his favour. On this illuſtrious controverſy, ſentence was pronounced, the morning of Jan. 5, being Tueſday, 1700, in the great Chamber, purſuant to the concluſions of Mr. Dagueſſeau, Advocate-General, Mr. Robert, and Mr. Nouet Council for the parties, and Mr. de Harlay being Preſident; after fifteen hearings, ſeven of which were taken up by Robert, ſix by Mr. Nouet, and two by Mr. Dagueſſeau, by which, having conſidered the petition of the Prince of Berghes, the Court ordains, that the information made againſt Honorée de Berghes Counteſs of Boſſu ſhall be rejected; without regarding the oppoſition made by the Prince of Berghes to the execution of the decrees of 1665, 1666, and 1687; doing juſtice on the appeals from the Eccleſiaſtical Court, both of the celebration and procedures made at the Rota, and the ſentences there intervening; declares the marriage to have been unjuſtly ſolemnized, and therefore void. In conſequence whereof the Court rejects the demands of the Prince of Berghes, depending on the queſtion relating to the marriage; ſentences him to pay coſts; and ordains, that, with regard to other demands, he may take his courſe."

It appears evidently from the genealogical table printed during this law-ſuit, that Anne Palatine of Bavaria, conſort to the Prince of Conde, was right heireſs to Mademoiſelle de Guiſe; for ſhe deſcended from the Duke of Mayenne, ſon of Francis of Lorrain Duke of Guiſe. This Duke of Mayenne had a daughter, who married Charles Gonzaga Duke of Nevers, by whom ſhe had Anne Gonzaga, mother to the Princeſs of Conde.

☞ GUISE (WILLIAM), a very learned Engliſh Divine in the ſeventeenth Century, was deſcended of a good family at Abloads Court near Glouceſter, and ſon of John Guiſe Eſq;. He was born in the year 1653, and became a Commoner of Oriel College in the Univerſity of Oxford in 1669. He afterwards removed to All-Souls College, of which he was choſen Fellow (*a*). April the 4th 1674 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); and October the 16th 1677 that of Maſter of Arts (*c*). He entered into holy Orders, and in 1680 reſigned his Fellowſhip, having about that time married Frances daughter of George Southcote of Devonſhire Eſq;. He died of the ſmall-pox at his houſe in St. Michael's pariſh at Oxford September the 3d 1683, and was interred in the Chancel of St. Michael's Church in that City, where a monument was erected to his memory by his widow [*A*]. He was very eminent for his ſkill in Oriental learning (*d*). After his death Dr. Edward Bernard, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, publiſhed a book, which Mr. Guiſe tranſlated into Latin and illuſtrated with a Commentary, viz. *Miſnæ pars; ordinis primi Zeraim tituli ſeptem. Latinè vertit & Commentario illuſtravit Gulielmus Guiſius.* Oxford 1690 in 4to. To which is prefixed Dr. Edward Pocock's Latin Verſion of Moſes Maimonides's *Præfatio in Seder Seraim.* The authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* (*e*) in their account of this work ſtile our author a *man of great learning, and the immortal ornament of the Univerſity of Oxford* (*f*). And Dr. Thomas Smith (*g*) gives him the title of *Vir longè eruditiſſimus*, and obſerves, that his death in the thirty firſt year of his age was a prodigious loſs to the Republic of Letters. He was engaged in preparing for the preſs an edition of Abulfeda's Geography, when he died (*b*). The preſent Colonel John Guiſe, F. R. S. is his ſon.

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 748. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 195.

(*c*) Idem, ibid. col. 206.

(*d*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) *Menſis Junii* 1691, pag. 252.

(*f*) *Vir doctiſſimus ac Oxonienſium Academiæ immortale decus.*

(*g*) *Vita Edwardi Bernardi*, pag. 50. edit. Londini 1704 in 8vo.

(*b*) Idem, in *Vita Johannis Gravii.* See likewiſe the article of ABULFEDA, vol. 1. pag. 115. remark [*C*].

[*A*] *Where a monument was erected to his Memory by his Widow.*] The Epitaph inſcribed on it begins thus: *M. S.* Gulielmi Guiſe, *Equeſtri apud Gloceſtrenſes familiâ orti, è collegio Oriel. in Colleg. Omn. Animar. aſciti, Linguarum præcipuè Orientalium peritiſſimi, Critici, Rhetoris, Mathematici, Theologi, in omnibus adeo eximii, ut raro quiſquam in ſingulis, in Juventute, ut rarò quiſquam in ſenio; quem ne perfectionis humanæ apices tranſiret, &c.* T

☞ GUNTER (EDMUND) an eminent Engliſh Mathematician in the ſeventeenth Century, was born in the county of Hertford (*a*), but deſcended originally from a family of that name at Gunterſtown in Brecknockſhire (*b*). He was elected from Weſtminſter-ſchool a ſtudent of Chriſt Church in Oxford in 1599, at eighteen years of age, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts December the 12th 1603 (*c*), and that of Maſter of Arts July 2d 1606 (*d*). He afterwards entered into holy Orders (*e*); and on the 23d of Nov. 1615 took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*f*). But being peculiarly eminent for his knowledge in the Mathematics, he had been before choſen Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in Greſham College in London in the room of Mr. Edward Brerewood, who died November the 4th 1613; and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that ſtation by his

(*a*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 271. and *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 508. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Idem, *Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 165.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. col. 174.

(*e*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid. col. 199.

(g) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

Lectures and Writings [*A*]. He died at Greſham College in December 1626, and was interred on the 11th of that month in the Church of St. Peter the Poor in London (*g*).

[*A*] *His writings.*] I. *Canon Triangulorum, ſive Tabulæ ſinuum artificialium ad radium* 10000,0000, *& ad ſcrupula prima quadrantis.* London 1620 in 8vo. II. *Of the Sector and Croſs-ſtaff, and other Inſtruments.* This was publiſhed with a Tranſlation of his *Canon Triangulorum* in 4to, in Engliſh, by Mr. Samuel Foſter, Profeſſor of Greſham College London, formerly Member of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, and with Mr. Foſter's Tract of *the uſes of the Quadrant*, and printed at London 1624, 1636, 1653, &c. in 4to. The fifth edition of theſe works of Mr. Gunter was diligently corrected, and improved with many uſeful additions throughout the whole by Mr. William Leybourne, ſometime a Printer, and afterwards an eminent Mathematician. Mr. Leybourn informs us in his Preface, what theſe additions are, and takes notice of ſome Plagiaries, who had lately publiſhed ſeveral Treatiſes, extracted, or rather tranſcribed from Mr. Gunter, without the leaſt mention of the true Author. Some queſtions in Navigation are added to theſe works by Mr. Henry Bond, Teacher of the Mathematicks at Ratcliff near London; and to this edition of 1673 was added, *The Deſcription and uſe of another Sector and Quadrant, both invented by Mr.* Samuel Foſter abovementioned. Mr. Wood obſerves (1), that in 1624 Edmund Wingate, Eſq; carried into France the *Rule of Proportion* juſt before invented by Mr. Gunter, and communicated it to moſt of the principal Mathematicians at Paris; who ſeeing the great uſe of it, ſollicited him to give an account of it in French, which he publiſhed at Paris in 1624 in 8vo, and dedicated it to the Duke of Orleans, by the advice of Monſr. Alleaune, the King's chief Engineer. But nevertheleſs, ſays Mr. Wood (2) *the ſaid work came forth as abortive, the publiſhing thereof being ſomewhat haſtened by reaſon an advocate of Dijon in Burgundy began to print ſome uſes thereof, which* Wingate *had in a friendly way communicated to him, eſpecially in regard Gunter himſelf had learnedly explained its uſe, in a far larger Volume. For albeit, it were great preſumption in Wingate to aſſume to himſelf the Reputation of having better Abilities to deſcribe any uſes thereof, yet he could aver upon his own knowledge, that he did forbear to explain its uſe, becauſe he took it for granted, none would meddle with it, but ſuch only who were already well able to underſtand how to number upon it, having beforehand acquainted themſelves with the manner of numbering upon Scales, and with the nature of Logarithms. After* Wingate's *return from France, where he taught the King's Daughter* Henriette Maria (3), *afterwards Queen of England, and her Ladies the Engliſh Tongue; he importuned* Gunter *to make a fuller Explanation how to number upon it, viz.* the Rule of Proportion, *to the end that the uſe thereof might by that means be made more publick; but his anſwer was,* That it could not be expected, that the rule ſhould ſpeak; *intimating thereby, that the Practitioner ſhould in that point rely upon Diſcretion, and not altogether depend upon Precepts and Examples.* T

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 207.

(2) Ibid.

(3) She was daughter of Henry IV, who was killed by Ravilliac in 1610 not of Lewis XIII, who then reigned.

GUYET (FRANCIS) was a native of Angers, ſprung from a very good family [*A*], and one of the beſt critics in the ſeventeenth Century. He was born in 1575 [*B*], and loſt his father and mother when but a child. The little fortune they left him was almoſt loſt by the ill management of his guardians. However, this circumſtance, ſo far from diſcouraging him with reſpect to his ſtudies, excited him to apply himſelf to them with ſtill greater aſſiduity; and imagining, that Paris would give him an opportunity of improving his knowledge and judgment, by the converſation of learned men, he went thither in 1599. It was not long before he obtained the friendſhip of Chriſtopher and Auguſtin du Puy, the two eldeſt ſons of Claude du Puy (*a*), who had been the ornament and ſupport of polite Literature. The intimacy he afterwards had with Peter and James du Puy, ſons of the abovementioned Claude du Puy, contributed greatly to his advancement in the Sciences; for thoſe two brothers were frequently viſited by the moſt learned men in Paris, and a great number uſed to meet daily at Thuanus's houſe, where Meſſieurs du Puy uſed to receive the company. After Thuanus's death, theſe

(*a*) He died in 1594.

[*A*] *Sprung from a very good Family.*] He had two uncles, Lezin Guyet, and Martial Guyet; the former, a Counſellor in the Preſidial of Angers, has drawn a map of the Province of Anjou; and the latter has writ French Verſes (1). This is related by Portner; but I find ſome difficulty in this when I compare it with what Menage relates (2) viz. that Lezin Guyet, Counſellor to the Preſidial of Angers, and who firſt drew the Map of the Province of Anjou, was an Echevin of Angers in 1493. However this difficulty diſappears, the inſtant I conſult la Croix du Maine (3), who ſays that Lezin Guyet was born the 13th of February, anno 1515. From thence I immediately infer, either that Menage's Printer put one figure for another; or that Menage miſtook one Lezin Guyet who lived before Martial's elder brother, for him who drew the Map of Anjou; for he ſays, that Lezin Guyet had a ſon called Andrew; and he mentions two Andrews, one of whom was Mayor of Angers in 1550, and the other Echevin of the ſame city in 1519. The laſt of theſe two Andrews cannot poſſibly have been the ſon of him who drew the Map of Anjou, ſince he who delineated it was born in 1515. For the ſame reaſon, it is no ways probable that he was father to the other Andrew; but they both might be ſons of one Lezin Guyet, Echevin of Angers in 1493. Be this as it will, Menage declares this family to have been of *conſiderable Antiquity*; and, after mentioning ſome other Perſons of that name, he comes to our Francis Guyet, and calls him *the moſt learned Angevin that he knows of.*

(1) *See* La Croix du Maine, pag. 312.

(2) *Remarques ſur la vie de Guillaume Menage*, pag. 292.

(3) *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. 289.

[*B*] *He was born in* 1575.] This circumſtance came to be known only by his Heirs; for he himſelf always concealed, even from his Friends, the year he was born in. He did not care to be thought ſo old as he really was (4); and as he flattered himſelf with the hopes of living much longer than he really did, he was deſirous of concealing his age. He ſeldom confided his ſecrets to any perſon, but perhaps there was none he better concealed than that in queſtion; and as he was not grown very hoary in his old age (5), and as his ſtrength was not diminiſhed in proportion to his years; he did not care to undeceive thoſe who did not take him to be as old as he was in reality. Had he intended to marry, his myſterious Taciturnity would not be ſo ſurpriſing; and as his ſight was ſo good that he could read the ſmalleſt Print (6), this circumſtance would have ſeconded wonderfully well the deceit. It is thought that the hopes he entertained of living many years longer (7), occaſioned him to neglect ſettling his affairs, either with regard to his works or his eſtate, he dying without a will. All thoſe who ſhall peruſe this remark, and have read the Letters of the Chevalier d'Her . . . will call to mind the words I ſhall here cite (8). They are in the XXXVIth of part I. See the remark (*O*) of the article GOMBAUD.

(4) Periander, in *Vita Guyeti.*

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) *Epiſt. Iſmael Bullialdi*, apud *Periandrum*, ubi ſupra.

(8) The fair-ſex conceal their age with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and I believe it is the only one they do conceal. Several women have truſted me with their domeſtic concerns, and even their amours; but not one has told me her age. I have ſeen many reſolve upon a thing with great ſteadineſs and reſolution; but I never met with one who had the courage to tell how old ſhe was.

theſe Gentlemen continued thoſe conferences in the ſame place. Guyet uſed to attend very regularly at thoſe aſſemblies. In 1608 he went to Rome, and there applied himſelf with ſuch prodigious aſſiduity to the ſtudy of the Italian, that he at laſt was capable of compoſing ſuch verſes in that tongue, as the greateſt Poets of that Nation would not have judged unworthy of their muſe. He renewed with Regnier (*b*), who was then in the palace of Cardinal de Joyeuſe, the acquaintance he had already contracted with him in Paris; and he ingratiated himſelf very much into the eſteem of Cardinal du Perron, and of Gabriel de l'Aubeſpine Biſhop of Orleans, whom he aſſiſted more than once in explaining ſeveral difficult paſſages in ſacred as well as profane authors. He returned to Paris by the way of Germany; and was taken into Duke d'Epernon's family, in quality of Preceptor to Abbé de Granſelve, who was afterwards ſo well known by the name of Cardinal de la Valette (*c*). As he was perfectly well verſed in the Greek and Latin Authors, he made choice of ſuch particulars in them as beſt ſuited his pupil, and explained them to him, not like a ſchoolmaſter or pedant, but in a manner adapted to the uſe, which a youth deſigned for exalted employments ought to make of them. The pupil improved very much by the inſtructions of ſo learned a tutor; and had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he always entruſted him with the ſecret of his moſt important affairs. He took Guyet to Rome when he went thither after his being promoted to a Cardinal's hat, and procured him a good benefice, beſides that which he had before beſtowed upon him (*d*). Guyet being returned to Paris, choſe rather to live privately, than at Cardinal de la Valette's, and made choice of the College of Burgundy for his reſidence. He lived there till the time of his death, wholly devoted to his ſtudies, and contenting himſelf with paying his court to the Cardinal when in Paris; for he could never have prevailed with himſelf to follow him in the Armies and the Provinces. He every day enjoyed the converſation of Meſſieurs du Puy, who lodged in Thuanus's houſe, not far from Burgundy College; but, after Mr. Rigaut's departure, they removed to the King's Library, where their conferences were afterwards held. He employed himſelf chiefly in a work, the deſign of which was to ſhew that the Latin tongue was derived from the Greek; and that all the primitive words of the latter conſiſted but of one ſyllable. He was the firſt who formed ſuch a deſign, and therefore, was deſirous that no one ſhould have the glory of executing it but himſelf, for which reaſon he did not communicate his Eſſays to any perſon. But notwithſtanding his long and continual application to this work, it yet proved entirely uſeleſs; for, after his death, there was found nothing but a vaſt collection of Greek and Latin words (*e*), without order or connection, or the leaſt preface to give any inſight into his plan; ſo that one would have concluded that he had ſuſpected the paper no leſs than his friends, to whom he would never communicate his plan, his method or principles. He nevertheleſs applied himſelf to other things; the margins of his Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Plautus, Martial, Philoxenus, Heſychius &c. being quite crowded with critical remarks [*C*], in which he took great liberties [*D*], he rejecting all ſuch verſes as ſuppoſititious, as did not appear to him worthy the genius of the author. The moſt complete of his labours was his Notes on Terence; and theſe were publiſhed in the Straſburg edition, anno 1657, they having been ſent by James du Puy to the learned Boeclerus. He had the happineſs to gain the reputation of being a very learned man, though he had never printed any work; and acted prudently, in thereby avoiding the literary diſputes in which he would neceſſarily have been involved, had

(*b*) A famous French ſatyrical Poet.

(*c*) He was created Cardinal in 1621.

(*d*) One of theſe two benefices was the Priory of St. Andeade near Bourdeaux. See *Hiſt. de l'Academie Francoiſe*, pag. m. 269.

(*e*) It conſiſted of 25 quires of paper in folio, in a fair and very legible hand.

[*C*] *The Margins of his Horace, Virgil, &c. ... were quite crowded with critical remarks.*] Menage bought the Books, the margin of which contained the notes in queſtion, and they have not all been confined to the obſcurity of a cloſet. Thoſe which relate to Heſiod were communicated to Grævius, who inſerted them in his edition (9). Thoſe upon Stephanus Byzantinus have alſo been publiſhed (10). I ſhall only obſerve by the way, that Guyet was not one of thoſe readers who run from book to book; he applying himſelf to one, and never left it till he had peruſed it with prodigious attention. In this manner he wrote upon Terence, Heſiod, Horace and Plautus. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the ancients. And beſides this he delighted only in modern Hiſtorians and Books of Travels (11). I mention theſe particulars, not only becauſe ſome perſons are curious of them, but alſo becauſe they make my readers entertain an advantageous Idea of the notes of this great critick.

(9) In 1667.

(10) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 3. num. 518.

(11) Portner, in *Vita Guyeti*.

[*D*] ... *in which he took great Liberties.*] His criticiſms were ſometimes ſo very ſevere, that it was impoſſible but he muſt have been ſometimes in the wrong. Guyet had expunged a conſiderable number of Verſes from Virgil; pretending that a great many Verſes had been foiſted into the works of that famous Poet; and that his compoſitions were like our Regiments of Guards, which are never without Faggots. He therefore ſet up for a rigid Commiſſary, who never ſuffers any but true Soldiers to paſs muſter. He looked upon as ſuppoſititious all the firſt ode of Horace, and the ſecret Hiſtory of Procopius; and whenever his ear or taſte did not approve of the cadence or turn of a period, he immediately concluded it not to be genuine, tho' the ancient Grammarians and the beſt manuſcripts were againſt him. But to prove that Guyet, on ſome occaſions at leaſt, had a depraved taſte (12), and paſſed the bounds of the *delicati faſtidii* aſcribed to him, we need but read the Verſes, which he wrote againſt Beer, where he ſpeaks ſo contemptuouſly of all the Dutch Poets (13). Grotius anſwered him very pertinently (14).

(12) Idem.

(13) *Hinc Batavi fumis cerealibus ebria turba Carmina tot Muſis inficianda vomunt.*

Duræ mentis iners, merumque rus eſt,
Si quem baſia non movent Secundi,
Et quos Douſa canit parente major
Cælo ſydereos rotante curſus,
Et quæ ſpicula Baudio vibrante
Non unum ſibi deſtinant Lycamben,
Et quos dat numeros nihil vetuſtis
Cedens vatibus Heinſii Thalia.

That is,

" Dull he muſt be, and of a ſoul unmoved,
" Who is not ſtruck with fam'd Secundus' kiſſes,
" And thoſe which Douſa ſings in loftier ſounds
" Than ever ecchoed from Apollo's Lyre;
" Or thoſe which fly from Baudius' Quiver,
" Severe as fam'd Archilochus's numbers;
" Or thoſe which Heinſius ſo ſweetly warbles,
" Worthy the ages of triumphant Rome."

(14) See thoſe two little Poems in the *Lettres choiſies de Balzac*, pag. 313. Dutch edit.

had he not kept his compoſitions always by him in manuſcript [*E*]. He ſeldom retracted any thing he had advanced. He diſputed with great warmth whenever he was oppoſed, and would be very witty on thoſe occaſions. He had a very happy memory, and was a man of candour, ſincerity, and probity. He had been cut for the ſtone in 1636, and had ſubmitted to the pains of that operation with incredible conſtancy. If we except this, his very long life was little troubled with any illneſs, and he had the happineſs to be carried off by a catarrh, with which he was afflicted but three or four days, and not preventing the Pariſh Prieſt from performing the uſual duties. He died in the arms of James du Puy and Mr. Menage his countryman, the 12th of April 1655 (*f*), aged fourſcore. His life (*g*) has been wrote in Latin, with great judgment and politeneſs, by Mr. Portner, a Senator of Ratiſbon (*h*), whence I have extracted this article.

(*f*) Reineſius, *Epiſt. ad Daunium*, pag. 170. is miſtaken in ſaying 1657.

(*g*) It is prefixed to Guyet's *Commentary on Terence*, printed with that of Boeclerus, at Straſburg, anno 1657.

(*h*) He diſguiſed himſelf under the name of Antonius Periander Rhœtus. *See* Placc. *de Script. Anonymis & Pſeudonym.* pag. 236.

[*E*] *He acted prudently in avoiding the literary diſputes, in which he would have been involved, had he not kept his compoſitions always by him in manuſcript.*] Though he was bold in his criticiſms, and ſo intrepid in ſpeaking what he thought in converſation, he yet was very fearful with reſpect to the public. He dreaded particularly Salmaſius (15), who being at Meſſieurs Du Puys, threatened to write a book againſt him, in caſe he dared to publiſh his thoughts with regard to certain paſſages in antient authors. He would have found too formidable an antagoniſt in Salmaſius, who could have publiſhed an hundred ſheets, before Guyet would have been able to prepare four for the Printer; for Guyet could ſcarce ever write to pleaſe himſelf (16); for which reaſon he did not publiſh any thing, even when Salmaſius's death rid him of his greateſt fear. It were to be wiſhed, for the ſake of the public, that many authors had ſuch a ſcare-crow. Thoſe even whom this fear had kept from publiſhing any thing, would think themſelves happy, if they knew their own intereſt: for how many writers are are there, who verify wholly, or at leaſt the laſt part, of the following thought in Horace?

Sed tacitus paſci ſi poſſet corvus, haberet
Plus dapis & rixæ multo minus invidiæque (17).

" And could the talking crow in quiet eat,
" His envy had been leſs, but more his meat.
Creech.

Happy the Literati, who, like our Guyet, are contented with having planted the faith in the Commonwealth of Letters; I mean, in being reputed learned men on the teſtimony of others (18). This our Guyet did not want, Balzac, among others, being his trumpeter. See his *Ludus Poeticus de Hypercritico Galeſo* (19).

(15) Portner in *Vita Guyeti.*

(16) *Vir enim acutiſſimi judicii non humanius de ſuis quam de alienis curis ſtatuebat, ac proinde ipſe ſibi nunquam ſatisfaciebat, in exprimendis quæ meditatus erat ſupra modum tardus, in exigendis quæ expreſſerat, ſupra fidem ſeverus.* Idem, ibid.

(17) Horat. Ep. 17. lib. 1. ver. 50, &c.

(18) *Nullis quoad vixit Libris à ſe editis inclaruit, notitia eorum quibus alii ingentem ſibi pepererunt famam ac eruditionis ſuæ quam in dubium nemo unquam vocare auſus eſt conſcientia contentus.* Portner in *Vita Guyeti.*

(19) By *Gateſius* he underſtands *Guyet.*

GUYET (CHARLES) a French Jeſuit, born at Tours in 1601, entered into the Society anno 1621, and taught polite Literature five years, and moral Theology during two years in it. He afterwards exerciſed himſelf in preaching for a great many years. He attained to a perfect knowledge in the ceremonies of the Church, as is manifeſt from two pieces written by him [*A*]. He died in Tours the 30th of March 1664 (*a*).

(*a*) *Extracted from* Nat. Sot. *Biblioth. Script. Societ.* pag. 129.

[*A*] *This is manifeſt from two pieces written by him.*] The one is intitled *Ordo generalis & perpetuus divini Officii recitandi*; and the other *Heortologia, ſive de Feſtis propriiis locorum*, printed at Paris by Sebaſtian Cramoiſy, 1657, folio. The explication of the Feſtivals of every place, is a work of great labour, and obliges an author to be very minute and circumſtantial. This our author has done.

GYMNOSOPHISTS. Thus the Greeks have called thoſe Philoſophers, who uſed to go naked [*A*]. There were ſome of them in Africa; but the moſt celebrated lived in India. The Gymnoſophiſts of Africa dwelt on a mountain of Æthiopia pretty near the Nile, without either houſe or cell. They were not united into a body, nor did they offer up ſacrifices together, as thoſe of India did (*a*); each of them had a little habitation for himſelf, in which he ſtudied, and performed his devotions privately. They that were

(*a*) Philoſtratus, who ſpeaks thus in the *Life of Apollonius*, Book 6. differs very much from Porphyry. See the remark [*B*] of the article BRACHMANS

[*A*] *Thus the Greeks have called thoſe Philoſophers, who uſed to go naked.*] It would be an abſurd thing to deny that there have been Indian Philoſophers, who did not wear any clothes; but one might perhaps pretend that the Brachmans were not of that number: for beſides the vouchers I have quoted in another place (1), we may obſerve, I, that Iarchas (2) mentioned by Philoſtratus (3) undreſſed himſelf before he entered into a fountain with Apollonius. II, That another Brachman took a letter under his gown (4), a letter I ſay, which he wrote to a Dæmon, commanding him with threatnings, to go out of the body of a young man. III, That Apollonius cenſures the Gymnoſophiſts of Ethiopia for quitting entirely the habit of the Indian Gymnoſophiſts, by which they hoped to perſuade the world that they were originally from Ethiopia. There is another queſtion to propoſe, namely, whether they that went naked covered their ſecret parts? St. Auguſtin aſſerts it. *Per opacas*, ſays he (5), *Indiæ ſolitudines quum quidam nudi philoſophentur, unde Gymnoſophiſtæ nominantur: adhibent tamen genitalibus tegumenta, quibus per cætera membrorum carent.* i. e. " Though ſome " philoſophize naked through the ſhady wilderneſſes " of India, for which reaſon they are called Gymno- " ſophiſts, yet they have ſomething to cover their " ſecret parts, the reſt of their body being bare." I think St. Auguſtin is in the right; for notwithſtanding ſuch a cover, theſe Philoſophers were truly ſaid to go naked; for who would ſcruple to ſay or to write at this time, that ſome nations of the world go naked, though they wear ſomething about their waſte? When Philoſtratus mentions the Gymnoſophiſts of Africa, he ſtiles them an hundred times *the naked*, abſolutely and without any addition, and yet he does not repreſent them as though they had nothing at all upon their body; on the contrary, he aſſerts (5) that they are dreſſed like the harveſt-men of Athens, and he charges them with leaving the Indian dreſs, in hopes that by the Æthiopian habit they ſhould gain the reputation of being true Æthiopians. I find that Nicholas Damaſcenus and Diodorus Siculus are quoted (7) to ſupport St. Auguſtin's opinion. The former (8) relates, as an eye-witneſs, that the preſents, which the King of the Indies ſent to the Emperor Auguſtus, were carried by eight ſlaves, naked indeed, but not without regard to their privities. Lewis Vives and Pererius relate this, as though theſe eight ſlaves had been given to Auguſtus. Thus you ſee how the moſt learned men are apt to be too haſty and careleſs in their quotations. Diodorus Siculus is cited (9) as though he aſſerted that the Æthiopians went naked, but in ſuch a manner, as to wear girdles made of hair or of fox-tails. This is ſuppreſſing a part of a paſſage in favour of the cauſe one maintains. Pererius intends to ſupport St. Auguſtin's opinion, namely, that ſince our firſt parents ſinned, ſhame is become natural to all men with regard to thoſe parts which Adam and Eve could not bear

(1) In the remark [*G*] of the article BRACHMANS.

(2) He was at that time the Preſident of the Brachmans.

(3) In *Vita Apollonii*, lib. 3.

(4) *Simul Epiſtolam è ſinu detractam mulieri dedit.* Idem, ibid.

(5) Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 17.

(6) Lib. 6. pag. m. 247.

(7) Vives, in Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 17. Pererius in Geneſim, cap. 3.

(8) *Apud* Strab. lib. 15.

(9) Perer. *in Geneſim*, cap. 3.

were guilty of man-ſlaughter, were obliged to preſent themſelves before them, in order to be abſolved, by ſubmitting to ſuch penances as would be enjoined them, without which they were not ſuffered to return into their native country. Theſe Philoſophers led a very frugal life, for they lived only upon ſuch fruits as the earth produces of itſelf without any tillage. If we may depend upon Philoſtratus (*b*), they were deſcended from the Gymnoſophiſts of India [*B*]. I cannot well tell whether they were really the authors of thoſe diſcoveries in Aſtronomy, of which Lucian (*c*) aſcribes the glory to their Nation. He pretends that the ſcience of the Stars ſprung up in Æthiopia, where men obſerving the different phaſes or appearances of the Moon, began thence to know, that it borrows all its light from the Sun. As to the Gymnoſophiſts of the Eaſt, they were divided into Brachmans (*d*), of whom I have given a long article, and Germans. The moſt conſiderable of the latter went under the name of *Hylobians*, becauſe they dwelt in woods, where they lived only upon leaves and wild fruits; they abſtained from wine and women; they anſwered the queſtions of Princes by meſſengers; and it was by them that Kings worſhiped and prayed to the Deity. Next to them the Phyſicians were eſteemed; theſe did not lead a ſedentary life like the Hylobians, and pretended, amongſt other things, to have remedies for barrenneſs [*C*]. People were glad to give them a lodging; this art of making men beget ſons and daughters was a good title to the privilege of hoſpitality. Some of them pretended to predictions and enchantments, and ſeemed to be very well acquainted with the ceremonies and traditions relating to the ſtate of the dead; they uſed to ramble a little. Others, much more polite than theſe, admitted nothing of all that is ſaid of the other world, but what was proper to promote holineſs and piety (*e*). The Gymnoſophiſts, generally ſpeaking, have been an honour to their profeſſion. The maxims which the Hiſtorians aſcribe to them (*f*), and the diſcourſes they are ſaid to have held, ſavour of nothing that is rude or ſavage; on the contrary, they abound with a great many very reaſonable and ſenſible obſervations, which ſhew a deep meditation. One ought not to complain, that they did not well keep up the dignity of Philoſophy; for their way was, never to go and meet any perſon whatſoever, but to put things upon this foot even with regard to Kings [*D*], that if any man wanted them, he was obliged to give them notice of it either by coming to them himſelf, or by ſending a meſſenger to them. It was for this reaſon that Alexander, who thought it beneath his majeſty to go to

(*b*) *In Vita Apollon.* lib. 6. whence I have extracted what I have here related.

(*c*) *De Aſtrolog.*

(*d*) *See* Strabo, lib. 15. and the remark [*F*] of the article BRACHMANS

(*e*) Οὐδ' αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπεχομένους τῶν καθ' ἅδου θρυλουμένων ὅσα δοκεῖ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὁσιότητα. Strabo, lib. 15. pag. 491.

(*f*) Strabo, ibid. Philoſtrat. *in Vita Apollon.* lib. 3. Plutarch. *in Alexandro*, Arrian. *Exped.* lib. 7.

bear to behold naked after they had eaten of the forbidden fruit. Had Diodorus Siculus aſſerted, that all the Æthiopians, who go naked, hide thoſe parts, his authority would be of a great weight. He was not therefore to be quoted at all, or it muſt be ſuppoſed, that he expreſſed himſelf after that manner. Yet the truth of the matter is, that he does not expreſs himſelf thus, and that he therefore hurts St. Auguſtin's cauſe more than he favours it. He mentions four ſorts of Æthiopians (10); the firſt go entirely naked; the ſecond cover their ſecret parts with the tails of ſome beaſts; the third wrap themſelves up in the ſkin of ſome animal; and the laſt twiſt ſome hair together, with which they cover themſelves down to the waſte.

(10) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 1.

[*B*] *If we may depend upon Philoſtratus, they were deſcended from the Gymnoſophiſts of India.*] Apollonius had converſed with the latter before he went into Æthiopia, and he was never tired with teſtifying how much he admired them. The Gymnoſophiſts of Æthiopia having got the hint of this, affected to mention thoſe of India to him in a ſcornful manner. Upon which he anſwered them with a great deal of freedom, that they ſlandered the Indians only with a deſign to make the world believe, that it was not for ſome ſhameful reaſons that they left India to go into Æthiopia, as it was reported (11). The report was as follows. It was related (12), that the Æthiopians were originally come from India; that they were antiently King Ganges's ſubjects; that they killed him; that ſince this murder they were become abominable in the ſight of the other Indians; that the earth would no longer bear them; that it would not ſuffer their harveſts to ripen, nor their pregnant women to bring their children into the world, nor their cattle to grow up; and that the ground fell in wherever they undertook to build houſes; that the ghoſt of the murdered King purſued them from place to place, and frightened them continually; and that theſe misfortunes never ceaſed till the author of that parricide had been ſwallowed up by the earth. It is pretended (13), that theſe prodigies forced thoſe men to leave the Country, and to go and ſettle in that part of Africa, which has been called Æthiopia. This tranſmigration has been mentioned by other writers, as the learned Sir John Marſham obſerves (14). He alſo proves that there have been two ſorts of Æthiopians known; ſome in Aſia, and others in Africa, and theſe were Indians; but he is in the wrong when he pretends, that by the word *India*, in a paſſage in Virgil, we ought to underſtand Æthiopia.

(11) Philoſtratus, *in ejus Vita*, lib. 6.

(12) Idem, ibid. lib. 3.

(13) Idem, ibid. lib. 6.

(14) *Chron. Canon. Ægypt. Sæcul. XIII.* pag. 335. edit. in 4to.

Nam qua Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi
Accolit effuſo ſtagnantem flumine Nilum,
Et circum pictis vehitur ſua rura phaſelis
Quâque pharetrata vicinia Perſidis urget,
Et viridem Ægyptum nigrâ fœcundat arenâ,
Et diverſa ruens ſeptem diſcurrit in ora,
Uſque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis,
Omnis in hac certam regio jacit arte ſalutem (15).

(15) Virg. *Georg.* lib. 4. ver. 287.

" For where with ſev'nfold horns myſterious Nile
" Surrounds the ſkirts of Egypt's fruitful iſle,
" And where in pomp the ſun-burnt people ride
" On painted barges, o'er the teeming tide,
" Which pouring down from Æthiopian lands,
" Makes green the ſoil with ſlime, and black prolific ſands;
" That length of region and large tract of ground
" In this one art a ſure relief have found.

DRYDEN.

[*C*] *They pretended, amongſt other things, to have remedies for barenneſs.*] Here they boaſted of three things; firſt, that they could make a perſon have a great many children; ſecondly, to make a man beget boys; thirdly to make him beget girls. Strabo obſerves all this. Δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ πολυγόνους ποιεῖν, καὶ ἀῤῥενογόνους, καὶ θηλυγόνους, διὰ φαρμακευτικῆς (16). That is, " By their " medicines they can make a perſon beget many chil- " dren, and either boys or girls." This was a proper method to make themſelves neceſſary or acceptable to ſeveral perſons of different inclinations; for there are ſome that deſire to have a large family; others, who have only daughters, do paſſionately long for a boy; others again who have only boys, would be glad to have ſome girls. This is chiefly the mother's inclination, which indeed is not unreaſonable; for a daughter is better company and a greater help for a mother than a ſon.

(16) Strab. lib. 15. pag. 491.

[*D*] *Even with regard to Kings.*] This muſt not be underſtood of all the Gymnoſophiſts in general, for, according to Nearchus, the Brachmans went to court, and attended on Kings as their Counſellors (17).

(17) Nearchus, *apud* Strabonem, lib. 15. pag. 493.

to them, ſent them ſome perſons in order to ſatisfy the deſire he had of being acquainted with their character and manners (*g*). There is nothing more admirable than their method of educating their diſciples [*E*]. They uſed to aſk them every day before they ſat down to dinner how they ſpent the morning? and every pupil was obliged to ſhew either that he had done ſome good moral action, or that he had improved himſelf in the ſciences, otherwiſe he was ſent back to ſtudy without being ſuffered to eat his dinner. You may have obſerved in the article of the Brachmans, the great frugality of the Gymnoſophiſts, and their extraordinary patience in keeping themſelves for a long while in the ſame ſituation [*F*]. It is not improbable that the doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis* or Tranſmigration of the Soul obliged them to eat of nothing that had had life, and that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from them. But it is abſurd to make the Jewiſh Nation deſcend from them, as Ariſtotle does (*b*). To be ſick was a ſhameful thing amongſt them, ſo that they who would avoid this diſgrace uſed to burn themſelves (*i*). Thus Calanus, who followed Alexander, killed himſelf. We have obſerved in another place that the doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls, made the Brachmans extremely indifferent with regard to life or death [*G*]. Porphyry makes a very pertinent anſwer to thoſe who would propoſe this objection to them, *What would become of the world, if all men were to live like the Brachmans* [*H*]?

(*g*) Plut. ibid. & *alii*.

(*b*) *Apud* Clearchum, quoted by Joſephus, lib. 1. *contra Appion.*

(*i*) Strabo, pag. 493.

[*E*] *There is nothing more admirable than their method of educating their diſciples,*] All that Apuleius ſays of it, deſerves, in my opinion, to be tranſcribed. *Eſt præterea*, ſays he (18), *genus apud illos (Indos) præſtabile, Gymnoſophiſtæ vocantur. Hos ego maxime admiror; quod homines ſunt periti, non propagandæ vitis, nec inoculandæ arboris, nec proſcindendi ſoli. Non illi norunt arvum colere, vel aurum colare, vel equum domare, vel taurum ſubigere, vel ovem vel capram tondere, vel paſcere. Quid igitur eſt? Unum pro his omnibus norunt. Sapientiam percolunt tam magiſtri Senes, quàm diſcipuli minores. Nec quicquam apud illos æque laudo, quam quod torporem animi & otium oderunt. Igitur ubi menſa poſita, priuſquam edulia apponantur, omnes adoleſcentes ex diverſis locis & officiis ad dapem conveniunt. Magiſtri perrogant, quod factum a lucis ortu ad illud diei bonum fecerit. Hic alius ſe commemorat inter duos arbitrum delectum, ſanata ſimultate, reconciliata gratia, purgata ſuſpicione, amicos ex infenſis reddidiſſe; inde alius, ſeſe parentibus quidpiam imperantibus obediſſe: & alius, aliquid meditatione ſua reperiſſe, vel alterius demonſtratione didiciſſe. Denique, cæteri commemorant. Qui nihil habet adferre cur prandeat, impranſus ad opus foras extruditur.* That is, "There is alſo amongſt the Indians a noble ſort of men, who are called Gymnoſophiſts. I have a very great value for them, becauſe they are ſkillful men; not indeed in laying the vine, nor in grafting a tree, nor in tilling the ground. They do not know how to cultivate a piece of land, or to melt gold, or to break a horſe, or to tame a bull, or to ſhear a ſheep or a goat, or to lead them to the paſture. What is it then; Inſtead of all this, they know one thing. Both the moſt antient maſters and the youngeſt ſcholars ſtudy wiſdom. Nor is there any thing for which I commend them more than for their averſion for indolence and ſloth. When the cloth is laid, before the meat be brought upon the table, all the youths are called together from ſeveral places and offices. But they are not ſuffered to ſit down till they have anſwered the maſters, who aſk them what good they have done ſince break of day till dinner time. One will anſwer, that having been choſen arbiter between two perſons at variance, he has removed all ſubjects of hatred and ſuſpicions between them, and reconciled them together: another will ſay, that he obeyed his parents commands: a third, that he found out ſome truth by his own meditation, or learnt it from another. Thus they all give an account of the good they have done. He who has nothing to ſay why he ſhould be admitted to table, is ſent back to his work without a dinner."

(18) Apul. *Floridor.* lib. 1. *circa init.* pag. m. 343.

[*F*] *You may have obſerved .... this extraordinary patience in keeping themſelves for a long while in the ſame ſituation.*] Beſides what has been alledged upon this ſubject in the remark (*A*) of the article BRACHMANS, I ſhall obſerve here that this difficult practice was not unuſual with the Greek Philoſophers. Socrates put himſelf ſometimes to this Tryal (19), in order to make a good proviſion of patience for his future occaſions. We would think this a great ſilline's. I have heard it mentioned as a ſtrong proof of effeminacy and dulneſs in a King, who lived towards the beginning of the XVIIth Century, that he uſed to leave his Hat all day juſt as it was put upon his head when he was dreſſed. But let us obſerve, that there would hardly be a more unſufferable Torment, than to be condemned to keep all one's life-time in the ſame poſture. The ſituation, which ſeems the eaſieſt to us, I mean, ſitting in a commodious elbow-chair, would in time tire us moſt cruelly (20).

(19) *Stare ſolitus Socrates dicitur pertinaci ſtatu perdius atque pernox, à ſummo lucis ortu ad ſolem alterum orientem inconnivens, immobilis, iiſdem in veſtigiis & ore atque oculis eumdem in locum directis cogitabundus.* A. Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 1.

[*G*] *The Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls made the Brachmans extremely indifferent with regard to life or death.*] To this muſt be referred what Trajan obſerves of the Getes (21), that they were the moſt valiant of all men, not only on account of the great ſtrength of their body, but alſo becauſe of the opinion which Zamolxis taught them; for as they believed that Death was nothing elſe but the changing of one's dwelling-place, they were eaſier prepared to die, than to take a journey. This ſhould over-whelm the Chriſtians with ſhame, who, generally ſpeaking, cannot be diveſted of their exceſſive fondneſs for this life, notwithſtanding the certain hope they have of enjoying heaven immediately after death.

(20) See the Commentators on theſe words of Virgil, Æneid. 6. *Sedet æternumque ſedebit Infelix Theſeus.* See above all Mr. Du Rondel's *Diſſertation ſur le Phenix*, pag. 96, &c.

(21) *Apud* Julianum, in *Cæſar.*

[*H*] *Porphyry makes a very pertinent anſwer to thoſe who would propoſe this Objection.*] What would become of the World, if all men were to live like the Brachmans? He could not but commend thoſe Indian Philoſophers in his Book of abſtinence, ſince they practiſed his Doctrine ſo well. He makes (22) a very honourable deſcription of their frugality, of their good morals, and of their contempt for this life. As for the objection of the worldlings, he refutes it after the ſame manner as Pythagoras had done. If all men, ſays he, were to become Kings, human ſociety would be in terrible confuſion. Muſt therefore the kingly Power itſelf be ſhunned? And if all men were ſtrictly virtuous, they who enjoy publick offices would never reſign them; for it ought not to be ſuffered, that they who acquit themſelves worthily of their functions, ſhould ever loſe their places, the keeping of them being the reward of their honeſty. And yet no man is ſilly enough to pretend that it is not the duty of every perſon to walk zealouſly in the paths of virtue. The law ſuffers the people to do a great many things which would be looked upon as unſufferable in a Philoſopher. The Laws do not forbid the people to divert themſelves with women of pleaſure, nor to go daily to Taverns; yet ſuch Diverſions, or ſuch a way of living would be a diſgrace, even to ſuch perſons, who are but indifferently virtuous. Thoſe things are not therefore to be allowed to perſons of ſtrict probity, which are ſuffered in the common people. A Philoſopher ought to preſcribe to himſelf thoſe holy Laws, which the Gods and the Servants of the Gods have eſtabliſhed. Theſe Maxims of Porphyry may alſo be of uſe to them, that inſiſt upon the practice of the moſt ſtrict morality, and who do ſo much preach up Celibacy. What would become of the World, is it objected to them, if every one followed your advice? They ought to anſwer, Be not uneaſy about this (23), few perſons will take us at our word. The Anabaptiſts employ the ſame anſwer with good ſucceſs, on account of their condemning

(22) Lib. 4. *de Abſtin.*

(23) *See* Mr. Baillet, in the *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, Dec. 1686, pag. 1435. We meet with another anſwer of St. Auguſtin, in the Author of the *Nouvelles Lettres contra l'hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Maimbourg*, pag. 767.

demning all publick offices of Magiſtracy; they know very well that Mankind will never want maſters, and that let their reproofs and exhortations be never ſo ſtrong and pathetical, there will always be more Candidates for Preferments, than there are Employments to give them. This puts me in mind of a Divine of the Church of England, whom a perſon would perſuade, that the Doctrine of paſſive obedience ought to be given up, as abſolutely inconſiſtent with the welfare of the publick; do not fear, anſwered he, that for all this the people will be more diſpoſed to ſuffer oppreſſion; and as you do not apprehend that by preaching ſtrongly againſt revenge, you will expoſe your neighbours to be inſulted; for you know very well that notwithſtanding all your Sermons, men will take care, that their not taking offence at a box on the ear, do not expoſe them to a new injury, even thus, &c. Obſerve that this maxim of Porphyry, *The Laws do not forbid the people, &c.* may be confirmed by the following paſſage from Tully (24), *Aliter leges, aliter Philoſophi tollunt aſtutias. Leges quatenus tenere manu res poſſunt: Philoſophi quatenus ratione et intelligentia.* That is, "The "Law provides againſt Frauds otherwiſe than the Phi-"lophers do; the Law in as much as things may be "regulated by force; the Philoſophers, as they can "be ordained by reaſon and wiſdom." Add to this the following paſſage from Seneca (25), *Quam angusta innocentia eſt ad legem bonum eſſe? Quanto latius officiorum patet quam juris regula? Quam multa pietas, humanitas, liberalitas, juſtitia, fides, exigunt, quæ omnia extra publicas tabulas ſunt?* That is, "What an "indifferent virtue is it, to be virtuous only accord-"ing to the Law? How much more extenſive is the "Rule of Morality, than that of right? How many "things do Piety, Good-nature, Generoſity, Juſtice, "Fidelity, require of us, which are not within the "cognizance of the civil Magiſtrate?" I ſhall obſerve by the by, that St. Auguſtin's thought, which I refer to in the Margin (26), calls a certain Philoſopher to mind. *Your Philoſopher*, ſays he, (27) *does not ſhew much Wiſdom, when he deſigns to marry; that he may leave ſome of his Poſterity behind him in France. If he were deſcended from Emperors, and from Sovereign Princes, I muſt not for the World diſſuade him from his Reſolution. But what! does he fear, Sir, leſt the World be at an end? Tho' it ſhould end thus, it could not end in a more glorious manner. Let a Courtier, a Magiſtrate, a Merchant marry: I do not oppoſe it. But that a Philoſopher ſhould trouble himſelf with a Wife and Children, and a Philoſopher of the Sect of Zeno; this, Sir, is a kind of Prodigy, that requires an expiation, much more than that of the Cows that ſpoke formerly, and cried out in a dreadful manner*, Rome, take care of thy ſelf.

(24) Cicero, *de Offic.* lib. 3. cap. 17.

(25) Seneca, *de Ira*, lib. 2. cap. 27.

(26) Quot. (25).

(27) Cotin, *Oeuvres galantes*, tom. 1. pag. m. 275.

☞ HABINGTON

H.

HABINGTON or ABINGTON (WILLIAM), an eminent Engliſh Hiſtorian in the ſeventeenth Century, was ſon of Thomas Habington of Hendlip in Worceſterſhire Eſq; [*A*], by Mary eldeſt daughter of Edward Lord Morley. He was born at Hendlip November the 4th or 5th 1605, and educated at St. Omers and Paris; in the firſt of which places he was ſtrongly ſollicited to enter into the Order of the Jeſuits, but by excuſes got free, and left them. After his return from Paris he was inſtructed in hiſtory by his father, and became an accompliſhed Gentleman. He married Lucia daughter of William Lord Powis (*a*). Mr. Wood tells us (*b*), that *he run with the times, and was not unknown to Oliver the Uſurper.* He died November the 30th 1654, and was interred in a vault under the Chancel of the Church of Hendlip. He left ſeveral manuſcripts in the hands of his ſon Thomas Habington Eſq;. His printed works are, *Poems* under the title of *Caſtara* [*B*]; *The Queen of Arragon*, a Tragi-Comedy [*C*]; *Obſervations upon Hiſtory*, printed at London 1641 in 8vo; and *The Hiſtory of Edward the Fourth King of England*, London 1640, in a thin folio, written and publiſhed at the deſire of King Charles I; "in which, "ſays Mr. Edward Philips (*c*), he hath a ſtyle ſufficiently florid, and perhaps better "becoming a poetical than hiſtorical ſubject." Archdeacon Nicholſon tells us (*d*), that our Author "has given us as fair a draught of Edward IV's reign as it would bear; at "leaſt he has copied this King's picture as agreeably as could be expected from one "ſtanding at ſo great a diſtance from the original." His father had a conſiderable hand in this hiſtory (*e*). Mr. Philips (*f*) ſays, that with regard to his Poems "he may "be ranked with thoſe that deſerve neither the higheſt nor the loweſt ſeat in the "theatre."

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 110. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *Theatrum Poetarum*; Modern Poets, pag. 192. edit. London 1675.

(*d*) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, pag. 220. edit. London 1696.

(*e*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Thomas Habington of Hendlip in Worceſterſhire, Eſq;*] This gentleman was ſon of John Habington of Hendlip, Eſq; Cofferer to Queen Elizabeth, ſon of Richard Habington, of Brokhampton in Herefordſhire, Eſq; He was born Auguſt the 23d 1560, at Thorpe, near Chertſey in Surry, which Mannor belonged to his father. At about ſixteen years of age he became a Commoner of Lincoln-College in Oxford, where having ſpent about three years, he was ſent by his father to the univerſities of Paris and Rheims in France. After his return to England, adhering to the party of Mary Queen of Scots, his life was ſaved by Queen Elizabeth, who was his god-mother; but his younger brother Edward, who was engaged in the ſame deſigns, being a perſon of a turbulent ſpirit, was with others, executed in St. Giles's in the Fields near London, September the 20th, 1586. Mr. Thomas Habington continued a priſoner in the Tower of London ſix years, and made a greater progreſs in ſeveral kinds of learning during that time, than he had before in all his life. He afterwards retired to Hendlip, the Manor of which his father had ſettled upon him; and married Mary, eldeſt daughter of Edward Lord Morley, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and ſole heir of Sir William Stanley, Knt. Lord Mounteagle (1). In 1606, upon the diſcovery of the Gun-powder Plot, he was condemned to die for entertaining and concealing Garnet and Alcorne, two Popiſh Prieſts, deeply engaged in that plot, at his houſe at Hendlip; but he was reprieved, and afterwards pardoned by the endeavours of William Lord Mounteagle (2), whoſe ſiſter, (who wrote the Letter to that Lord, which occaſion'd the diſcovery of that plot (3),) he had married. He wrote *the Antiquities and Survey of Worceſterſhire*, a large manuſcript in Folio in his own hand, but the whole ſurvey is not perfected. Some meaſures have been lately thought of for publiſhing this work. He compiled alſo *an Hiſtory of the Cathedral Church and Biſhops of Worceſter*, a manuſcript in a thin folio, the beginning of which is, *God's eternal Empire of Heaven endureth for ever*, &c. The ſucceſſion of the biſhops reacheth down to John Alcock in the copy, which Mr. Wood ſaw. He tranſlated into Engliſh, *The Epiſtle of Gildas a Britain*, intituled, *De Excidio & Conqueſtu Britanniæ*. London 1638, in 8vo; to which he prefixed a large preface written to the inhabitants of Britain. This tranſlation and preface were made during his impriſonment on account of the Gun-powder Plot. He left beſides ſeveral MSS. for the preſs, beſides thoſe abovementioned. He died at Hendlip the 8th of October 1647, and was interred by his father, in a vault under the chancel of the church there (4).

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 109, 110.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) So Mr. Wood was informed by Sir William Dugdale.

(4) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *Poems under the title of* Caſtara.] The ſecond edition was publiſhed at London 1635, in 8vo, and there is another in 1640, in 8vo. They are divided into three parts, under a different title ſuitable to the ſubject. The firſt, which was written when he was a ſuitor to his wife, is uſhered in by a character in praiſe of miſtreſs; the ſecond, conſiſting of copies of verſes written to her after marriage, by a character of a wife; after which is a character of a friend prefixed to ſeveral elegies. The third part conſiſts of divine poems, ſome of which are paraphraſes on ſeveral texts in Job, and the book of Pſalms; to which is prefixed the portrait of an holy man.

[*C*] The Queen of Arragon, *a Tragi-Comedy*] It was acted at Court, and at Black-Fryars, and printed at London in 1640, in folio, without our author's name (5). Mr. Wood tells us (6), that Mr. Habington "communicating his play to Philip Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold to King "Charles I, he cauſed it to be acted at court, and "afterwards to be publiſhed againſt the author's "will." T.

(5) *An Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets.* By Gerard Langbaine, pag. 244. edit. Oxford 1691 in 8vo.

(6) *Ubi ſupra.*

HACKER (*a*) (JAMES) Profeſſor of Divinity at Fribourg in the Province of Briſgaw towards the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century. I mention him only that I may have an opportunity to diſcover the true name of a Pſeudonymous Writer [*A*], which

(*a*) And not *Hacber*, as Konig calls him.

[*A*] *I mention him only . . . to diſcover the true name of a Pſeudonymous Writer.*] Hacker having publiſhed (1) a Diſſertation upon Predeſtination was refuted by a Monk of Mantua under the fictitious name of Daniel Neidinger. He defended himſelf, and the Title of his Reply, is as follows: *De Prædeſtinationis cauſa falſo & ementito autore Dan. Neidingero, vero autem et Germano ejus Fabro Fr. And. Urciano Ord. Min. Obſ. reg. in urbe Mantuana nuper editæ, et ibidem a tredecim diverſorum Ord. Fratribus et Patribus ſuſceptæ, in quatuor ex quibus coaluit elementa, mendacia, hereſes, antilogias, ſordes Sermonis, Analyſis. Autore J. Hackero.* i. e. "An "Analyſis

(1) In the year 1609, according to the *Oxford Catalogue.*

which has not yet been made public, that I know of, in the catalogues of this kind of authors.

" Analyſis or Examination of a Diſſertation concern-
" ing the Cauſe of Predeſtination, written under the
" falſe and fictitious name of Dan. Neidinger, but really
" compos'd by brother Andrew Uricanus a Minor Fryar,
" publiſhed at Mantua, and approved there by thirteen
" Brothers and Fathers of ſeveral orders; into the four
" Elements of which it is compoſed, Falſities, He-
" reſies, Contradiction, Ill-language. By J. Hacker."
Dorſcheus, Divinity Profeſſor at Strasbourg (2) has quoted this inſtance to ſhew that the Roman Catholicks charge each other with Hereſy. He aſſerts that this Reply of Hacker was printed in the year 1618. But ſince it is ſet down in the Oxford Catalogue as printed at Fribourg in the Year 1614, I do not think that Dorſcheus knew any thing of the firſt Edition. In the ſame Catalogue are mentioned two Volumes of James Hacker upon Thomas Aquinas. They were printed at Fribourg, the firſt, in the year 1619, and the ſecond in the year 1621. Konig does not diſtinguiſh this, and ſets down the Title erroneouſly.

(2) Dorſcheus, in *Hodegetico Catholico*, cap. 10. pag. 868, 869.

HACKET (WILLIAM) an Engliſh Fanatick in the ſixteenth Century, was firſt ſervant to a Gentleman named Huſſei, to whom he gave a proof of his faithfulneſs by a very brutiſh action [*A*]. He married afterwards a rich widow, and ruined her in a ſhort time by ſquandering away her eſtate in ſenſual pleaſures. He had not ſtudied, but had a very happy memory, of which he made a very ill uſe by repeating in his cups the Sermons of the Miniſters. He did it only to ridicule them; and he never went to Church, but that he might have wherewithal to exert his memory in this impertinent exerciſe. He was prodigiouſly given to drinking, and fond of women; and he debauched a maiden, who was come to his houſe to aſk his advice (*a*). He even robbed upon the highway. Laſtly he ſet up for a Prophet, and proclaimed, 1. That England would be puniſhed with famine, peſtilence and war, if ſhe did not eſtabliſh the *Conſiſtorial Diſcipline*. 2. That there would be no more Popes for the future. He pointed out the time when this deſolation of England ſhould happen. It was, according to him, that very ſame year in which he publiſhed his threatnings. He began to prophecy at York and at Lincoln, where for his audaciouſneſs he was publicly whipped, and condemned to baniſhment. He had a wonderful readineſs in praying to God *ex tempore*, and with choice and very pompous expreſſions, which made the people believe, that this was an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghoſt. He depended exceedingly upon his prayers [*B*]; for he uſed to ſay, that if all England ſhould pray for rain, and he ſhould pray for a drought, it would not rain at all. Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington, two men of ſome learning, joined with him, the former under the title of the *Prophet of Mercy*, the latter under the title of the *Prophet of Judgment*. Arthington publiſhed that they

(*a*) *Potator ſcortatorque fuit enormis, virgineſque quæ ad eum conſilii cauſa acceſſit conſtuprator.* Fitz Simon, in *Britannomachia Miniſtrorum, &c.* See the quotation (*c*).

[*A*] *He gave a proof of his faithfulneſs to his Maſter by a very brutiſh action.*] A Tradeſman of Oundle * in Northamptonſhire had done ſomething, which occaſioned a hatred between him and the Gentleman in whoſe Service Hacket was. Let us ſee how this Servant revenged his Maſter. He approached familiarly, and with friendly expreſſions the ſon (1) of that Tradeſman, and was received by him with the ſame kindneſs; then all on a ſudden he collared him, threw him down, and bit his Noſe off; and inſtead of returning it to the Chirurgeon, who took it upon him to ſet it right again, he eat it up. *Eique naſum dentibus evulſit, nec chirugo volenti reſtituere tradidit, ſed (ut feriur) barbara immanitate devorarat* (2). Camden does not relate this Fact with the ſame particulars. He aſſerts that Hacket embracing the Schoolmaſter for a ſign of reconciliation, bit his Noſe ſo, that he eat off a piece of it; and that it was the Schoolmaſter himſelf that deſired him to return the piece he had bit off, that it might be ſewed to his Noſe while the wound was ſtill freſh. *Ad vindictam adeo efferus* (Hacquetus) *ut ingenuo Ludimagiſtro, dum redintegrati amoris ſpecie amplecteretur, naſum mordicus abſciderit, et coram miſero deformi ſupplicante ut redderet, quo vulnere adhuc recente aſſueretur, caninè, ut ferunt* (3), *devoraverit* (4). The difference of theſe circumſtances is not ſo great, as to make us infer from it, that the Story is falſe; we may only obſerve in this a proof of man's Lazineſs, or of the weakneſs of his Memory. They to whom a Story is related, are uſed to mind chiefly the main fact, and the ſubſtance of it; and this is what they remember beſt. But as they have not the ſame attention for all the circumſtances, becauſe this would be too troubleſome, they forget a great many of them, nor do they take the trouble to load their Memory with them, which is not ſtrong enough to bear every part of the weight; ſo that if they have a mind to relate the ſame ſtory, after a few hours, or a few days, they are obliged to ſupply thoſe Circumſtances which they could not remember. Every one ſupplies them according to the different Characters of his genius, and hence ariſe an infinite number of variations, which paſs even into the writings of the Hiſtorians.

(1) He was the ſchool-maſter of that place.

(2) Hen. Fitz-Simon, *Britan. Miniſtror*, cap. 6. lib. 2. pag. 202, 203.

(3) Obſerve, that Fitz-Simon makes uſe of the ſame caution as is reported, *ut fertur*.

(4) Camdenus, *Annal.* Part 4. *ad ann.* 1591, pag. 618.

[*B*] *He depended exceedingly upon his prayers.*] He uſed to ſay to God, thou haſt power and I have faith; the thing will therefore certainly be done. He made imprecations againſt himſelf in his prayers, and pretended that theſe imprecations were certainly effectual. He boaſted that diſputing once with a Papiſt, he propoſed this condition to him: *I conſent to eternal damnation, and to ſuffer it immediately* (5); *do you as much, and either you or I will change our Religion according to the unhappy or favourable ſucceſs, which will attend our imprecation.* This was extreamly abſurd; for the ſucceſs of the imprecations could be but the ſudden death of either of them; and conſequently neither of them could change his Religion. He that died could not do it; and the ſurviving perſon would have been very far from forſaking his religion, to which the ill ſucceſs of his Adverſary's imprecation would have given ſo authentick a teſtimony. But we ought not to expect that ſuch ſilly Enthuſiaſts ſhould avoid contradictions. Hacket having charged two great Lords with Rebellion, propoſed to them the like form of prayer (6). This he uſed to call his oath of execration. If after taking ſuch an oath, ſaid he to them, you do not dye, I ſubmit to a retaliation. But if you refuſe to take that oath, and I take it without ſuffering the leaſt thing for it, you ſhall be condemned to be be beheaded. The Judges ſent him back like a mad-man.

By this kind of prayer he impoſed upon a great many perſons, and he made them believe, that for the ſins of the World, the Devils, and Witches had made him ſuffer during two Months, even the Hell-Torments, or very near (7). Camden relates, that by ſwearing upon his eternal Damnation he had ſeduced Coppinger and Arthington, and had purſuaded them, that he converſed often with God, and that the Devil had ſtigmatiſed him. His frequent prayers full of fervour, the appearance of a holy life, and his cuſtom of faſting every Sunday, contributed towards making men believe thoſe things (8). O the weakneſs of human underſtanding! How great are its Errors, and how powerful!

(5) *Æternæ damnationi è veſtigio ſubeundæ.* Fitz-Simon, *Britan. Miniſtror.* pag. 203.

(6) *Ad ſimilem quoque (ut dicebat) orandi modum duos procerum quibus noxam perduellionis objecit provocavit.* Idem, ibid. pag. 204.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Camden. *Annal.* Part 4. pag. m. 619. *ad ann.* 1591.

they had an extraordinary miſſion, and that after Jeſus Chriſt no perſon in the world had a greater authority than William Hacket. The other, I mean Coppinger, declared that Hacket was the only King of all Europe. They went afterwards farther ſtill, they made him in every thing equal to Jeſus Chriſt, which Hacket did not in the leaſt endeavour to prevent; for he uſed to ſay in his prayers, *Father, I know that thou loveſt me as much as thou loveſt thy ſelf* (*b*). They would proceed to the ceremony of anointing or crowning him, but he did not ſuffer it, becauſe, ſaid he, the Holy Ghoſt had already anointed him in heaven. They aſked him laſtly what orders he had for them, and ſolemnly declared, that they would obey him in every thing without exception. He commanded them to go and proclaim through all the ſtreets of London, that Jeſus Chriſt was come to judge the world; that he lodged at ſuch an inn, and that it was not in the power of any perſon to put him to death. They made ſo much haſte to obey him, that Arthington did not give himſelf time to take his gloves. To the form which their maſter preſcribed them, they added theſe words, *Repent, England, repent.* They gathered by their clamours ſuch a vaſt crowd of people together, that when they came to the great place, they could not go farther, nor make themſelves be heard; but meeting with an empty cart, they got upon it, and expatiated upon William Hacket's important commiſſion [*C*], after which they returned to him. This happened July the 16th 1592 (*c*). They were ſummoned before the Judges, and tried and condemned. William Hacket was ſentenced to be hanged and quartered, July the 18th, and he was executed accordingly. Coppinger ſtarved himſelf in priſon, but Arthington was pardoned (*d*). The blaſphemies which Hacket uttered in his prayer at the place of execution are ſo horrid, that I ſhall relate them only in Latin (*e*) [*D*]. You will find in the remarks ſome particulars concerning his fanaticiſm mixed with rebellion. He entertained a violent hatred againſt Queen Elizabeth [*E*]. Though I have extracted all this from the work of a Jeſuit, yet it ought not to be called into queſtion, for Camden's Annals contain the ſame facts expreſſed in a ſtronger manner ſtill.

(*b*) *Pater, ſcio te non minus teipſo me diligere.* Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Camden relates this under the year 1591.

(*d*) See the end of the remark [*D*].

(*e*) Taken from the 6th chapter of the 2d book of the *Britannomachia Miniſtrorum* written by Henry Fitz-Simon, who quotes the *Account* which Richard Bancroft (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury) publiſhed of this affair at London in the year 1592 with this title. *Conſpiratio pro prætenſa Diſciplina.*

[*C*] Coppinger *and* Arthington *expatiated upon William Hacket's Commiſſion.*] They aſſerted that he was a partaker of the nature of the glorified bodies, that he was to convert all Europe to the conſiſtorial Diſcipline, and that the office of judging had been conferred upon him. They who have a mind to ſee him, added they, will find him at ſuch an houſe, and we foretel to you, that they who refuſe to ſubmit to this King of all Europe ſhall kill each other, and that the Queen will be dethroned (9). A little before they went upon this fooliſh Errand, they had been to meet a Puritan Miniſter, named Wiggington, and had ſolemnly declared to him, that the night before Jeſus Chriſt had appeared to them, not in his body, but according to the chief Spirit by which he dwelt in William Hacket with more fulneſs than in any other perſon, and that Hacket was that very Angel who was to come before the end of the world with the Fan and Shepherd's Staff in his hand to ſeparate the Goats from the Sheep, that he would tread Satan under his Feet, and entirely overthrow the Kingdom of Antichriſt (10). On the day they went to preach this new Kingdom through the ſtreets of London, Hacket commanded them to ſay that Jeſus Chriſt was come with his Fan in his Hand to judge the World, and that this was as true, as it is, that God is in Heaven. They acquitted themſelves very exactly of that Commiſſion, and when they were upon the Cart, they declared that Hacket, being already glorified with regard to his body, was a partaker of Jeſus Chriſt by his chief Spirit, and that he was near hand with his Fan to eſtabliſh the Goſpel through all Europe.

(9) Fitz-Simon, *Britannomachia Miniſtror.* pag. 205.

(10) Camden, *Annal.* Part 4. pag. 620.

[*D*] *He uttered Blaſphemies . . . which I ſhall relate only in Latin.*] They are worſe than thoſe of Caligula (11), and yet they are the concluſion of a very devout prayer; whence we may infer, that there is no folly whatſoever, but man's mind is capable of it, "*Hæc fuit* "*ultima ejus oratio.* Deus cœli potentiſſime Jehovah, "Alpha et Omega, Domine Domine Dominorum, "Rex Regum, æterne Deus. Tu me noſti, verum "iſtum Jehovah, quem miſiſti. Miraculum aliquod "ex nubibus oſtende his infidelibus, et libera me ab "his inimicis meis. Sin minus cælos ſuccendam, "et te è throno detractum manibus meis lacerabo "(12)." That is: "His laſt prayer was this: "*O God of Heaven, moſt powerful Jehovah, the Alpha and Omega* (beginning and end) *Lord of Lords,* "*King of Kings, eternal God. Thou knoweſt me for* "*the true Jehovah, whom thou has ſent. Shew ſome* "*miracle from the Skies to theſe infidels, and deliver me* "*from theſe my enemies. Otherwiſe, I ſhall ſet fire* "*to Heaven, thruſt thee down from thy Throne, and* "*tear thee in pieces with my own hands.*" Camden having related the ſame blaſphemies almoſt in the ſame words, adds, that Hacket uttered ſome others ſtill more abominable. *Aliaque magis infanda. Converſus ad Carnificem laqueum admoventem, Tune ſpurie, inquit,* Hackettum Regem tuum ſuſpendes? *Laqueo innodatus oculis in cœlum ſublatis,* Hoccine, *inquit frendens,* pro regno collato rependis? venio ulturus (13). That is, "Turning himſelf to the Executioner who was preparing "the rope, "*How you Rogue,* ſays he, *will you hang* "*Hacket your King?* When the rope was tied about "his Neck, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he cried "out, gnaſhing his Teeth, *Is it thus thou rewardeſt me for the Kingdom I procured thee? I come* "*to revenge my ſelf.*" Camden obſerves, that this Fanatick and his two Aſſociates did not take off their Hats, when they were brought before their Judges, and that they anſwered impudently, that they were above the Magiſtrates; that Hacket pleaded afterwards to his charge (14), but that he anſwered, with ſuch Blaſphemies, as ſtruck the whole Audience with horror. There was, perhaps, ſome artifice in all this, for who knows but he deſigned to make the Judges believe, that he was mad? However it be, there appeared no ſigns of madneſs in the reſt of his Behaviour, nor in his affected gravity (15). Camden relates all this. Obſerve that Arthington repented, and even publiſhed a Book, which teſtified his repentance (16).

(11) See the remark [*F*] of the article CALIGULA.

(12) Fitz-Simon, *Britannomach. Miniſtror.* pag. 205, 206.

(13) Camd. *Annal.* Part 4. pag. 622.

(14) *Se reum agnovit.* Idem, ibid.

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) Idem, ibid. pag. 623.

[*E*] *He entertained a violent hatred againſt Queen Elizabeth.*] He would never pray for her, and his deſign was to deprive her both of her Crown and of her life, and to change intirely the Conſtitution of the Government. He uſed to hear the Sermons bare-headed, but he put on his Hat, as ſoon as he perceived that the Queen was mentioned in the prayers of the Congregation (17). He confeſſed before the Judges who tried him, that he had run a Dagger through the heart of that Queen's Picture; *Julii* 20 *&* 23 *palam confeſſus eſt Hacketus Reginæ imaginem ſe transfixiſſe ad cor ſtylo ferreo, eamque pro Regina non habuiſſe* (18); and that he did not hold her for his Queen. A little before he was ſtrangled he wiſhed her all ſorts of curſes (19).

(17) Fitz-Simon, *Britannomach. Miniſtror.* pag. 204.

(18) Idem, ibid. pag. 205.

(19) *Dirîs omnibus Reginam devovit.* Idem, ibid.

☞HACKET (JOHN), Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry in the ſeventeenth Century, was born in the Strand near Exeter Houſe in the pariſh of St. Martin's in the Field, September

September the 1st 1592 (a). His father, Andrew Hacket (b), who was descended from an antient family in Scotland, being then a Senior Burgess of Westminster, and afterwards belonging to the Robes of Prince Henry. Our author was educated in the College School at Westminster, under Mr. Ireland, who finding in him a great propensity to learning, was very kind to him, as was likewise Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then Dean of Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who, in the necessary absence of the master, being accustomed to come into the school, and examine the boys, took this youth into his particular favour, and continued it to him as long as the Bishop lived (c). In 1608 he, with Mr. George Herbert the Poet, was elected from thence into Trinity College in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of Dr. Edward Simson, author of *Chronicon ab exordio Mundi* (d). In the year 1612 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and was in 1614 elected Fellow of that College (f). In 1616 he took the degree of Master of Arts (g). July the 9th 1616 he was incorporated in that degree in the University of Oxford (h). About this time (i) retiring during the long vacation with one of his pupils, afterwards Lord Byron, into Nottinghamshire, he wrote a Latin Comedy, intitled, *Loyola*, which was twice acted before King James I, and printed at London in 1648 in 8vo. Upon his return to the College he applied himself to the study of Divinity, and in 1618 received holy Orders from Dr. John King Bishop of London, who had a great affection for him, and expressed the same on divers occasions. But above all others Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, observing his extensive learning and skill in the Languages, appointed him his Chaplain immediately after he was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1621. Two years he spent in his Lordship's service, before his time was come to commence Bachelor of Divinity; and then he desired leave to go to Cambridge to keep the Act in 1623, which he performed with great success [*A*]. Upon his return to Court the Bishop of Lincoln preferred him to be Chaplain to King James I, before whom he preached several times to his Majesty's satisfaction [*B*]. In 1624, by the recommendation of his patron, he was presented to the Rectory of St. Andrew's Holbourn, then in the King's disposal by reason of the minority of Thomas Earl of Southampton; and soon after, by the same means, he had the Living of Cheame in Surrey conferred upon him, which was fallen likewise in his Majesty's gift by the promotion of Dr. Richard Senhouse to the Bishopric of Carlisle. In the last year of that King he was named by his Majesty to attend an Embassador into Germany; but he was dissuaded from this journey; for having written *Loyola*, he was told, that it would not be safe for him to go thither, even in an Embassador's retinue. In 1628 he commenced Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge, where he preached a Sermon upon *Acts xii.* 23. which was highly applauded by the learned Auditory there. In 1631 the Bishop of Lincoln conferred on him the Archdeaconry of Bedford, to which charge he usually went once in a year, commonly the week after Easter, and exhorted the Clergy to keep strictly to the orders of the Church [*C*]. Afterwards finding his Church of St. Andrew's Holbourn extremely decayed, he sollicited the Nobility and Gentry as well as his Parishioners to contribute to the rebuilding, at least the repair of it; and about the year 1639 he had obtained several thousands of pounds for that purpose. But the civil wars breaking out, the Parliament seized for their use that and all the money collected for the repair of St. Paul's. In March 1641 he was nominated, with divers eminent Bishops and Clergy, to

(a) *Account of the Life and Death of Bishop Hacket. By Thomas Plume D. D.* pag. 3. prefixed to the Bishop's *Century of Sermons preached upon several remarkable subjects.* ed. London 1675, in fol.

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1147, 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) *Dr. Plume's Account*, pag. 4, 5.

(d) Ibid. pag. 5, 6.

(f) *Dr. Plume's Account*, pag. 6.

(g) From the Register of the University.

(h) Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 202.

(i) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *Desired leave to go to Cambridge to keep the Act there in* 1623, *which he performed with great success.*] He maintained these two questions: I. *Judicio Romanæ Ecclesiæ in sanctis canonizandis non est standum.* II. *Vota monastica perfectionis, quæ dicuntur, sunt illicita.* The former question was given very seasonably; for the year before, Pope Gregory XV had canonized Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, Francis Xavier, the Indian Apostle, Philip Neri, the General of the order of the Jesuits, and Theresia, a Spanish Lady, who had built twenty five Monasteries for men, and seventeen for women. He cast his thesis into three parts, and observed, I. That because the scripture saith, *the memory of the just shall be blessed*, all canonization of Saints is not to be accounted superstitious. But by canonization he meant only a public testimony of the Christian church, concerning any member's sanctity and glory after death. II. That this testimony ought to be given by General, or at least Provincial Councils, of their own members. III. That it is by no means to be left to the breast of the Pope and college of Cardinals; because they especially attended to false qualifications, which they made undoubted signs of saintship; and consequently had already canonized unworthy persons, not beatified in Heaven, but rather damned in Hell; and this for perverse and impious ends, which they always endeavoured to establish by their canonization. In all these respects the Pope, who is their virtual church, was evidently a most partial and unfit judge, very apt to be imposed upon himself, and likewise to impose upon others (1).

(1) *Account of the Life and Death of Bishop Hacket. By Thomas Plume, D. D.* pag. 7, 8. prefixed to the Bishop's *Century of Sermons preached upon several remarkable subjects*, edit. London 1675 in fol.

[*B*] *Before whom he preached several times to his Majesty's satisfaction.*] He preached particularly before the King on Psalm xli. 9. (2) upon the Gowry Conspiracy, for which a thanksgiving was continued all that King's reign on the 5th of August. "And tho' "some people, *says Dr. Plume* (3), have denied the "treason, yet our good Bishop was assured, that the "most religious Bishop Andrews once fell down upon "his knees before King James, and besought his "Majesty to spare his customary pains upon that day, "that he might not mock God, unless the thing were "true. The King replied, those people were much "to blame, who would never believe a treason unless "their Prince was actually murdered; but did assure "him in the faith of a Christian, and upon the word "of a King, their treasonable attempt against him "was true."

(2) This Sermon is printed in his *Century of Sermons*, pag. 731.

(3) *Account*, ubi *supra*, pag. 8.

[*C*] *Exhorted the Clergy to keep strictly to the orders of the church.*] He directed them to *all regular conformity to the doctrine and discipline by law established, without under or over doing, asserting in his opinion, that Puritanism lay on both sides: whosoever did more than the church commanded, as well as less, were guilty of it; and that he only was a true son of the church, who broke not the boundals of it either way* (4).

(4) Ibid. pag. 12.

to consider of what was amiss in the Liturgy, and to rectify the same [*D*]; but the Lords and Commons put a stop to that design by passing a Bill for taking away the government of the Church by Bishops. However, before the passing of this Act, the Clergy being allowed to speak for themselves, unanimously chose Dr. Hacket to plead their cause [*E*]; which he did on May the 12th with general applause, so that his speech put

[*D*] *In March* 1641, *he was nominated, with divers eminent Bishops and Clergy, to consider of what was amiss in the Liturgy, and to rectify the same.*] The House of Lords had appointed a committee out of their own members for settling the church, and at the same time nominated a sub-committee to prepare matters for their cognizance. Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, had the chair in both, and was authorized to call together divers Bishops and other Divines, to consult for the correction of what was exceptionable, and to settle peace. Of the sub-committee, those who appeared and consulted together in the Jerusalem-Chamber at Westminster, though others were nominated, were only these, the Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop Usher, the Bishop of Durham, Bishop Hall, Dr. Samuel Ward, Dr. John Prideaux, Dr. William Twiss, Dr. Robert Sanderson, Dr. Daniel Featly, Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Dr. Richard Holdsworth, Dr. John Hacket, Dr. Cornelius Burgess, Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. Thomas Hill, and Mr. John White. They debated solemnly for six several days upon divers important points; but in the middle of May the bill against Deans and Chapters put an end to their consultations (5).

(5) Ibid. pag. 16. and Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, Book 11. pag. 174, 175, 176.

[*E*] *Unanimously chose Dr. Hacket to plead their cause.*] Mr. Fuller has given the heads of his whole speech, copied out of Dr. Hacket's papers (6). But Dr. Plume has published it at large (7), as he found it among our author's papers. He recommended cathedrals as fit to supply the defects of prayer committed by private men, the public duty whereof should be constantly performed in some principal place, in imitation of the primitive practice. And whereas some complain, that cathedral music, for a great part of it, serves rather to tickle the ear, than to affect the heart with godliness, and that what should be intended for devotion, vanished away into quavers and airs; he, with the rest of his brethren, heartily wished the amendment of it, and that it were reduced to the form, which Athanasius commends, *ut legentibus sint quam cantantibus similiores*. He alledged, that at the Reformation preaching began in cathedrals. And whereas some have asserted, that Lecture-preachers were a new and upstart corporation, he observed, that the local statutes of all or most cathedrals require lecture-sermons on the week-days; and in the name of his brethren requested, that the godly and profitable performance of preaching might be more exacted. He urged, that cathedrals were serviceable for the advancement of learning, and training up persons in defence of religion. He remarked, that the principal Grammar-Schools in the Kingdom were maintained by the charity of these churches, the care and discipline of them set forward by their oversight, fit masters provided for them, and their method in teaching frequently examined. That with regard to young students in Divinity, they will be more industrious, when they see rewards prepared, which may recompense the costs, which they put their friends to in their education, and make them some recompense for their great labour. "It is represented unto them, *says he*, how "many tedious days and nights they must devour prolix authors, that are set before them: had they not "need of encouragement to undergo it? And where "there is not a desirable prize to run for, who will "toil himself much to contend for it? Upon the fear "and jealousy, that these retributions of labour should "be taken away from industrious students, the Universities of the realm do feel a longing and a pining "away already in both their bodies. In a populous "College, I mean Trinity-College in Cambridge, "wherein seventy or eighty students were admitted "*communibus annis*, I have heard by two witnesses of "that society, that not above six were admitted from "Allhallows-day to Easter-eve. Let any man ask "the Booksellers of St. Paul's Church-yard and Little-"Britain, if their books, I mean grave and learned "authors, do not lie upon their hands, and are not "saleable. There is a timorous imagination abroad, "as if we were shutting up learning in a case, and "laying it quite aside. Mr. Speaker, if the bare "threatning make such a stop in all kind of literature, "what would it work, if the blow were given?" He observes then, that all that had written in defence of the Protestant religion, except a few, have been either *the Professors and Commorants in the two Universities, or such as have had preferments in collegiate and cathedral churches, as I am able*, says he, *to shew, by a catalogue of their names and works. For such, and none but such, are furnished with the best opportunities to write books for the defence of religion. For as in the Universities the society of many learned men may be had for advice, and discourse; so when we depart from them to live abroad, we find small Academies in the company of many grounded scholars in those foundations, and it is discourse that ripens learning, as the spark of fire is struck out between the flint and the steel. There likewise we have copious and well furnished libraries to peruse learned authors of all kinds, which must be consulted in great causes. And they that have such great business in their heads, it is needful that they have* otium literarium, *a retirement to their studies, before they can bring that forth, which will powerfully convince gainsayers.* He alledged, that the antient and genuine use of Deans and Chapters was, as *Senatus Episcopi*, to assist the Bishop of his jurisdiction. Now whereas some of his reverend brethren had complained, that Bishops had for many years usurped the sole jurisdiction to themselves and their consistories, the continuing of Chapters rightly used, would reduce it from one man to a plurality of assistants. He remarked, that the *structures themselves should speak for the structures*; not that he would draw their eyes only to behold the goodly fabrics, as the disciples did to our Saviour; but to put them in remembrance, that cathedral churches were the first monuments of Christianity in the Kingdom. From things he passed to persons, and begun with the multitude of those, who were maintained from cathedrals, some one of them having three hundred and more depending on it; so that it amounted to many thousands of persons; all of whom, by the dissolution of Deans and Chapters, might be exposed to poverty. He next instanced in Tenants, "who have prospered "better by holding Leases from Deans and Chapters, "than Farmers elsewhere do prosper under incorpo-"rations over all the Kingdom. And the Tenants, "*continues he*, are sensible of their own happiness "herein, and have testified it from many places by "rendering their humble petitions to this honourable "house, that they may continue, as they have done, "under their antient landlords, which, with all sub-"mission, we must humbly crave may be admitted "and perused by this honourable house. And I can-"not blame them to stir in their own case; for good "Accountants have cast it up, that if all the lands "of all cathedral and collegiate churches were cast up "into one total sum, at a reasonable and fair penny-"worth, not only in rents but in fines, the Tenants "in clear rent do enjoy six parts in seven at the least. "And we are not they that grudge them this bargain, "but are most willing, that our revenue should be dis-"persed into all the veins of the Kingdom." He then shewed, that those cities, wherein cathedrals stand, especially those cities which are not maritime, being very poor in trade, were inriched, partly by the hospitality of the clergy, partly because great numbers of the inhabitants were chosen to be officers of the cathedrals, and partly by the frequent resort unto them, especially where there are large and well furnished libraries, the great repositories of learning. He proceeded next to consider the regard due to the younger branches of the whole Kingdom. "All men, *says* "*he*, are not born elder brothers, and all elder bro-"thers are not born to be inheritors of lands. Divers "of low degree have generous spirits in them, and "would be glad to make themselves a fortune, as the

(6) *Church History*, B. 11. pag. 177, 178, 179.

(7) *Account*, pag. 18, *& seqq.*

put a ſtop to that Bill. However it paſt ſoon after by a new queſtion, without a ſecond hearing of the Doctor (*k*). March the 28th 1642 he was made Prebendary of St. Paul's (*l*). Afterwards being ſilenced at St. Andrews, he retired to Cheame, where he alſo uſed the Liturgy till forbidden by the Parliament. He was ſeized there by the Earl of Eſſex's army, who carried him away priſoner with them; but being at laſt releaſed, he returned to Cheame, where he continued till the Reſtoration; when he was reſtored to his preferments, and offered the Biſhopric of Glouceſter, which he refuſed (*m*). He afterwards accepted of the Biſhopric of Lichfield and Coventry, to which he was conſecrated December the 27th 1661 (*n*); and repaired to Lichfield the ſpring following, and finding the Cathedral there ruined by the civil wars, he ſet himſelf to the rebuilding of it, and finiſhed the ſame in about eight years with greater magnificence than before, at the expence of twenty thouſand pounds, a thouſand pounds of which he had from the Chapter, and the reſt was of his own charge, or procured from benefactors. He laid out likewiſe

(*k*) *Dr. Plume's Account*, pag. 7, & *ſeqq.*

(*l*) Newcourt, *Repertorium Eccleſ. Parœch. Londinenſe*, vol. 1. pag. 181.

(*m*) Plume, *ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) *Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York*, &c. pag. 394.

" phraſe is. What hopes have they to atchieve this " in a more ready way, than to propoſe unto themſelves " to lead a virtuous and induſtrious life, that they " may attain to a ſhare of the endowments of collegiate " and cathedral churches? They only are the common poſſeſſion of the realm, lying open to all that " will qualify themſelves to get a part in them. They " are not incloſed in private men's eſtates, but they " are the commons of the Kingdom." And whereas travellers inform us, that moſt ranks and degrees of people in England, Knights, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, live more plentifully and faſhionably than in any other country, he truſted that it would not be thought unreaſonable, that the clergy may in ſome ſort have a better maintenance than in the neighbouring Reformed churches, *and not degenerate into ſuch Prieſts, as Jeroboam appointed, the refuſe and moſt baſe of the people, from whom nothing can be expected but ignorance, ſuperſtition, and idolatry.* " Neither is our eſtate, *ſays he*, " better than all other Reformed churches in this caſe; " for I have heard it from them, that have diligently " travelled over all the Reformed churches in Germany, that the clergy among the Swedes have ſuch " Collegiate Chapters with means endowed to the uſe " of the government of the church, as we have. And " the Reformed in France and the Low Countries do " ſufficiently teſtify how much they deſire, that they " were partners of the like proſperity, becauſe many " of the rareſt ſcholars have found great relief and " comfort by being inſtalled Prebendaries in our Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. I will ſpeak but " of a few, whom myſelf have known. In the " reign of bleſſed Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Saravia was " maintained in theſe foundations. In the reign of the " moſt learned King James, Caſaubon, father and ſon. " O the renowned Caſaubon the father; what a miracle of learning! Add unto theſe Dr. Primroſe, " Mr. Voſſius, and the great honour of the Reformed " churches, the moſt learned Dr. Peter Moulin. . . . . " But the teſtimony of an adverſary is that, which " may moſt lawfully be uſed to advantage. The " greateſt enemy and foul-tongued reviler of the Reformed Church of England was Sanders, in his book " of *The Engliſh Schiſm*, as he terms it. Conſult him " in 163d page, as it is in my edition, how he " envies us, and ſnarls at us, for our proſperity of " thoſe forenamed churches. He ſays, that the royal " Queen did judge it fit for the glory of her prelacy, " for the ſplendor of her Kingdom, for the firmneſs " of her ſect, (ſo he calls our religion), that in the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches ſhe would have " Provoſts, Deans, Prebendaries, and Canons. This " was it that troubled him, that he ſaw theſe foundations conduce to the ſtability of religion; ſo that " I judge by his words, a fatter ſacrifice could not be " offered up to ſuch as himſelf, than the extirpation of " them." He then ſhewed the benefit which the King and Commonwealth reaped by ſuch Lands, ſince they paid greater ſums to the Exchequer for Firſt-fruits, Tenths, and Subſidies, according to the proportion, than any other eſtates or corporations in the Kingdom. Now as he was by the favour of that honourable houſe admitted to plead in that roof, where their worthy progenitors gave unto the clergy many charters, privileges, and immunities; ſo he truſted to find the antient juſtice of the houſe unto his brethren, who were not charged, much leſs convicted of any ſcandalous faults. At laſt he led them to the higheſt degree of all conſiderations, namely, the honour of God. " The fabricks, *ſays he*, that I ſpeak of, were erected " to his glory; the lands bequeathed them were dedicated to his worſhip and ſervice. And to that " end I beſeech you to let them continue for ever, " and to the maintenance of ſuch perſons, whom their " liberality did expreſsly deſtine to be relieved by " them. And withal I muſt inform you, and I dare " not conceal it from you; it is *tremenda vox*, which " I ſhall bring forth, that they have barred all alienations with many curſes and imprecations. It is " God's own ſentence upon the cenſers, which Core " and his complices uſed in their ſchiſm, with pretence to do God's ſervice, Num. xvi. 36. *They offered them before the Lord, therefore they are hallowed.* This is not ſpoken after the way of a Levitical form and nicety, for the uſing of thoſe cenſers was Anti-Levitical; but this is an abſolute theological rule out of the mouth of the Lord, " that which is offered unto the Lord is hallowed. " Again, Prov. xx. 25. *It is a ſnare to the man, that devoureth that which is holy.* This is a Proverbial " Divinity, every man's notion, and in every man's " mouth, πανοιμία ῥῆμα ἐν τοῖς οἴμοις λαλήμενον, Theology preached in every ſtreet of the city, and every " high-way of the field. Let me only add that " ſmart queſtion of St. Paul's, Rom. ii. 22. *Thou that abhorreſt idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege?* I have " done, Mr. Speaker, if you will let me add, this " epiphonema; upon the ruins of the rewards of learning no ſtructure can be raiſed up but ignorance; and " upon the chaos of ignorance no ſtructure can be built " but prophaneneſs and confuſion." This ſpeech being ſignificant in the ſenſe, and handſomely delivered (8), made an impreſſion on the Houſe; ſo that if the alienation of thoſe Lands had been then put to the queſtion, ſome, who thought they knew the ſenſe of the Houſe, concluded, that it would have been carried in the negative by a majority of above an hundred and twenty (9). In the Afternoon Dr. Cornelius Burges, as Speaker for his Party, made a vehement invective againſt Deans and Chapters, and the unprofitableneſs of ſuch Corporations. He aggravated the Debauchery of the Singing men. But he concluded that it was abſolutely unlawful to convert ſuch Endowments to any private Perſon's profit. " So that the Doctrine, ſays " Fuller (10), was delivered by both the Doctors; only they differed in their applications; the former " being for the continuing ſuch Lands to their antient, " the latter for diverting them to other, but neither " for alienating them from publick and pious Employments. If ſince Dr. *Burges* hath been a large purchaſer of ſuch Lands to himſelf, if ſince * St. " *Andrew* the firſt converted, and St. *Paul* the laſt " converted Apoſtle have met in his purſe, I doubt not " but that he can give ſufficient reaſon for the ſame, both " to himſelf and any other that ſhall queſtion him " therein; the rather becauſe lately he read his learned " Lectures in St. Paul's on the Criticiſms of Conſcience, no leſs carefully than curiouſly weighing ſatisfaction to ſcruples; and if there be any fault, ſo " able a confeſſor knows how to get his Abſolution." The further debate upon this Bill was adjourned for a week, and then committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, when two remarkable ſpeeches were made againſt theſe Foundations by Mr. Serjeant William Thomas, and Mr. Pory, Aldermen of Glouceſter; and after a long debate, the Houſe came to a reſolution for the aboliſhing of Deans and Chapters, &c. but their Votes did not then paſs into a law.

(8) Collier's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain*, Part 2. B. 9. pag. 803.

(9) Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*, B. 11. pag. 179.

(10) Ibid.

* Wells and London.

likewiſe a thouſand pounds in repairing the houſe of his reſidence there, the palace of his predeceſſors having been deſtroyed during the civil wars. He died October the 28th 1670, aged ſeventy eight years, and was interred in his own Cathedral, where a noble monument was erected to him by his eldeſt ſon Sir Andrew Hacket of Moxhull in Warwickſhire, ſome time one of the Maſters of Chancery. He was ſmall and ſlender of ſtature, well-ſhaped, and of a very ſerene and comely countenance, and lively eyes; and had a voice wonderfully ſweet and clear. We ſhall give his character in the note [*F*]. By his firſt wife, who died in 1637, he had ſeveral children, as he had likewiſe by his ſecond wife; and by both lived to ſee thirty two children and grand-children (*o*). Since his death there have been printed *A Century of Sermons upon ſeveral remarkable ſubjects*, preached by him, and publiſhed by Thomas Plume, D. D. at London 1675 in fol. and *The Life of Archbiſhop Williams*, printed at London 1693 in fol. of which there is an Abridgment, the ſecond edition of which was publiſhed at Cambridge 1703 in 8vo, under the title of *The Life of John Williams, Lord Keeper &c. With an Appendix giving an account of his benefactions to St. John's College in Cambridge. By Ambroſe Philips, Fellow of the ſame College.* In the Preface Mr. Philips obſerves, that Biſhop Hacket's "commendable gratitude to his great Patron *Williams* has made him ſo very ſtudious of "embelliſhments for his life, that I can liken the Lord Keeper, as repreſented by him, "to nothing ſo properly as to the ſtatue of ſome antient hero, ſo beſet with trophies and "ornaments, that the comelineſs and juſt proportion of the image underneath is ſcarce "diſcernible at firſt ſight. And Biſhop Hacket in his book has ſet out the Lord "Keeper juſt for all the world as he was when living, that is, ſurrounded with a multi-"tude of learning and all the coſtly variety of ſcience."

(*o*) *Dr. Plume's Account*, pag. 10.

[*F*] *We ſhall give his Character in the Note.*] Dr. Plume tells us (11), that he was zealous againſt Popery and all ſeparation from the Church of England. In the diſpute between the Calviniſts and the Arminians, he was ever very moderate; but bred being under Biſhop Davenant and Dr. Samuel Ward in Cambridge, adhered to their ſentiments. He was exemplary in his Behaviour, chearful in converſation, hoſpitable, humble, and affable, though ſubject to great eruptions of Anger, but at the ſame time very placable and ready to be appeas'd, and of too generous a Nature to be vindictive. When he was a Biſhop, he deſired to hold nothing in Commendam; he renewed all his leaſes for years, and not for lives, and upon very moderate fines, and ſpent a very conſiderable ſhare thereof in the repair of his Cathedrals and acts of Charity. In his younger years he had been much addicted to School Learning, which was then greatly ſtudied in the Univerſity; but he afterwards grew weary of it, and profeſſed "that he found more ſhadows and names than "ſolid juice and ſubſtance in it, and would much "diſlike their horrid and barbarous terms, more pro-"per for Incantation than Divinity; and became "perfectly of *Beatus Rhenanus*'s mind, that the "Schoolmen were rather to be reckoned Philoſo-"phers than Divines; but if any pleaſed to account "them ſuch, he had much rather with St. *John Chry-ſoſtom* be ſtiled a *pious* Divine, than an *invincible* or "*irrefragable* one with *Thomas Aquinas*, or our own "Countryman *Alexander Hales*. For knowledge in "the Tongues, he would confeſs he could never fix "upon *Arabian* Learning; the place was *ſiticuloſa regio*, "*a dry and barren Land, where no water is*; and he "being diſcouraged in his younger years, by ſuch as "had plodded moſt in it; and often quarrelled with "his great Friend *Salmaſius*, for ſaying he accounted "no man ſolidly learned without skill in *Arabick* and "other eaſtern Languages. Our Biſhop declared his "mind otherwiſe, and bewailed that many good Wits "of late years proſecuted the eaſtern Languages ſo "much as to neglect the weſtern Learning and Diſ-"cretion too ſometimes. Mr. *Selden* and Biſhop *Greitton* "had both affirmed to him, that they ſhould often "read ten pages for one line of Senſe, and one word "of moment; and did confeſs there was no Learning "like to what Scholars may find in Greek Authors, "as *Plato, Plutarch, &c.* and himſelf could never "diſcern but that many of their quotations and proofs "from them were, in his own words, *incerta, inex-plorata, ἀκατάληπτα.*" T.

(11) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 42, & ſeqq.

In Præfat. ad Tert.

HADRIAN (PUBLIUS ÆLIUS), a Roman Emperor, would afford us matter for a very long article, if we would omit none of his chief qualities and remarkable actions. But we muſt confine ourſelves to a few, and we ſhall take care to repeat as little as it is poſſible, of what is contained in Moreri's Dictionary, where this article does not much abound with errors [*A*]. Hadrian born at Rome January the 24th, A. C.

[*A*] *In Moreri.... this Article does not much abound with errors.*] It is one of his beſt Articles: And yet without a compleat examination of it, I have obſerved ten or twelve particulars, which I do not believe could be well proved. I. That there was in Italy a City named Italica. II. That Hadrian rebuilt Adria. III. That on his Return from England he was acquainted in Languedoc with the Death of Plotina. IV. That he built a Temple to her at Niſmes. V. That Quadratus and Ariſtides were aſſiſted by Severus, one of the Emperor's Lieutenants, when *they preſented this Book in favour of the Chriſtian Religion.* VI. That Jeruſalem and Ælia were two different Cities in Judea. VII. That Plutarch was Hadrian's Tutor. VIII. That Hadrian called Epictetus, Numenius, and other learned men back to Rome. IX. That he ſent ſome other learned men to Alexandria to teach all the Sciences there, before he went thither himſelf. X. That he underſtood the Mathematicks, and had compoſed ſome Treatiſes upon thoſe Sciences. XI. That he died July the 12th in the year 138, after he had reigned twenty years, ten months, and 29 days. XII. That Phavorinus was his Secretary. You have ſeen in my Article that Hadrian died July the 10th, and that he began his Reign Auguſt the 11th. If it be true, that he died July the 12th, Moreri ought to have ſaid that he reigned twenty years, eleven months, and one day. Take notice that I do not pretend to deny that he received a Letter from Serenius Granius Proconſul of Aſia, who deſired him to treat the Chriſtians with equity, nor that he ſtudied Geometry. Spartianus aſſerts it expreſly (1); and Moreri did well to aſſert the ſame; but beſides this he mentions alſo the Mathematicks. They who miſled him did not know, that by the word *Matheſis* Spartianus means Aſtrology. *Matheſin ſic ſcire ſibi viſus eſt, ut ſero Calendis Januariis ſcripſerit quid ei toto anno poſſet evenire.* That is, "He imagined that he "was ſo well skilled in Aſtrology, that late on the firſt "of January he wrote down all that ſhould happen "to him during the whole year." I will not quarrel with Moreri for what he obſerves concerning Hadrian's

(1) This muſt be underſtood of the ſtudy of Geometry only.

A. C. 76 [B] loſt his father ten years after [C], and had for his guardians Trajan, who was his relation [D], and Cælius Tatianus a Roman Knight. He had ſuch a taſte and inclination for the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, that it expoſed him to ſome ridicule (a). He began very early to ſerve in the armies, and was Tribune of a Legion before Domitian's death. The army of lower Mœſia choſe him (b) to congratulate Trajan upon his being adopted by Nerva, and it was he that acquainted Trajan with the firſt news of Nerva's death. He regained this Emperor's favour, which he had almoſt entirely loſt by his extravagant expences, that made him run in debt. He married (c) a grand-niece (d) of this Prince [E]; the Empreſs (e) was his Patroneſs in the moſt effectual manner. The Oration he delivered before the Senate when he was Quæſtor (f) appeared ſo rough and unpolite, that he was hiſſed at; which obliged him to apply himſelf ſo diligently to the ſtudy of the Latin tongue, that he made himſelf perfectly maſter of it, and became very eloquent. He accompanied Trajan in the expedition againſt the Daci (g), and to pay his court to him he drank plentifully, for which he was nobly rewarded. He had already been a Tribune of the People (h) when he followed Trajan in the ſecond war againſt the Daci. He behaved very gallantly in that war, and received a preſent from the Emperor, which gave him ſome hopes to ſucceed him in the Empire (i). Some time after he was made Prætor, and commanded afterwards the army in lower Pannonia with ſo much prudence and conduct, that it procured him the Conſulſhip (k). The Orations he compoſed for Trajan encreaſed his credit [F]. After the ſiege of Atra in Arabia had been raiſed, Trajan being ſick, and determined to return to Rome, left him the command of the army. He had already given him the government of Syria, and finding that his death grew near, he adopted him at laſt (l). We ſhall examine

(a) *Imbutuſque impenſius Græcis ſtudiis, ingenio ejus ſic ad ea declinante ut à nonnullis Græculus diceretur.* Spartian. *in ejus* Vita.

(b) A. C. 97.

(c) A. C. 100.

(d) SABINA. See her article.

(e) See the article PLOTINA.

(f) A. D. 101.

(g) A. D. 101, or 102.

(h) A. D. 105.

(i) *Adamante gemma, quam Trajanus à Nerva acceperat, donatus ad ſpem ſucceſſionis erectus eſt.* Spartian. *in* Hadrian.

(k) A. D. 109.

(l) *Ex* Spartiano *in* Hadriano.

drian's Memory; tho' he runs upon extremes. *He had,* ſays he, *ſo happy a memory, that he remembered the names of all the Places, Towns, and Rivers, by which he paſſed, and even of all the Soldiers of his Armies.* This is more than what Aurelius Victor aſſerts in theſe words; *Memor ſupra quam cuiquam credibile eſt, locos, negotia, milites abſentes quoque nominibus recenſere.* i. e. "He had an incredible memo-"ry; and remembered places, affairs, and could "repeat the names even of ſuch Soldiers as were ab-"ſent." Spartianus gives us a more particular ac-"count (2), and yet he does not go ſo far as Moreri does.

(2) *Nomina plurimus ſine nomenclatore reddidit quæ ſemel & congeſta ſimul audiverat, ut nomenclatores ſæpius errantes emendaverit. Dixit & veteranorum nomina quos aliquando dimiſerat: libros ſtatim lectos & ignotos quidem plurimis memoriter reddidit; uno tempore ſcripſit, dictavit, audivit, & cum amicis fabulatus eſt.* Spartian. *in* Hadriano.

[B] *Hadrian born at Rome January the 24th A. C. 76 ...*] Spartianus's account of this Emperor's Family inclines me to think, that Eutropius was in the wrong to aſſert, that Hadrian was born at Italica. The former of theſe writers obſerves, that Hadrian's Anceſtors, who came originally from Adria in Italy, ſettled at Italica in Spain in the time of the Scipio's, &c. He quotes Hadrian himſelf, who had aſſerted this in the Hiſtory of his own life. Spartian had doubtleſs read in the ſame work what he adds at the ſame time, namely that Hadrian was born at Rome *ix Kal. Feb.* (January the 24th) when Veſpaſian was Conſul for the ſeventh time, and Titus for the fifth time.

[C] ... *Loſt his Father ten years after.* His name was Ælius Hadrianus Afer. It is conjectured that the ſurname of *Afer* was given him, becauſe he had been Governor of Africa, and that he is the ſame with the Preſident Hadrianus, who put the holy Martyr Leontius to death at Tripoli under the Emperor Veſpaſian. The Acts of this Martyr inſerted in Metaphraſtes's Collection acquaint us, that the Preſident Hadrianus, who himſelf judged Leontius, was a Senator. Now Suidas obſerves, that the Emperor Hadrian's Father was a Senator, and that he had been Prætor. Theſe reaſons of the Sieur Triſtan's (3) conjecture ſeem to be pretty ſtrong. I do not know why Caſaubon (4) cenſured theſe words of Xiphilin ἦν δὲ Ἀδριανὸς γένος μὲν Ἀδριανῦ Ἄφρου υἱός; for after all his Clamours, it muſt be confeſſed, that the ſenſe of theſe words may be, that Hadrian was the ſon of Hadrian Afer. This is certainly their true and natural meaning, as Salmaſius (5) declares. So that one would be very much in the wrong to cenſure Xiphilin, as though by abridging Dio he had altered and miſrepreſented what relates to Hadrian's Genealogy, and made an African Family out of a Spaniſh Family. It is true that Cedrenus miſtaking Xiphilin's meaning, was drawn to aſſert a groſs Falſity; for he ſays that the Emperor Hadrian was an African by extraction. Let us not forget to obſerve that Domitia Paulina, Hadrian's mother, was born at Cadiz (6).

(3) *Comment. Hiſt.* tom. 1. pag. 456.

(4) In Spartian. pag. m. 7.

(5) Ibid.

(6) *Gadibus orta.* Spartian. *in Vita Adriani.*

[D] *Trajan was his Relation.*] Hadrian's Father was Trajan's firſt Couſin; for he was the Son of Ulpia, the ſiſter of Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, the Emperor Trajan's Father. See Caſaubon in his Commentary on Spartianus. They were not ſo near relations according to Eutropius, who aſſerts that Hadrian's Mother was Trajan's Couſin (7).

(7) *Eum Trajanus quamquam conſobrinæ filium noluerat adoptare.* Eutrop. lib. 8. pag. m. 89. i. e. "Trajan "would not a-"dopt him, tho' "he was the ſon "of his couſin "german."

[E] *He married a grand Niece of this Prince.*] We ſhall relate in another place who ſhe was, and how ſhe liked the match. It will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that they who aſſert (8) that Hadrian married Trajan's Daughter, are miſtaken. It does not appear that Trajan had any Children, nor that Hadrian ever had another wife but Sabina, who was the Daughter of one of Trajan's Nieces. The Author of the Chronicle of Alexandria has related a pleaſant fancy; he pretends that Hadrian married the daughter of the ſame Aquila, who made a Tranſlation of the Bible. St. Epiphanius ſeems to have aſſerted the ſame (9). Triſtan (10) charges this Alexandrian Chronologiſt with ſaying, that according to St. Epiphanius Hadrian was by nation a Greec, and originally come from Sinope. It is abſolutely falſe that St. Epiphanus ſays this; he aſſerts it only of Aquila.

(8) Conſtantinus Manaſſes, Glycas, John Tzetzes, quoted by Triſtan, *Comment. Hiſt.* tom. 1. pag. 454.

(9) *De Ponderib. & Menſ.* cap. 14. where he ſays αὐτοῦ πενθερὸν ἦν. Upon which Petavius makes the following obſervation. *Quæ vox, cum alibi à me lecta non fuerit, vel πενθερὸν ſignificat, vel πενθεροῦ filium, affinem certè, nos ſocerum reddidimus, quaſi πενθερὸν legeretur, quomodo Alexandrini Chronici ſcriptorem hic legiſſe ſuſpicor: nam pag. 598 ex hoc Epiphanii loco hiſtoriam Aquilæ Pontici referens: Ἀκύλας, inquit, ἐγνωρίζετο ὃς ἦν πενθερὸς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.*

[F] *The Orations he compoſed for Trajan encreaſed his Credit.*] I ſhall tranſcribe Spartian's Words. *Defuncto quidem Sura, Trajani ei* (Adriano) *familiaritas crevit, cauſa præcipue Orationem, quas pro Imperatore dictaverat.* Caſaubon refers the word *dictaverat* to Sura, which at firſt ſeems to make the Hiſtorian reaſon pitifully; for is there any ſence in ſaying, *After Sura's Death, Hadrian's Familiarity with Trajan encreaſed, eſpecially on account of the Orations which Sura had made for the Emperor.* But if you will examine this more exactly, you will find, that according to the ſenſe which Caſaubon puts upon Spartian's words, their only defect is want of clearneſs; Spartian did not pretend to aſſert, that the ſame Orations, I mean the ſame numerically, which Sura had compoſed, encreaſed Hadrian's credit; he meant only ſuch Orations as were like thoſe which Sura wrote. And thus Caſaubon's explication does not differ upon the whole from Salmaſius's, which is very good. The ſenſe of it is as follows: *Hadrian inſinuated himſelf deeper into Trajan's friendſhip, becauſe he did him the ſame ſervice, which Sura had done him, by compoſing his Orations for him.* I would not alter the Text as Salmaſius does, nor ſuppoſe with him, that Hadrian wanted to be ſupported by Plotina's credit, in order to obtain from the Emperor the Office of writing his Orations; this was not ſo great an honour with regard to Hadrian, but he might obtain it without any interceſſion; men that were only teachers of Rhetorick have ſometimes been employed in this; witneſs the following paſſage in Spartian (11). *Ælius Orationem pulcherrimam, quæ hodieque legitur, ſive per ſe, ſive per ſcriniorum aut* DICENDI MAGISTROS *paraſſet.* i. e. "Ælius had prepared a "beautiful

(10) *Comment. Hiſt.* tom. 1. pag. 455.

(11) *In Vita Ælii Veri.*

examine in the article of PLOTINA (*m*), whether this adoption was real or ſuppoſed. This however is certain, that Hadrian having received at Antioch almoſt at the ſame time the news both of his adoption and of Trajan's death, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor Auguſt the 11th 117. One of the firſt things he did was to yield up almoſt all Trajan's conqueſts, being content that the river Euphrates ſhould be the boundary of the Empire [G]. He did not return to Rome till the year 118. The Senate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of Father of his Country (*n*); but he refuſed both, and required that Trajan's image ſhould triumph. His liberality to the people is moſt extraordinary [H]. The next year he went into Mœſia to repulſe the Sarmatæ (*o*). During his abſence ſeveral perſons of the greateſt merit were put to death at Rome (*p*); and though he ſolemnly declared that he had not given ſuch orders, yet all the blame and odium of thoſe cruel proceedings reſted on him. Never did any Prince travel ſo much as he did; there was hardly one Province in the whole Empire, but he honoured it with his preſence. And as he was very generous, and would abſolutely know every thing by his own enquiries, he left in all places proofs of his liberality, and of his diligent care in examining the conduct of the Governors. It is thought that he began his travels in the year 120. He viſited the Gauls, Germany, and Britain, in which laſt country he cauſed a wall to be built, that the Iſlanders who had ſubmitted to him might not be attacked and plundered by thoſe that had ſhaken off the Roman yoke. In the year 121 he returned into Gaul, whence he went into Spain. It is believed that he went at that time into Mauritania. His firſt journey into the Eaſt was pretty long; for he was

(*m*) Remark [G].

(*n*) He accepted of that title afterwards. *See* Tillemont, *Notes ſur l'Hiſtoire d'Adrien.*

(*o*) Spart. *in Hadriano.*

(*p*) Idem, ibid. Dio, lib. 69.

" beautiful Oration ſtill extant, which he either wrote " himſelf, or cauſed to be written by his Secretaries, or " by THE TEACHERS OF RHETORICK." Domitian had his Letters, Orations, and Edicts penned by others (12). Nero had not compoſed Claudius's funeral Oration which he delivered: Seneca was the Author of it (13). It is true that the old men, who are very apt to make compariſons between the preſent and paſt times, obſerved, that none of the Princes, before Nero, ever had occaſion for ſuch a borrowed eloquence. This is what Tacitus tells us in the 3d Chapter of his xiiith Annal. *Adnotabant Seniores*, ſays he, *quibus otioſum eſt, vetera & præſentia contendere, primum ex iis qui rerum potiti eſſent, Neronem alienæ facundiæ eguiſſe.* Monſieur Spanheim obſerves, that the Emperors gave their Queſtors ſometimes *the Employment, not only of compoſing, but alſo of delivering their Orations for them; as Suetonius amongſt others aſſerts of Nero, and even of Auguſtus* (14). Let us obſerve by the by, that if we may credit the Emperor Julian (15), it was not out of ignorance, but out of a downright lazineſs, that Trajan made uſe of Sura.

(12) Sueton. *in ejus Vita*, cap. 20.

(13) Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 13. cap. 3.

(14) Spanh. *Notes ſur les Ceſars de Julien*, pag. 232.

[G] *He was content that the River Euphrates ſhould be the boundary of the Empire.*] St. Auguſtin has quoted this action of Hadrian, in order to ridicule the Idolaters, who pretended that the God Terminus (Boundary) would not give place even to Jupiter himſelf, when the Capitol was built, and that this was an Omen, that the bounds of the Roman Empire would never move back. Your God Terminus, ſays St. Auguſtin wittily to them (16), dreaded Hadrian the King of meer Men, more than he did Jupiter the King of the Gods. *Poſtea in orientalibus partibus Hadriani voluntate mutati ſunt termini imperii Romani. Ille namque tres provincias nobiles Armeniam, Meſopotamiam, Aſſyriam, Perſarum conceſſit imperio, ut Deus ille Terminus qui Romanos terminos ſecundum illos tuebatur, & per illud pulcherrimum auſpicium loco non ceſſerat Jovi, plus Hadrianum regem hominum quam regem deorum timuiſſe videatur.* That is, " The Boundaries of the Ro- " man Empire were afterwards changed by Ha- " drian's command. For he gave up three noble Pro- " vinces to the Perſians, namely, Armenia, Meſopo- " tamia, and Aſſyria; ſo that the God Terminus, " who, according to them, defended the Limits of the " Roman Empire, and who by a very lucky Omen " had refuſed to yield even to Jupiter, ſeems to have " dreaded Hadrian the King of mere men, more than " he did the King of the Gods." It is not at all probable, that the yielding up of thoſe conqueſts was an effect of Hadrian's envying Trajan's glory (17). For could he do any thing more glorious to the memory of the deceaſed, than to ſhew that he could not keep up things to that high degree, to which the other had carried them? We may therefore aſſert that the impoſſibility of keeping the conquered Provinces determined Hadrian to yield them up. *Omnia trans Euphratem ac Tigrim reliquit, exemplo, ut dicebat, Catonis, qui Macedonas liberos pronunciavit quia teneri non poterant* (18). That is, " He gave up the Provinces beyond " the Euphrates and the Tigris, as he ſaid, after the " example of Cato, who declared the Macedonians a " free People, becauſe they could not be kept in Sub- " jection." He choſe rather to have the diſadvantage in the compariſon that would be made between his Predeceſſor and himſelf, than to expoſe the Empire to the troubles that threatened it on every ſide. Ammianus Marcellinus obſerves, that before Jovianus, no Emperor nor Conſul ever yielded one inch of Ground to the Enemy; and Valeſius (19) pretends, that he could aſſert it with reaſon, and that Caſaubon was in the wrong to cenſure him for it (20).

(15) *In Cæſarib.* *See* Mr. Spanheim's Notes.

(16) Auguſtin. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 4. cap. 29.

(17) And yet Eutropius, lib. 8. pag. 90. aſſerts, *Trajani gloriæ invidens, ſtatim Provincias tres reliquit quas Trajanus addiderat.*

(18) Spartian. *in Adriano.*

(19) *In* Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 25. cap. 9. pag. 439.

(20) See the remark [D] of the article JOVIANUS.

[H] *His liberality . . . . is moſt extraordinary.*] " It " ſeems that he remitted abſolutely all that was owed " by private perſons at Rome and in Italy, and in the " Provinces all that was owed for ſixteen years; at " leaſt in the Imperial Provinces; for Spartianus and " an inſcription of this year, 118, ſeem to confine it " to theſe . . . . He burnt in Trajan's ſquare the bonds " and notes relating to thoſe things which he remitted, " that the people might not fear to be called again to " an account for them afterwards . . . This remiſſion " amounted to an immenſe ſum, and ſome learned " perſons, who have examined what the Hiſtorians " relate of it, and reduced it to the manner of reckoning money at this time, make it amount to twenty " two millions and five hundred thouſand golden " crowns. There never was an inſtance of ſuch libe- " rality before his time, the memory of it has been " tranſmitted to poſterity not only by the Hiſtorians, " but alſo in famous inſcriptions made this year or " the next, when this affair was perhaps finiſhed, and " in medals in which Hadrian is repreſented holding " a flambeaux in his hand to ſet fire to all thoſe bonds " which he had made void." I tranſcribe this from Monſieur de Tillemont (21), you may find in his remarks an examination of ſeveral difficulties concerning this; I ſhall not enter upon that ſubject; I chooſe rather to obſerve, that there is no bonfire for a city taken, or for a victory gained, that could pleaſe the Citizens more than ſuch a fire as Hadrian made. I have read ſomewhere that the Embaſſador of Venice having burnt before Henry IV the papers in which he acknowledged himſelf indebted for ſeveral ſums to that Republick, this Prince, who loved a joke, ſaid, that he never ſaw a finer fire. Ageſilaus, an Ephorus of Lacedæmon, had made uſe of the ſame thought upon the like occaſion. Καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρεωστῶν γραμματεῖα συνεισενέγκαντες εἰς ἀγορὰν, ἃ κλαρία καλοῦσι, καὶ πάντα συνδήσαντες εἰς ἓν, ἐνέπρησαν. ἀρθέντος δὲ φλογὸς, οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι καὶ δανειστικοὶ, περιπαλῶντες ἀπῆλθον, ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ἐφυβρίζων, εἶπε ἔφη λαμπρότερον ἑωρακέναι φῶς ἢ τὸν ἐπὶνῳ καθαρώτερον (22). i. e. " Having " gathered together all the bonds of the debtors, which " are called *claria*, and made a bundle of them, they " burnt them. When the flame broke out, the rich " and the uſurers, who were walking there, went " away; upon which Ageſilaus, as it were to ridicule " them, ſaid, that he never ſaw a clearer fire or a " brighter light than that was."

(21) *Hiſtoire des Empereurs*, tom. 2. pag. 408, 409. edit. of Bruſſels. He quotes Dio, lib. 69. pag. 791. Spartian. in *Vita Adriani*. F. Mabillon's *Analecta*, tom. 4. pag. 484, 486. Onuphrius in *Faſtis*, pag. 220. Spanheim, *de Numiſmat.* pag. 811.

(22) Plut. *in* Agide, pag. 801, B. See upon this the remark [FF] of the article CHARLES V.

was not returned into Greece before the year 125. He ſpent the winter at Athens, where he was initiated in the myſteries of Ceres. He was at Rome in the beginning of the year 129 (*q*), and, as ſome think, he went the ſame year into Africa; and being returned to Rome, he ſet out for another journey into the Eaſt in the year 130. Having travelled over Aſia, where ſeveral Kings came to pay their reſpects to him, he went into Egypt A. D. 132. In the year 135 he paſſed the winter at Athens, and returned to Rome the ſpring following. He adopted Lucius Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus, who though he had already a pretty large number of names, yet added to them all that of Ælius. Hadrian having adopted him retired to Tibur, where he raiſed ſtately buildings [*I*], and gave himſelf over to luxury, and afterwards to cruelty; for he cauſed ſeveral perſons to be put to death, either by open violence, or by ſecret means; nor did he ſpare even his brother-in-law Servianus, who was fourſcore and ten years old. Lucius Verus dying January the 1ſt 138, Hadrian adopted Titus Antoninus, and obliged him to adopt Marcus Annius Verus, and the ſon of Lucius Verus. The dropſy, under which this Emperor laboured, tormented and vexed him to ſuch a degree, that he became almoſt raving mad [*K*]. All imaginable remedies were made uſe of to cure him. The eaſe which the magical art gave him, was not laſting (*r*). A great number of Phyſicians were ſent for, and it is to this ſome ſay he aſcribed his death [*L*]. To give him ſome comfort under his deſpairing condition, it was ſuppoſed that he had done miraculous cures [*M*]. But notwithſtanding all theſe artifices, he would have killed himſelf, had

(q) Digeſt. tit. 3. l. 20. pag. 174. *apud* Tillemont, *Hiſtoire d'Adrien.*

(r) Xiphilin. *in Hadriano.*

[*I*] *Hadrian having adopted L. Verus retired to Tibur, where he raiſed ſtately buildings.*] Aurelius Victor (23) deſcribes in a pretty lively ſtile the effeminate life, which this Emperor led in his retirement, whilſt Lucius Ælius Cæſar governed at Rome; but he commits a very groſs blunder in Chronology. He gives us to underſtand that Hadrian indulged himſelf at that time in his abominable love for Antinous: which ſhews that this author did not know, that Antinous died before Ælius Verus was adopted. As to the buildings his words are as follow (24). *Rus proprium Tibur ſeceſſit, permiſſa urbe Lucio Ælio Cæſari, ipſe, uti beatis locupletibus mos, palatia conſtruere, curare epulas, ſigna, tabulas pictas.* i. e. "He retired to Tibur, his own "country ſeat, leaving the government of the "city to Lucius Ælius Cæſar; and as it is uſual "with rich people, he built palaces, gave "ſplendid entertainments, and purchaſed ſtatues and "pictures." Let us add to this a paſſage from Spartianus (25). *Tiburtinam villam mire exædificavit, ita ut in ea & Provinciarum, & locorum celeberrima nomina inſcriberet, velut Lyceum, Academiam, Prytaneum, Canopum, Pœcilen, Tempe vocaret. Et ut nihil prætermitteret, etiam inferos finxit.* i. e. "He added "wonderful buildings to Tibur his country ſeat, and "gave thoſe buildings the names of the moſt cele"brated provinces and places, as for inſtance, the "Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, Canopus, "the Pœcile, and Tempe. And that nothing "might be omitted, there was alſo a place called "Hell."

(23) Aurel. Victor, *in Cæſaribus*, pag. m. 129.

(24) Idem, ibid.

(25) Spartian. in *Adriano*, cap. 26. pag. m. 215.

[*K*] *His dropſy . . . . tormented and vexed him to ſuch a degree, that he became almoſt raving mad.*] To this time muſt be referred what Lampridius obſerves, namely, that Hadrian gave his name to a city which was called Oreſta, and that by this means his madneſs was a little abated. An Oracle had given him this advice. *Et Oreſtam quidem urbem Hadrianus ſuo nomini vindicari juſſit eo tempore quo furore cœperit laborare, ut ex reſponſo, quum ei dictum eſſet ut in furioſi alicujus domum vel nomen irreperet. Nam ex eo emollitam inſaniam ferunt, per quam multos Senatores occidi juſſerat, quibus ſervatis Antoninus Pii nomen meruit, quod eos poſt ad Senatum adduxit, quos omnes juſſu Principis interfectos credebant* (26). i. e. "When Hadrian began to la"bour under his madneſs, he ordered that the city "named Oreſta ſhould be called by his name; it "having been declared to him by an Oracle, that he "ſhould intrude himſelf into the houſe, or take the "name of ſome mad-man. For it is reported that "ſince that time his madneſs was much abated, where"as before, in his fury, he commanded a great "many Senators to be killed, whoſe life Antoninus "ſaved, whence he deſerv'd the ſirname of *pious*, becauſe "he conducted them afterwards to the Senate, though "all the world believed that they had been killed "by the Emperor's command." The Sieur Triſtan (27) has committed two pretty groſs blunders upon this paſſage. He makes Lampridius aſſert, that Hadrian was cured of his madneſs, after he had viſited the city Oreſta, and pretends that this happened in the beginning of Hadrian's reign. It was an eaſy matter to know, that Lampridius does not mention a journey of this Emperor, and that what he relates muſt be referred to the time when Antoninus was already adopted: Now he was adopted but a few months before this Prince's death.

(26) Lamprid. in *Vita Heliogab.* pag. m. 809.

(27) *Comment. Hiſt.* pag. 453.

[*L*] *Some ſay he aſcribed his death to the great number of Phyſicians.*] Xiphilinus relates (28) that Hadrian gave up the ghoſt crying out, *the multitude of Phyſicians killed the Emperor*, πολλοὶ ἰατροὶ βασιλέα ἀπώλεσαν. This Hiſtorian adds, that theſe words were a kind of proverb. Pliny aſſerts, that there was an Epitaph which contained ſuch a propoſition (29). *Hinc illa infelicis monumenti inſcriptio*, TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERISSE. I wonder that St. Epiphanius did not mention this circumſtance of Hadrian's laſt hours, in the paſſage where he relates that this Prince ſent for all the Phyſicians of his Empire, and laughed at them when he had found by experience how uſeleſs their preſcriptions were, and even wrote a ſatyrical Letter againſt their art and profeſſion. Οἱ δὲ πολλὰ κινμηκότις ϰ̀ μηδὲν ἀνύσαντες ἐσκώφθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ϰ̀ ἐπιστολὴν ἀνειδιστικὴν γράψαι κατ' αὐτῶν τὴν τέχνην αὐτῶν αἰτιωμένην ὡς μηδὲν εἰδυῖαν τῆς περικειμένης αὐτῷ νόσου ἕνεκα (30). If this antient Father had not better grounds for the fact itſelf, which he aſſerts, than for the time to which he refers it, we cannot depend upon his teſtimony; for he relates, that when the Emperor had compoſed this Satire, he went from Rome into Egypt, which is falſe; it being certain that after the Phyſicians had tried in vain all poſſible means to cure him of his Dropſy, he took no other journey but one to Baiæ. It cannot be doubted but he had a great contempt for them, or a great indignation againſt them, ſince at laſt he would no longer keep a ſtrict courſe of diet, and uſed to eat of all that he liked (31).

(28) In *Epit. Dion. Vit. Adriani.*

(29) Plin. lib. 29. cap. 1. pag. m. 667. Upon which F. Hardouin obſerves that it is thought this was a verſe of Menander the comic Poet. *Senarius eſt, ut putant, Menandri Comici* πολλῶν ἰατρῶν εἷς ὅδος μ' ἀπώλεσεν.

(30) Epiphan. *de Ponder. & Menſ.* cap. 14. pag. 170.

(31) Xiphilin. in *Epit. Dion. Vit. Adriani.*

[*M*] *It was reported that he had done miraculous cures.*] Here follows what Spartianus relates. A woman came and told Hadrian, that ſhe had been commanded in a dream to repreſent to him, that ſince he was to recover, he ought to take care not to lay violent hands on himſelf; that ſhe loſt her ſight becauſe ſhe had not performed what her dream had required from her; that ſhe was a ſecond time commanded to declare the ſame things to him, being promiſed that ſhe would recover her ſight if ſhe kiſſed his knees. This woman having obeyed this order, and waſhed her eyes with the water of a certain temple, had the uſe of her eyes as before. A man born blind came from the remoteſt part of Pannonia, and touched Hadrian who had the Fever; which being done, this man was no longer blind, and Hadrian got rid of his Fever (32). Spartianus has been prudent enough to add, that according to Marius Maximus's Teſtimony, all this was nothing but an artifice. We might eaſily gueſs it, tho' we did not know what Marius Maximus ſaid of it. It is an eaſy matter to know that Antoninus, Hadrian's adoptive ſon, made uſe of this artifice in order to give him ſome hopes, and to comfort him under the melancholy

(32) Gaſpar à Reies, Quæſt. 24. num. 4. quotes Tacitus for this fact. An egregious blunder.

had he not been preſented (*s*). He ſought death, and could not find it [*N*]. It came at laſt July the 10th 138. He died that day at Baiæ in the ſixty third year of his age, having reigned twenty one years, wanting thirty days. The Latin verſes he addreſſed to his ſoul (*t*), acquaint us with his uncertainty and doubts relating to the other world. He was a Prince adorned with great virtues, but which were mixed with great vices. He was generous, laborious (*u*), polite, and exact; he maintained order and diſcipline; he eaſed his ſubjects, he adminiſtred juſtice with a wonderful application, and puniſhed all thoſe ſeverely who did not acquit themſelves faithfully of their functions. He had a very great wit, and an extenſive memory (*x*); he underſtood the arts and ſciences perfectly well; and wrote ſeveral books [*O*]. But on the other hand he was cruel, envious, laſcivious,

(*s*) Xiphilin, *in Hadriano.* Spartian. *in Hadriano.*

(*t*) Spartian. ibid.

(*u*) See the end of the remark [*P*].

(*x*) See the end of the remark [*A*].

melancholy that overwhelmed him. How often have theſe tricks been uſed ſince that time, in order to keep up ſuperſtition, and even cabals in the ſtate? It is lawful, ſome will ſay, to deceive children and ſick perſons. But this may be of dangerous conſequence with regard to the people, who in ſome reſpect are always in their infancy, and always ſick. But waving theſe reflections, which too many formidable perſons would think are levelled at them, let us make a grammatical obſervation againſt the great Salmaſius. He will not have us ſuppoſe that the man, who came from Pannonia, was born blind, but only that he had been ſo a long time; ſo that inſtead of *natus cæcus*, he reads *vetus cæcus*. His reaſon is, that it cannot be imagined that perſons born blind ſhould recover their ſight; but that this is leſs improbable with regard to perſons that had been blind ſeveral years. Obſerve that in the following note he refutes Caſaubon, who by the word *ſimulationem* underſtands a magical charm, or witchcraft. This ſenſe is unworthy of Caſaubon. *Simulatio* in this paſſage ſignifies only *a deceit*; thus Salmaſius explains it, and he is in the right; but according to this Hypotheſis, what does he mean by the difference he finds beeween a man born blind, and one who has been blind a long while? Does he not ſee, that Antoninus could as eaſily perſuade a man to pretend he was born blind, as he could one to pretend he was lately grown blind; and that it is not eaſier for a man lately grown blind, than for one who is born ſo, to recover their ſight by touching a Prince who has a Fever, and to cure him of his Fever at the ſame time? But what! He had read *vetus cæcus* in a Manuſcript of Heidelberg; he knew that the words *veteres cæci* are in Juvenal, and *antiqua cæcitas* in Marcellus; would you have him loſe the glory of all theſe diſcoveries only for the ſake of reaſoning right?

[*N*] *He ſought death and could not find it.*] Thus was Severianus's prayer granted which he made when he was dying. Ὅτι μὲν ὑμῖν ἀδίκῳ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς ὦ θεοὶ ἴστε· περὶ δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ τοσοῦτον μόνον εὔχομαι, ἵνα ἐπιθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν, μὴ δυνηθῇ (33). *Immortal Gods*, ſays he, *who are witneſſes of my innocence, I have but one favour to beg of you. Let Hadrian earneſtly wiſh for death, without being able to die.* This prayer diſcovered a ſpirit exceedingly revengeful. Never was there a more cruel imprecation than this; witneſs theſe words of the 6th verſe of the ixth chapter of St. John's Revelation. *In thoſe days ſhall men ſeek death, and ſhall not find it, and ſhall deſire to die, and death ſhall flee from them.* If we had the Letter in which Hadrian repreſented how deplorable a man's condition is, who cannot die, though he wiſhes it (34), we ſhould ſee ſomething very tragical and moving; for a man ſo learned and eloquent as he was, could not but deſcribe very well the misfortunes which he experienced. He promiſed a pardon, and even a reward, to whomſoever would kill him; and as he could not meet with any perſon that would do him this kindneſs, he cried like a child (35), becauſe though he could ſtill cauſe other men to be put to death, yet he could not kill himſelf (36). The vexations of his mind, and his fears, made him deſtroy a great many perſons; and it was perhaps on this occaſion, that perceiving the public did not think his fears and ſuſpicions were well grounded, he ſaid that Princes were very much to be pitied, becauſe it is never believed that any attempt is made on their lives, till they be murdered. *Scis ipſe quid avus tuus Adrianus dixerit, miſera conditio imperatorum, quibus de affectata tyrannide niſi occiſis non poteſt credi. Ejus autem exemplum ponere quam Domitiani, qui hoc primus dixiſſe fertur* (37), *malui, tyrannorum enim etiam bona dicta non habent tantum auctoritatis quantum debent* (38).

(33) Xiphilin. in *Adriano*, pag. m. 265.

(34) Xiphilin. ibid.

(35) Compare this with Nero's complaints in Suetonius, chap. 47, &c.

(36) Xiphilin. *in Hadriano.*

(37) *Conditionem principum miſerrimam aiebat quibus de conjurationes comperta non crederetur niſi occiſis.* Sueton. *in Domit.* cap. 21.

(38) Marc. Aurelius ad Verum *apud* Volcat. Gallicanum, *in* Vita Caſſii.

[*O*] *He wrote ſeveral books.*] He compoſed both in verſe and proſe. There are ſome fragments of his Latin poems extant (39), and there are ſome Greek verſes of his in the Anthology. You will find in Caſaubon, and in Salmaſius (40), the epitaph of his Hunter (41), it is in Latin verſe. The Emperor loved that horſe ſo well, that he built a tomb for it (42). Stephanus Byzantinus quotes twice a poem intituled *Alexandreis*, the author of which was named Adrian. It is not generally believed to be the work of our Emperor. He had made a great many verſes upon his amours (43). He had alſo wrote ſome in praiſe of Plotina his benefactreſs (44). It cannot well be determined whether there was a collection of his witty ſayings publiſhed, for Spartianus's words (45) might perhaps ſignify only, that ſeveral of his witty ſayings were remembered. But it is certain that he publiſhed ſome diſcourſes and ſome orations (46), ſeveral quotations out of them being ſtill extant. We find in Soſipater, that he had aſſerted in his diſcourſes, that Auguſtus was not very learned. *Tametſi Auguſtus non pereruditus homo fuerit, ut id adverbium* (obiter) *ex uſu potius quàm ratione protulerit.* Let us obſerve by the by, that we have here an authority in favour of thoſe who pretend that uſe ought not to go before reaſon in point of language. We have alſo here a great example for thoſe, whoſe moſt ſerious ſtudy is a particular examination of their mother-tongue. For it appears from the paſſage in Soſipater, that our Emperor was with regard to the Latin tongue, what Vaugelas was with regard to the French (47). Aulus Gellius (48) quotes the oration which Hadrian delivered before the Senate in behalf of the inhabitants of Italica, his father's native place. But this Emperor's chief work is, no doubt, his Hiſtory of his own Life. He choſe rather to publiſh it under another's name than under his own, and he did it, probably, only that he might be the more at liberty to praiſe himſelf. Phlegon, one of his freedmen, a very learned perſon, put his name to this work of his maſter (49). Hadrian compoſed ſome books in imitation of Antimachus, a Greek Poet, whom he admired very much (50). Theſe books were very dark. Spartianus had tranſmitted to us their title, but it is not known whether it has been well tranſcribed in the manuſcripts; ſo that the very title of this work is an extremely difficult taſk for the Critics. Salmaſius tried a thouſand ways to explain it, and after he had determined the reading, which he judged the only true one, he found himſelf juſt where he was before. *Solam eam eſſe veram* (Lectionem) *mihi perſuadeo; quomodo tamen explicanda ſit, juxta cum ignariſſimis ſcio* (51). If this work of Hadrian had come down to us, we had been in the right to tell the author, whilſt he was about it; *You are going to prepare racks for the Salmaſius's that will come hereafter. The very title of your book will make them buckle to, and force them to ſubmit.* It is not well decided, whether Hadrian wrote any thing concerning the Military Art. It is not doubted but he made very good regulations (52), and eſtabliſhed a wonderful diſcipline in his armies. Vegetius owns that he made uſe of Hadrian's regulations; but as he confeſſes the ſame with regard to thoſe of Trajan, and of Auguſtus, though one has no right to infer from thence, that theſe two Emperors wrote books upon that ſubject, it appears plainly that Geſner was in the wrong to aſſert, from this paſſage in Vegetius, that Hadrian wrote concerning the Military Art (53). Some

(39) In the *Cataſecta Virgilii & aliorum*, and in *Spartian.*

(40) *Comment. in Spartian. Hadrian.* pag. 189.

(41) His name was Boryſthenes.

(42) Dio, *in ejus Vita.*

(43) *De ſuis dictis multa verſibus compoſuit.* Spartian. p. 145. Apuleius, *Apolog.*

(44) Xiphilin. *in Adriano.*

(45) *Joca ejus plurima extant, nam fuit etiam dicaculus*, Spart. pag. 187.

(46) Photius mentions them, pag. 276.

(47) Conſult his diſpute with Phavorinus, *in Spartian.* pag. 150.

(48) Lib. 16. cap. 13.

(49) Spart. pag. 150.

(50) Catacrianos, *libros obſcuriſſimos Antimachum imitando ſcripſit.* Spartian. pag. 152.

(51) Salmaſ. *in Spartian. Adrian.* pag. m. 152.

(52) Dion aſſerts that they were ſtill in force. *See* Valerianus's *Letter, apud* Vopiſcum, *in Probo.* *Caſaub. Comment. in Spart.* pag. 83.

(53) Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Grec.* pag. 215. cenſures this blunder of Geſner.

civious, ſuperſtitious, and addicted to magic. Is there any thing more abominable than his love for Antinous (*y*)? I omit his exceſſive curioſity [*P*]. He did not publiſh any edicts againſt the Chriſtians; but it was nevertheleſs imagined that his great ſuperſtition was the reaſon why they were perſecuted. He had ſome regard for the apology which Quadratus and Ariſtides preſented to him in behalf of the Chriſtians. The Jews revolted again under his reign, and defended themſelves for three years againſt the troops he ſent into their country; but at laſt they were overcome and treated with the utmoſt ſeverity (*z*). They relate a ridiculous ſtory concerning a queſtion which they ſuppoſe this Emperor aſked a Rabbin, relating to the reſurrection of the dead. I mention it in the article BARCHOCHEBAS (*aa*), where I ſpeak alſo of what was done in Judea at that time. Several particular facts, which may ſerve to acquaint us with Hadrian's character; his jealouſy againſt thoſe that excelled in the arts, &c. will be found in divers places of this Dictionary, where the perſons concerned in theſe facts will be mentioned. The alphabetical index will refer the reader to every particular. It was only by Antoninus's tears and prayers that the Senate was prevailed upon to ſuffer that Hadrian's acts ſhould ſubſiſt (*bb*), for it was reſolved to make them all void; but this reſolution being once evaded, Antoninus obtained all that he could wiſh, namely, Hadrian's apotheoſis, or deification. He built a temple to him at Puteoli (now Pozzuolo) and eſtabliſhed games there with a ſociety of Prieſts, and the other things relating to a deification (*cc*). Hadrian had not waited till that time before he taſted divine honours, he had ſnatched the celeſtial crown with his own hands. He conſecrated an altar to himſelf in the temple of Jupiter Olympian at Athens; and as he paſſed through ſeveral cities of Aſia, he multiplied every where the temples he built to himſelf (*dd*): for it is not in the leaſt probable that he deſigned them for Jeſus Chriſt, nor is it known whence Lampridius borrowed what he relates upon this ſubject [*Q*]. It does not appear that any other author beſides himſelf was acquainted with the origin of that tradition.

(*y*) See the article ANTINOUS.

(*z*) *See* Tillemont, *Hiſt. d'Adrien.*

(*aa*) Remark [*K*].

(*bb*) Dio, pag. 799. Spart. *ſub fin.* Eutropius, lib. 8.

(*cc*) Spart. ibid. *See alſo* Capitolinus, *in Antonino*, pag. m. 249.

(*dd*) Spart. pag. m. 126.

HADRIAN,

Some (54) pretend that he wrote upon Tacticks, and that Urbicius's work upon this ſubject was Hadrian's, except only Urbicius's additions. Monſieur Rigaut has publiſhed a fragment of it.

(54) Salmaſ. *in Spartian.* pag. 83.

[*P*] *I omit his exceſſive curioſity.*] I might ſtile it ſuch, though he had not wiſhed and endeavoured, ſo much as he did, to diſcover future events both by Aſtrology, and by Magical Arts. Without all this he might very well paſs for too curious a man. Tertullian calls him (55) *curioſitatum omnium explorator*, and Ammianus Marcellinus *futurorum ſciſcitationi nimium deditus*. I ſhall not examine whether it became a Prince to deſire to know by his own experience thoſe things which he met with in the books he read, concerning the ſeveral countries of the world. *Peregrinationis ita cupidus, ut omnia quæ legerat de locis orbis terrarum præſens vellet addiſcere* (56). The journeys he took to ſatisfy himſelf in this particular, were of ſome advantage to the Provinces; let us not therefore cavil with him on this account: Let us ſuffer him to go on mount Ætna to examine whether the ſun at its riſing has the ſame colours with the rain-bow (57). Let us ſuffer him to aſcend mount Caſſius to ſee the ſame planet riſe (58). But who would forgive him his maintaining a thouſand ſpies, who acquainted him with all the ſecrets of every family; who let him know what a wife wrote to her huſband, what the huſband told his wife? *Erat curioſus non ſolum Domus ſuæ, ſed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret, nec adverterent amici ſciri ab Imperatore ſuam vitam priuſquam ipſe hoc Imperator oſtenderet* (59). i. e. "He was curious to know what paſſed not only "at his own houſe, but alſo at his friend's houſes; ſo "that by his ſpies he diſcovered all the ſecrets of fa-"milies; nor were his friends aware that the Empe-"ror was acquainted with their private life, before "he gave them the leaſt hint of it himſelf." We may be perſuaded, that the hints, which his ſpies gave him, were of great uſe to him in his love intrigues; for in this reſpect he did not ſpare his friends any more than the moſt indifferent perſons. Thus I am inclined to underſtand Spartian's words (60). *Et hoc quidem vitioſiſſimum putant* (he ſpeaks of the uſe of Spies) *atque huic adjungunt quod de adultorum amore ac nuptarum adulteriis, quibus Adrianus laboraſſe dicitur, aſſerunt, jungentes quod ne amicis quidem ſervaverit fidem.* i. e. "This indeed they think is very wicked; to "which they add the love of boys, and the adulteries "with married women, of which Hadrian is ſaid to "have been guilty; they aſſert alſo that he was not "faithful even to his friends." Sovereign Princes can make themſelves formidable by ſo many other means, that they ought to leave this to Paraſites. *Scire volunt ſecreta domus, atque inde timeri* (61). i. e. "They dive "into the ſecrets of families, to make themſelves be "dreaded;" and yet in every age you meet with ſome who ſpared nothing to be exactly acquainted with all that is ſaid or done in private houſes. It was owing, no doubt, to Hadrian's curioſity, that almoſt all his beſt friends, and thoſe he raiſed to the higheſt dignities, drew his indignation upon them. He ſwallowed greedily all that was reported to him concerning his friends. *Facile de amicis quicquid inſuſurrabatur audivit* (62). Since I have conſidered him in this remark as a curious traveller, I muſt cloſe it with obſerving that he walked on foot as a common ſoldier (63), and that he never covered his head, how bad ſoever the weather might be (64), which he had reaſon to repent at laſt (65).

(55) In *Apologet.* cap. 5.

(56) Spart. pag. m. 163.

(57) *Ætnam montem conſcendit ut ſolis ortum videret arcus ſpecie, ut dicitur, varium.* Idem, pag. 124. That is to ſay, according to Mr. de Tillemont, pag. m. 413. to ſee there, they ſay, the Sun riſe in the form of a Bow. *He ſhould have ſaid* of a Rainbow.

(58) Idem, Spartian. pag. 132.

(59) Idem, pag. 102.

(60) Pag. 109.

(61) Juven. Sat. 3. ver. 113.

(62) Spart. pag. 146.

(63) Idem, pag. 84. Aur. Victor, *Epit.* lib. 5.

(64) Spartian, pag. 163, 200.

(65) Idem, pag. 201.

[*Q*] *It is not in the leaſt probable, that he deſigned for Jeſus Chriſt the temples he built, nor is it known whence Lampridius borrowed what he relates upon this ſubject.*] However it be, here follow Lampridius's words (66), CHRISTO *templum* (Alexander Severus) *eumque inter Deos recipere, quod & Adrianus cogitaſſe fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus ſine ſimulacris juſſerat fieri, quæ hodie idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille ad hoc paraſſe dicebatur, ſed prohibitus eſt ab iis, qui conſulentes ſacra repererant omnes Chriſtianos futuros, ſi id optato eveniſſet, & templa reliqua deſerenda.* i. e. "Alexander Severus deſigned to "build a temple to Chriſt, and to admit him amongſt "the Gods, of which Hadrian is alſo ſaid to have "had ſome thoughts, who built temples in every city "without placing any images in them, ſo that theſe "temples not being conſecrated to any Deity, are "called Hadrian's, who is ſaid to have deſigned them "for that purpoſe; but he was prevented by thoſe, "who taking care of the ſacred things, found, that "if Hadrian performed his deſign all men would be-"come Chriſtians, ſo that the other temples would "be left empty." Caſaubon is certainly in the right to explode all this as a mere ſtory; the only probable circumſtance I find in it is, the fear of the Heathens that their Religion would be quite forſaken if Chriſtianity were publicly tolerated. This is infinitely more honourable to the Chriſtian Faith than all the dreads which a Refugee Miniſter diſcovered in his writings (67), who refuting the toleration of Religion, ſays amongſt other things: *Let a Mahometan Preacher, a Socinian, a Papiſt, and a Proteſtant teach in the ſame city, and let neither the Magiſtrate interpoſe his authority, nor God his Spirit and Miracles, and you will ſoon ſee truth abſolutely and entirely worſted.* Here you have a man, who is afraid he

(66) Lamprid. *in Alexand. Severo*, pag. m. 993.

(67) *Tableau du Socinian.* pag. 519. printed in 1690. Obſerve that Monſieur Jurieu is the author of that book.

HADRIAN, Cardinal Prieſt, of the title of St. Chryſogonus (*a*), was a native of Cornetto in Tuſcany [*A*]. Innocent VIII ſent him Nuncio into Scotland [*B*], and afterwards into France; and after he had been Clerk and Treaſurer of the Apoſtolic Chamber, Pope Alexander VI, whoſe Secretary he had been (*b*), honoured him with the Cardinal's Hat (*c*). The life of this Cardinal was a continual ſcene of very odd alterations, the iſſue of which was very far from being honourable to him. He narrowly eſcaped death the day Alexander VI poiſoned himſelf by miſtake [*C*]. Afterwards he drew upon himſelf the hatred of Julius II, ſo that he was obliged to go and hide himſelf in the mountains of Trent, on account of the ſevere decrees which this Pope had thundered out againſt him (*d*). Having been recalled by Leo X, he was ſo ungrateful for this favour, that he engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him [*D*]. The Pope pardoned this fault, and ordered the letters of pardon to be drawn up (*e*); but Cardinal Hadrian did not truſt to this [*E*], or had not courage enough to overcome thoſe remorſes, which might grow ſtronger and more importunate by the preſence of the objects, that is to ſay, of the perſon whom he had offended; he made his eſcape in the night time; and it could never be known exactly what was become of him [*F*]. He was one of the firſt that effectually reformed the Latin ſtyle. He ſtudied Cicero with great ſucceſs, and made a great many excellent

(*a*) Pier. Valerian. *de Literat. Infelicit.*

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Oldoinus, *Athen. Roman.* pag. 303.

(*d*) *Acerbiſſimis percuſſus edictis annos aliquot in Germanicis Rhætorum Alpibus obſcura & ſordida peregrinatione delituit.* P. Valerian. *de Literat. Infelicit.*

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

he ſhall preach in empty Churches, *vox clamantis in deſerto*; i. e. "the voice of one crying in the wilder-"neſs," unleſs he be alone in a city. I do not wonder that ſuch men ſhould be ſo much againſt a toleration (68).

(68) Compare this with what is obſerved in the remark [*E*] of the article LUBIENIETZKI.

[*A*] *In Tuſcany.*] I ſpeak thus with regard to the antient diviſion of Italy; for at preſent Cornetto is in what is called St. Peter's patrimony.

[*B*] *He was a Nuncio in Scotland.*] I do not find that he was ſent Nuncio into England, yet it is true that he was particularly beloved by Henry VIIth. Hence it happened, that he was made Biſhop of Hereford, and of Bath and Wells (1).

(1) *Epiſcopus Erfordienſis, Barthonienſis & Vuellenſis*, ſays F. Oldoini, who is not very exact in his ſpelling. Athen. *Roman.* pag. 303.

[*C*] *He narrowly eſcaped death the day Alexander VI poiſoned himſelf.*] There was ſomething very remarkable in this ſtory. One of our Hiſtorians relates it thus (2). *Alexander VIth's baſtard having a mind to get Cardinal Hadrian Cornet's* (3) *eſtate, had made a party with the Pope to go and ſup in his vineyard, and had ſent thither ſome bottles of excellent wine, but which had been adulterated in order to poiſon their gueſt. But it happened that the father and the ſon arriving pretty ſoon, and being very thirſty, for the weather was hot, aſked for ſome drink, and whilſt the ſervant, who was in the ſecret, was gone ſome where, another gave them of that wine. The father who drank it pure, died that very day, which was Auguſt the* 17*th* 1503. *The ſon, who was of a ſtrong conſtitution, and had mixed water with wine, had time to make uſe of ſome remedies, and having been wrapped up in the belly of a mule, eſcaped; but he was ever after in a languiſhing ſtate of health, ſo that he could not exert himſelf, when he had the greateſt occaſion for it.* It was but two or three months ſince Hadrian had been made a Cardinal. Guicciardini (4) deſerves to be read upon this death of the Pope.

(2) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. m. 434.

(3) It is he, who is the ſubject of this article; he was called thus, or rather of Cornetto, from his native place.

(4) Lib. 6. pag. m. 161.

[*D*] *He engaged in a conſpiracy againſt* Leo X.] It was that, at the head of which Cardinal Alphonſo Petrucci was. They deſigned to murder Leo X. Some (5) ſay, that our Hadrian engaged in it, becauſe he hoped to be choſen Pope, and that his hope was grounded on I know not what prediction, which promiſed the Papal Crown to one Hadrian, of a mean extraction, but eminent by his learning. As all this fitted Hadrian of Cornetto very well, he applied it to himſelf and loſt thereby his reputation, and all the tranquillity and comfort of his life. Let us boldly aſſert that there are not greater plagues of mankind, than thoſe perſons, who pretend to foretell future events, for they meet with but too many weak or turbulent men, whom they engage in fatal deſigns. Such perſons ſhould not be ſuffered in a well ordered ſtate, which way ſoever they might boaſt that they conſulted Heaven, either by the ſtars or by the Apocalypſe. Moſt of them are mere impoſtors, who have no other deſign, but to diſturb the public tranquillity. The perſon who impoſed upon the Cardinal of Cornetto was a Magician of the Apennine hills, according to Monſieur Varillas, who gives us a large account of this ſtory. See page 276 of his *Anecdotes de Florence.* But Paulus Jovius ſays it was a witch. *Certam ſpem adipiſcendi Pontificatus conceperat ex oraculo fatidicæ mulieris.* i. e. "He had conceived a certain hope of "getting the Pope's crown from the prediction of a Fe-"male-Fortune-teller." Thus he ſpeaks towards the beginning of the fourth book of his Hiſtory of Leo X.

(5) *See* Moreri in the article *Caſtelleſi*, thus he calls our Cardinal. Under the word *Adrian of Cornetto* he had referred us to *Caſtelles*; he had done better to keep to that. Oldoini calls him *Hadrianus Caſtellenſis.*

[*E*] *Leo X ordered letters of pardon to be drawn up for Cardinal Hadrian, but he did not truſt to this.*] Monſr. Varillas has obſerved, that there were two circumſtances, which raiſed Cardinal Hadrian's miſtruſt. The one was, that Cardinal Soderini and he were condemned to pay *a fine of ten thouſand crowns each*, though they had proſtrated themſelves at the Pope's feet, and the Pope had declared in a full Conſiſtory, that he would pardon the Cardinals that were concerned in the conſpiracy, *provided they confeſſed their crime immediately, and aſked his pardon in the preſence of their brethren.* The other circumſtance was the marks of indignation, *which appeared on Leo Xth's face whether he would or not.* See the pages 283 and 284 of the *Anecdotes de Florence.*

[*F*] *It could never be known exactly what was become of him.*] It will be proper to hear upon this what Pierius Valerianus ſays, who places our Cardinal almoſt at the head of his catalogue of the unfortunate learned men. *Noctu clam fugam arripuit, neque quò abierit, neque ubi ſit, quatuordecim jam annorum ſpatio quiſpiam potuit explorare*, i. e. "He made his eſcape "ſecretly in the night time; but whither he went, "or where he is, is what no perſon has yet been "able to diſcover during theſe fourteen years." He adds, that it was believed his footman killed him, to get ſome piſtoles, which the Cardinal had ſewed up in his waiſtcoat: *Conſtans tamen opinio eſt eum inſuto in interiorem toracem auro oneratum comitis famuli perfidia oppreſſum, auroque ſurrepto cadaver in ſolitarium aliquem locum abjectum occultari*: and that his corps is hid ſomewhere in a ſolitary place. Father Oldoini obſerves that Hadrian was deprived of the purple and of all his benefices; that he made his eſcape into Turkey, where he died ſecretly, no perſon knowing what day or what year (6). Leander Alberti's account agrees with this in his deſcription of Italy. *Noſtra inſuper ætate*, ſays he, *magna illuſtrandæ patriæ principia jecerat Adrianus Cardinalis ex hac urbe* (Cornetto) *cum literarum ſtudio, tum cæremoniarum, ſed qui metu Leonis X Pontif. Max. clam Roma profectus, exinde nunquam apparuit.* i. e. "Cardinal Hadrian of this city "(Cornetto) has in our time laid conſiderable founda-"tions towards illuſtrating his native country, both "by the ſtudy of polite literature, and by religious "ceremonies; but fearing Pope Leo X's reſentment, "he left Rome ſecretly, and was never heard of after." The author of the ſecret Hiſtory of Florence aſſerts (7), that Cardinal Hadrian went from Rome dreſſed like an harveſt-man; *that he walked only in the night time till he came into his own country, where he paſt the remaining part of his life, often changing the place of his retirement, ſo ſtrongly was he ſtill perſuaded* of the ſorcerer's prediction. Here are two circumſtances borrowed from Paulus Jovius (8): the reſt is perhaps of the author's own invention. Guicciardini gives us ſtill a leſs particular account than Paulus Jovius. *Adriano partitoſi occultamente, quello che s'aveniſſe di lui, non fu mai piu, che ſi ſapeſſe, nè trovato nè veduto in luogo alcuno* (9). i. e. "Hadrian went away ſo ſecretly, "that

(6) *Sub Leone contumax ſpoliatus eſt purpura & ſacerdotiis, quare necis metu perterritus in Thraciam fugit, ibique obſcurus & latens diem clauſit extremum, incertum quo menſe vel anno.* Oldoin *in Athen. Rom.* pag. 303.

(7) *Anecdotes de Florence*, pag. 284.

(8) *Hadrianus, trepido ſuſpicaque ingenio vir, Leonis clementiæ diffidens, ab urbe meſſoris habitu profectus, uſque ad vitæ exitum nullo perſequente latebras mutavit.* Jovius, lib. 4. *Vitæ Leon. X.*

(9) Guicc. lib. 13. folio m. 384 *verſo.*

excellent obſervations upon the propriety of the Latin tongue. The treatiſe he compoſed *De Sermone Latino* (of the Latin Language) during his retirement in the Alps is a proof of this. When he was about this treatiſe he interrupted a very conſiderable work, which was a Latin Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament [*G*]. Some reckon it amongſt the works which he wrote (*f*). It is alſo pretended that his treatiſe *De Poetis* is extant. As for the treatiſe *De vera Philoſophia*, i. e. "Of true Philoſophy," it is unqueſtionable that it was printed at Cologne in the year 1548. He alſo pretended to write verſes [*H*].

(*f*) Oldoinus, *Athen. Roman.* pag. 303.

" that it was impoſſible to know what was become " of him, nor was he ever found or ſeen in any " place." He relates this under the year 1517, whence we may infer that Pierius Valerianus's Dialogues *de Infelicitate Literatorum* were written in the year 1531. Moreri has placed our Hadrian's flight under the year 1518. Why did he not follow Guicciardini's Chronology? He makes this fugitive go to Venice, and to Riva in the Dioceſe of Trent. I am apt to think that he blends together the baniſhment under Julius II, with that under Leo X.

[*G*] *He had undertaken... a Latin Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament.*] *Erat in animo proſequi cœptum jam pridem opus ſacros veteris inſtrumenti libros ex Hebræo ad verbum in Latinum ſermonem vertendi; ſed cum me procella temporis in Tridentinas rupes, quo Judæi ob Simonis cædem ne aſpirare quidem audent, detruſerit, atque animus inquies nihil agere non poſſet, hæc ſum adgreſſus* (10). i. e. " I deſigned to continue a work " which I had begun ſome time before, namely, a " literal tranſlation of the Old Teſtament out of He- " brew into Latin. But the ſtorms of thoſe times " having driven me among the rocks of the Trentine, " where the Jews dare not ſo much as breath, on " account of Simon's murder, and as through the " vexation of my mind I could not live idle, I ſet " about writing this,"

(10) Hadrian. *in Præf. ad Carolum Principem Hiſpaniæ* de Serm. Latino.

[*H*] *He pretended to write verſes.*] We have a ſmall Poem of his *de Venatione*, and that which is intitled *Iter Julii II Pontificis Romani*, without reckoning his verſes to the honour of the holy Virgin, and the deſcription of the palace he built pretty near the Vatican, and which is now in the poſſeſſion of the Houſe of Colonna. It is called the Engliſh Palace, becauſe Cardinal Hadrian left it by his will to the King of England (11).

(11) *See* Oldoinus, *Athen. Roman.* pag. 303.

HADRIAN VI was born at Utrecht in the year 1459 (*a*) [*A*]. The genius which was obſerved in him from his childhood determined his father [*B*] to deſign him for the Sciences, though he had not wherewithal to maintain him at ſchool. But the Univerſity of Louvain ſupplied this domeſtic want. The young man got a place there in a college in which a certain number of ſcholars were maintained *gratis*. It is reported that he uſed to go in the night time to read by the light of the lamps [*C*] that were lighted in the churches or at the corners of the ſtreets. This was at once a ſign of his poverty, and of his ſtudious inclination. He made a very conſiderable progreſs in all ſorts of Sciences, and if he did not become a Poet [*D*] nor a good writer, it was becauſe he did not care for

(*a*) Valer. And. *Bibliotb. Belgic.* pag. 19.

[*A*] *He was born at Utrecht.*] That city is called in Latin *Trajectum ad Rhenum*, as Maeſtricht is called *Trajectum ad Moſam*. Some authors (1), who ſaid only that Hadrian was *Trajectenſis*, have been the occaſion that others (2) have made him a native of Maeſtricht. So true it is that the leaſt inaccuracy will miſlead ſome writer or other. Father Labbe had very likely obſerved this neglect of Bellarmine, for in his Commentary on this Jeſuit's Eccleſiaſtical Writers, he does not make uſe of the word *Trajectenſis*, but of *Ultrajectenſis*. It is ſo true that *Trajectum* alone ſignifies Maeſtricht rather than Utrecht, that Monſieur de Marolles is inexcuſable for underſtanding (3) Utrecht by *Trajectenſem urbem*, in the ſecond book of Gregory of Tours. The Hiſtorian was ſpeaking of St. Servaſius Biſhop of Tongeren, which was another reaſon not to miſtake Utrecht for Maeſtricht. I do not doubt but the learned Onuphrius Panvinius took *Trajectenſis* here for a man born at Maeſtricht. *Adrianus VI*, ſays he (4), *Trajectenſis, Flander vel Brabantinus*. An error a thouſand times more pardonable than that of a German writer, who ſays (5), *Adrianus VI, patria Derthuſienſis, Germanus*. Some ſuppoſe he was born in Italy (6): *ut plane ridiculi ſint, qui in ſuis ad Alphonſi Ciacconii hiſtoriam additionibus natales Adriani majoreſve Italiæ vindicant*. i. e. " So that they are " to be laughed at, who in their Additions to Al- " phonſus Ciacconius's Hiſtory pretend that Hadrian " was born in Italy, or that his anceſtors were of that " country." Jerome Niger an Italian author uſed to ſay of this Pope, *He ſpeaks always Latin, and pretty well too for a Spaniard* (7).

(1) Bellarmin is one of them in book *de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.*

(2) The Jeſuit Foreſti is one of them, in the *Mappamondo Iſtorico.*

(3) See his Notes upon *Gregorius Turonenſis*, tom. 1. pag. 75.

(4) In *Chronico Rom. Pontif.* ad ann. 1522.

(5) In *Continuatione Chronici Euſebiani*, printed at Baſil, anno 1536, *ad ann.* 1522. *See* Schoockius, *de Fabula Hamelenſi*, pag. 83.

(6) Valer. And. *Bibliotb. Belg.* pag. 19.

(7) See the *Lettres des Princes*, collected by Ruſcelli, folio m. 86.

[*B*] *His father.*] His name was Florent Boyens, and he got his livelihood by building of boats; *Naupegus* (8). Some make him a Weaver, others a Brewer. But I think that we ought to keep to the firſt opinion, ſince Valerius Andreas, who made great enquiries concerning Hadrian VI, does not ſay one word of the other trades, which his father is ſaid to have followed. As to the ſon, he was called only *Hadrianus Florentius*, that is to ſay Hadrian Florent's ſon; this was the cuſtom of his country, which is ſtill in uſe amongſt the common people.

(8) Val. And. *Bib. Belg.* p. 19.

[*C*] *It is reported, that he uſed to go in the night time to read by the light of the lamps.*] Gabriel Naudé acquaints me with this particular. *Non ſecus omnino*, ſays he (9), *ac olim fecere maximi illi viri Euclides dum noctu Megaris Athenas proficiſceretur ad audiendum Socratem... Adrianuſque præterea ejus nominis Pontifex ſextus, & Auguſtinus Steuchus Eugubinus, quos inter luctandum cum ſtudiis & anguſtioriis vitæ miſeriis, ſæpe videre fuit ad ellychnios noctu in templis aut compitis collucentes legendi deſiderio acceſſiſſe*. i. e. " The great " men, of old have done the ſame; as for inſtance, " Euclid, who uſed to go in the night time from Me- " gara to Athens, to hear Socrates... And Hadrian " the ſixth Pope of that name, and Auguſtinus Steu- " chus Eugubinus, who ſtruggling between po- " verty and a ſtrong inclination for learning, were often " obſerved reading in the night time, by the light of " the lamps either in churches, or at the corners of " the ſtreets."

(9) Naudæus, *in Pentade Quæſt. Iatrophilol.* pag. m. 91.

[*D*] *If he did not become a Poet.*] One of the reaſons for which the Italians deſpiſed him was, that he made no account of Poetry nor of an elegant ſtyle, two things for which a great many perſons were preferred under Leo X, and which were in the higheſt eſteem in that country for fifty or ſixty years. But Hadrian had very good reaſons for his conduct in that reſpect, for the Poets had produced the ſame bad effects in Italy, which they produced afterwards in France (10). *Quod unum ei viri elegantes deſuiſſe prædicant, eloquentiæ cultioris flores, & poetarum amœnitates contemnere erat ſolitus, ſive quod putaret eas ſibi aliquid de graviſſimorum ſtudiorum autoritate detrahere, ſive quod caſtis & piis ingeniis poetarum luſus pravos mores importare & religionibus officere arbitraretur* (11). i. e. " The only " fault which the men of wit found with him was, " that he uſed to deſpiſe the flowers of eloquence, and " the charms of poetry; either becauſe he imagined " that this would in ſome meaſure leſſen the dignity " of the more ſerious ſtudies, or becauſe he was of " opinion that Poetry would corrupt the morals of " modeſt and pious perſons, and be dangerous to Re- " ligion." He was ſo little inclined to do the Poets any kindneſs, that one of the reaſons why Paulus Jovius received favours from him, was that he had not ſtudied Poetry with the other parts of polite Literature. *Jovium*

(10) Thuan. lib. 22. *ad ann.* 1559. See the remark [*I*] of the article GERASSE, at the 1 à-linea.

(11) Jovius, *in ejus Vita*, pag. m. 223.

for it. He led an exemplary life, and there never was a man leſs intriguing and forward than he was. The cure that was given him in Holland [*E*] came to him unexpectedly. The reputation of his probity and learning was his only patron with thoſe who gave him preferments (*b*). He took his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Louvain June the 21ſt 1491. He was ſoon after made Canon of St. Peter's and Profeſſor of Divinity in the ſame city, and then Dean of St. Peter's, and Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity. In the year 1507 they made him leave this academical way of living to go to Court, that he might be Tutor to the Archduke Charles who was then ſeven years old (*c*). This young Prince did not make any conſiderable progreſs in the Latin tongue under him [*F*], and ſome perſons pretend that Chievres the Prince's Governor was the cauſe of it (*d*). There is commonly nothing more diſagreeable to children than to ſtudy; they take a much greater delight in bodily exerciſes. It has therefore been aſſerted, that Chievres, who would be alone maſter of his pupil's mind, and have all the glory of his education, exerciſed him only in thoſe things, for which he had an inclination, and in which he was moſt capable to be improved, and did not much care whether or not the Profeſſor of Louvain's Lectures were of any advantage to him. However it be, the tutor had ſuch a noble reward for his pains, that never a man of that employment was

(*b*) Paulus Jovius *in Vita Hadriani VI.*

(*c*) Valer. And. *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 19. and in *Faſt. Acad. Lovan.* pag. 96.

(*d*) *Ferunt Carolum Cevrium . . ut integra adoleſcentis poſſeſſione frueretur, alumnum, militares jocos ſæpius offerendo ſenſim avertiſſe a literis.* Jovius, *in Vita Hadriani VI.*

vium omnino eo . . ſacerdotio eſſe perornandum, quem audiviſſet optimis diſciplinis liberaliter eruditum, & ſcriptorem annalium valde elegantem, nec tamen eſſe poetam, ut cæteri qui cultiores literas ſectarentur (12). i. e. "He "judged that Jovius was by all means to be promoted "to the Prieſthood, becauſe he had heard, that though "he was well ſkilled in the moſt uſeful ſciences, "and a very elegant writer of annals, yet he was no "poet, like all the others who applied themſelves to "the *Belles Lettres*." The Heathen notions, with which the Poets interſperſed their works, were one of the chief reaſons, why this Pope looked ſo coldly upon them; for he was very ſerious upon this ſubject, nor would he upon any terms whatſoever approve their method (13). When the ſtatue of Laocoon was ſhewed him he turned his eyes from it, and ſaid, theſe were ſtatues of impiety. *Ornamenta inſignis picturæ & ſtatuarum priſcæ artis nunquam magna fecit, adeo ut Vianeſio Bononienſium legato commendante ſtatuam Laocoontis, quam in Belvederii viridariis Julius ingenti pretio coemptam ad loci dignitatem collocarat, averſis ſtatim oculis tanquam impiæ gentis ſimulacra vituperaret.* i. e. "He never had any regard for thoſe fine works "of antiquity, as beautiful pictures and ſtatues, ſo "that when Vianeſius, Embaſſador from Bologna, "commended to him the ſtatue of Laocoon, which "Pope Julius bought for a very great price, and "placed as an ornament in the garden of Belvedere, "he turned his eyes from it, and deſpiſed it as an "heathen and impious image." Paulus Jovius (14) relates this particular. Judge by this, whether the lovers of the liberal arts, whether the Italians who admired this maſter-piece of ſculpture, could have any eſteem for ſuch a Pope. The Poets made him ſenſible, that it had not been ſaid without reaſon, *genus irritabile vatum.* i. e. "The Poets are a paſſionate "kind of men." Here follows an epigram, which Sannazarius levelled at him.

(12) Jovius, *in ejus Vita*, p. 277.

(13) *Suſpecta habebat poetarum ingenia, utpote qui minus ſincero animo de Chriſtiana Religione ſentire & damnata falſiſſimorum Deorum nomina ad veterum imitationem ſtudiosè celebrare dicerentur.* Idem, ibid.

(14) *In ejus Vita*, pag. 283.

Claſſe, viriſque potens, domitoque Oriente ſuperbus
Barbarus in Latias dux quatit arma domos:
In Vaticano noſter latet: hunc tamen alto,
Chriſte, vides cælo, (prob dolor) & pateris.

That is,

"A ſavage General, with a large fleet and a power-
"ful army, and proud for his conqueſt of the Eaſt, lays
"the ſeats of Italy waſte, whilſt our General hides
"himſelf in the Vatican; you ſee this from heaven,
"O Chriſt, and (Oh misfortune!) you ſuffer it."

We ſhall relate below Pierius Valerianus's invective. There were continually ſatyrical verſes againſt Hadrian poſted up on Paſquin's ſtatue. We ſhall relate in another place (15), why he had it not deſtroyed, as he once reſolved to do.

(15) In the *Diſſertation upon Libels*, num. 12.

[*E*] *The Cure that was given him in Holland.*] Paulus Jovius aſſerts that (16) Margaret the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, and Governeſs of the Low Countries, procured him that living, and that ſoon after he obtained the Deanery of Louvain. He is in the wrong to ſuppoſe that this Princeſs was at that time Governeſs of the Low Countries; for ſhe did not get that Government, till after the death of the Duke of Savoy, her ſecond *real* Husband. I make uſe of this expreſſion, becauſe the firſt Prince (17), to whom ſhe was betrothed, ſent her back without conſummating the marriage, and becauſe I do not give any credit to them who aſſert that the Duke of Savoy never knew her (18). However it be; ſince he died in the year 1504, it is plain that Margaret of Auſtria was not Governeſs of the Low Countries, when Hadrian was made Dean of Louvain, for he was preferred to that Deanery in the year 1497. Paulus Jovius muſt have been here miſtaken, thinking that this Margaret was the ſame with the Widow of Charles the bold, the laſt Duke of Burgundy, Siſter of Edward IV. King of England; ſhe was alſo named Margaret, and ſhe paid all the charges of Hadrian's Promotion to the degree of Doctor of Divinity (20). Thoſe who acquaint us with this, tell us, that this Doctor had the Deanery of St. Peter's at Louvain, and that of our Lady at Antwerp; that he was alſo Canon and Treaſurer of St. Mary the great at Utrecht, aud Provoſt of St. Saviour in the ſame City; but they do not mention any ſpiritual living with the charge of Souls, nor any Pariſh Church. This Pariſh therefore or Cure, is perhaps another miſtake of Paulus Jovius. Cardinal Palavicini (21) does not correct this Writer's account.

(16) *Margarita Maximiliani Cæſaris filia, quæ tum Belgis imperabat, ſacerdotio parochiali in Hollandia liberaliter bonejtavit.*

(17) Charles VIII, King of France.

(18) Fabert, *Hiſtoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, pag. 448. Heiſs, *Hiſt. del'Empire*, tom. 1. p. 372.

(19) Val. And. *Faſt. Academ.* pag. 60.

(20) Idem, pag. 95. and *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 19.

(21) *Iſtor. del Concil.* lib. 2. cap. 2.

[*F*] *Charles V. did not make any conſiderable progreſs in the Latin Tongue under him.*] All the World has heard it related, that a Latin ſpeech being once made to this Prince, of which he could hardly underſtand a word, he cried out with a ſigh, *Hadrian foretold to me this.* Paulus Jovius (22) mentions it as a circumſtance of which he was witneſs. *Audivi ego Cæſarem, quum Genuæ Latinam orationem à quodam recitatam, nequaquam præclarè intelligeret, ſuſpirantem hæc verba ore protuliſſe; agnoſco, inquit, nunc maximè & cum dolore quidem magiſtri mei divina monita, quum hos flores & elegantias Latini ſermonis percipere nequeam, & meminerim eum ſæpè prædixiſſe, me aliquando puerilis incuriæ pœnas datarum.* That is, "When the Emperor was "at Genoa, where a Latin Oration was delivered be-"fore him, which he could not well underſtand, I "heard him ſay; I find now, and confeſs it with "grief that my Maſter's advice was very good, ſince "I cannot underſtand thoſe flowers and delicacies of "the Latin Tongue; and I remember, that he often "foretold me, that I ſhould once repent of the negligence "I was guilty of in my younger Days." This Hiſtorian had related juſt before, that Hadrian not being able to cope with Chievres, told his young ſcholar only, that he would one day repent of his negligence. *Hadrianum auctoritate imparem, & natura leniſſimum, officio facile deceſſiſſe, ita tamen ut diſcipulo perblande diceret, futurum aliquando ut eum præſentis negligentiæ pœniteret.* That is, "Hadrian, whoſe Authority was "not ſo great as Chievres's and who was of a very "mild temper, grew eaſily remiſs in his Duty; how-"ever, he told his diſciple in a very kind manner, "that he would one day repent of his preſent negli-"gence." Charles the Vth was ſenſible of it at Genoa, and confeſſed it ſincerely. Camerarius (23) would make Hadrian anſwerable for the neceſſity under which

(22) *In Vita Hadriani VI*, pag. m. 227.

(23) *Meditat. Hiſt.* vol. 3. lib. 4. cap. 7. pag. m. 282.

was more conſiderably rewarded ; for it was Charles V's credit that raiſed him to the Papal Throne [*G*]. Before that time he was ſent Embaſſador into Spain to King Ferdinand, and ſome aſſert, that he managed the buſineſs with which he was charged with much more ſkill [*H*], than could be expected from a man, who had breathed ſo long the air of an Univerſity. He knew how to appeaſe that Monarch, who was very ill pleaſed with his ſon-in-law's behaviour towards him, and with the affection of the Nobility for the Princes of the Houſes of Auſtria. Hadrian removed all thoſe ſuſpicions, the conſequences of which might have been dangerous, and was afterwards promoted to the Biſhopric

which this Emperor was to make uſe of an interpreter, whenever a Latin diſcourſe was delivered before him; as tho' Hadrian had taken more care to inſtruct him in the Catholick Religion, than to teach him the *Belles Lettres* ; but Charles the Vth's own confeſſion is ſufficient to clear his Tutor. Varillas (24) enters into a long controverſy with the Spaniſh Hiſtorians, in which he pretends it is falſe that Chievres was guilty of what he is charged with relating to his Pupil's ignorance in the Latin Tongue, that Charles the Vth did not underſtand that Tongue, and that he had a ſad experience of this ignorance, when he heard a Latin diſcourſe. As to this laſt fact, ſays he, which the Spaniards ſuppoſe happened in Germany, he aſſerts that it is not related by any Author of other nations. Would he have ſaid this, if he had been acquainted with the ſtory of the Oration delivered at Genoa, which Paulus Jovius mentioned ?

(24) *Prattique de l'Educat. des Princes*, pag. 26, &c.

[*G*] *It was Charles the Vth's credit that raiſed him to the Papal Throne.*] Paulus Jovius obſerves that Hadrian had a ſhare in the numerous promotions that were made in the year 1517 (25) being recommended by the Emperor Maximilian in his Letters to the Pope (26). He adds alſo ſome other reaſons. As to Hadran's being choſen Pope, it is a very common opinion that it was owing to the Emperor's great intereſt. *Cæſare urgente Leoni demortuo abſens (raro & inuſitato ſanè exemplo) Pontifex Max. undequadraginta patrum purpuratorum ſuffragiis creatur* (27). i. e. " Leo being " dead, he was by the Emperor's intereſt choſen " Pope in his abſence (which indeed is very uncom- " mon and unuſual) by the Votes of thirty-nine Car- " dinals." It is reported that Amiot owed his place of great Almoner of France to a converſation *that was held at Charles IXth's Table, in which Charles Vth was mentioned.* " This Emperor was commended on ſeveral " accounts, but eſpecially for making his Tutor a Pope. " . . . The merit of this action was ſo much extolled, " that it made an impreſſion on Charles the IXth's " mind, even ſo far as to make him declare that he " *would do the ſame for his Tutor, if he found an* " *opportunity for it* (28)." It is therefore a pretty general opinion, that Pope Hadrian VI. was a creature of Charles the Vth's. It ſeems however, that this Emperor procured him the papal Dignity but indirectly and by accident. Paulus Jovius, who gives us a pretty good account of the intrigues of this conclave, tells us that Juliano di Medici did not make any intereſt for Hadrian, till after he had found that he could not ſucceed for himſelf (29). It is true that Hadrian being very zealous for Charles the Vth's Intereſt, this gained him the favour of the whole Party of the Medici in this their laſt ſhift. There is an inſcription mentioned in which Hadrian owned himſelf obliged to his imperial Majeſty for all his Dignities (30). The inſcription, they ſay, was as follows : *Ultrajectum plantavit, Lovanium rigavit, Cæſar verò incrementum dedit.* That is to ſay, *Utrecht planted, Louvain watered, and the Emperor gave increaſe.* Upon which ſomebody obſerved, *there is nothing to do here for God, Deo iſthic nec ſeritur, nec metitur.* Notwithſtanding all this, Hadrian's exaltation was an effect of chance and ſpite. Read the following Verſes of Pierius Valerianus : they are as beautiful as they are ſatyrical (31).

(25) 31 Cardinals were made all at once.

(26) *Tum præſertim Maximiliani Cæſaris literis.* Jovius, pag. 230.

(27) Swertius, *Athen. Belg.* pag. 95.

(28) The Abbot de St. Real, *De l'Uſage de l'Hiſtoire.* See the remark [*E*] of the article AMIOT.

(29) *Itaque Medices deſperato vel neglecto Pontificatu Adrianum nominat.* Jovius, pag. 249.

(30) Wolfius, *Lect. Memorab.* tom. 2. pag. 192. ſays, that this inſcription was ſeen on a tapeſtry at Louvain, during the rejoicings that were made there for this Pope's election.

(31) The author of the notes on *Sannazarius's Poems*, printed at Amſterdam in the year 1689, has inſerted them in pag. 236, 237.

Cum fluctuaret cymba, quæ magnos Deos,
Romæ penates quæ vehit,
Leone adempto : providum, vigilem, parem
Optabat infelix ducem.
Dum tota is ora quæritur Liguſtica,
Totoque Tyrrheno mari,
Per Adriatici omne litus, per Padi
Ripas, Lemani per juga :
Per Celtiberos, Gaditanos, Gallici
Vaſtos per Occani ſinus,
Quaque æſtuoſum Sarmatas lambit ſalum,
Qua circuit Britannias :
Repente nobis hunc dedit vecors furor
Regione Rheni ab ultima ;
Nil tale Patribus facere ſe putantibus ;
Nihil minus volentibus
Quam quem eligebant, nil minus poſcentibus,
Quam quem vocabant : ô mare !
O terra ! votis Hadrianus omnium
Fit Pontifex ; ſed omnibus,
Quis credat ? invitis. Deûm vis hæc, Deûm,
Deûm abditum hoc arbitrium eſt.
Ut qui natantis deſpuunt regnum trabis,
Parere diſcant viperæ :
Ut invicem qui ſe oderant Patres, ducem
Inviſum haberent omnibus.
Malarum ut eſſet ſævus ultor mentium,
Acri ipſe mente in ſingulos.

That is, " Whilſt the Boat which carries the great " Gods, the houſhold Gods of Rome, was toſſed up " and down by the waves, after Leo's death, ſhe " wiſhed, unhappy, for a prudent, diligent ſteerman, " like him ſhe had loſt. Whilſt ſuch a one is ſought " for through the whole coaſt of Liguria, on the " Banks of the Tuſcan Sea, the Gulph of Venice, " and of the River Po; on the Alps; through all " Spain, on all the Coaſts of the Ocean in France, " Germany, Britain; all on a ſudden a blind fury " ſends us their Leader from the remoteſt banks of " the Rhine ; the Fathers did not imagine they were " doing ſuch a thing ; they did not deſign to elect him, " they choſe; they did not deſire him whom they call- " ed. O Heaven and Earth ! Hadrian is made Pope " by the Votes of all, and, who would believe it ? " againſt the conſent of all. This happened through " the influence of the Gods ; this was a ſecret deter- " mination of the Gods ; that they, who deſpiſe the " Government of an harmleſs Prince, ſhould learn to " obey a Tyrant : that the Fathers, who hated each " other, ſhould have a Maſter that would hate them " all ; and who being a ſevere puniſher of all wick- " ed minds, ſhould be ſeverely inclined againſt every " one of them."

Naude relates (32), that Peter Martyr, *not the here-* *tick of Florence, but the Apoſtolical Protonotary who was born in a little Village of the Duchy of Milan, ſpeaking of* Hadrian *the Vth's election*, has the following words : *Cardinalibus hoc loco accidit quod in fabula de Pardo ac Leone ſuper agno raptando ſcribitur ; fortibus illis ſirenuè ſe dilacerantibus, quodcumque quadrupes iners aliud prædæ ſe dominum fecit.* That is to ſay according to the Tranſlation of Lewis de Mai, Author of the Notes upon the *Coups d'Etat*, *There happened to the Cardinal on this occaſion, what the Fable relates of the Leopard and the Lion concerning a Lamb they had taken. Whilſt theſe two generous animals fight valiantly for the prey, and tear each other in pieces, comes another fourlegged Beaſt, of the moſt brutiſh and cowardly kind, which ſteals the Lamb away.*

(32) Naudé, *Coups d'Etat*, pag. m. 23.

[*H*] *During his Embaſſy . . . he managed the Buſineſs with which he was charged, with much skill.*] Monſieur Varillas is not of this opinion. According to him (33), Hadrian was proper for nothing but to teach in a College ; he did not underſtand politicks, and was not acquainted with the myſteries of State. Amongſt other Proofs of this aſſertion, he obſerves, that in his embaſſy to Aragon he did not anſwer Chievres's expectations. But who told Varillas that this is a proof of Hadrian's want of ability ? He hated Chievres for ſeveral reaſons (34), and inſtead of negotiating according to Chievres's deſigns, he did him ſecretly all the ill turns he could. This was not indeed anſwering this Lord's expectations, but it was not unskilfulneſs.

(33) See the preface to the *Prattique de l'Education.*

(34) Jovius, pag. 232.

ſhopric of Tortoſa [*I*], without ceaſing, for all that, to be Embaſſador. He continued in that ſtation till Ferdinand's death (*e*), after which he had a ſhare in the Regency with Cardinal Ximenes (*f*) [*K*]. It is true that his ſhare was the ſmalleſt, not to ſay any thing worſe of it (*g*); but there came a time when his authority was much greater. Ximenes graſped at too much power, for which reaſon Charles V ſent him home, when he went in perſon to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms in Spain; and ſome time after he made Hadrian Governor of that country in a very honourable manner; I mean when he went from Spain into Germany where the Imperial Crown waited for him (*h*). Hadrian found himſelf ſurrounded with difficulties in the government of ſo many Kingdoms, becauſe there was a dangerous ſedition raiſed, which he would never have been able to ſuppreſs, had they not aſſociated two collegues with him, namely the Conſtable, and the Admiral of Caſtile. The invaſion of Navarre by the French was another great difficulty in his adminiſtration. He extricated himſelf honourably out of it, and was enjoying the pleaſure of having recovered Navarre, when he received the news of his being choſen Pope (*i*). I have not yet related, that Leo X had given him the Cardinal's hat in the year 1517. After this Pope's death there were ſeveral cabals in the Conclave, which ended in the election of Hadrian (*k*), with which the people of Rome were very much diſpleaſed [*L*]. The new Pope took ſhipping in Catalonia, and arrived at Rome Auguſt

(*e*) Which happened Jan. 23, 1516.

(*f*) Jovius, *in Vita Hadriani.*

(*g*) *See* Varillas, *Pratique de l'Education du Prince* pag. 186. of the Dutch edition.

(*h*) *Hadrianus cum imperio toti Hiſpaniæ præficitur tanta cum dignitate, ut Cæſar recuſantem & præoptantem ſequi humaniſſimis precibus ut maneret vellet exorare cogeretur, quando rege abſente in Hiſpania præſide opus foret præclaræ dignitatis & famæ, qui &c.* Jovius, pag. 231.

(*i*) Idem, pag. 251.

(*k*) January 9, 1522.

[*I*] *He was . . . promoted to the Biſhoprick of Tortoſa.*] Several Authors (35), whom I have conſulted agree, that Ferdinand promoted Hadrian to that Biſhoprick; but Monſieur Varillas (36) aſſerts, that it was given him after that Prince's death, to make him amends for the power of which they deprived him. For it muſt be obſerved, that Cardinal Ximenes being named regent of the Kingdom in Ferdinand's Teſtament (3), was determined to keep that employment notwithſtanding the Commiſſion which Hadrian had brought with him from Flanders, and in which he was appointed regent of Caſtile and Aragon, in caſe Ferdinand ſhould die. Ximenes aſſerted his pretenſions with more conſtancy than Hadrian did, for the latter was prevailed upon to be ſatisfied with a ſhare in the regency, and Monſieur Varillas ſuppoſes that they gave him a Biſhoprick (38) to make him amends. I have juſt now caſt my Eyes upon a work (39), of a later date than that of Varillas, and I have ſeen there that the Author ſuppoſes Hadrian was not yet a Biſhop during the diſpute about the Regency. He ſtyles him only Dean of Louvain in his account of the particulars of this diſpute. He aſſerts (40), that Ximenes ſuppoſed, that as this Dean *conſented to have but a ſecond part in the regency, and that conſidering the Dignity and Rank which he Ximenes had in Caſtile, he could not ſuffer that a mere Prieſt, as the Dean was, ſhould pretend to have the precedency over an Archbiſhop Cardinal; he was at liberty to give him but ſuch a ſhare in the regency as he pleaſed.* The Biſhop of Niſmes ſays poſitively (41), that the Dean did not obtain the Biſhoprick of Tortoſa, but by Ximenes's recommendation after Ferdinand's death; and as he quotes Alvaro Gomez (42), and Peter Martyr (43), it is very likely that Paulus Jovius, and the Bibliographers of the Low Countries have been miſtaken. Ferdinand's cold reception of the Dean is not proper to make us believe, that he gave him a Biſhoprick. He had diſcovered the true *deſign of his embaſſy, and looked upon him as a ſpy; and when Hadrian ſollicited for a ſecond audience, he anſwered with ſome peviſhneſs,* What does he want? does he deſire to know whether I am a dying? Tell him that I am not to be ſeen to day. *Ferdinand admitted him however a few days after, by his Miniſter's advice, and told him, that he was not well enough to treat of Buſineſs with him, and bad him retire to Gadaloupe into the Convent of the Monks of St. Jerome. . . . He gave him Officers, as it were to wait upon him, but in reality to keep him, and to prevent ſome ſuſpected perſons from having any correſpondence with him* (44).

(35) Jovius, ibid. pag. 228. Swertius, *Ath. Belg.* pag. 95. Val. And. *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 20.

(36) Preface to the *Pratique.* See alſo, p. 190.

(37) Prat. *de l'Educ.* pag. 183.

(38) Obſerve that Hadrian after his promotion to the Cardinalſhip, was called the Cardinal of Tortoſa.

(39) *L'Hiſtoire du Miniſtére du Cardinal Ximenes*, by Monſ. Marſolier.

(40) Pag. 372. of the Dutch edition.

(41) Flechier, *Hiſt. du Cardin. Ximenes*, liv. 4. pag. 633. Dutch edition.

(42) *De Rebus geſtis Ximen.* lib. 6.

(43) Epiſt. 576. lib. 29.

[*K*] *He had a ſhare in the regency with Cardinal Ximenes.*] One of the Circumſtances which Monſieur Varillas relates, is very probable. He obſerves (45), that one of the arguments urged to the Dean of Utrecht (46) was, "that if he pretended to inſiſt upon the "Commiſſion he had brought from Flanders, he would "raiſe a civil war in Spain, and be anſwerable before "God for all the murthers and other crimes, it would "occaſion; this, they ſay, he had himſelf confeſſed "beforehand in his excellent Commentary on the "Maſter of the Sentences, in which he maintains, "that a man who raiſes commotions in any ſtate, "when he could prevent them without expoſing "either his conſcience or his reputation, is anſwer-"able for all the evils that attend them. We have "obſerved above, that the Dean was an honeſt man, "and that he was not ſufficiently skilled in the Buſineſs "he had undertaken. He was ſo well pleaſed with the "reſpect that was ſhewed him by referring to him-"ſelf the determination of an Affair in which he "was a party concerned, and with the honour they "did him to quote the lectures he had formerly "read in the Univerſity of Louvain, and afterwards "publiſhed, that he promiſed to ſubmit to whatever "the Council of Spain would determine, provided ſome "expedient were found, by which his reputation might "be ſecured, and the Archduke's commiſſion not ex-"poſed to be ridiculed." This was juſt the fable of the Raven and the Fox, with this difference only, that the Raven loſt his prey by the praiſes that were given to his future ſinging, whereas honeſt Hadrian loſt his by the praiſes that were given to his former ſinging.

(44) Flechier, *Hiſt. du Cardinal Ximen.* lib. 3. pag. 492. under the year 1515.

(45) Page 185.

(46) Thus Doctor Hadrian Florent was called in Spain.

[*L*] *The people of Rome were very much diſpleaſed with his election.*] That, which in the conclave is called *being elected by inſpiration*, contributed very much to Hadrian's good fortune. Cardinal de Medicis at the head of all the young Cardinals, a faction more powerful ſtill than that, which has ſometimes been called *the flying ſquadron*, being determined to have the Cardinal of Tortoſa choſen, made all his partizans promiſe that they would give him their votes all at once and together. This was done accordingly. It appeared at the opening of the billets, that a perſon was propoſed, who was qualified to be choſen, and who, it ſeems, had not yet been thought of; this cauſed a great ſurprize. Cardinal Cajetan influenced the election ſtill more, for he exhorted them that were near him, to go over to Hadrian's party, ſince it was acceptable, ſaid he, both to God and to men (47). Hereupon ſeveral Cardinals declared very civilly for him, by I know not what religious principle; others, who did not ſo much as know the name of the Cardinal of Tortoſa, were uncertain what to do, and yet voted with the majority; the torrent of inſpiration carried them away, and made them act againſt their own intereſt. Cardinal Urſini alone oppoſed this inſpiration of the conclave. Julian de Medicis was overjoyed; but all the others were in the utmoſt concern; and the inhabitants were ſo angry with their choice, that they loaded them with injuries, when they came out of the conclave. *Id populus adeò indignanter tulit, ut quum patefacto Conclavi Cardinales domum redirent, paſſim maledictis inceſſerentur, quod infamibus comitiis non modo urbem Romam ſua antiſtite orbatam prodidiſſent, ſed quod inſaniæ proximum videretur, Italiam etiam Pontificatus honore ſpoliaſſent* (48). i. e. "The people "loaded them with injuries, not only becauſe they "had betrayed the city of Rome at the time when ſhe "had no Pope at her head, but alſo, which ſeemed "almoſt a perfect madneſs, had robbed Italy of "the honour of the Pontificate." One of the Cardinals gave the people thanks, becauſe he thought they got off very cheap, ſince the people gave them only ill-language,

(47) *Poſtquam Diis ac hominibus placet.* Jov. pag. 250.

(48) Idem, ibid.

Auguſt the 30th [*M*]. He would not change his name; and in every thing he ſhewed a great diſlike for all oſtentation and ſenſual pleaſures, though ſuch an averſion had been long ago out of date. His Pontificate laſted only till the 14th of Sept. 1523. He was very partial to Charles V, and did not enjoy much tranquillity of mind under the triple crown [*N*]. It was perhaps his diſcontentment that gave riſe to thoſe manners, which made him paſs for a Miſanthrope [*O*] or a Man-hater. The Italians have publiſhed very outrageous ſlanders againſt him [*P*]; and even thoſe, who far from expoſing him on

ill-language, and did not offer to ſtone them, as they deſerved. *Adaperto conclavi quum globus Cardinalium Hadriani pontem eſſet prætervectus, & opifices puerique minacibus oculis voceque & manibus obſtreperent, nec à fœdiſſimis probris abſtinerent, Sigiſmundus Gonzaga Cardinalis renidenti vultu his egit gratias, quod adverſus extrema ſupplicia meritos contumeliis eſſent contenti nec lapidibus publicam injuriam vindicarent* (49). The people's indignation was owing to this; that the Cardinals had had no regard for the blemiſh of original ſin, and the Romans feared leſt the new Pope ſhould not keep his ſee at Rome.

(49) Jovius, pag. 251.

[*M*] *He arrived at Rome Auguſt the 30th.*] Francis Swertius (50) aſſerts, that Didacus Stunica has given an account of this journey. I do very much doubt of it, for Nicholas Antonio does not mention it, though he ſpeaks of another account of a journey written by this Author, and much leſs conſiderable than this would be. Swertius has probably miſtaken the one for the other. The account mentioned by Nicholas Antonio, is that of Stunica's journey to Rome in the year 1520, and which Schottus has inſerted at the end of his *Bibliotheca Hiſpanica*. Inſtead of Didacus Stunica, Swertius ſhould have mentioned Blaſius Ortiz, for he did really write an account of Hadrian the ſixth's journey. It was printed at Toledo, in the year 1548. The author of it went from Spain to Rome with this Pope (51).

(50) *Athen. Belg.* pag. 95.

(51) Nic. Ant. *Bibliotb. Hiſpan.* tom. 1. pag. 179.

[*N*] *He did not enjoy much tranquillity of mind under the tripple crown.*] This appears from the inſcription, which he ordered to be ingraved on his tomb. *Adrianus VI hic ſitus eſt, qui nihil ſibi infelicius in vita duxit quam quod imperaret.* i. e. "Here lieth Hadrian VI, "who eſteemed the ſovereign power the greateſt miſ-"fortune of his life." Father Labbe (52) aſſerts, that this epitaph was ingraved on Hadrian's tomb in the church of St. Mary *dell' anima*; but he is miſtaken: the Cardinal, who erected a monument to him in that church, cauſed a much longer and more pompous inſcription to be ingraved upon it. It may be read in a great many authors. As for the other it was only ingraved on the tomb in which his corps was depoſited only for a time, in the church of St. Peter. See Paulus Jovius, towards the end of this Pope's life. We ought not to wonder that Hadrian found the papal crown very heavy upon his head; for under his reign the general affairs of Chriſtendom were in a very great confuſion, and he was not well enough acquainted with the genius of the Italians, not to diſpleaſe them on a thouſand occaſions. The news he received daily of the great ſucceſs, and of the threatnings of the Turks, and his want of experience in the affairs of Italy, puzzled his brain to ſuch a degree, that he dropped the following expreſſions, namely, that he took more pleaſure in the government of a College at Louvain, than in the government of the whole Chriſtian Church. *Neceſſe erat Pontificem rerum Italicarum penitus ignarum, & tum primum urbium ſuarum & provinciarum regulorumque nomina perdiſcentem, in omnibus conſiliis vehementiſſime conturbari, adeo ut quum his curarum fluctibus jactaretur, aliquando diceret, ſibi fuiſſe jucundius Lovanii gymnaſium cum ſtudiorum laude moderari, quam Romæ pontificia in ſede Chriſtianam rempublicam adminiſtrare* (53). If he had not been capable of knowing by himſelf, that his continual irreſolution and ſlowneſs was of a dangerous conſequence, and made the public murmur againſt him, he might have known it by the diſcourſe of Ferdinand's Embaſſador, who charged him with it to his face beginning his oration thus. *Fabius Maximus, Sanctiſſime pater, rem Romanam cunctando reſtituit; tu vero pariter cunctando rem Romanam ſimulque Europam perdere contendis.* i. e. "Moſt holy Father, Fabius Maximus retrieved the "affairs of Rome by his delays; but by your delays "you labour to ruin the affairs of Rome, and even "all Europe." This beginning put the Pope ſo much out of countenance, that as the Cardinals did not love

(52) *De Script. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 415.

(53) Jovius, pag. 262.

him, they were very near breaking out into laughter (54).

(54) Idem, pag. 276.

[*O*] *His manners . . . . made him paſs for a miſanthrope.*] Pierius Valerianus (55) repreſents him as a perſon who ſhunned the converſation of men, and who in the cavalcades retired as far as he could from the courtiers; he ſpurred his horſe as ſoon as he perceived any perſon coming up to him. To ſee this anthor's ſatire in its full length, you muſt take care what edition you read; for there are ſome in which this paſſage is left out. That of Baſil 1575, is not of this number, as Father Theophilus Raynaud (56) has obſerved, who endeavours to defend this Pope againſt the humaniſts of thoſe times.

(55) Hieroglyph. lib. 19.

(56) *Hoplotbec.* pag. 346.

I do not mention Bernia's Capitolo againſt this Pope: I ſhall only obſerve, that we ought not to take the following paſſage in a ſtrict and literal ſenſe.

Baſta ch'egli hanno fatto un Papa ſanto,
Che dice ogni mattina la ſua Meſſa,
E non s'el tocca mai ſe non col guanto.
That is,

"They have indeed made a very holy Pope, who "ſays his prayers every morning, and never touches "himſelf but with a glove on his hand."

This is a burleſque, familiar, and even proverbial hyperbole amongſt the Italians. *Gli ipocriti*, ſays Aretin, Giorn. I. della II Parte (in the firſt journey of the ſecond part) *che non ſel toccano mai ſe non col guanto.* i. e. "The hypocrites never touch themſelves but with "a glove on." I am obliged for this obſervation to Monſieur de la Monnoie.

[*P*] *The Italians have publiſhed very outrageous ſlanders againſt him.*] They have not only charged him with a prodigious covetouſneſs, but they have alſo publiſhed, (57), that it had at laſt been found out, why he uſed every day to retire into a ſecret place of the Vatican, where he would not ſuffer any perſon to come; it was not with a deſign to learn from heaven, like Numa, the art of government, but to careſs a beautiful woman: ſhe was his nymph Egeria. It was added, that the diſtemper of which he died, was owing to his indulging himſelf too much in the pleaſures of love (58), and that it was not enough for him to divert himſelf with women, but that he alſo loved beautiful boys. *Datum eſt hoc inſuper crimini quod puerorum amoribus delectaretur, quia inter cæteros Miniſtros nonnullos tenellæ ætatis & eximiæ formæ habebat* (59). i. e. "He has alſo been charged with "the love of boys, becauſe amongſt his ſervants, "he had ſome very young and beautiful." This was not all; they publiſhed alſo that he had been a Magician, and that when his friends would evade the proofs that were urged againſt him, from a great number of magical inſtruments, that had been found in his chamber after his death, they ſaid that he endeavoured to find the Philoſopher's Stone. As it could not be denied, but he was, as to outward appearances, an honeſt man, a lover of juſtice and ſtrict morals, they evaded it by ſaying that he was a mere Tartuffe, and that hypocriſy was a crime more common in Germany, than people imagined. See upon all this, Chriſtopher Battus's letter to Jerome Saulius, in Wolfius's ſecond volume. It has been aſſerted in the ſupplement to the Abbot of Urſperg's Chronicle (61), that they found amongſt the ſecret papers of this Pope, ſome books of Magic, and that ſome perſons pretend he obtained the tripple crown by this wicked art.

(57) *Poſtea compertum eſt illic mulierem formæ egregiæ clam habuiſſe, cujus amoris causâ eò tam frequenter itaſſe creditur, ejus amplexa frui ſolitum.* Battus, *apud* Wolfium, *Lect. Memorab.* tom. 2. pag. 192.

(58) *Laboravit permultum antiquam è vita excederet, & ſtranguria & tormentibus, in quas ægritudines plerumque incidere ſolent, qui coitu immodico utuntur.* Ibid.

(59) Ibid.

Take notice, that Gerard Moringus obſerves, that this honeſt Pope, knowing the Italians had ſuſpicions againſt him, becauſe he had brought ſome young men from Spain with him, ſent them all back. *Si quando antea, tum maxime ſpeciem omnem impudicitiæ amovit. Eoque cum adoleſcentes aliquot honeſtæ tum indoliæ*

(60) *See* John Creſpin, *Etat de l'Egliſe*, under the year 1523.

on account of his morals, confeſſed that he was a virtuous and zealous man, do yet aſſert that he was not proper to be a Pope [Q]. His very temperance has been ridiculed [R]. People's

dolis tum ſtirpis in gratiam parentum in familiam aſcitos, ex Hiſpaniis ſecum in urbem duxiſſet, intellexiſſetque Italos ex convictu illorum, neſcio quæ abominanda, noſtratibus inuſitata ſuſpicari, ſtatim in Hiſpaniam remiſit, in academia Salmanticenſi plenius literis imbuendos quibus antea domi ipſius a pio ſimul & erudito viro Theodorico Hezio ſecretario ipſius utcumque imbuti fuerant eo jubente (61). i. e. "If at any time he endeavoured to avoid all ſuſ- "picions of lewdneſs, it was when he was Pope. "And it was for this reaſon, that he ſent back to "Spain, ſome youths of an honeſt mind, and of good "families, whom for their parents's ſake he had "taken with him to Rome. As ſoon as he heard, that "his converſation with them gave the Italians room "to ſuſpect ſomething abominable, which is unheard "of amongſt our countrymen, he ſent them to the "Univerſity of Salamanca to continue their ſtudies "of polite literature, which they had in ſome man- "ner begun by his command under the learned and "pious Theodoric Hezius, his Secretary." The ſame writer ſhows a very great indignation againſt the author of a Letter, ſome parts of which I have quoted, and which Wolfius has inſerted in the ſecond volume of his memorable Lectures. *Battus quidam Parmenſis quandam de ejus defuncti relicta fama epiſtolam edidit, Latinam quidem illam ac terſam, ſed adeo impudenter mendacem, ut ipſa mentiendi impudentia, dicam an inſcitia, vel apud malevolos fidem ſibi abroget. Quid os impurum eo impulerit, nihil eſſe aliud reor, quam id quod Comicus habet, Mala mens, malus animus* (62), i. e. "Battus of Parma has publiſhed a "Letter concerning the reputation which the deceaſed "Pope left behind him; this Letter is written indeed "in a polite and elegant ſtile, but it abounds with "ſo many falſities, that the Author's very impudence, "or rather unſkilfulneſs in telling lies, will prevent "even this Pope's enemies from believing a word of "it. I cannot imagine what prompted this villain to "write this, unleſs it be, as the Poet has it, that "when the mind is depraved, the heart is wicked."

(61) Ger. Moringus, *in Vita Hadriani VI.*

(62) Idem, ibid. *in Præfatione.*

[Q] *Even they who ... confeſſed that he was a zealous man, do yet aſſert that he was not proper to be a Pope.*] Few perſons will read this without obſerving that it relates to Cardinal Palavicini, and without thinking of the *new Goſpel*, in which ſeveral maxims inſerted in his Hiſtory of the Council of Trent have been ſo ſeverely cenſured. In this Cardinal's opinion, Hadrian VI was a very good Clergyman, but a very indifferent Pope. *Fu Eccleſiaſtico ottimo, Pontifice in verita mediocre* (63). The people who judge of things only from the event, had yet a worſe opinion of him; for on account of the ill ſucceſs of his reign he paſſed for ſomething beneath an indifferent Pope (64). This honeſt Dutchman not meeting in Italy with the ſame candour and ſincerity in which he had been educated, began to ſuſpect every thing; he imagined that there were ſnares laid for him every where; he dared not to truſt to any but his own countrymen; and theſe by their ſincerity without experience, did him more hurt than the Italians would have done with all their diſſimulation. The Janſeniſt, who wrote the *New Goſpel*, has very maliciouſly made an advantage of all that Cardinal Palavicini confeſſes with regard to this Pope's good qualities. But after all, the Cardinal is not ſo much in the wrong as one would imagine. It is true indeed, that if the Chriſtian Religion was really ſuch as it ought to be, the ſame virtues that would be ſufficient to make a good Clergyman, would be alſo ſufficient to make a good Pope. But conſidering (65) the condition in which the Church of Rome has been for a great number of years, under a Head, whoſe ſpiritual power is ſo interwoven with the temporal power, that the preſervation of the one depends on the preſervation of the other, it is a folly to pretend that a Pope, who does not well underſtand court-intrigues and the arts of politics, can acquit himſelf of his functions as he ought to do. See the remark [U] of the article BELLARMINE. It would be ſufficient, in order to fulfil the prophecies of the Proteſtants, to have ſucceſſively four or five Popes, ſuch as ſome of them have been, who otherwiſe were men of very ſtrict morals. However it be, it is proper to conſult Monſieur Launoi's letter (66), in which he vindicates our Hadrian's character againſt Cardinal Palavicini.

(63) Palavic. lib. 2. cap. 9.

(64) Idem, ibid.

(65) *See* Palavicin. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. m. 206.

(66) Epiſt. iv. 7.

[R] *His very temperance has been ridiculed.*] He was ſo little uſed to the dainties of Rome, that he preferred a codfiſh before any other kind of fiſh, ſo that the price of that fiſh roſe conſiderably during his Pontificate, which made all the fiſher-women laugh ſoundly. Paulus Jovius inſtead of commending Hadrian for this, has been ſo bold as to affirm, that he had no more taſte of delicate meats, than he had judgment for the adminiſtration of public affairs. I have ſo much enervated the Latin expreſſions of this author, that it is neceſſary to tranſcribe his own words. *Modo Merlucciæ plebeio admodum piſci Hadrianus Pontifex, ſicuti in adminiſtranda republica hebetis ingenii vel depravati judicii, ita in eſculentis inſulſiſſimi guſtus ſupra mediocre pretium ridente toto ferè piſcario jam fecerat* (67). The Court of Rome was gone from one extreme to the other; for there never was a Pope whoſe table was ſerved with more delicate diſhes than Pope Leo X's was. Men inſinuated themſelves into his favour by inventing new *Ragoos*; and four perſons who were maſters in this art of delicacies, became his favourites. They invented a kind of ſauſages, which ſtruck Hadrian VI with aſtoniſhment, when he examined the accounts of his predeceſſor's expences. *Mire favit Pogio ſeni Pogii Hiſtorici filio, itemque Moro nobili a gulæ intemperantia ... & Brandino Equiti, Marianoque Sannioni cucullato facetiſſimis helluonibus, & in omni genere popinalium delitiarum eruditiſſimis. Nam inter alia portenta inſanientis eorum gulæ lucanicas conciſis pavonum pulpis farctas commenti fuerant, quod obſonii genus mox ſucceſſor Hadrianus, vir Batavæ frugalitatis, mirabundus expavit, quum ſumptuarias rationes Leonis inſpiceret* (68). i. e. "Poggio the elder, "ſon of Poggio the Hiſtorian, and Morus famous for "his daintineſs.... and Brandinus a Knight, and "Marianus a Mimic and a Monk, were very deep in "his favour; all very facetious gluttons, and very well "ſkilled in all ſorts of daintineſs. For amongſt other "monſters of gluttony, they had invented a kind of "ſauſage made of peacock's fleſh, which kind of meat "his ſucceſſor Hadrian, a man of a Dutch fruga- "lity was aſtoniſhed at, when he came to examine "the accounts of his predeceſſor's expences." As for his part he would not maintain ſuch needleſs officers as theſe were; and he had a way of living ſo different from that of Leo X, that he did not ſpend above twelve crowns a day. The Romans ridiculed this great frugality, and ſaid, that the Vatican was become like a houſe which being haunted with ſpirits, is left empty. *Familiam adeò ſordidam & exiguam alebat, ut ſumtus quotidianus duodecim aureos non excederet. Quid plura? Vaticana domus non jam domus illa Pontificia, & ocellus urbis, ut quondam, ſed domus aliqua, ut poetæ tradunt, quæ propter lemurum formidinem vacua & deſerta ſit, præ ſolitudine videbatur.* Thus ſpeaks Chriſtopher Battus, whom I have quoted above. We may infer from Paulus Jovius's words, that there were yet ſome perſons at Rome, who out of complaiſance for the Pope eſteemed his fiſh. You will ſee in the article of Chancellor Du PRAT, that this was not the firſt time that great men brought certain meats in vogue which were deſpiſed before. To conclude, I imagine that the Romans did not ridicule Hadrian leſs for his preferring beer before wine, than for his liking the codfiſh before any other. His conſtant drink was beer, and to this his laſt illneſs was aſcribed. He took very great care of his health, and always went to dinner at the ſame ſet hour, ſo that he interrupted the moſt important buſineſs, the moment he was told that the meat was upon the table; but he uſed to eat very moderately. *Ferunt Hadrianum alioqui vegetæ viridiſque ſenectæ, contraxiſſe morbum aſſiduo cerviſiæ potu ... Nam per ſe cibi parciſſimus erat, & in tuenda valetudine apprime diligens, & moroſus, tanta horarum definitione, ut denunciante Architriclinio paratas eſſe epulas, vel maximarum rerum colloquia protinus abrumperet* (69).

(67) Jovius, *de Piſcibus Romanis*, cap. 1.]

(68) Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X.* pag. 191. Monſ. Varillas, *Anecdotes de Florence*, pag. 297. ſays, theſe ſauſages were made of the moſt delicate parts of pheaſants fleſh. *He takes a peacock for a pheaſant.*

(69) Jovius, *in Vita Hadriani*, pag. 283.

People's rejoicing at his death is after all a great encomium upon him [S]. I cannot well say, whether the Roman Catholics or the Proteſtants have firſt publiſhed, that he ſuffered ſacrifices to be offered up to the heathen Gods, in order to make the plague ceaſe [T]. Guicciardini is none of thoſe who ſpared him moſt; for he pretends (*l*), that they who elected this barbarian for a Pope, acted rather by a blind impetuoſity, than by choice and deliberation (*m*), and that as they could give no good reaſons for their impertinent conduct, they charged the Holy Ghoſt with it, who uſed, ſay they, to inſpire the Cardinals whilſt they were about electing a Pope (*n*). Hadrian's corps was depoſited in the Church of the Vatican between the bodies of Pius II and Pius III, and transferred afterwards into the Church of St. Mary *dell' anima*. William Enckevort, the only Cardinal he made, took all that care, and raiſed a ſtately mauſoleum (or tomb) to him (*o*). Let us not forget to obſerve, that this Pope was an author [U]. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that

(*l*) Lib. 14. folio m. 421.

(*m*) Cardinal Palavicini repreſents this, lib. 2. cap. 2. See the article GUICCIARDINI, remark [F].

(*n*) *Della quale eſtravaganza non potendo con ragione alcuna eſcuſarſi, transferivano la auſa nello Spirito Santo, ſolito ſecondo dicevano à inſpirare nelle elettione de' Pontifici i cuori de' Cardinali.*

(*o*) Jovius, *in Vita Hadriani*, pag. 421. Val. Andr. *Biblioth. Belg.* Aub. Miræus, *Elog. Belgic.*

[S] *People's rejoicing at his death is after all a great encomium upon him.*] For nothing rendered him more odious than his attempting to put a ſtop to the moſt heinous crimes, and making uſe for that purpoſe of ſevere puniſhments, There was a report ſpread that he was going to publiſh thundering bulls againſt Judaizing perſons, againſt thoſe that turned ſacred things into ridicule, againſt Simoniacal perſons, againſt Uſurers, and againſt Sodomites, of whom there were great numbers at Rome, through the connivance of the Magiſtrates. His deſign againſt the Sodomites alarmed the court and the city; and after his death ſome young men put garlands over the door of John Antracinus his Phyſician, with this inſcription in capitals TO THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. *Ultimo inquirere punireque decreverat juventutis corruptores, ejus enim criminis non omnino falſa ſuſpicione urbs ipſa conniventibus legibus infecta credebatur. Quâ inopinatâ & gravi ſeveriſſimæ legis mentione, maculoſos quoſdam cum aulæ tum civitatis veluti deſperata publica ſecuritate terruerat, adeo ut non defuerint petulantiſſimi juvenes, qui Joanni Antracino Pontificis Medico poſtes feſta fronde per intempeſtam noctem protinus exornarent, cum titulo unciali*bus *literis inſcripto in hæc verba*, Liberatori Patriæ S. P. Q. R. (70). Could any one rejoice at the death of ſuch a Sovereign, without giving thereby a ſtrong proof of his virtue? Paulus Jovius relates that the rejoicings were exceſſive. *Morte ejus plerique & præſertim veteris aulæ ſectatores effuſiſſimè ſunt lætati, & ſecundum eos nonnulli Romanorum qui detrimenta rerum ſuarum ſenſerant.* i. e. "At "his death moſt of the Courtiers, and eſpecially they "who had been of his predeceſſor's court, rejoiced ex"ceedingly, and next to them, ſome other Ro"mans, who had ſuſtained great loſſes in their eſtates."

(70) Jovius, pag. 28.

[T] *I cannot well ſay . . . . who they are, that firſt publiſhed that he ſuffered ſacrifices to be offered up to the Heathen gods, in order to make the plague ceaſe.*] I have not yet had time to go very far in my enquiries after the firſt author of this falſity. I have not been beyond a book printed at Amſterdam in the year 1661 (71), in which I have read the following words: *Is* (Adrianus VI) *ad* avertendam peſtem, *quæ graviſſime in urbe ſæviebat*, Mago Demetrio Græco conceſſit ſylveſtrem taurum Diis Gentilium ad placandam eorum iram mactare, *ceſſavitque lues*. i. e. "Hadrian, in order to "put a ſtop to the plague, which raged ſeverely in the "city, gave one Demetrius, a Greek Magician, leave "to offer up a wild bull to the Heathen Gods, in order "to appeaſe their anger; and the plague ceaſed." The author quotes Paulus Jovius, in the 21ſt book of his Hiſtory; but we ought to think, for his reputation's ſake, and out of charity, that he had not read this Hiſtorian. Let us ſee what Paulus Jovius relates, the paſſage deſerves to be quoted. He mentions the Pope, only with a deſign to obſerve that he did not prohibit ſeverely all communication between the houſes that were infected with the plague; and that this practice, which was very different from what is cuſtomary in Italy, occaſioned the death of an infinite number of perſons. He does not aſſert that the Pope gave the Magician leave to offer up that ſacrifice; he only obſerves in general, that it was impoſſible to oppoſe the mob, which ſupported this Demetrius: further, he does not aſſert, that this man pretended to offer up this bull a ſacrifice to the Heathen Gods; and as to the ſucceſs, he ſays only that the plague was abated. What do they mean then, who pretend to quote Paulus Jovius, when they relate ſo many particulars, of which he does not ſay one word? *Exorta eſt in urbe peſtilentiæ lues, quæ quum ſeveris legibus, more noſtro, Pontifici minimè cohercenda videretur, contactu ægrorum ita exarſit, ut multa funera in compitis viſerentur, appareretque vaſtari Urbem, haud multo dierum ſpatio, niſi Græculus quidam nomine Demetrius Spartanus, ſedandæ peſtilentiæ, faventi ei turba hominum, negotium ſuſcepiſſet, nemine ſuperſtitionem vetare auſo. Nam ferum taurum, cui dimidium cornu diſſecaret, magico carmine dextram in aurem prolato repente ita manſuefactum reddiderat, ut injecto tenui filo ad integrum cornu, quo vellet perducens, peſtilentiæ placando numini ad Amphitheatrum immolaret. Nec credulæ multitudinis ſpem ex toto fefellit, quum ab ea inanis ſacrificii proſpera litatione, miteſcere morbus cœpiſſet* (72). i. e. "The plague began to rage "in the city, and the Pope not thinking fit to keep "it within bounds by ſevere laws, as is cuſtomary "with us, it ſoon came to ſuch a height by the com"munication between infected perſons, that a great "many burials were ſeen in the ſtreets, and it ap"peared that within a few days the whole city would "have been deſolate, had not a certain Greek named "Demetrius, of Sparta, attempted to put a ſtop to "the plague, the whole mob favouring him, and no "man daring to oppoſe that ſuperſtition. He took "a wild bull, one of whoſe horns he had broke off, "and ſaid ſome magical verſes in that animal's right "ear, which made it all of a ſudden ſo tame, that "having thrown a thin rope on its horn, that was "whole, he could lead it wherever he would, and ſa"crificed it in the Amphitheatre to appeaſe the God "that ſent the plague. Nor did he abſolutely diſap"point the hopes of the multitude, for the happy ſuc"ceſs of this vain ſacrifice was ſuch, that the diſtemper "began to abate."

(71) *Compend. Hiſtoriæ*, by John Lætus, Profeſſor at Franeker.

(72) Jovius, *Hiſt.* lib. 21. folio m. 11.

[V] *Let us not forget to obſerve, that this Pope was an Author.*] His *Queſtiones & Expoſitiones* on the fourth Book of the Sentences were printed at Paris *in folio* in the years 1512, and 1516 (78); and his *Quæſtiones Quodlibeticæ duodecim* at Louvain in 8, in the year 1515, and at Paris *in folio* the next year. During his ſtay in Spain, he compoſed *Computum hominis agonizantis, & ſermonem de ſacculo pertuſo*. That is, "The "reckoning of a man at the point of death, and a "diſcourſe of the broken little ſack." After he was Pope he publiſhed *Regulæ Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ*; i. e. "The Rules of the Apoſtolick Chancery;" and he wrote ſeveral Letters to the Princes of Germany, &c. which have been printed with the Councils, or in other Books.

(73) There have been other editions of them.

I have ſomething to obſerve concerning his work upon the Maſter of the Sentences. Konig (74), being miſled by thoſe, who have called it *in IV Sententiarum quæſtiones & expoſitiones* (75), aſſerts that our Hadrian publiſhed Queſtions upon the four Books of Sentences. This is a new Proof of what I have obſerved in the firſt remark of this Article, that you cannot deviate in the leaſt from accuracy, but you make ſome author or other aſſert a falſity. Would it not have been better to ſay, *in quartum Sententiarum*, or in IV *librum ſententiarum*, than to make uſe of the figure IV, which ſignifies equally *quatuor* and *quartum*, *four* and *the fourth*? Father Oldoini (76) has committed the ſame blunder with Konig. It will be proper to hear Monſieur Varillas upon this Work of Hadrian. *His Commentary on the Maſter of the Sentences*, ſays he (77), *was admired; and indeed if this was not the moſt ingenious and ſubtle work amongſt the three hundred of the ſame kind that were then to be met with in Libraries, it was at leaſt the plaineſt and moſt methodical.* The Author had aſſerted (78), *in the moſt peremptory manner, that it is certain that the Pope may err even in thoſe*

(74) *Bibliotheca Vetus & Nova.*

(75) Swertius, *Athenæ Belgic.* Valerius Andreas, *Bibl. Belgic.*

(76) *Athen. Roman.* pag. 306.

(77) Preface to the *Pratique de l'Educat.*

(78) Maimbourg, *Traité de l'Egliſe de Rome*, p. 138.

that a man, who owed his preferment to learning, ſhould have been ſo little favourable to the men of letters [*X*]. The Collection of the Letters of Princes contains (*p*) ſome particulars concerning this Pope's humour. There is a full account of his life written by Gerard Moringus a Divine of Louvain.

(*p*) In the two Letters of *Jerome Niger to Marc Anthony Micheli*, folio m. 81, 82.

He acknowledged the great abuſes which he obſerved in the Church; he owned them publickly and in a very ſtrong manner in the inſtructions he gave to the Nuncio who was to ſpeak in his name at the Diet of Nuremberg [*Y*], and lamented the wicked life of the Clergy, and the corrupt morals of ſome Popes. He had a long time wiſhed to eſtabliſh a reformation of manners amongſt the Clergy. He had endeavoured it whilſt he was Dean of St. Peter's at Louvain, but all his pains and cares proving ineffectual, he was obliged to give over his undertaking [*Z*]. He is to be blamed, amongſt other things, for his acting himſelf againſt the noble maxims he had wrote concerning plura-

lities

thoſe things which relate to Faith; and it is pretended, that he did not change his Opinion when he was Pope, as Pius II. did; for he did not alter any thing in that paſſage of his work, in the edition that was publiſhed at Rome during his Pontificate.

[*X*] *It is ... ſtrange, that he .... ſhould have been ſo little favourable to the men of Letters.*] You have ſeen in the remark [*D*] how he was inclined towards the Poets. This might eaſier be forgiven him, than the *Amortization* or extinguiſhing of the Funds which had been employed to maintain thoſe learned men who came from Greece into Italy, and to whom the Weſtern part of the World is indebted for the revival of polite Literature. Cardinal Beſſarion *gave a maintenance at Rome to ſome of theſe great Genius's, and eſtabliſhed an academy for them in the Vatican.* But the greateſt number of them lived by the *Liberalities of Pope Nicholas V. ....* (79). *Of all his Succeſſors, none but Hadrian the ſixth ſuppreſſed thoſe gratifications, through an oeconomy which is not very much to the honour of his memory* (80). Here follows what another Hiſtorian has obſerved (81). "All the learned men of his time were in hopes of preferment on "his acceſſion to the papal Throne, becauſe he owed "all his good fortune and his exaltation to the *Belles* "*Lettres*. But they were very much ſurpriſed, when "they experienced his ill-will againſt all thoſe who "took a delight in polite Literature, calling them "*Terentianos*, and uſing them in ſuch a manner, that "it was thought he would have reduced Learning "to the ſame condition it was in during the moſt dark "ages, had not death ſnatched him away the ſecond "year of his ſupreme dignity. Paulus Jovius ſays "wittily * that he gave the greateſt wits of his age "this ill-uſage, with the ſame ſenſe and with the ſame "judgment, with which he preferred the Cod-fiſh of his "Low Countries before any other meat, and before "the beſt fiſh that could be eat in all Italy." It is not true that Paulus Jovius ſays this; ſee his own words in the remark [*R*]. The Reader will perhaps be glad to know whence la Mothe le Vayer borrowed what he relates; I ſhall therefore tranſcribe here a beautiful paſſage from Pierius Valerianus. *Fuit & ſub Hadriano VI. par bonarum omnium literarum infortunium. Nam cùm is Leoni Decimo ſuffectus eſſet, ad quem utpote literarum Principem magnus literatorum numerus confluxerat, dum non minora de Hadriano ſibi quiſque pollicetur, ecce adeſt muſarum & eloquentiæ, totiuſque nitoris hoſtis acerrimus, qui literatis omnibus inimicitas minitaretur, quoniam, ut ipſe dictitabat, Terentiani eſſent, quos cùm odiſſe, atque etiam perſequi cœpiſſet, voluntarium alii exilium, alias atque alias alii latebras quærentes, tamdiu latuere, quoad Dei beneficio altero Imperii anno deceſſit, qui ſi aliquanto diutius vixiſſet, Gottica illa tempora adverſus bonas literas videbatur ſuſcitaturus* (84). i. e. "The misfortune of the learned was the ſame under Hadrian VI. For when he "had ſucceeded Pope Leo X. to whom a great number of learned men reſorted to as their head, they entertained no leſs hopes of Hadrian VI. but he ſoon "ſhewed himſelf the moſt bitter enemy of the Muſes, "and of Eloquence and all kind of Elegance; and "he threatened all the learned with his indignation, "becauſe, as he uſed to ſay, they were *Terentians*; "ſo that as he began to hate and even to perſecute them, "ſeveral of them went into a voluntary baniſhment, "others hid themſelves in different places, till by "God's bleſſing he died in the ſecond year of his "exaltation; but if he had lived ſome time longer, "he would probably have brought back the dark-

"neſs of the Gothick times, and buried all polite "Literature in Oblivion."

[*Y*] *He acknowledged the Abuſes .... in a very ſtrong manner in the inſtructions he gave to the Nuntio, who was to ſpeak ... at the Dyet of Nuremberg.*] This Nuntio's name was Francis Cheregat. Here follows a Fragment of his Inſtructions. *Dices nos ingenuè fateri, quod Deus hanc perſecutionem à Lutheranis illatam, eccleſiæ ſuæ inferri permittit, propter peccata hominum, ſacerdotum maximè, & eccleſiæ prælatorum. Clamant ſcripturæ peccata populi derivari à peccatis ſacerdotum, proptereaque, ut ait Chryſoſtomus, Salvator noſter curaturus infirmam civitatem Jeruſalem, ingreſſus eſt priùs templum, ut peccata ſacerdotum primò caſtigaret inſtar boni medici, qui morbum à radice curat. Scimus in hac ſancta ſede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuiſſe, abuſus in ſpiritualibus, exceſſus in mandatis, & omnia denique in perverſum mutata, nec mirum, ſi ægritudo à capite in membra, à ſummis Pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos deſcendit. Omnes nos prælati, videlicet eccleſiaſtici, declinavimus, unuſquiſque in vias ſuas, nec fuit jam diu qui faceret bonum, non fuit uſque ad unum.* i. e. "You ſhall declare, that we in- "genuouſly confeſs, that God ſuffers this perſecution "of his Church by the Lutherans for the ſins of men, "and eſpecially for thoſe of the Prieſt and Prelates "of the Church. The Scripture teſtifies, that the "ſins of the people are owing to thoſe of the Prieſts; "and therefore, as Chryſoſtom obſerves, when Chriſt "deſigned to heal the diſeaſes of Jeruſalem, he en- "tered the Temple firſt, that he might firſt reclaim "the Prieſts from their wickedneſs, as a skilful Phy- "ſician, who endeavours to remove the very cauſe of "the diſtemper. We know that there have been a- "bominable crimes committed for ſome years in this "holy See; that there are abuſes in ſpirituals, ex- "ceſſes in the commands (of the Church), in a word, "that all things are changed for the worſe. Nor is "it a wonder, that the diſtemper beginning at the "head, in the very Popes, ſhould be propagated to the "other inferior Prelates. All of us Prelates, that is, "Clergymen, *are gone aſide*, every one in his ways; "and for a long time, *there is none that doeth* "*good, no not one.*" A Proteſtant writer ſuppoſes, that the Cardinals entertained ſuch a ſtrong reſentment againſt this Pope, for thus diſgracing and expoſing the Court of Rome in a Diet of the Empire, and for his condemning a man to be burnt for the crime of Beaſtiality, that they ſhortened his days. *Nec tamen tam fœlicibus ad perfectum Papatum rudimentis profecit, quo minus illi purpuratæ Parcæ offenſæ, quòd comitiis Noribergenſibus dedecoraſſet rem Romanam, & quòd quendam jumento ſuo pro ſuo arbitratu uſum, homo Batavus & ad Papalem venerem frigidus, cremaſſet: ſilum illud diu regnandi, & vivendi, abrumperet* (83). This Pope being a Dutchman, was not inclined to that kind of venereal pleaſures, in which the Popes uſed to indulge themſelves.

[*Z*] *He had endeavoured* to eſtabliſh a Reformation of Manners, *whilſt he was Dean .... but all his pains proving ineffectual, he was obliged to give over his undertaking.*] As ſoon as he was promoted to the Deanery of St. Peter at Louvain, which is a very conſiderable Dignity, with great privileges annexed to it, he applied himſelf more than ever to lead an exemplary life: for he knew very well, that his endeavours to reclaim his Collegues, would be much more effectual, if he practiſed himſelf the duties of temperance, which he deſigned to preach up to them; he continued to live with frugality; there was more decency than plenty at his

Table,

(79) *Notæ in Pbranzam*, pag. 275. Platina, quoted by Guillet, *Hiſt. de Mahomet II*, tom. 1. pag. 255.

(80) Theodor. Spandug. quoted by the ſame Guillet, *ibid.*

(81) La Mothe le Vayer, tom. 11. pag. 436.

(*) 7 *De Piſc. Rom.* He ſhould have ſaid 1 and not 7.

(82) Pier. Valerianus, *De Literat. Infelicitate*, lib. 2. pag. m. 90.

(83) *Novor. Epiſcop. Belgic. Diviſio*, pag. 79. of the edition printed in 1570.

lities of livings [*AA*]. Obſerve that when he canonized Antoninus and Benno, he would not ſuffer the extravagant expences that were uſual on thoſe occaſions; he prohibited

Table, and when he gave an entertainment, he never preſſed any perſon to drink, and he never propoſed to drink ſuch a health as obliged his Gueſts to empty whole bumpers; nor would he ſuffer ſuch a health to be propoſed to him. He ſet himſelf above that pretended German civility. His entertainments laſted only an hour, and his cuſtom was to have ſome chapters of the Bible read to him during part of that time. He would have had a perſon read all the time the Company was at Table, had he not feared to offend ſome of his Gueſts. *Neque temere ultra horam accumbebat, etiamſi convivas magnos haberet, atque interim fere adhibito lectore, qui aliquid è literis ſacris recitaret, ut non minus mente, quam ventre convivæ delectarentur, ſed id tantum ad tempus, ne lectio longior cuiquam fortaſſis moleſtiæ eſſet* (14). He did this, that the minds of his Gueſts might be entertained as well as his body. He continued alſo to lead a chaſte life; nothing that was laſcivious, could be obſerved either in his actions or in his diſcourſes, he would not even ſuffer the leaſt obſcene word to be ſaid before him, though otherwiſe he could hear or utter an honeſt joke with pleaſure. He was not content to keep himſelf actually free from all laſciviouſneſs, he avoided even the leaſt appearances and ſuſpicions of it. He made it his particular Duty to inſpire his Collegues with the ſame moral principles; he made them the ſtrongeſt exhortations to it, in the general Aſſemblies of the Chapter, and he ſeverely cenſured thoſe, whom he knew to be given to drinking or gaming, and eſpecially thoſe that kept a Concubine (86). He endeavoured by all means to perſuade them to break off this correſpondence. But he met with ſo many difficulties, becauſe ſome of the moſt ancient and moſt powerful oppoſed his deſigns, that he was obliged to give it over. His zeal was very near coſting him his life; he would have died being poiſoned, had not his Phyſician found an effectual remedy againſt Arſenick. It was imagined, that the Concubine of a Canon who had invited him to dinner, had committed the fact. *Sed in re longe honeſtiſſima tantum difficultatis habuit, obnitentibus quibuſdam è ſenioribus ac potentioribus, & præſertim non ſuppetente auxilio, ſine quo hujuſmodi non temere confici queunt, ut negotium magna ex parte infectum relinquere debuerit. Quinimo parum abfuit, quin per eam ipſam cauſam, veneno perierit. Id concubina unius è Canonicis, a quo ad prandium vocatus erat, holuſculo ejus, quod primum omnium menſæ inferri ſolemne eſt, indidiſſe putabatur* (86). When he found that there was no hope left to procure a reformation of manners, and that all his endeavours did only raiſe him a great many enemies, he deſiſted entirely, and declared that the Deans of the Chapters were much leſs anſwerable for theſe diſorders, than the Biſhops: for the Deans were obliged to admit perſons whoſe corrupt morals were an inveterate diſtemper; but nothing could oblige the Biſhops, or their Vicars to ordain men, who were ſo notoriouſly debauched, or to give them livings, without making the leaſt inquiry into their former behaviour. *Dum ſpem nullam fructus conſpiceret, nihilque aliud ſibi quam odium & malevolentiam quæri intelligeret, in totum conatu ſuperſedit, ſatis habens, ſignificaſſe ſibi diſplicere, poſtquam aliud præterea non poſſet; prædicans, tamen, culpam eam non tam Decanis Collegiorum, qui jam obſtinatos & in ſordibus illis inveteratos exciperent, quam Epiſcopis, eorumque vicariis præſtandam, qui quoſcunque ſine delectu, quantumvis probroſos & infames, ad ordines & beneficia admitterent, nulla aut exigua in retroactam vitam inquiſitione facta* (87). All this is extracted from a Book written by a Roman Prieſt. Let not therefore any perſon object, that theſe are only calumnies invented by the Proteſtants.

It is certain that our Dean had hit upon the true cauſe of the evil. The negligence of the Biſhops or of their Vicars was the ſpring of this diſorder. They never inquired whether thoſe, to whom they gave preferments, had led a virtuous life, and given ſufficient proofs, that their conſtitution could be bent to an abſtinence of ſenſual pleaſures. This want of examination opened the Gates of the Church to a thouſand perſons who had already got an inclination to ſenſuality; this inclination is not eaſily rooted out; it grows ſtronger and ſtronger every day; it ſoon turns into an habit, which is a diſtemper almoſt incurable. This is the reaſon why our Hadrian's exhortations had no effect on the Canons, who had been a long time given to Drunkenneſs, and to venereal pleaſures. They had uſed themſelves ſo well to that way of living, that they could not imagine how it would be poſſible for them to live otherwiſe. It is infinitely more difficult to perſuade a batchelor of forty-five or fifty years, to marry, than a widower of ſixty, who has but juſt loſt his wife. So great a power has cuſtom upon us! The concubine, on her part, does not find it leſs difficult to part with her canon, after ſhe has lived and boarded ſeveral years with him. Where ſhould I go, ſays ſhe; where ſhould I meet with ſuch a good bed, ſuch a good table, and ſuch a warm houſe? So that ſhe and all her friends of the ſame trade are reſolved to thwart as much as lays in their power the deſigns of a reformer. The Dean of St. Peter's at Louvain would have had occaſion for the moſt undaunted courage. For the poiſon of thoſe Concubines was almoſt as dreadful, as the dagger of the Banditti in Italy. But as he did not find within himſelf an inward calling for Martyrdom, he choſe rather to leave things as they were, than to draw upon him the reſentment of the wicked, and even expoſe himſelf to be murthered, by inſiſting upon a Reformation. He ſaid no doubt, *In magnis voluiſſe ſat eſt.* i. e. "It is ſufficient to attempt a great "undertaking."

[*AA*] *He is to be blamed . . . . for acting himſelf againſt the noble Maxims he wrote concerning pluralities of livings.*] When he was but a Profeſſor at Louvain, he maintained that theſe Pluralities were unlawful, and that a man who is once promoted to a Benefice capable to maintain him handſomely, ought to be ſatisfied with it, and not to wiſh for any more. But it was obſerved, that when he was at the Court of Charles of Auſtria he accepted of ſeveral Dignities in the Church, and did not remember the Doctrine he had taught himſelf. This inconſiſtency ſurpriſed and even ſcandalized ſome perſons. *Honores & ſacerdotia quædam magnifica acceſſere, non ſine admiratione, & fortaſſis offenſione aliquorum, qui eum diverſum facere incuſabant, atque aliquando docuiſſet. Docuiſſe quippe, non eſſe fas cuiquam multa habere beneficia, ſed uno aliquo ad honeſtam mundamque ſuſtentationem vitæ ſufficiente, quietum ac contentum eſſe debere* (88). The Author from whom I borrow theſe words declares that he does not pretend to examine whether this conduct has been juſtly blamed or not (89); and yet he undertakes to vindicate it, and alledges the moſt plauſible arguments that can be urg'd upon this ſubject. He obſerves, amongſt other things, that we ought not to deem it ſtrange, that Hadrian ſhould think that lawful to them, which would have been unlawful to thoſe, who were not, like him, adorned, with the moſt eminent qualities, and had no employments at Court. The great gifts, which God beſtows on a Prieſt, are of a much greater advantage to the Church, when they meet in a perſon who enjoys a great income; and it muſt be confeſſed, that a Clergyman, who has places at Court, is for that very reaſon under a neceſſity to ſpend a great deal. The Author adds to this ſeveral other arguments, which all have this defect, that they are very proper for an Apology of the Caſuiſts, like that of Father Pirot; I mean, that they may all be urged to juſtify thoſe, who being raiſed to the higheſt Poſts, get all the vacant places for themſelves. Can it not be ſaid in their defence, that they will make a better uſe of them, than other perſons would do, and that they are neceſſary for them to exert their great Qualities, the better for the profit and advantage of the State? The Author adds, that it is abſolutely falſe that Hadrian refuted either in his Lectures or in his Books, *the Plurality of Benefices*. He rather favoured it, continues he; and this appears from his Commentaries on Peter Lombard. *Neque vero ipſe Hadrianus uſquam diverſum aut docuit, aut ſcripſit, ut ei falſo intendunt, ſed potius contra. Legat eum qui velit, in quartum Petri Lombardi ſcribentem, ubi de reſtitutionce agens, quæſtionem illam ex profeſſo diſſerit* (90). All that the Author quotes afterwards from that Commentary is not much

(84) Gerardus Moringus, *in Vita Hadriani VI.*

(85) *Arguebat graviter, ſi quos malæ frugis, ebriaces, aleones ſciret, & præſertim, qui amicas domi prope uxorum loco haberent, quos dirimere virtibus omnibus contendebat.* Idem, ibid.

(86) Idem, ibid.

(87) Idem, ibid.

(88) Moringus, *in Vita Hadriani VI.*

(89) *In quo meritо ne eum an immerito culparint, equidem non habeo dicere, cum hiſtorici perſonam hic potius quam cenſoris, agam.* Idem, ibid.

(90) Idem, ibid.

bited them as inconſiſtent with the holineſs of a canonization (*q*). A learned Jeſuit who quoted this fact, was expoſed to ſome puzzling objections on that account [*BB*]. This Pope's ſucceſſors have not been of his mind; they have tolerated a worldly pomp in the canonizations, to ſuch an exceſs, that even the common people were offended at it [*CC*].

(*q*) *Tales ſumptus quaſi alienos a ſanctimonia & puritate Canonizationis fieri vetuit.* Blaſius Ortizius, *apud* Papebrochium, tom. 7. Maij, p. 555.

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to his purpoſe. If what he pretends could be inferred from it, it would be only by a very indirect and far fetched conſequence. He ſays nothing of the *Quodlibetical* Oration, which it is aſſerted that Hadrian publiſhed againſt Pluralities. Let us quote a Proteſtant writer, who relates an anſwer which this Pope made to thoſe who asked him, why he did not remove an abuſe, which he had ſo juſtly condemned. *Imò cùm Lovanii olim edidiſſet Quodlibeticam orationem contra pluralitatem beneficiorum, monentibus cur ipſe, qui jam poteſtatem tollendi haberet, quod antè reprehendere tantum potuiſſet, omnia beneficia, maximè ex Inferiore Germania ſupplicantibus interciperet, reſpondit: cum parvuli eſſemus loquebamur, ſapiebamus, faciebamus ut parvuli; nunc autem poſtquam viri facti ſumus, reliquimus ea quæ ſunt parvuli. Sic homo Trajecti non ſolùm ex viliſſimis parentibus ortus, verum etiam uſque ad ipſum magiſterium, mendicitate, & eleemoſinariis ſumptibus educatus, ad inſuetæ fortunæ pruritum exiliit, ſic in illa ſede promovit, hanc reformationem (quam) promiſit* (91). [The former part of this paſſage being tranſlated hereunder, we ſhall give here the ſenſe only of the latter part of it, which is follows]. "Thus this man of "Utrecht, who was not only born of the moſt abject "Parents but alſo educated by charitable contributions, "till he took his degrees, inſolently exults when he "was unexpectedly raiſed to the higheſt dignity: "thus did he forget to promote that Reformation, "which he had promiſed." I imagine that the Walloon Miniſter whom I am going to quote, had horrowed the following remark (92) from that Latin paſſage. "Pope Hadrian VI ſucceeded him. Some "perſons wondered to ſee him act inconſiſtently with "what he had maintained in a certain Oration, which "he deliver'd at Louvain, when he was ſtill but *Magiſter "noſter* there, in which he condemned the Pluralities; "and the accumulating of livings upon one perſon: "whereas being now a Pope, he did what he had "blamed, eſpecially with regard to the Benefices in "the Low-Countries. He anſwered them in St. Paul's "Words, *when I was a child, I ſpake as a child, I underſtood as a child, I thought as a child; but when "I became a man, I put away childiſh things*, 1 Cor. "*xiii.* 11." This was mentioned in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* in the year 1684. (97).

(91) Novor. *Epiſcop. Belgic. Diviſio*, pag. 78, 79.

(92) Jeremie de Pours, *Molodie du S. Pſalmiſte*, pag. 859.

(93) In the month of Nov. Art. 6. pag. 931.

[*BB*] *He prohibited the extravagant expences . . . of Canonizations. A learned Jeſuit, who quoted this fact, was expoſed to ſome puzzling objections on that account.*] He was publickly charged with aſſerting that the expences of a Canonization were inconſiſtent with the ſanctity and holineſs of ſuch a ſolemnity. His accuſer's name was Sebaſtian of St. Paul. He was Profeſſor of Divinity at Louvain, and was twice Provincial of the Carmelites in the Low Countries. The Jeſuit defended himſelf after this manner: He obſerved (94), I. That he only related what he had read in Blazius Ortizius a Canon of Toledo, and one of Hadrian the ſixth's Attendants. II. That having quoted this in an *Italick Letter*, he had reaſons to complain of being calumniated by his cenſurer, who ſuppreſſed theſe circumſtances; for an Accuſation is unjuſt, not only when a man is charged with facts that are falſe, but alſo when ſome true circumſtances are omitted in the charge. This, he ſays, is the conſtant opinion of Divines. *An ignoras certam eſſe apud Theologos ſententiam, quod accuſatio poſſit eſſe graviter injuſta, non tantum ex falſi impoſitione, ſed etiam ex reticentia veri* (95)? III. That though he alledged this particular as a thing that was very much to Pope Hadrian the VIth's honour, yet it does not follow from thence, that he charges the other Popes with erring, who either approved or commended the great expences of a canonization. IV. That he praiſed Hadrian as a Pope, who was influenced by a true zeal, and acted from a principle of conſcience, the innocent errors of which may commendably, and ought even in ſeveral caſes to be followed. *Laudo Adrianum VI, quia id fecit zelo bono & ſecundum conſcientiam, quam inculpabiliter errantem ſequi cum laude poſſumus, & ſæpe debemus* (96) V. That he did not give his approbation to this motive of Hadrian, namely, that ſuch expences are inconſiſtent with the holineſs and ſanctity of a canonization. VI. That he did not doubt but ſuch expences are grounded on ſeveral ſubſtantial reaſons. VII. That Hadrian VI as a private Doctor might be miſtaken in this particular point, without prejudice to the infallibility of the Pope's ſpeaking *ex cathedra*, that is, *from St. Peter's chair*. VIII. That Baronius relates much more conſiderable errors of ſome Popes, and yet he cannot be charged with traducing the holy Apoſtolical See.

(94) Daniel Papebrochius, *Reſponſ. ad Exhibitionem errorum*, pag. 62.

(95) Idem, ibid.

(96) Dan. Papebrochius, pag. 69.

It is impoſſible not to obſerve here the fatal effects of party-engagements. A Roman Catholic is a perfect ſlave with regard to his underſtanding. There are a thouſand occaſions, in which he cannot commend the moſt noble actions. Is it not very plain, that Hadrian VI deſerves to be approved, both for what he did, and for the reaſon why he did it? And yet here is a Jeſuit who could not praiſe him for it, but his commendation became an indirect cenſure of the other Popes, ſo that he finds himſelf in the utmoſt perplexity to juſtify his conduct, nor can he extricate himſelf but by ſuppoſing that our Hadrian was indeed miſtaken, but that his errors deſerve to be excuſed upon the account of his good intention. This is all the glory a Pope can expect, who pretends to reform abuſes. Men will aſcribe his conduct to a miſtaken conſcience; they will ſay that he does not err as a Pope, but as a private Doctor. A great favour indeed!

[*CC*] *His ſucceſſors have tolerated them to ſuch an exceſs, that even the common people were offended at it.*] All the people were ſcandalized at Paris in the year 1622, when they ſaw with how much pomp the bare-footed Carmelites celebrated there the canonization of St. Thereſa. There was publiſhed the ſame year a little pamphlet, in which it was ſuppoſed, that the good women murmured againſt it very ſeriouſly. One of them complained that ſhe had been burnt in that ſolemnity. "How, Couſin, anſwered a new married "woman, was you at that fire? I never ſaw ſuch a "confuſion, nor ſo much miſchief done. A brother "of mine alſo had his whole face ſadly wounded, "nor is there as yet any likelihood of his being "cured. But what occaſion is there for all thoſe ſuper-"fluities, ſaid a toothleſs old woman? I never heard "in my younger days of ſuch a canonizing of Saints; "this is rather cannonading than cannonizing them. "Hold hold, aunt, ſaid a trades-woman, who lives "in the ſtreet, called St. Denys's, they have done much "more ſtill at Rome; theſe are public rejoicings, in "which there is no harm to go a little beyond bounds, "when the motive is only a ſincere and holy affection; "and beſides, what the bare-footed Carmelites have "done was only by the Queen's command, who bore "all thoſe expences, becauſe St. Thereſa was a native "of Spain. That ſignifies nothing, replied a Citizen's "wife of the neighbourhood of St. Lupus's; God has "been a thouſand times more offended than honoured "in that ceremony: how many maidens do you think "have been raviſhed? All the corn in the fields here-"about has been laid down or burnt; it met with "the month of Auguſt before July was come. For "my part, ſaid the wife of an Advocate in the great "Council, I would have had them ſpent all that "ſuperfluous money in adorning their church, rather "than make it vaniſh away into ſmoke; theſe or-"naments would have continued in their poſſeſſion, "and they would have been the more eſteemed for "it; this would have kindled the fire of devotion in "the hearts of thoſe that had viſited them, whereas "now the very air has been ſet on a flame, and all "the neighbouring fields have been burnt by their "rockets. I have ſtill a tucker with five rows, which "has been entirely ſpoiled. However, if they had "lighted the fire at eight of the clock, it had been "better: there would not have been ſo many cloaks "loſt;

HADRIAN (CORNELIUS of) in Dutch *Hadrianſen* (*a*), a famous Dutch Preacher in the ſixteenth Century, was a native of Dort. He entered amongſt the Cordeliers, and was Guardian of the Convent, and Reader of Divinity (*b*). He was well acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues, and taught theſe three languages publickly (*c*). He preached thirty years at Bruges, nor was he ever daunted by the ſlanders that were ſpread againſt him. He died at Bruges at the age of ſixty July the 14th 1581. He wrote a treatiſe on the ſeven Sacraments. John Lernutius had ſeen ſeveral very learned manuſcript Sermons of this Cordelier (*d*). The works which have been publiſhed under his name after his death, are interſperſed with indecent jeſts and puns. Sanderus pretends that the heretics have inſerted them in order to expoſe the reputation of this honeſt and innocent Monk (*e*). He ought either to have given proofs of his aſſertion, or not to have made it. The Proteſtants repreſent this Cordelier as a very paſſionate declaimer (*f*); and there have been ſome books publiſhed, in which it is aſſerted, that he had introduced a new way of devotion amongſt the perſons of the female ſex; he appointed ſome days, in which they were to undreſs themſelves quite naked before him [*A*], that he might diſcipline them gently for the expiation of their ſins (*g*). Theſe people will perſuade women to do any thing under the fair pretence of devotion [*B*], when they have the gift of talking well, and when they are diſtinguiſhed by their preaching.

I have read ſomewhere, that George Caſſander, who taught polite Literature at Bruges, whilſt Cornelius Hadrianſen read Lectures on Divinity there, was obliged in the year 1555 to go into a voluntary baniſhment [*C*], being forced to it by his collegue's ſlanders.

(*a*) That is to ſay *Hadrian's ſon.*

(*b*) Swert. *Ath. Belgic.*

(*c*) Val. And. *Bibliotb. Belgic.*

(*d*) Swert. *Ath. Belgic.*

(*e*) *Apud* Val. And. *Bibliotb. Belgic.*

(*f*) *Tempore quo caninam ſuam eloquentiam celebratiſſimi nominis Franciſcanus,) Cornelius Adriani ... exercebat.* Schoockius, *Exercitat. Sacr.* pag. 538.

(*g*) *See* Voetius, *Polit. Eccleſ.* tom. 1. pag. 686.

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" loſt; all the ſcholars were there in arms (97)." After all, we may ſay here as on ſeveral other occaſions, there is nothing but may be of ſome uſe; the greateſt abuſes have their fair ſide. If canonizations could be procured without very great expences, they would be much more common; and it is neceſſary that the impoſſibility of paying the charges ſhould be a bar to the ſtrong inclinations of religious orders; they would never want perſons proper to be canonized; every convent would deſire to have as many ſaints as any other; and if canonization did not coſt much, the other means to obtain it would ſoon be prepared.

(97) See the book intitled, *Le Caquet de l'Accouchée*, pag. 5. of the 2d *Journée.*

[*A*] *His penitents were to undreſs themſelves quite naked before him.*] If Gyges's maxim were true, that when a woman pulls off her clothes, ſhe alſo caſts off all ſhame at the ſame time (1), our Hadrian's affairs would have been in a pretty good condition, ſuppoſing that he was not ſo much a fanatick as to imagine that a few laſhes given with his own hand on the naked body of his female votaries, would really be wonderfully effectual to expiate their ſins. Men are ſo much inclined to put a bad conſtruction upon every thing, that few perſons will be able to aſcribe this Franciſcan's conduct to any other motive but that, which by ſome is called a deſire of prying into other people's pleaſures. Ἔοικε ἡ τε μοιχεία, παλυπραγμοσύνη τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἡδονῆς εἶναι, καὶ ζήτησις καὶ ἴφεσις τῶν φυλαττομένων καὶ λανθανόντων τοῖς πολλοῖς (2). i. e. " Adultery ſeems to " be a deſire to pry into other people's pleaſure, and " an inquiry and ſearch into thoſe things which are " hid and unknown to others." If it were true, as ſome learned men have aſſerted (3), that in the primitive churches, the perſons who are to be baptized, of whatever age or ſex they were, undreſſed themſelves quite naked, it would be much better conceived, how this man by fair words, and by a great ſhew of devotion, could perſuade his female penitents to do what he pleaſed. The ſacrament of penitence, would he ſay perhaps, ought to be adminiſtred after the ſame manner as baptiſm was formerly. The penance of whipping, to which I condemn you, is a part of that ſacrament; you ought therefore, &c. Meteren (4) gives ſuch a full account of what relates to this Franciſcan's female votaries, and mentions ſo many particulars, that we cannot but think the ſtory is true.

(1) Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 8.

(2) Plut. *de Curioſ.* pag. 519.

(3) Joſeph Vicecomes, *de Ritibus Baptiſmi.* Voſſius, *in Theſibus de Baptiſmo.*

(4) Meteren, *Hiſt. des Pais-Bas*, liv. 8. fol. 153. of the Hague edition, 1618.

Henry Stephens tells us a ſtory which has ſome affinity with this. The Prieſts, ſays he (5), are gone ſo far, " as to require, according to what ſome authors " relate, that it be lawful for them, in the auricular " confeſſions, to handle thoſe parts that had been inſtrumental in committing the ſins that were confeſſed; and as a certain Biſhop repreſented to one " of them who made that requeſt, what a ſhame it " would be, if both men and women ſhould ſhew them " their ſecret parts; he anſwered, that it was not a " ſhame that the prieſt, who heard confeſſions, ſhould " alſo contemplate with his ſpiritual eyes, which are " much more precious than thoſe of the fleſh, not " only the members which committed obſcene actions, but even the very obſcenities that are revealed " to them in the confeſſion, it ought much leſs to be " reckoned a diſgrace, that they ſhould behold thoſe " members with the eyes of the body. He obſerved " alſo that the Confeſſor, acting as a ſpiritual Phyſician, ought to handle his patient, as the Phyſician " of the body touches and handles the perſon he viſits; " and intermixing his jeſts with blaſphemies, and " with a prophanation of the expreſs text of the Goſpel, he quoted theſe words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, " *go thy way, ſhew thyſelf to the prieſt.* As though it " had been the cuſtom for men and women to undreſs and ſhew themſelves quite naked to the " Prieſt."

(5) *Apolog. pour Herodote*, liv. 1. chap. 21. pag. m. 254, 255.

Monſieur Boileau, Doctor of the Sorbonne, has given an account of what relates to our Hadrian. *Inter exempla*, ſays he (6), *tam infauſtæ notitiæ recenſere non pertimeſcam, Hiſtoriam hominis cucullati & cordigeri conventus Brugenſis anno circiter* MDLXVI *cui nomen erat Cornelio Adriaſen* (7) *origine Dordracenſis, adverſus hæreticos Guezios ſtomachoſiſſimi concionatoris; qui puellas ceù fœminas quaſdam Sacramento fidelitatis & obedientiæ ſibi adſtrictas & ſpecie pietatis devotas non quidem aſperatis & nodoſis funibus verberabat, ſed nudata earum femora, & nates inhoneſtis vibicibus rorantes virgis betuleis aut viminèis ictibus molliter inflictis perfricabat, uti refert Emanuel Meteren Hiſtoriæ Belgicæ fol.* cliii & cliv *edit Amſtelodamenſis anni* 1570 (8). He has theſe words in his curious Hiſtory of the Flagellants. The French Tranſlator did not well underſtand this paſſage, for he tranſlates it thus. " Amongſt " all theſe inſtances of a ſtrict devotion, I ſhall " not ſcruple to relate, on Meteren's credit *, the " ſtory of one *Cornelius Adriaſen*, a native of *Dort*, " who was a Franciſcan at *Bruges*, about the year " 1566, and a paſſionate preacher againſt the Here- " tics called *Beggars*. This Monk had ſome maidens " and women, who under a ſhew of religion, and by " an oath of fidelity and obedience were ſo devoted to " him, that he not only whipped them with cords in " which were large knots, but alſo uſed to ſtrike " them gently on the thighs and buttocks with rods " made of oſier or birch." It is ſo far from being true that the Latin paſſage I have quoted ſignifies that this Monk made uſe of cords with large knots, that it has a quite contrary ſenſe.

(6) *Hiſtoria Flagellantium*, pag. 218, 219.

(7) He ſhould have ſaid *Hadrianſen*, as *Meteren*'s Tranſlator has done.

(8) I do not believe that there is ſuch an edition of Meteren.

(*) *Hiſtoriæ Belgicæ* folio 153, 154. edit. Amſt. 1570.

[*B*] *Theſe people will perſuade women to do any thing under the . . . . pretence of devotion.*] I have mentioned in another place the great docility of the fair ſex. See the remarks of the articles FRATRICELLI and GUILLEMETE.

[*C*] *George Caſſander . . . . was obliged . . . . to go into*

HAILLAN (BERNARD DE GIRARD Lord du) Hiſtoriographer of France, deſcended from an ancient and noble family [*A*], was born at Bourdeaux about the year 1535. He ſet up pretty early for an author, and after he had made ſome figure in the Republic of Letters as a Poet, and as a Tranſlator [*B*], he applied himſelf to the writing of hiſtorical books with ſuch ſucceſs, that his firſt works of that kind procured him from Charles IX the title of Hiſtoriographer of France in the year 1571 [*C*]. In 1576 he

into a voluntary baniſhment.] The paſſage which I ſhall quote to prove this, contains a parentheſis relating to the whipping I have mentioned. *Quum ante annos circiter XL* (Vulcanius ſpeaks thus in a Dedication dated from Leiden the first day of the year 1595 (9). *Georgius Caſſander vir doctiſſimus Brugis Flandrorum communi utriuſque noſtrûm patria publicum bonarum literarum profeſſorem agens, ut collegæ cujuſdam ſui qui ſacras ibidem literas docebat, (illius inquam furioſi Theologi, à quo poſtea cùm ſe in Seraphicam familiam dediſſet, famoſa illa Gynopygica diſciplina Cornelianæ nomen invenit) calumniis cederet, voluntarium ſibi ipſi exilium indixiſſet.* i. e. " When about forty years ago " George Caſſander, a very learned man, who taught " polite literature at Bruges in Flanders, the native " place of us both, was forced to go into a voluntary " baniſhment by the calumnies of one of his collegues, " who taught Divinity in the ſame city ; I mean that " paſſionate divine, from whoſe name, after he was " entered into the order of the Franciſcans, the famous diſcipline of whipping the women was called " Cornelian."

(9) Prefixed to Nilus's treatiſe, *de Primatu Papæ.*

[*A*] *He was deſcended from an antient and noble family.*] When he mentions the materials he collected to write the Hiſtory of France, he does not omit the aſſiſtance he received in this reſpect from his relations. " My brother Francis de Girard, Lord du Haillan, " *ſays he* (1), ſent me from Bourdeaux ſeveral papers " relating to the affairs of Guienne, which had been " collected by the late Lewis de Girard our father, " and by Giles, Marc, and Richard de Girard, our " grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-" grandfather, the two laſt of whom had conſiderable " employments in the Bourdelois, when the city of " Bourdeaux, and the province of Guienne, ſubmitted to the King of France in the year 1451." He tells us in another place (2), that his father was a man " very curious of the antiquities of his native " country, and had been above forty five years Lieu-" tenant of the Admiralty of Guienne ; and ſince, " *adds he*, my brother Francis de Girard, Lord du " Haillan, has been above ten years in the ſaid Ad-" miralty under the late Kings of Navarre, Henry " and Anthony."

(1) Du Haillan, Préface *de l'Hiſtoire de France.*

(2) Ibid. *de l'Eſtat & Succes des Affaires de France*, liv. 4. folio m. 321, *verſo.*

[*B*] *After he had made ſome figure . . . . as a Poet and as a Tranſlator.*] In the year 1559, he publiſhed at Paris a Poem intituled *L'Union des Princes par les Mariages de Philippes Roi d'Eſpagne & Madame Elizabeth de France, & encores de Philebert Emanuel Duc de Savoie, & Madame Margueritte de France* (3). i. e. " The union of the Princes by the marriage of Philip " King of Spain, with Madam Elizabeth of France, " and alſo of Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, " with Madam Margaret of France." He publiſhed that ſame year, in the ſame city, another Poem intituled *Le Tombeau du Roi tres-Chreſtien Henri II de ce nom.* i. e. " The Tomb of the moſt Chriſtian King " Henry, the ſecond of that name ;" and a Latin work with this title ; *Regum Gallorum Icones à Faramundo uſque ad Franciſcum 2. Item Ducum Lotharingorum à Carolo primo uſque ad Carolum tertium verſibus Latinis expreſſæ* (4). i. e. " The characters of the Kings " of France from Pharamond to Francis II, and of " the Duke of Lorrain from Charles I to Charles III, " in Latin verſe." I may take for a tranſlation his treatiſe of the Duties of Men, in three books, which he publiſhed at Blois in the year 1560, in 8vo ; for he had extracted it from Tully's Offices. He publiſhed the ſame year at Paris (5), *L'Hiſtoire Romaine d'Eutropius comprenant en dix livres tout ce qui s'eſt fait tant en paix qu'en guerre depuis le commencement de Rome juſque à l'an M. C. XIX. de la dite ville, traduite de Latin.* i. e. " The Roman Hiſtory of Eutropius, in ten books " containing an account of all that paſt both in peace " and war ſince the building of Rome, to the year " 1119 of the ſame city, tranſlated out of Latin." Eight years after he publiſhed (6) *Les Vies des plus grands, plus vertueux, & plus excellens Capitaines & perſonages Grecs & Barbares faictes par Æmilius Probus & traduites de Latin* (7). i. e. " The lives of " the moſt eminent, moſt virtuous, and moſt excellent " Captains, and other men, both Greeks and Barba-" rians, written by Æmilius Probus (*Cornelius Nepos*) " tranſlated out of Latin."

(3) La Croix du Maine, pag. 31.

(4) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 117.

(5) For Frederic Morel, in 8vo.

(6) At Paris, for Peter l'Huillier, in 4to.

(7) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 116.

[*C*] *Charles IX gave him the title of Hiſtoriographer of France in the year* 1571.] He acquaints us with this himſelf in a dedication dated from *Paris in the month of July* 1576. For he ſpeaks thus to Henry III (8). " It is now five years, ſince the late King your bro-" ther, and yourſelf, Sir, and the Queen your mo-" ther, having ſeen my work of the ſtate and ſucceſs " of the affairs of France printed, and the two firſt " books of the Hiſtory of France not printed, " but only in manuſcript, it pleaſed the ſaid late " King, at yours and the Queen your mother's re-" queſt, to command me, and you alſo, Sir, commanded " me, to write in the French tongue, the Hiſtory of " the Kings of France your predeceſſors, which for-" merly had been but indifferently written by our " countrymen, and very careleſly or enviouſly treated " by foreigners. And that I might have the neceſ-" ſary means and courage to undertake this work, " Monſieur de Villequier, who always loved me and " my writings, and who is at preſent almoſt the only " witneſs of the long and faithful ſervices I have done " you ſince your childhood, recommended me to his " late Majeſty, and at his requeſt it pleaſed the King " your brother to give me the poſt of Hiſtoriographer " of France, and to promiſe me greater advantages " and preferments, as you alſo, Sir, aſſured me on " your part, you would make me ſenſible that my " long and faithful ſervices, and my daily labours, " ſhould be rewarded." As this paſſage may ſerve to prove a particular, which I have aſſerted in the text of this article (9), I would not omit any part of it. But that we may not come to this again, let us give here another proof of that particular, which is ſtronger ſtill. This Hiſtorian having obſerved that Henry III " always loved to hear and to ſpeak the " truth, and had given the men of letters hopes that " he would be their protector, and ſometimes would " read Hiſtories, or have them read to him (10)," adds, " This I can ſay with ſincerity, ſince I have " obſerved it in you from your very infancy, at the " time when I had the honour to come near your " perſon, to wait upon you, to hold ſuch a rank as " was not the loweſt in my ſtation, and to relate ſome-" times to you ſeveral beautiful paſſages of Hiſtory re-" lating both to the Kings your anceſtors, and other " Kingdoms and States." The paſſage which I extract from the dedication of his *Etat & Succès des Affaires de France*, is ſtill more to the purpoſe : " I " have learnt, Sir, *ſays he to Henry III himſelf*, by " the education I have received, and by the affairs " which have been communicated to me, whilſt I " was in your ſervice during twelve years before " your acceſſion to the crown, and by ſeveral affairs " which I have tranſacted, and been concerned in, " for the ſervice of the Kings your predeceſſors, and " for your own, both within the Kingdom and abroad, " how one ought to ſpeak and to write of Kings, and " of their affairs (11)." See alſo what I ſhall tranſlate in the remark [*L*] (12).

(8) Du Haillan, *Epitre Dedicatoire de l'Hiſtoire de France.*

(9) Namely that Du Haillan had been in the Duke of Anjou's ſervice.

(10) Du Haillan, *Epitre Dédicat. de l'Hiſtoire de France.*

(11) Du Haillan, Epitre Dedicat. de *l'Etat & Succès de France à Henri III*, in the edition of 1580.

Obſerve that he publiſhed at Paris in the year 1571, *Hiſtorie ſommaire des Comtes & Ducs d'Anjou deſpuis Geoffroy Griſegonelle juſques à Monſeigneur Henri fils & frere de Roys de France, & Duc d'Anjou, de Bourbonnois, & d'Auvergne* (13). i. e. " A ſhort Hiſtory of the " of the Counts and Dukes of Anjou, from Jeoffrey " Griſegonelle, to Monſeigneur Henry ſon and bro-" ther of Kings of France, Duke of Anjou, Bour-" bonnois and Auvergne." He publiſhed alſo the ſame year *Promeſſe & Deſſein de l'Hiſtoire de France* (14). i. e. " A propoſal for and ſpecimen of an Hiſtory of " France."

(12) In the paſſage in which he complains he was the only perſon, Henry III had not preferred.

(13) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Françoiſe*, pag. 116.

(14) Ibid.

he publiſhed an hiſtory which extends from Pharamond to the death of Charles VII (*a*). There had never been publiſhed before a complete Hiſtory of France written in the French tongue. Henry III was very well pleaſed with this work, and teſtified his ſatisfaction by the profitable and honourable favours he beſtowed on the author [*D*]. He had had him in his ſervice before he came to the Crown (*b*). The reaſons which induced du Haillan not to carry on his work farther than to the death of Charles VII are very good and weighty, and ſhew that he was well acquainted with the duty of an Hiſtorian [*E*]. Yet

(*a*) It was printed at Paris for Peter l'Huillier in folio and in 8vo, in the year 1576; it was reprinted the next year for Peter de St. Andre (at Geneva, if I am not miſtaken) in 2 vol. 8vo.

(*b*) See the remark [*C*].

" France." Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who acquaints us with this does not mention a work which Du Haillan had publiſhed in the year 1570, and which is intitled *De la Fortune & Vertu de France, avec un ſommaire Diſcours ſur le Deſſein de l'Hiſtoire de France* (15). i. e. " Of the condition and power of France, with a " ſummary diſcourſe upon the ſcheme of an Hiſtory of " France." He publiſhed the ſame year a book (17), which has been a thouſand times reprinted, and which he dedicated to the Duke of Anjou. Here follows what he tells his readers of it (18). " This work of " the ſtate and ſucceſs of the affairs of France, which " I preſent you with cloathed in a new dreſs, much " longer and more beautiful than what it wore before, " was born ten years ago, and was preſented you in its " birth, and given you when it was but very ſmall. " Two years after I took it from its ſtate of infancy " in which it was, and dreſſing it in a longer ha- " bit, I gave it by your command, to the late King " Charles your brother." Thus he ſpeaks in the dedication of an edition, in which his work appeared *in a dreſs quite new, longer, and more beautiful and rich than it was before* (19). The author reviſed it and made additions to it in the year 1594, and dedicated it to Henry IV. Zeiller aſſerts that this work is often quoted and commended, and that he has related in his 190th letter d'Aubigne's opinion of it (20). I have not ſeen that letter, but I am certain that the author commits a blunder in it. For in the Preface which Zeiller quotes (21), d'Aubigne does not paſs any judgment at all upon Du Haillan's writings; he only names him. His cenſure relates only to la Popeliniere and Thuanus. Here then is a great ſin of commiſſion of which Martin Zeiller is guilty; his ſin of omiſſion is not ſmall, for this author did not know that Du Haillan wrote the Hiſtory of France, nor was Konig better informed.

(15) La Croix du Maine, pag. 30.

(16) *De l'Etat & Succès des Affaires de France.*

(17) See below quotation (58).

(18) Du Haillan, Epitre Dedicat. de *l'Etat & Succès des Affaires de France, à Henri III*, in the edition of 1580.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Martinus Zeillerus, *de Hiſt. Chronolog. &c.* Part 2. pag. 71.

(21) *Aubignæus præfatione in hiſtoriarum ſuarum partem primam*, Idem, ibid.

[*D*] *Henry III ... teſtified his ſatisfaction by the honourable and profitable favours he beſtowed on the author.*] La Popeliniere without ſpeaking of the title of Hiſtoriographer of France, which Charles IX conferred on Du Haillan, mentions only the rewards which Henry III gave him. This omiſſion may be excuſed conſidering the difference there is between a mere title, and an employment eſtabliſhed on purpoſe with a ſalary annexed to it. Now it was ſuch an employment which Henry III conferred on Du Haillan. However it be, here follow La Popelinere's words (22). " Henry III, who holds the firſt rank " amongſt the Princes both ancient and modern, did " not only preſent the Sieur de Haillan of Bourdeaux, " one of the Secretaries of the Finances with ſeveral " ſums of money, which he gave him as a reward " for the pains he had taken in compiling the firſt " Body of his Hiſtory of France; but he alſo ho- " noured him ſince with the office of Hiſtoriographer " of France, which office he firſt eſtabliſhed for him " with a fixed ſalary of twelve hundred crowns a " year, adding to it the title of Counſellor in his " Privy-Council and Council of State, being perſuaded " to it by the Lord Chancellor Chiverny, in order " to be better inſtructed in the knowledge of the moſt " important affairs of the kingdom. Thus Henry " III was the firſt that raiſed the bare and ſimple " title of an Hiſtorian, to the dignity and honourable " title of Hiſtoriographer of France in the perſon of " Gerard Sieur du Haillan, after he had preſented " and dedicated to him his Hiſtory of France, col- " lected from the authors that wrote before him, and " being the firſt body of Hiſtory dreſſed in a French " habit." We read in the French Mercury (23), that *Henry III, in order to reward du Haillan for the pains he had taken in the firſt book of his French Hiſtory honoured him with the poſt of Secretary of his Finances.* I do not know what that firſt book of the French hiſtory is, for Du Haillan publiſhed his Hiſtory of France all together, nor does he aſſert in his dedication that he had already received ſome gratifications. He obſerves only (24) that Charles IX had given him the title of Hiſtoriographer, with great promiſes, and that Henry III, then Duke of Anjou, had alſo promiſed him ſome favours. I imagine that the compiler of the Mercury, feared leſt he ſhould be charged with plagiariſm, in tranſcribing la Popeliniere word for word, and that to evade this charge he tranſcribed them with ſome alteration; but he was not lucky in this particular; he changed *the firſt Body of his French Hiſtory*, into *the firſt Book of his French Hiſtory*. Theſe two phraſes are very different; the former ſignifies that Du Haillan is the firſt that publiſhed a Body of French Hiſtory; the latter, that the firſt Book of the Hiſtory of France compoſed by du Haillan was publiſhed alone before all the reſt. The Author of the Mercury ſuppoſes alſo that this firſt Book procured to du Haillan the place of Secretary of the Finances to Henry III: But la Popeliniere, from whom the Author of the Mercury tranſcribes, does not ſay this: he ſuppoſes that du Haillan was ſecretary of the Finances before he publiſhed his Hiſtory of France. It muſt be confeſſed however that his account is a little intricate; he has inſerted in it the word *ſince*, which perplexes the Reader, becauſe it does not well cohere with what follows. It is added in the Mercury, I. that after the Hiſtorian had been rewarded for his firſt Book, he obtained ſtill a greater recompenſe when he had dedicated his Hiſtory of France to Henry the third; for he was honoured *with the Office of Counſellor, and Hiſtoriographer of France.* II. That he wrote afterwards *l'Etat & ſucces des Affaires de France.* That is falſe, for that Book was printed before Charles IX died (25). III. That *he was made Genealogiſt to the Knights of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, when that order was firſt eſtabliſhed.* It might have been added that he held in *Commendam* an Abbey, which the celebrated Abelard had poſſeſſed (26). Obſerve, that in the firſt edition of his Hiſtory, he ſtiles himſelf only Hiſtoriographer of France; but in the following editions he is called *Counſellor to the King, Secretary of his Finances and Chamber, and Hiſtoriographer of France.* Obſerve alſo that he was not yet rewarded in the year 1584. You will find his complaint hereunder (27).

(22) La Popeliniere, liv. 1. *de l'Hiſtoire nouvelle des François*, pag. 375.

(23) *Mercure François*, tom. 2. pag. m. 61.

(24) See his words above quotation (8).

(25) See the words of Du Haillan's Dedication, above in quotation (18).

(26) That of Ruys in Brittany. *See* Francis d'Amboiſe in his Apologetical Preface to Abelard's work.

[*E*] *The reaſons which induced him not to carry his Hiſtory farther than the Death of Charles VII. ... ſhew that he was well acquainted with the Duties of an Hiſtorian.*] I mean chiefly the reflexion he made, that a man who pretends to write the Hiſtory of Kings, who died but lately, expoſes himſelf to a difficult Dilemma; for he muſt either conceal the Truth or exaſperate thoſe from whom he has the worſt to dread. The former inconvenience is inconſiſtent with the honour and conſcience of an Hiſtorian; the latter is contrary to prudence. This is one of du Hallan's reaſons with regard to thoſe Kings who reigned after Lewis XII. (28). He adds (29) a general conſideration, which is of great weight; namely, that there were already particular Hiſtories of the Reigns poſterior to Charles the Seventh's; and that according to a general opinion, it was impoſſible to come up to the writers who publiſhed ſome of thoſe Works. This conſideration ought to have a great power over an honeſt man, and celebrated Hiſtorian: he muſt ſpare his readers the vexation of buying twice the ſame thing. The reſpect he owes to the Publick requires this; it would be unjuſt in him to tranſcribe the Hiſtories which others have compoſed; it would be robbing other men of their property. His own reputation and common prudence ought to determine him to enquire for a more difficult but ſafer road to glory. To tranſcribe or new model what others have written, is a task too eaſy to be glorious, and will

(27) In the remark [*L*] quotation (61).

(28) See the Preface to his *Hiſtoire de France.*

(29) Ibid.

Yet he promiſed afterwards to Henry IV that he would continue that Hiſtory to

will even draw upon a man all the Diſgrace of Plagiaries. He will paſs for a preſumptuous man, if he pretends to equal the reputation of thoſe that are thought incomparable, and he will run the risk of being always eſteemed inferiour to them, though he ſhould really excel above them. Muſt a prudent man expoſe himſelf to the ill effects of the prepoſſeſſions of the publick? Would to God that theſe Reflections made as deep an impreſſion upon all men, as they did upon du Haillan (30); our Libraries would not be filled with ſo many Books, that contain the ſame things. Let us quote here the Deſcription he makes of the inconveniencies, under which thoſe Authors labour, who pretend to write the Hiſtory of their own time. "As all the Hiſtories which mention the ſaid King "Francis I, were written in his time or in that of "King Henry, his ſon, they who wrote them expa- "patiate on the praiſes of that King, more perhaps "than he deſerved (though he was a great and "excellent Prince) or than was conſiſtent with hiſtory "and truth. Which is a defect common to thoſe who "write the hiſtory of their own time, and of the "Princes under whom they live. For who would "dare to mention the vices of his Prince, or to blame "his actions or thoſe of his Miniſters, or to relate the "intrigues, artifices and treacheries, which had been "carried on during his reign, or to aſſert that his "Prince committed ſuch or ſuch an unjuſt action, or "was guilty of fornication in ſuch a particular caſe? "Who would venture to write that ſuch a perſon fled "away in a battle, that another committed an act "of treaſon, that this man was a public robber, that "man a traitor, and another guilty of ſome other "villany? Where is the writer bold enough to write "thus? This is the reaſon why they who write the "hiſtory of their own time, being influenced by ſeve- "ral paſſions, are forced either to relate downright "falſities, if in every thing they will commend their "Prince, favour their own Nation, and blame abſo- "lutely the conduct of their enemies; or they muſt "at leaſt conceal the truth, miſrepreſent things, pal- "liate the actions of their Princes, and ſet them off "with fair words, or if they deſign to be ſincere, "they are obliged to conceal their names, and to "print their books without them. Whereas they "who write the hiſtory of former times, may avoid "this defect, if they pleaſe, and are at liberty to tell "the whole truth, and to write with all poſſible free- "dom and boldneſs (31)." Several readers will call to mind here a reflection of the Emperor Peſcennius Niger. *Commend Marius, or Hannibal, or ſome other great Captain that is dead*, ſaid he to an Orator who came to deliver a panegyrical diſcourſe before him, *for it is ridiculous to praiſe the living, eſpecially if they be Emperors, for one either expects a reward from them, or dreads them; it is in their power to procure employments, or to put to death, or to ſend into baniſhment; for my part I deſire to be beloved in my life time, and commended after my death.* Quum Imperatori facto quidam panegyricum recitare vellet, dixit ei, *Scribe laudes Marii vel Annibalis, vel alicujus ducis optimi vita functi, & dic quid ille fecerit ut eum nos imitemur. Nam viventes laudare irriſio eſt, maxime imperatores, à quibus ſperatur, qui timentur, qui præſtare publice poſſunt, qui poſſunt necare, qui proſcribere: ſe autem vivum placere velle, mortuum etiam laudare* (32).

(30) At leaſt for ſome years. See the following remark.

(31) Du Haillan, Preface de *L'Hiſtoire de France*, folio o i *verſo*, in the edition of 1577.

(32) Ælius Spartian. *in Peſcennio Nigro*, cap. 11. pag. m. 672. tom. 1.

In what caſe it may be permitted to write an hiſtory &c. already handled by others.

Let us obſerve by the by, that we ought not to make a general rule of Du Haillan's ſecond reaſon (33); for there are ſeveral caſes in which it is very juſt to write the hiſtories of the ſame reigns, of which other Hiſtorians have already given an account. This is very juſt, I. When a man has a great many new particulars to relate, or when he is able to explain or correct the other hiſtories in ſeveral paſſages. II. When he deſigns to collect into one body all the facts which relate to a certain hiſtory, ſome of which are to be met with in ſome books, and others in other books. III. When the taſte of the readers require a more modern ſtyle, and a new turn. At this time, for inſtance, moſt people would chooſe to be unacquainted with hiſtory rather than to read the authors who wrote in the fifteenth or ſixteenth Century. So that, though an Hiſtorian had nothing to relate but what had already been printed, yet he would deſerve to be commended, if he publiſhed an hiſtory, provided the ſtyle and turn of it invited the reader to peruſe it, and the public appeared to be intirely diſguſted with the other Hiſtories. Whence it is plain, that if there be ſo many books which contain the ſame things, it is not always the fault of the author; it is pretty often the fault of the readers, who will not take the pains to enquire after ſeveral hiſtorical facts ſeparately, nor read what is written in an obſolete language. It is therefore for their conveniency and for their advantage, that hiſtories are publiſhed, which contain nothing new, but in which ſeveral pieces of the other authors are connected together, and ſet off in a better ſtile. If you have diſcovered ſome new particulars, will it be ſaid, publiſh them only; why ſhould this give you an opportunity to write a large volume, in which you inſert ſo many old things? This cenſure is well grounded in ſeveral caſes, but not when thoſe new diſcoveries may have an influence over a long ſeries of events. They ought then to be interwoven with the antient accounts; the intereſt and conveniency of the reader require it. We ſhall ſee very ſoon that it was for this reaſon du Haillan changed his reſolution.

What we have been obſerving with regard to hiſtorical books, may alſo be applied to other works. It muſt be confeſſed that there are but too many, which contain only what may be found in a thouſand others; but on the other hand it would be a great prejudice to the Republic of Letters, if a man ſhould ſcruple to inſert in any work what has already been publiſhed in other works (34). A Divine of Leiden pretends it is very uſeful to publiſh ſeveral works upon the ſame ſubjects, when theſe ſubjects are important: he does even aſſert that it is a very good method to leſſen the multitude of books, which overburden the world, and make a great many perſons complain. The reaſon of this paradox is, that a conſiderable number of works upon certain ſubjects would take up the time of the public, in which caſe a great number of other books would be neglected, and go at once from the Bookſeller's ſhop to the Grocer's. Let us ſee this author's words; we ſhall meet in them with an excellent thought of St. Auguſtin. *Id* (ſcribendi cacoëthes) *nunc his temporibus in immenſum eſt auctum, ut omnem medelam ſuperaſſe videatur, nec alio modo poſſit coerceri, quam ſi plures divulges libros; quam rationem agendi forte paradoxam aliquis dixerit, optimam tamen nemo jure negaverit. De multitudine librorum utilium immenſo numero non eſt quod jure conqueramur, qui non facile nimis augentur. Quamvis enim de rebus iiſdem ſcribunt plures, modo illæ ſint cognitu dignæ, nullum id nocumentum veritati videtur inferre, quæ ſic ad plures ſibi viam pandit, cùm lectorum alii his potius, quàm illis ſcriptoribus delectentur, quamvis de eodem argumento commentatis. Quod rectè obſervavit Auguſtinus lib. I. de Trinitate cap.* 3. Neque enim omnia quæ ab omnibus conſcribuntur in omnium manus veniunt. Et fieri poteſt, ut nonnulli, qui etiam hæc noſtra intelligere valent, illos planiores non inveniant libros, & in iſtos ſaltem incidant. Ideoque utile eſt, plures à pluribus fieri diverſo ſtylo, non diverſa fide, etiam de quæſtionibus eiſdem, ut ad plurimos res ipſa perveniat, ad alios ſic, ad alios autem ſic. *Quâ ratione inutiles libri ſenſim eliminantur, ut alii poſtea non ſint uſui, quàm ut piperi & thuri involvendo inſerviant* (35). i. e. "That itch of writing is come "at this time to ſuch a height, that it ſeems to be "abſolutely incurable; nor can it be any ways re- "duced within bounds, except by publiſhing a great "many books: This ſome perſons will think is a "paradox, yet it cannot with any reaſon be denied "that it is the beſt method. We cannot juſtly com- "plain of the multitude of good books, which not "eaſily increaſe to an exorbitant number. For though "a great many perſons ſhould write upon the ſame "ſubjects, provided they be worthy to be known, it "will be no detriment to the truth, which thus will "make its way to a greater number of perſons, ſome "readers liking one author better than another, tho' "they write upon the ſame ſubject; as St. Auguſtin "very

(33) It is the ſecond, not indeed in his book, but in the ſubſtance I have given above of his account.

(34) See the preface to the 1ſt edition of the *Penſées Diverſes ſur les Cometes.*

(35) Chriſtophorus Wittichius, *in Præfat.* Conſenſus Veritatis *ſecundæ edit. præfixa.*

to his time [*F*], but he has not performed this promiſe. The motive for which he would continue it, is not very honourable to Philip de Commines (*c*). He was reſolute enough to refute ſeveral traditions, which were kept up through an indiſcreet zeal for the glory of France, and to ſpeak freely upon ſome tickliſh ſubjects; as, for inſtance, upon what relates to the Maid of Orleans [*G*]. This freedom was not reliſhed by weak minds,

(*c*) See the remark [*F*].

" very well obſerves, (Book I. concerning the Tri-
" nity, chap. 3.) *All that is written by every author*
" *does not come into the hands of all readers. And*
" *it may happen that they, who are capable of under-*
" *ſtanding what I write, will not find thoſe plainer books,*
" *or will meet with them only by chance. It is there-*
" *fore uſeful, that ſeveral books be written by divers*
" *authors, in a different ſtile, though containing the*
" *ſame doctrine, even upon the ſame ſubjects, that*
" *they may be thus communicated to a great many per-*
" *ſons, to ſome one way, to others another:* By which
" means uſeleſs books will inſenſibly come to be neg-
" lected, ſo that at laſt they will be good for nothing
" but to wrap up pepper and other ſpices".

[*F*] *He promiſed to Henry IV that he would continue that Hiſtory to his time.*] I ſhall prove it by the following words (36). " I have alſo wrote a work of
" the Monarchy of France, which will ſoon be pre-
" ſented to your Majeſty, with an account of all the
" ſecret tranſactions, and of the affairs relating to the
" foundation, glory, and ſtrength of your and the
" Kings your predeceſſors Kingdom. Their Hiſtory,
" which I have compoſed and carried on to the death
" of Charles VII, will ſoon be followed by that of
" the ſucceeding Kings to your Majeſty's reign, after
" which I ſhall alſo write your Hiſtory, if you de-
" ſire it to be publiſhed." This is what du Haillan told King Henry IV in a dedication dated in October 1594. It was then ten years ſince he had acquainted his readers with his altering his reſolution: for when he dedicated to Henry III, in 1584, the ſecond edition of his Hiſtory of France corrected and enlarged, he ſpoke to him after this manner. " Though I had
" declared in my preliminary epiſtle and dedication
" to your Majeſty, and in the preface to the firſt edi-
" tion, that I would not go on, nor deſigned to write
" the Hiſtory of King Lewis XI, becauſe Philip de
" Commines, Sieur d'Argenton, had written it, yet
" having altered my mind ſince, I have begun it, be-
" ing in hopes to finiſh it next winter, if I find that
" this my labour is acceptable to your Majeſty." It is proper to ſee the reaſon why he altered his mind; for beſides that the reader will know by it what he thought of Philip de Commines, it will alſo appear that he was in one of thoſe caſes, in which it is proper to write an hiſtory which others have already publiſhed. " What made me change my mind, *ſays he* (37), and
" undertake the Hiſtory of King Lewis is, that the ſaid
" Sieur d'Argenton did not begin his Hiſtory called
" Memoirs, but from the fifth year of this King's
" reign; and all the cauſes of the wars, and other
" great affairs in which the King was ingaged, are
" contained within that ſpace of time from the begin-
" ning of his reign to the period where the ſaid Sieur
" d'Argenton began his Hiſtory, in which he has alſo
" omitted or concealed ſeveral particulars, which I
" have diſcovered, having extracted them from ſeveral
" books, memoirs, and letters compoſed concerning
" thoſe times, and from ſeveral ſecret diſcourſes writ-
" ten during his reign, or ſoon after his death, with-
" out fear, hatred, flattery, commendation and paſ-
" ſion, to which they that write the hiſtory of their
" own times are very ſubject, and the two laſt of
" which had a great influence on Philip de Commines
" who was prompted by his great love for his Sove-
" reign, and by his gratitude for the favours he had
" received from him, or by his fear of his ſucceſſor.
" So that he ſaid nothing but what others might ſay,
" and what ſeveral Hiſtorians have ſaid of that King's
" actions, vices, artifices (38), and commending him
" more than he ought to have done, he acts in ſeveral
" paſſages the part of an Orator and Panegyriſt, rather
" than that of an Hiſtorian; and in his long digreſ-
" ſions upon the affairs of foreign Princes, he goes
" beyond the bounds of Hiſtory, and of an Hiſtorian."
Let us obſerve that all du Haillan's promiſes to continue the Hiſtory of France, proved vain and ineffectual. They found nothing upon this amongſt his papers after his death (39). The Bookſellers who added to his work a continuation to the year 1615 (40), and then to the year 1627 took it from Paulus Æmilius, Philip de Commines, Arnold Ferron, the Sieur du Bellay, &c.

(36) Du Haillan, Epitre Dedicat. de *l'Etat & Succès des Affaires de France*, in the edition of 1594.

(37) The ſame dedication of his *Hiſtoire de France*, in the edition of 1584.

(38) In the edition of 1576 he had added, *and cruel actions.*

[*G*] *He was reſolute enough to refute ſeveral traditions... and to ſpeak freely... concerning the Maid of Orleans.*] Let not the reader wonder at the length of the paſſage I am going to tranſcribe; it is inſtructive, it ſhews the true character of an Hiſtorian, and expoſes the ridiculous offence, which ſome croſs-grained perſons would take at a writer's boldneſs, who prefers truth above all things. This ill turn of the mind prevails in all ages and countries; it is of ſome uſe to ſhew how the moſt illuſtrious authors have deſpiſed and oppoſed it. Here follow du Haillan's words (41). " I would act neither the Flatterer nor the Courtier,
" but the Hiſtorian; I propoſed to ſpeak the truth,
" nor have I done like thoſe flattering painters, who
" when they deſign to draw a man or woman's pic-
" ture, if there happens to be ſome defect or ſome-
" thing ugly in the face they draw, omit it entirely,
" or repreſent it in a flattering manner. I have en-
" deavoured to draw the moſt deformed features as
" well as the moſt beautiful; I ſpeak boldly and freely
" of every thing, and this unuſual boldneſs will no
" doubt be commended and praiſed by all ſenſible
" readers. This I have done before in my work
" of the ſtate and ſucceſs of the affairs of France,
" where I have related freely ſeveral particulars, which
" none before me ever dared to publiſh, or which
" they were perhaps unacquainted with; for
" both in that work of *the State &c.* and in this,
" I have refuted ſeveral things which are generally
" believed; as for inſtance, Pharamond's coming into
" Gaul, the inſtitution of the Salique Law, which is
" aſcribed to him, the creation of the Peers of France,
" aſcribed to Charles the Great, and ſuch other par-
" ticulars; having been ſo bold, and yet ſincere, as to
" aſſert that Pharamond never paſſed the Rhine to
" enter into Gaul, and that he never made the Salique
" Law to exclude the daughters from inheriting the
" Crown of this Kingdom, ſince he never came into
" France. Upon which ſome perſons who meddle with
" every thing, tho' they know nothing, and who imagine
" that their ill-grounded opinions are ſufficient to over-
" throw what is founded on reaſon and argument, pre-
" tended to ſay that I labour to undermine the very
" grounds of our Hiſtory, becauſe I will not aſcribe the
" ſaid Law to Pharamond. But, Sir, this is not the caſe,
" my deſign being only to explode an ancient error;
" for my opinion is, that the Salique Law is ancient
" enough and ſufficiently approved ſince it has been
" obſerved as a Law from the very eſtabliſhment of
" our firſt Kings, (as you may ſee at length in the
" beginning of the firſt book of this Hiſtory, in the
" Life of Pharamond) nor can my opinion in this
" particular be of any advantage to ſtrangers, or offend
" our countrymen, except thoſe who are offended at
" every thing but what they think or do themſelves.
" Some have found fault with my liberty of ſpeaking
" with regard to this particular, and with regard to
" the Peers of France, and in ſome other points they
" pretend that I act againſt the duty of an Hiſtorian,
" becauſe I endeavour to undeceive all the French
" in the ancient opinion they had concerning Pha-
" ramond's coming into Gaul, his making the Salique
" Law, and the creation of the Peers of France;
" they aſſert that it is a crime to explode opinions that
" are inveterate, and have been written by ignorant
" men who never peruſed good books, and admit-
" ted by other ignorant perſons, who have nei-
" ther learning nor wit enough to read or to underſtand
" the approved ancient authors, but amuſe themſelves
" with old inſignificant trifles as wild and rude as
" their own mind. Good Hiſtorians, Sir, ought not
" to follow the opinions of the vulgar either in their
" writings or in their diſcourſes, but only ſuch as
" are

(39) See the Bookſeller's Advertiſement to the readers, in the editions of his *Hiſtoire de France*, which were publiſhed after his death. I make uſe of that which was printed at Paris in the year 1627, in 2 vol. in folio.

(40) Du Cheſne, *Biblioth. des Hiſtoriens de France*, pag. 55. of the edition printed in 1618, mentions only this edition, which is in two volumes in folio. Apply to this the cenſure that is paſſed upon him in a caſe like this, in the article ÆMILIUS (PAULUS) remark [*C*], quotation (15).

(41) Du Haillan, *Epit. Dedicat.* of his *Hiſtoire de France*, in the edition of 1584.

minds, nor by thoſe who pretend that every thing muſt be made ſubſervient to political views. I do not know whether he was in the right to publiſh ſome particulars which he knew only by hearſay [*H*]. He was very much criticized, and he ſhewed how it vexed him, by his haughty anſwers to his cenſurers [*I*]. Their cenſures were not always ill-grounded,

" are true and ſupported by the teſtimony of credible " authors, or by plauſible conjectures and arguments, " a number of which being duly weighed may a- " mount to a certain and ſure proof, when through " the length of time we are deprived of direct proofs. " I would not therefore, Sir, in theſe things nor in " any other, follow the common opinion, but only " that which is true. Whereby I imagine that I " have very much improved the Hiſtory of France, " having cleared it from a great many falſe and fabulous " ſtories, which rendered it diſagreeable, and ſome- " times inconſiſtent with it ſelf, and thus delivered the " reader from his doubts and uncertainties in ſeveral " particulars, the clearing up of which he could no " where meet with. All which I am perſuaded will have " the approbation of men of ſenſe, whom alone I " endeavour to pleaſe, and not thoſe who diſlike both " my opinions and my writings." If you have a mind to know what he ſaid of the Maid of Orleans, read the following paſſage (42). *The miracle of this Maid, whether it was forged on purpoſe and artfully, or really true, raiſed the courage of the Lords, the people and the King, who were all quite diſheartened; ſuch is the power of Religion, and often alſo of ſuperſtition. For ſome aſſert that this Jane was the miſtreſs of John ſurnamed the Baſtard of Orleans, others of the Sieur de Baudricourt, and others of Poihon, who being cunning and prudent, and ſeeing the King ſo diſcouraged, that he did not know what courſe to take, and the people ſo much weakened by continual wars, that nothing could raiſe their ſpirits and revive their hopes, imagined this ſuppoſed miracle, grounded on ſuperſtition, which is the moſt proper thing in the world to encourage men, and make even the moſt ſimple believe what is not: the people were very well diſpoſed to ſwallow ſuch a ſuperſtition. Thoſe who imagine that this was a virgin ſent by God are not damned for their belief, no more than thoſe are who do not believe it. Several perſons think that this laſt aſſertion is a downright hereſy; but I have no mind to be miſtaken by admitting either ſide of the queſtion. However it be, during ſome days theſe Lords taught her how to anſwer the queſtions which the King and they themſelves in his preſence would propoſe to her, (for they were to examine her themſelves) and that ſhe might know the King, when ſhe ſhould be introduced to him (for ſhe had never ſeen him) they ſhewed her his picture every day ſeveral times. The day being come, on which ſhe was to be introduced into the King's chamber, thoſe who had deviſed this whole artifice, did not fail being there. When ſhe was come in, the firſt that aſked her what ſhe wanted were the Baſtard of Orleans, and Baudricourt. They aſked her what her requeſt was; ſhe anſwered that ſhe deſired to ſpeak with the King. They ſhewed her one of the other Lords who were there, telling her he was the King; but ſhe, knowing beforehand what was to be ſaid and done, and being taught what ſhe was to ſay and do, replied, it was not the King, but that he was hid in the bed-ſide (as he really was) and going to meet him, ſhe told him what has been related above. This religious artifice had ſuch an happy ſucceſs for the whole Kingdom, that it raiſed the courage of all the people, which out of deſpair they had loſt. She was at laſt taken by the Engliſh before Compiegne, and carried to Roan, where having been tryed ſhe was burnt. Some have taken it ill, and others will be offended that I ſhould endeavour to undeceive our Frenchmen, who have ſo long looked upon this ſtory as ſomething ſacred and miraculous, and that I ſhould at this time repreſent it as a mere artifice. But this I was determined to do, becauſe time, which brings every thing to light, has diſcovered this: and after all, it is not ſuch an important ſtory that one ought to believe it as an article of faith.*

(42) Du Haillan, in the 2d book *de l'Etat & Succès des Affaires de France*, pag. 138, &c. of the Paris edition 1619. OBSERVE, that Gabriel Naude is of the ſame opinion; *The Engliſh*, ſays he, in the 3d chapter of the *Coups d'Etat*, pag. m. 328. *having made themſelves maſters of almoſt all France, it was neceſſary, under Charles VII to have recourſe to ſome political ſtratagem, to drive them back; the French therefore made uſe of Jane the Maiden's artifice, which is confeſſed to have been but an artifice, by Juſtus Lipſius in his politics, and by ſome other foreign Hiſtorians; but particularly by two of our Nation, namely, by Du Bellay Langey in his* Art Militaire, *and by Du Haillan in his Hiſtory, not to mention a great many other leſs conſiderable writers.*

(43) For July 1686, Article 9. pag. 825.

(44) Varillas, *Hiſt. de Louis XI*, liv. 10. pag. 328. of the Dutch edition.

[*H*] *He publiſhed ſome particulars which he knew only by hearſay.*] It was upon ſuch a foundation that he publiſhed Charles VIII was a ſuppoſititious child. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (43). Varillas refutes this ſtory (44),

[*I*] *He ſhewed how it vexed him to be criticized, by his haughty anſwer to his cenſurers.*] As the works he had publiſhed before his Hiſtory of France had been criticized, he did not doubt but this Hiſtory would meet with the ſame fate. This was the reaſon why he put on a bold countenance beforehand; he printed on the backſide of the title-page a ſonnet which ſavours a little of the bully. Here follow the ſix laſt verſes of it.

Mille & mille ignorans, ſuperbes envieux,
Mesdiſans, eſtourdis, vains, & preſumptueux,
Te voudront attaquer une indigne querelle.
Mais ne crains tout cela, ains paſſe hardiment,
Car leur preſumption, ny leur ſot jugement,
Ne pourront empeſcher ta carriere immortelle.

That is,

" Thouſands and thouſands, ignorant, proud, envious, " ſlanderous, raſh, vain, and preſumptuous men, will " pick up an unworthy quarrel with you; but never " mind them, go on boldly, for neither their " preſumption nor their ſilly judgment will be able " to ſtop you in your courſe to immortality."

In the very beginning of his Preface he makes this obſervation. " If the Hiſtory of France is not ac- " ceptable to all, as I very well know it will not " be liked by the nice, the ignorant, and the envious, " whom I do not care to pleaſe, who will paſs their " ſilly, ignorant, and envious judgment upon it, I am " perſuaded it will pleaſe thoſe amongſt you, who " labouring themſelves, know how to ſet a juſt value " upon the labours of others, whoſe judgment is " free from paſſion, and who civilly excuſe the miſ- " takes and overſights, that may eſcape an author " through the courſe of ſuch a conſiderable work." The latter part of this paſſage is remarkable, and in ſome reſpects very true. There are no readers more eager in criticizing, nor more raſh and unjuſt in their cenſures, then they who write nothing. An author has more reaſon to expect ſome regard and ſome juſtice from authors than from other perſons, who do not know by their own experience the difficulties of the trade, provided however that jealouſy be out of the caſe, as it ſometimes is; for authors do not always follow the ſame path; the reputation of ſome is not always of the ſame kind with that of others. In this caſe it is better to be judged by a laborious author than by idle readers: in the other caſe the latter are more equitable. But let us return to du Haillan. He ſpeaks thus towards the end of his Preface. " In the mean " time I ſhall obſerve my enemies and my ſlanderers, " who envy and hate my labours, and will fling the " darts of their malice againſt me and my works. " For I can truly ſay, readers, that neither for my " actions nor for my writings I ever was hated or " envied, but by the ignorant, by the wicked, and by " thoſe, whoſe name, health and reputation are tainted " with ſome vice." The ſtorms of cenſures, which he had foreſeen, did really happen (45). Here follows what he obſerves in the Dedication (46), prefixed to the ſecond edition (47). " This work . . . was no ſooner " born, but it was barked at, and bit through the envy " and ſlanders of perſons of all ranks and conditions; " ſome being openly my enemies, and others my pre- " tended friends. There were even ſome who carried " it fair, as in all their actions they uſed to do, and " who deſigning to obtain your favour (which they " coveted very much) by fraudulent and indirect " means, pretended to buy it by their impoſtures and " calumnies, to the detriment of my reputation and " of that of my hiſtory, in which they blamed even " before you, Sir, thoſe very things, for which it will be " the moſt accepted and commended by poſterity, I mean, " my aſſerting nothing but the truth, and ſpeaking it " boldly." He ſhews ſtill more paſſion and haughtineſs in the cloſe of his Preface. " They, *ſays he*, " having recourſe to their uſual malice, are amongſt " them, that pretended to attack me; but I am de- " termined to behold their ignorance with ſo little " concern, that I ſhall only laugh at it, covering my " ſelf with the veil of truth, and with the good will

WHETHER it be better to be judged by an author, or by other perſons.

(45) In all the paſſages, where mentioning his cenſurers he made uſe of the future tenſe in the 1ſt edition, he makes uſe of the preter tenſe in the 2d.

(46) To Henry III.

(47) That of the year 1584.

grounded, as I ſhall ſhew by a paſſage from the Sieur Sorel [*K*]. The manner in which he

" of thoſe amongſt you, my readers, who have read " and will read my work with judgment, and who " have taken and will take it well. For it is wrote " for you, and not for the envious, ignorant, and ma- " licious, who do not underſtand what is good, and " are not capable to judge or to eſteem what de- " ſerves to be commended." Amongſt the obſerva- tions he made againſt his cenſurers, I have met with one which deſerves to be conſidered. " If I happen " to ſpeak of ſome men whoſe names the too nice " reader will ſay was not worth being mentioned, I " ſhall anſwer, that I judged otherwiſe, and I imagine " that I have ſome judgment as well as the reader, and, " let him be who he will, I know better what I " write, than he is capable to judge of my writings (48). This is what ſeveral other authors may and ought to repreſent to thoſe that criticize them. A man who has been ſeveral years about a certain kind of work, knows much better than any other what are the properties of it. He will not, perhaps, have ſuch a good taſte nor ſo much judgment as another, generally ſpeaking, but ſince he has made a particular ſtudy of ſome ſubjects, and exerciſed himſelf about them with great application, we ought to think that he is better acquainted with their nature, and knows better what ornaments become them, than thoſe who have not made it their particular ſtudy. We ought not therefore to imagine that ſome authors act imprudently, when on ſeveral occaſions they prefer their own knowledge before that of their friends or of their enemies, though otherwiſe more able and learned than themſelves. A writer, though generally ſpeaking leſs learned than ſome of his readers, may have more extended deſigns, with regard to the ſubject he treats, than they are aware of; and whilſt they do not know whether he had ſome particular reaſons to relate ſuch or ſuch a thing, he is ſenſible within himſelf that ſeveral reaſonable motives grounded on the very character of his work, induced him to relate thoſe things. Hence come an infinite number of ill grounded cenſures; hence it follows alſo, that a man ought to ſtudy the rules according to which a work is framed, before he ventures to give his opinion whether the work be good or bad. As for inſtance, in order to paſs a right judgment upon this *commented Hiſtory*, which I ſtyle an *Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*, one ought to have ſtudied the rights and privileges of an Hiſtorian, who is at the ſame time a commentator; and hereupon I might ſay, like du Haillan, *I know better what I write, than ſuch an one is capable to judge of my writings.* I have ſtudied the nature and character of compilations; if every part of them was liked by all ſorts of perſons, they would not be good. They, who are not acquainted with the character of ſuch a work, would meet with nothing in it but what ſuits their particular taſte.

(48) Du Haillan, Preface de *L'Hiſtoire de France*, pag m. 18. I make uſe of the edition of 1577, in 8vo.

WHY authors ought ſometimes to prefer their own knowledge before that of others.

Let us quote two paſſages more from du Haillan, in which we ſhall ſee that he was criticiſed upon, and that he was very angry upon that account. " My " works, Sir, ... could not eſcape the barkings and " bitings of envy and calumny, of ſlanderers and " calumniators; by whoſe ſtings not only my writings " have been wounded, but even my fortune has been " hurt, ulcerated, and croſſed. It ſeems that ſome " rays of virtue and capacity, which my enemies ob- " ſerve in me, offend the eyes of their ignorance and " wickedneſs, and that my light is unſufferable to " them. Even before your face, Sir, have I been " calumniated, and ſo ill uſed, that it was not my " enemy's fault, that I was not abſolutely deprived " of your favour and protection, in which alone I al- " ways placed all my hopes, and ſowed the ſeeds of " my moſt humble and devoted ſervitude; but your " goodneſs and ſound judgment, Sir, diſcovered their " impoſture, and delivered me from the fear of the " evil they deſigned me (49)." This is what he told Henry III in the dedication of a new edition of one of his works. In the preface of the ſame book he thunders and ſtorms againſt the ſame Critics; I have extracted the following paſſage from it. " There are " indeed fantaſtical men, the number of which is ex- " orbitant, who are uſed to blame and revile every " thing, becauſe through the catarrh of ignorance " and preſumption, they have loſt their taſte; theſe " would by no means approve my work. Some of " them are your ordinary courtiers; others belong to " the Bar; and others to the Univerſity. Some are " your young Maſters of Arts, lately come from the " Univerſity, with three ſtripes of Latin upon their " gown, and a badge of honour which they bought; " who turning over all ſorts of books, pretend to " deſpiſe them and throw them aſide, if they meet " but with one letter ill printed, or if they do not find " in them, what they do not know how to look for. " Others are profeſſed writers, who being ſwelled and " big with books, bring one forth every week, and " fill the Bookſeller's ſhops with their productions; " they ſpeak boldly of every one, deſpiſe the works " of others, and approve none but their own. Some " of this laſt kind of men are like apes: for if they " ſee another publiſh a work, they immediately " bring forth another, a mere abortive, to which " they give very near the ſame title. All theſe ſorts " of people have attacked me, pinched me, and " barked at me; but yet they could not bite me, nor " have they done the leaſt prejudice to this preſent " work, nor to my Hiſtory of France; they have done " only what a dead coal does, which blackens with- " out being able to burn; for notwithſtanding their " envy, cavils, ill-humour, ſlanders, and preſumpti- " ons, my works have been diſperſed through the " world, gained a great reputation, and been tranſlat- " ed into ſeveral languages. . . As for theſe courtiers, " who ſpoke ill of my works, and endeavoured to " render them odious, they are men, who are uſed to " rob other people of their reputation, when they find " no means to rob them of other things (50)."

(49) Du Haillan, *Epitre Dedicatoire de L'Etat & Succès des Affaires de France*, in the edition of 1580.

(50) Idem, in the Preface of the ſame book, and the ſame edition.

[*K*] *Their cenſures were not always ill grounded, as I ſhall ſhew by a paſſage from the Sieur Sorel.*] It contains a reaſonable cenſure of ſome of du Haillan's defects, and alſo ſome ſhort elogies. " He endeavoured to imitate " the elegancy of the beſt Hiſtorians, but in order to " have leſs trouble, he has tranſlated all Paulus Æmi- " lius's orations almoſt word for word, and he has " alſo followed him in his narrations. It is true that " he has added to them a great many curious remarks, " which he has extracted from other writings. He " may be blamed for beginning his hiſtory with a fa- " bulous ſtory, which is intirely of his own invention: " He ſuppoſes that Pharamond held a Council with his " moſt faithful Counſellors, in which it was examin- " ed whether that Prince, being very powerful, ought " to bring the French under an ariſtocratical, or mo- " narchical government; and he makes every Coun- " ſellor deliver an oration to ſupport his opinion. You " ſee there the names of Charamond and Quadreck, " who are imaginary perſons. This is a very ſur- " priſing thing, conſidering it is ſo little certain " whether there ever was ſuch a man as Pharamond; " and though we ſhould know that he really exiſted, " yet it is a very great boldneſs to relate things that " are abſolutely groundleſs. Du Haillan is cenſured " for it by the Sieur Dupleix, who reproaches him " that he borrowed his orations from *Amadis de Gaule* *: " But that romance does not contain ſuch political " diſcourſes. We may ſuppoſe that Dupleix quoted " it only with a deſign to give the reader to underſtand " that du Haillan invented thoſe diſcourſes, as if " he deſigned to write a kind of romance. It is " true that if they are not to be met with in the " *Amadis*, they are found in a great many other " books. Theſe are common topics, which you may " read in moſt of the books, which treat of ſo thread- " bare a ſubject as the different forms of government. " Du Haillan is alſo charged on the other hand, with " ſpeaking a little too freely of ſome miniſters; but " he did it perhaps to ſhew that he was a loyal ſub- " ject of our Kings, and with a deſign to ſupport their " authority. Notwithſtanding all this, his writings " are more judicious, and more methodical than thoſe " that were written before; his hiſtory acquaints us " with a great many particulars relating to the French " government, which he underſtood pretty well, as " appears alſo by his book intitled, *de l'Eſtat & Succez des Affaires de France*. Laſtly, he is to be com- " mended for being the firſt that undertook to ſet our " Hiſtory in a beautiful and agreeable form, which " he has done according to the knowledge and learn- " ing men had in his time (51)."

* An antient romantic ſtory.

(51) Sorel, *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*, pag. m. 373, 374.

he ſpeaks of himſelf is a proof that he was not ſufficiently free from ſelf-intereſt both with regard to glory and to riches. He makes too great a ſhew of his labours, and boaſts too much of the ſucceſs of his books, their ſeveral editions, tranſlations, &c. and declares too openly that he pretended to be rewarded [*L*]. I cannot tell whether we ought

[*L*] *He makes too great a ſhew of his labours, and boaſts too much of the ſucceſs of his books . . . and declares too openly that he pretended to be rewarded.*] Let us begin with the words we find in his dedication of the Hiſtory of France (52). " Since that time (53) till the " year 1576 when this hiſtory was firſt printed, I " laboured about it night and day, toiling and ſweating " to the detriment of my health, and leſſening of my " days; with great application of mind, and ſpending large ſums of money in procuring books, deeds, " memoirs, records and other ancient monuments " which were neceſſary for the drawing up of ſo " great a work. I have neglected my own private affairs, and taken no pains to obtain any preferment " at a time when every one endeavoured in my ſight " to obtain ſome poſt or office, and more than in any " other age ſtudied to get money, to grow rich, and " to receive gifts and favours of your Majeſty, rather " than to read or write books. This I have done that " I might apply myſelf entirely and abſolutely to the " compleating of this work, which I have at laſt " finiſhed after four years ſpent in drawing it up; after " a great many days paſt in ſtudying, in ſolitude, in a " cloſe application and vexation of ſpirit, in Lucubrations, ſpending half the night, and often the whole " night, in reading, conſulting, comparing, and reconciling of ſeveral Latin, French, and Italian " books, both antient and modern, and peruſing a " large number of records, papers, old titles, old " duſty ſheets, and all ſorts of antient writings. This, " Sir, has coſt me ſo much pains, that if, when I undertook this work, I had known or even thought " that it required that labour and trouble I have " taken about it, I would have deſired your Majeſty " to excuſe me, and neither any gift, nor promiſe, nor " the deſire or hope of reputation, glory or profit could " have induced me to undertake it." He ſhews afterwards at length the defects of the Hiſtorians (54) he was obliged to conſult; then he adds. " Sir, I got " thro' all theſe intricacies, diverſities, prolixities and " labyrinths, and have compoſed the Hiſtory of " France and of your predeceſſors in the beſt manner " I could. I have not been able to write it ſo well as " it deſerves, I could not make it perfect, nor will I " blame the dead or their works in order to extol " and commend mine. I ſhall only obſerve without " preſumption and boaſting, that I have done what " had never been done by any other, nor ſeen yet " by our Frenchmen, I have given the Hiſtory of " France ſuch a dreſs, as it had never appeared in before. . . . . There will be ſome authors who will " write the Hiſtory of France as well and even better " than I have done, and others worſe. But if I do " not obtain the higheſt rank amongſt them, yet I " hope I ſhall never be placed in the loweſt. I have " found means to draw the ſubſtance of thoſe great " bulks of ancient Hiſtories, I have reduced their " exceſs, ſuperfluity, and exceſſive length to ſuch " things as are only neceſſary and not ſuperfluous. " And beſides as I would not truſt only to our Hiſtories " and Chronicles, I have extracted from foreign Hiſtories, from the records of the courts of Parliament, " and of the Chambers of Accounts, from the Charters of Churches, and from ſome books which my " friends lent me, all that I thought could any ways " ſerve my purpoſe. My only deſign was truth, " which is the eye of Hiſtory, &c." He repeats a great part of all this in his preface. " I have been " five years about it, *ſays he*, I have ſpent ſeveral " whole days and half nights in writing it, a great " many lucubrations, a deep ſtudy, and great cares " have been employed, ſeveral books, charters, records, old writings, and ancient papers have been " read, peruſed, and turned over and over. I have " had ſeveral books in Latin, French, and Italian, " treating of the Hiſtories of France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Flanders, Scotland, Britany, " Anjou, Berri, and Aquitain, and of the holy wars " in Aſia, and in Europe; of the lives of the Popes " and Emperors, and numberleſs others, and alſo " an infinite number of records and other ancient memorials. I have extracted the quinteſſence of all " this; I have diſtilled it in the alembic of my judgment and labour, and in this my work I preſent you " with the ſubſtance of it."

If you have a mind to know what he relates of the ſucceſs of his work, read what follows (55). " My " Hiſtory, which got the better of their envy, and of " that of all thoſe that ſpoke ill of it, will live as " long as the French language will ſubſiſt and be in " uſe in your Kingdom. Since it was firſt publiſhed " it has been often reprinted both in your ſaid King" dom, and abroad, in ſeveral forms and letters, " and has been tranſlated into Latin by Peter Boulanger (56), teacher of the youth in the College of " Loudun, a man of good morals and great learning; " and who in his Latin writings expreſſes as well as " any man in Europe, the elegance and politeneſs " of Tully's ſtyle. But, Sir, as I have again improved and enlarged my Hiſtory, having added in " ſome places two or three ſheets, and fewer in others, " he waits for this edition, to add to his Latin tranſlation, what I have added in the original. So that " both your ſubjects, Sir, and the foreigners, will ſoon " ſee this Hiſtory in Latin." Add to this the beginning of his preface (57). " I wiſh that my Hiſtory " of France may be as acceptable to you, as I took " pains and care to labour it. My wiſh has not been " intirely diſappointed, for it has been ſo well liked " by men of judgment, that ſince that time it has been " often reprinted, and in ſeveral forms, both within " this Kingdom and abroad; and read over and over " again by all the learned men in France, and by ſeveral foreigners. . . . . Now, readers, when I found " that my work ſucceeded ſo well, and was ſo well " received both by foreigners, and by my countrymen, that it was ſo often reprinted, and that " there was ſo great a demand for it, I have corrected " it, made ſeveral additions to it through the whole, " and adorned it with a great many curious obſervations." In his dedication to his work *de l'Eſtat & Affaires de France* to Henry III in the year 1580, he has the following words (58). " I am the firſt, " Sir, amongſt the French, who wrote an Hiſtory of " France, and in my beautiful works I have ſet off " the glory of our Kings; for, before me, they were " mentioned only in an heap of old duſty Chronicles. " My works are peruſed and read through all Chriſtendom, and tranſlated into ſeveral languages; and " there is in your Kingdom a very learned man, who " has tranſlated my Hiſtory of France into Latin; it " will ſoon be publiſhed and preſented to your Majeſty, dreſſed in a Latin robe. I am none of thoſe " bold and ignorant writers, who bring forth ſome " books every day, and whoſe writings become large " foreſts; who in their dark cloſets, where they cannot ſee the light of public affairs, ſpeak and write " boldly, right or wrong, of the State affairs of this " time, and of the moſt ſecret and important tranſactions of your Councils; who pretend to judge of " every thing, and are prepoſſeſſed for the one, and " againſt the other, who commend thoſe that give " them money, repreſent a great Captain and a General as a black-guard, and live only upon the ſale " of their preſumptuous works. And indeed ſuch " writers will ſee their works die before their eyes, " and will with diſgrace attend their funeral. I have " learnt, Sir (59)," . . . . Let us ſee the beginning of the preface of the ſame book. " Several of you, " readers, who will ſee this preſent work, which I " have again reviſed, and greatly enlarged and improved, may have ſeen it already, printed in ſeveral forms and letters, ſince the firſt edition publiſhed " in the year 1570. For ſince that time it was every " year reprinted (60), having been approved by thoſe " who read it, and who have a taſte for what is good."

When

(52) Du Haillan, *Epit. Dedicat.* of the edition of 1584.

(53) That is to ſay, ſince the King commanded him in the year 1571 to write the *Hiſtory of France*.

(54) He ſhews thoſe defects alſo in his preface.

(55) Du Haillan, *Epit. Dedicat. de l'Hiſtoire de France*, in the edition of 1584.

(56) See his *Elogie* in *Ste Marthe* lib. 1. pag. m. 44. where this Tranſlation is mentioned; he was the father of Julius Cæſar Bullengerus.

(57) Du Haillan, in the preface to the ſame edition.

(58) Idem, *Epit. Dedicat.* of the *Eſtat & Affaires de France*. In the edition of 1580, he had already ſaid, " I have " given a full " account of all " theſe particulars in my " large work of " the *Hiſtory of* " *France*, which " I have dedicated to you, " Sir, and which " is diſperſed over all Chriſtendom."

(59) You will find the following part of this paſſage above, remark [*C*], quotation (11).

(60) A little lower he ſpeaks thus. " I ſhall " obſerve to you, " that as the " Printer, who " for ten years " has reprinted " it every year, " would reprint " it again...". Obſerve that this preface was wrote in the year 1580.

ought to believe that he threatened to laſh thoſe with his iron pen, who would not acknowledge his great labours (*d*), and that he thought that pen as proper to diſgrace them, as he pretended his golden pen was capable to immortalize the merit of his benefactors. He died at Paris November the 23d 1610, in the ſeventy ſixth year of his age, and was buried at St. Euſtache's (*e*). We muſt not forget to obſerve that he had attended Francis de Noailles Biſhop of Acqs in his Embaſſy to England, and in that to Venice (*f*). You have met in the remarks with ſeveral paſſages extracted from his dedications and from his prefaces. They will be diſliked by thoſe who are ſatisfied with a ſuperficial account of illuſtrious men, but not by them who deſire to know them exactly; and, as the Latins ſay, *intus ac in cute*, that is, *inwardly*. It is for theſe I labour, and I am perſuaded that they will be obliged to me for the pains I take in drawing the character of the heart, according to the ſtrokes I meet with in the books, in which the authors have drawn their own picture. Let this be obſerved once for all. Du Haillan's character would give us room to make ſo many reflections, that I imagine none of my readers will take it amiſs that I ſhould make a few [*M*]. It will give me an opportunity

(*d*) See the remark [*L*] towards the end.

(*e*) *Mercure François*, tom. 2. pag. m. 61.

(*f*) Du Haillan, Preface *de l'Hiſtoire de France.*

When he dedicated this ſame book to Henry IV in the year 1594, he ſpoke thus to the Prince. "It has "been diſperſed through the world, and has been "well received both within your Kingdom and abroad, "and foreigners have turned it into their own language."

As to what relates to his claiming a reward, you may have obſerved it clearly enough in the paſſages, which I have already tranſcribed; but you will ſee it more plainly ſtill in the following paſſage (61). "I have "compoſed this work in four winters, which is a proper ſeaſon to write and to ſtudy, and have employed "but few days of the ſummer in it; for it ſeems to me "that a man can much leſs ſupport the labour of "writing and ſtudying in the ſummer, than in the ſhort "and cold days of the winter, during which I have "drawn up this work. Yet I fear leſt it proves vain "and ineffectual, unleſs the Sun of your Majeſty's "good-will give it ſome heat by your favours and liberalities. There is no man of Letters in your Kingdom "who excells in any Science, or has performed any "conſiderable work, but has received ſome benefaction "from you, and all your ancient Servants are preferred to honours and dignities, and abound with "Riches by your kindneſs and gifts. I am the firſt "who wrote the Hiſtory of the Kings your Anceſtors, and perhaps the only perſon who diſpoſed it in a "beautiful order, and put it in a proper language; and "amongſt your Servants I am one of the firſt and of "the moſt antient, and yet I am the only one and "the laſt unprovided, though none of the loweſt in "merit. I have worked, and do uſually work for the "publick, more than for myſelf; and I have not only "been buſy in writing Books, but I have alſo been "ſometimes employed in Journeys into foreign "Countries; and in the ſeveral Affairs in which I "have been employed for twenty-nine years (62) that "I have been a Courtier, I have learnt how Hiſtories "muſt be compoſed, and how one ought to ſpeak of "Kings, and to treat and write of State Affairs." This is the ſtyle of a diſcontented Author, who complains that he was not made rich, nor raiſed to honours and dignities by the productions of his Pen, and who asks that the reward of his labours ſo long expected and ſo well deſerved, may at laſt be granted him. The ſame Complaint is to be met with at the end of a Preface which he publiſhed in the year 1580. *I have taken all that pains*, ſays he (63), *for the ſake of the publick, to whom I imagine my labours have been and are ſtill of ſome advantage, with which I am extreamly pleaſed, for it is with that deſign I laboured. And indeed it is almoſt the only reward I have had for my pains, and I ſhall be very well contented, if I can know that my laſt work is acceptable to you.*

(61) Du Haillan, *Epitre Dedicatoire de l'Hiſtoire de France*, in the edition of 1584.

(62) His dedication is dated Auguſt 1, 1584.

(63) Du Haillan, *Préface de l'Eſtat & Succès des Affaires de France*, in the edition of 1580.

The Reader may think what he pleaſes of what I ſhall now relate; I quote my Voucher (64). Henry the "Great ... made once a ſmart anſwer to the Sieur du "Haillan ... For as du Haillan a man ... proud .... "and given to his Belly ... was ſpeaking one day too "freely to the late King, complaining of the ſmall "ſalary he received from his generoſity, he happened to tell his Majeſty; you know, Sir, that I "have two Pens being a publick Hiſtorian, which "Title your Majeſty was pleaſed to honour me with; "the one is made of *Gold*, and the other of *Iron*; "with my golden Pen I immortalize thoſe, who do me "ſome favour, and honour me, and with my Iron "Pen I caſt a blemiſh upon the Reputation of thoſe "who do not acknowledge the merit of my works. "The King who knew the temper of the Man, and "that he loved a napkin about his Neck rather than "a Cuiraſs about his Breaſt, anſwered him with an "admirable and royal ſprightlineſs, Monſieur Du "Haillan, I do not believe *that you have a "Golden Pen*, for you would long ago have ſold it to "feed your Belly."

(64) Garaſſe, *Recherches des Recherches*, pag. 941, 942.

[*M*] *Du Haillan's Character would afford us matter for ſo many Reflections, that I imagine none of my Readers will take it amiſs, if I ſhould make a few.*] It is impoſſible to leave this ſubject without making ſome reflections upon it. If a Perſon ſhould aſk whether thoſe who have publick employments are as mercenary as the Servants of a private man, the Queſtion would at firſt ſight ſeem to be abſurd; but after an exact examination it would appear a proper ſubject to be argued upon on both ſides, and one would even chooſe to aſſert the affirmative ſide of the Queſtion. Conſider the accounts of News-writers, both printed and not printed, and the Converſations of Perſons that lived a long while amongſt the Great; conſult the Hiſtorians who give the moſt particular accounts of things, read eſpecially them that publiſh memoirs. If you will duly weigh all this, I do not doubt but you will confeſs, that a poor Footman is proportionably leſs mercenary and more generous than moſt of the perſons who enjoy conſiderable employments, either at Court or in the State. They are perſons who are very ſeldom ſatisfied, they are always ready to ask for new Dignities and a larger ſalary, to complain that the reward they received is but indifferent, to make a great ſhew of their Services, to murmur if they be neglected whilſt others are preferred, to diſcover their diſcontent by their raſh and haughty proceedings, &c. Theſe Gentlemen imagine that it is ſo much the more lawful for them to claim the moſt noble reward, that they perſuade themſelves that their Maſter, a King, a Sovereign Prince, the whole publick in a word, will not come to want, though they be like a very thirſty blood ſucker ſticking cloſe to the skin, and ſucking ſtoutly (65). Let it not be objected to me that ſuch or ſuch ruined themſelves in their Prince's Service, and that the whole eſtate, and the very Houſes of ſuch a Lord are ordered to be ſold. Theſe are not inſtances of generoſity. The love of their Country is not the cauſe of the poverty to which they are reduced; it is owing to their mercenary diſpoſition, or their luxury and exceſſes. They imagined that if they appeared at Court or in the Army with a ſtately equipage, which after all is not in the leaſt uſeful for the good of the public, they would eaſier obtain the rewards they aimed at; and if at laſt they ruined themſelves, it was not for the advantage of the State, but only to ſatisfy their own pride, and other private paſſions. An Ariſtides, a Fabricius, who after they had been raiſed to the higheſt Poſts, and lived continually with a wonderful Frugality, left very little or nothing to their children, are very good inſtances of minds free from all mercenary diſpoſitions; but where are ſuch men to be met with?

A Reflection upon the mercenary diſpoſition of thoſe who ſerve the Public.

The worſt is, that even the men of Letters cannot keep themſelves free from this common diſtemper. The Court and the Army being Schools of ambition and luxury, and conſequently of an inſatiable deſire of riches, we ought to wonder that men ſhould learn there not

(65) *Nec miſſura cutem niſi plena cruoris hirudo.* Horat. *de Arte Poet.* ver. *ult.* i. e. "Like leeches, "ſucking ſtill, "till full of "blood." *Creech.*

opportunity to commend Des Cartes's modeſty.

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not to do any thing for nothing, but to require great rewards for their ſervices. And as this is a paſſion which is not eaſily gratified, unleſs a man boaſts very much of what he has done, and complains loudly that he has not yet been rewarded according to his merit, we ought not to be ſo much offended at this conduct. But it will always be reaſonable to lament, that the ſtudy and profeſſion of the *Belles Lettres* ſhould not have produced in Du Haillan's heart, a wiſdom ſufficient to prevent him from making ſuch a ſhew of his labours, and from complaining of the ſmallneſs of his fortune. If he was the only Author that acted thus we ſhould have no occaſion to mind it much; the worſt is that he imitated in this a great number of writers, and an hundred more have followed, and do ſtill follow his example. It is this that does the Muſes a very great injury, it is this that robs them of the glory they would enjoy of inſpiring their Votaries with a true generoſity, and a noble contempt for riches, and publick rewards. They are like other men, ſay ſome, they are not leſs inclined than others to ambition and covetouſneſs, the two epidemical diſtempers of the heart of man. It is certain, that the deſire of living comfortably by the means of a large income, is not the only reaſon of the boaſtings and complaints of du Haillan and of thoſe that are like him; their conduct is in a great meaſure owing to their pride. They imagine that the publick will have a very great eſteem both for their works and for their perſons, if it be known that they received large Penſions (66). They are very much miſtaken in this. I own that ſome particular perſons ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by ſuch appearances, and reaſon thus ſophiſtically; *ſuch an Author has been raiſed to great employments, he rides in his Coach, he muſt be therefore a man of a great merit, and his works muſt be good.* But the publick ſeldom falls into this ſnare, or however ſuch a blindneſs is not laſting. Poſterity judges of Books by the Books themſelves; if they be good, they will not be deſpiſed, though it were aſſerted in the beginning of the preface that the Author was ſtarved with hunger. If the Book be bad it will be deſpiſed, though the firſt pages ſhould acquaint the reader, that the Author was an Earl, or a Marquis, and that he left a Million behind him. What are you afraid of? Why do you put yourſelf to ſo much trouble? Could one have asked du Haillan; you may declare, indeed, that you ſpared neither care nor pains to make your work good, it was your duty to labour and fatigue yourſelf much, and it is a civility to the publick, to give an account in a preface of what one has done to deſerve the reader's approbation. You ought to have ſtopped here, without repreſenting the greatneſs and merit of your labours as a lawful reaſon to ask for greater rewards, and to complain that you had not been ſufficiently paid. Are you afraid leſt future ages ſhould not know, that your Lucubrations and Reſearches have put the Hiſtory of France in a very clear light, but that you was never the richer for them? Can this caſt any blemiſh on your reputation? If it be ſaid that you wanted ſkill and art to grow rich, it will be ſuppoſed that you wanted a quality which is not very commendable. This will be no detriment to your Reputation: never trouble yourſelf about it. If it be ſaid that the art of growing rich was not beyond your reach, but that you did not care to have recourſe to it, being content with your Books, and your Studies, and with conſecrating your time to the ſervice of the publick, will not this be a very great Elogy? Will it not prepoſſeſs the publick in favour of your works? If the contempt of riches and your continual application to the writing of good Books, expoſed you to the danger of dying poor, you ought to have wiſhed that this might be mentioned in your Epitaph (67). This would be worth to you a title to Nobility in the Republick of Letters; this would be a very good way to immortality (68); never dread the judgment of Poſterity in this reſpect. If the ingratitude and injuſtice of thoſe, who did not take care to reward your pains, be blamed, what is that to you? This blame will never be laid upon you.

(66) See above the remark [G] of the article ALCIAT (Andrew).

(67) *Titulo res digna ſepulchri.*

(68) *Hac itur ad aſtra.*

A COMMENDABLE quality in Monſ. Des Cartes.

We muſt obſerve here to Monſieur Des Cartes's honour, that he kept himſelf intirely free from this ſhameful diſtemper, though one of his friends had recourſe to the moſt dangerous means to infect him with it. See after what manner this zealous friend encouraged him to boaſt, and to aſk loudly for rewards (69). "You ought to know that in order "to obtain ſomething from the public it is not ſuffi- "cient to mention a word of it by the by; in the "preface of a book, you muſt declare expreſly that "you deſire and expect it; you muſt explain the "reaſons which prove not only that you deſerve "it, but alſo that it is very much their intereſt to "grant it you, and that they ought to expect a "very great advantage by it. Men are uſed to ſee "that all thoſe, who imagine themſelves worth any "thing, make ſuch a buſtle about it, aſk ſo impor- "tunately what they pretend to, and promiſe ſo much "beyond what they can perform, that when an au- "thor ſpeaks of himſelf only with modeſty, when he "aſks nothing of any man, when he does not pro- "miſe any thing boldly, let him give otherwiſe a "thouſand proofs of what he is able to perform, it "will not be minded, and he will not in the leaſt "be thought of. You will ſay, perhaps, that it does "not ſuit your genius to aſk any thing, nor to ſpeak "honourably of yourſelf, becauſe the one ſeems to be a "baſe thing, and the other an effect of pride. But "I am of opinion that this diſpoſition of yours ought "to be minded, and that it proceeds rather from a "miſtake and from weakneſs, than from an honeſt "ſhame and modeſty... You may ſay alſo that your "works ſpeak ſufficiently for themſelves, ſo that it "is not neceſſary to add promiſes and boaſtings to "them, which being common with quacks who de- "ſign to impoſe upon the public, ſeem not to become a "man of honour, who deſigns only to ſpeak the "truth. But the reaſon why quacks are to blame "is, not that the things they ſay of themſelves are "great and noble, but only that they are falſe, and "that they cannot prove them. Whereas the things "I would have you declare of yourſelf are ſo true, "and ſo evidently proved by your writings, that all "the rules of decency will ſuffer you to aſſert them, "and the rules of charity oblige you to do it, and "it concerns others to know them. For though "your writings ſpeak ſufficiently for themſelves with "regard to thoſe perſons who examine them carefully, "and who are capable of underſtanding them; yet this "is not ſufficient with regard to the deſign I think you "ought to have, becauſe every one cannot read them, "and thoſe who manage public affairs have not always "leiſure to do it. It may happen indeed, that thoſe "who have read your works, mention them to thoſe "perſons; but whatever is told to them, the little "noiſe they know you make, and the too great "modeſty with which you always ſpeak of them, "prevent them from taking much notice of them. "And becauſe perſons, who have but ſmall me- "rit, are often commended to them in the moſt "honourable terms that can be imagined, they think "they ought not to take for truth the immenſe praiſes "that are beſtowed upon you by thoſe that know you. "Whereas when a man ſpeaks of himſelf, and re- "lates extraordinary things concerning himſelf, he is "heard with attention, eſpecially if he be a man of "a good family, and it be known that he is nei- "ther of a character nor of a condition to act the "quack. And as he would make himſelf ridiculous, if "he ſhould make uſe of exaggerations in ſuch a caſe, "his words are taken in their true and natural ſenſe; "and they who would not believe him, are how- "ever determined by their own curioſity, or by their "envy, to examine whether what he ſays be true... "As this is very certain, and can be proved by the "writings which you have already printed, you ought "to tell it ſo loudly, to publiſh it ſo carefully, and "to put it ſo expreſly in the title-page of all your "books, that no man may hereafter be ignorant of "it." Was it poſſible to attack Des Cartes's modeſty with more ſpecious arguments? Nothing was omitted, all his excuſes were anſwered beforehand, and yet all this proved ineffectual (70). Obſerve that his friend was in the right to tell him that the public was uſed to ſee thoſe, who aſked for any thing, do it with importunity and with boaſtings. It is becauſe they know, that

(69) *Lettre écrite à Mr. Des Cartes.* It is prefixed to his *Traité des Paſſions.*

(70) *See* Des Cartes's *Anſwer* to this Friend's *Letters* prefixed to his *Traité des Paſſions.*

☞HAKLUYT (RICHARD) was deſcended from an antient family at Yetton in Herefordſhire (*a*), and educated at Weſtminſter School, from whence he was elected a Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford in 1570 (*b*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts Feb. 19, 1573 (*c*), and that of Maſter of Arts June 27, 1577 (*d*). Mr. Wood tells us (*e*), that he lived for ſome time in the Middle Temple, and ſtudied the Law there; but this is a miſtake [*A*]. He afterwards entered into holy Orders (*f*), and became Prebendary of Briſtol, in 1585 (*g*), and of Weſtminſter in 1605, in the room of Dr. Richard Webſter, and Rector of Wetheringſet in Suffolk (*h*). His collection of *Engliſh Voyages, Navigations, Trafficks, and Diſcoveries*, made him very famous [*B*]. He wrote likewiſe *Notes of certain commodities in good requeſt in the Eaſt-Indies, the Molucca's, and China*; which are in manuſcript among thoſe given by Selden to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He illuſtrated alſo with notes Peter Martyr Anglericus's eight Decads *de novo Orbe*, printed at Paris 1587 in 8vo, and tranſlated into Engliſh, *The Diſcoveries of the world from the firſt original unto the year of our Lord* 1555, London 1601, in 4to, written in Portugueſe by Anthony Galvano, Governor of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca Iſlands. He tranſlated likewiſe from the ſame language into Engliſh, *Virginia richly valued by the deſcription of the main Land of Florida, her next neighbour*. London 1609 in 4to. He died November the 23d 1616 (*i*), and was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey on the 26th of the ſame month, leaving behind him a ſon, who inherited his manor of Bridgeplace, and ſeveral tenements in Tuttleſtreet Weſtminſter. Our author had a brother, whoſe name was Oliver Hakluyt, who was a Student of Chriſt Church, and afterwards became an eminent Phyſician (*k*).

(*a*) Fuller's *Worthies* in Herefordſhire, *and* Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 413. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*b*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Idem, *Faſti Oxon.* col. 108.

(*d*) Idem, ibid. col. 115.

(*e*) Idem, *Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Idem, ibid.

(*g*) Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals of York &c.* pag. 789.

(*h*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, ad ann.* 1616. Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, ſays erroneouſly, that he died in the beginning of King James's reign.

(*k*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(71) Cardinal de Richelieu never did Mainard any favour, partly becauſe . . he would not be aſked, and would have men leave him the glory of giving of his own accord. Peliſſ. *Hiſt. de l'Academie Franc.* pag. m. 278.

that otherwiſe they ſhould obtain nothing. Woe to them who are diſheartened at the firſt refuſal, and who do not know how to ſpeak ſtoutly in their petitions. Du Haillan ſhewed that he was acquainted with the world, when he acted in the manner we have ſeen above. A man muſt complain often, and often petition before he can obtain any thing from a Court. If Cardinal de Richelieu was ſuch as he is repreſented in the Hiſtory of the French Academy (71), he was a Phœnix.

[*A*] *Mr. Wood tells us, that he lived for ſome time in the Middle Temple, and ſtudied the Law there; but this is a miſtake.*] The ſtudent in the Temple was Richard Hakluyt Eſq; a relation of our author; as appears from the preface to the firſt edition of *Hakluyt's Voyages*, as well as other places.

[*B*] *His Collection of* Engliſh Voyages, Navigations, Traffics, and Diſcoveries, *made him very famous.*] The firſt edition was printed at London 1589 in fol. and the ſecond in three volumes in 1598, 1599, 1000. Camden wrote the following verſes in commendation of this work.

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti *de Anglorum ad diſjunctiſſimas regiones Navigationibus* G. Camdeni *Hexaſtichon.*

Anglia, quæ penitus toto diſcluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, parvus & orbis erat.
Nunc cum ſepoſitos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, orbis & orbis erat.
At quid, Haklute, *tibi monſtranti hæc aebeat orbis?*
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

H

☞HALE (Sir MATTHEW) Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench in the reign of Charles II, was ſon of Robert Hale Eſq; a Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn [*A*], by Joan the daughter of Matthew Poyntz of Alderly in Glouceſterſhire Eſq; and was born at Alderly November the 1ſt 1609 (*a*). His parents dying when he was very young, he was committed to the care of Anthony Kingſcot of Kingſcot Eſq; who was his next kinſman after his uncles, by his mother (*b*). He was educated in Grammar learning at Wotton-Under-Edge, the ſeat of his anceſtors in the ſame county, and in Michaelmas Term 1626 became a Commoner of Magdalen Hall in Oxford under the tuition of Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick (*c*); where, continuing about three years (*d*), he made a conſiderable progreſs in learning; but was afterwards diverted from his ſtudies by the levities of his youth [*B*]. Afterwards growing reformed, upon the advice of Mr. John Glanvill,

(*a*) *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, Knt. ſometime Lord Chief Juſtice of his Majeſty's Court of King's Bench. Written by Gilbert Burnet, D.D.* pag. 1, 2. edit. London 1682, in 24mo.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 3.

(*c*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 573. 2d edit. London 1721.

(*d*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *Son of Robert Hale Eſq; a Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn.*] This Gentleman was ſon of Mr. Robert Hale, an eminent Clothier in Wotton-Under-Edge in Glouceſterſhire, where he and his anceſtors had lived for many deſcents, and they had given ſeveral parcels of land for the uſe of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an eſtate of ten thouſand pounds, which he divided almoſt equally amongſt his five ſons, beſides the portions, which he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous poſterity has ſprung. Mr. Hale, the Barriſter, and father to Sir Matthew, was his ſecond ſon, and a man of that ſtrictneſs of conſcience, that he gave over the practice of the law, becauſe he could not underſtand the reaſon of giving colour in pleadings, which, as he thought was to tell a lie; and this, with ſome other things commonly practiſed, ſeemed to him contrary to that exactneſs of truth and juſtice, which became a Chriſtian; ſo that he withdrew himſelf from the Inns of Court to live on his eſtate in the country (1).

(1) *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, Knt. &c. Written by Gilbert Burnet, D. D.* pag. 1, 2. edit. London 1682, in 24mo.

[*B*] *But was afterwards diverted from his ſtudies by the levities of youth.*] The Stage Players coming to Oxford, he was ſo much corrupted by ſeeing many Plays, that he almoſt wholly forſook his ſtudies; and being thus taken off from them, and from the gravity of his deportment which had been before eminent in him, far beyond his years, he ſet himſelf to many of the vanities incident to youth; but ſtill preſerved his purity, and a great probity of mind. He loved gaiety of dreſs, and much company; and being of a ſtrong robuſt body was a great maſter of all thoſe exerciſes, which required much ſtrength. He alſo learned to fence and handle his weapons, in which he became ſo expert, that he worſted many maſters in thoſe arts. But as he was exerciſing of himſelf in them, an incident happened, which ſhewed his good judgment, and gave ſome hopes of better things. One of his maſters told him, that he could teach him no more, ſince he was now better at his own trade than himſelf was. This Mr. Hale looked upon as flattery; and therefore to make his maſter diſcover himſelf, he promiſed him the houſe which he lived in (for he was his tenant) if he could hit him a blow on the head; and bad him do his beſt, for he would be as good as his word. After a little engagement, his maſter being really ſuperior to him, hit him on the head, and he performed his promiſe, for he gave him the houſe freely; and was not unwilling

Glanvill, Serjeant at Law, who obſerved in him a clear apprehenſion of things, and a ſolid judgment, he changed his reſolution of engaging in the military life, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law [C], for which purpoſe on the 8th of November 1629 he was admitted into Lincoln's-Inn, where for many years he ſtudied ſixteen hours a day, and threw aſide all his fine clothes, betaking himſelf to a plain faſhion, which he continued to uſe in many points to his death (e) [D]. Noy, the Attorney General, being of the ſame Inn, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his ſtudies, and had ſuch a friendſhip for him, that Mr. Hale was called *Young Noy* (f). The great Selden likewiſe, though much ſuperior to him in years, yet entertained ſuch an eſteem of him and of Mr. John Vaughan, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, that he left them at his death two of his executors (g). It was this acquaintance that firſt ſet Mr. Hale on a more enlarged purſuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profeſſion [E]. Some years before the civil wars broke out, he was called to the Bar (h); and after they did break out, he behaved in ſuch a manner as to gain the eſteem of both parties [F]. He was employed in his practice by all the King's party; and was aſſigned Council to the Earl of Strafford, Archbiſhop Laud (i), the Duke

(e) Burnet, pag. 6, 7.

(f) Idem, pag. 12.

(g) Idem, pag. 14.

(h) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 573, 574.

(i) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 20, 21.

willing at that rate to learn ſo early to diſtinguiſh flattery from plain and ſimple truth. He was now ſo taken up with martial matters, that inſtead of proceeding in his deſign of being a Scholar or a Divine, he reſolved to be a Soldier; and his Tutor Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick going into the Low Countries Chaplain to the Lord Vere, he reſolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the Prince of Orange's army (2). But he was diverted from this reſolution by Serjeant Glanvill, as we obſerve in the text of this article.

(2) Idem, ibid. pag. 4, 5, 6.

[C] *Applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law.*] Whilſt he was proſecuting this ſtudy, he not only kept the hours of the hall conſtantly in term-time, but ſeldom put himſelf out of commons during the vacations; and continued then to follow his ſtudies with unwearied application: and not being ſatisfied with the books written upon the Law, or to take things upon truſt, he was very diligent in ſearching all records; and made divers collections out of the books which he had read, and mixing them with his own obſervations digeſted them into a common-place book, with ſo much induſtry and judgment, that an eminent Judge of the King's Bench borrowed it of him, when he was Lord Chief Baron. He unwillingly lent it, becauſe it had been written by him, before he was called to the Bar, and had never been thoroughly reviſed by him ſince that time; only what alterations had been made in the Law by ſubſequent ſtatutes and judgments were added by him as they happened. But the Judge having peruſed it, ſaid, that though it was compoſed by him ſo early, he did not think any Lawyer in England could do it better, except he himſelf would again ſet about it (3).

(3) Idem, ibid. pag. 13, 14.

[D] *Threw aſide all his fine clothes, betaking himſelf to a plain faſhion, which he continued to uſe in many points to his death.*] Mr. Baxter tells us (4) that his habit, even after he was a Judge, *was ſo coarſe and plain, that I*, ſays he, *who am thought guilty of a culpable neglect therein, have been bold to deſire him to lay by ſome things which ſeemed too homely.* And Dr. Burnet obſerves (5), that he paſſing from an extreme of vanity in his apparel to that of neglecting himſelf too much, was once taken, when there was a preſs for the King's ſervice, as a fit perſon; for he was a ſtrong and well built man. But ſome who knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the preſs-men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any ſuperfluity or vanity in them.

(4) *Preface* to his *Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, the late univerſally honoured and loved Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench.*

(5) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 12, 13.

[E] *It was this acquaintance that firſt ſet Mr. Hale on a more enlarged purſuit of learning which he had before confined to his own profeſſion.*] As he became as great a maſter in his own profeſſion, as ever any perſon was, very ſoon; he found leiſure to attain as comprehenſive a knowledge in ſeveral branches of learning, as moſt men have done in any age. He applied himſelf much to the ſtudy of the Roman Law; and though he liked the way of trial in England by Juries much better than that of the Civil Law, where ſo much is truſted to the Judge; yet he often ſaid, that the true grounds and reaſons of Law were ſo well delivered in the *Digeſts*, that a man could never underſtand Law as a ſcience ſo well as by ſeeking it there; and therefore lamented that it was ſo little ſtudied in England. He looked on readineſs in Arithmetic as a thing, which might be uſeful to him in his own employment, and acquir'd it to ſuch a degree, that he would often on the ſudden, and afterwards on the Bench, reſolve very hard queſtions, which had puzzled the beſt Accountants in the city. He ſtudied likewiſe Algebra both *Specioſa* and *Numeroſa*, and went through with all the other mathematical ſciences, and made a great collection of very excellent inſtruments, ſparing no coſt to have them as exact as art could make them. He was alſo very converſant in philoſophical learning, and in all the curious experiments and rare diſcoveries of the age; and had the new books written on thoſe ſubjects ſent from all parts, which he examined ſo critically, that if the principles and hypotheſes, which he took firſt up, did any way prepoſſeſs him, yet thoſe who have differed moſt from him, have acknowledg'd, that in what he has written concerning the Torricellian experiment, and of the rarefaction and condenſation of air, he ſhews as great an exactneſs and as much ſubtilty in the reaſoning which he builds on them, as thoſe principles, to which he adher'd, could bear. To this he added a great ſkill in Phyſic, Anatomy, and Chirurgery, and uſed to ſay that no man could be abſolutely a maſter in any profeſſion, without having ſome ſkill in other ſciences. He made deep ſearches into ancient Hiſtory, and particularly into the leaſt delightful part of it, Chronology. He was well acquainted with the ancient Greek Philoſophers; but want of occaſion to uſe it wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue. And though he never ſtudied the Hebrew Language, yet by his converſation with Selden, he underſtood the moſt curious things in the Rabbinical Learning. But above all theſe he ſeemed to have made the ſtudy of Divinity the chief of all others; to which he directed every thing elſe, and arrived at that pitch in it, that thoſe who have read what he has written on theſe ſubjects, will think they muſt have had moſt of his time and thoughts (6).

(6) Ibid. pag. 15, 16, 17, 18.

[F] *After the civil wars did break out, he behaved in ſuch a manner as to gain the eſteem of both parties.*] He had read the Life of *Pomponius Atticus* written by *Cornelius Nepos*; and having obſerved, that he had paſſed through a time of as much diſtraction as ever was in any age or ſtate, from the wars of Marius and Sylla to the beginning of Auguſtus's reign, without the leaſt blemiſh on his reputation, and free from any conſiderable danger, being held in great eſteem by all parties, and courted and favoured by them; he ſet him as a pattern to himſelf, and remarking that beſides thoſe virtues which are neceſſary to all men and at all times, there were two things which chiefly preſerved *Atticus*, the one his *engaging in no faction, and meddling in no public buſineſs*; the other his *conſtant favouring and relieving thoſe, who were loweſt*, which was aſcribed by ſuch as prevailed to the generoſity of his temper, and procured him much kindneſs from thoſe, on whom he had exerciſed his bounty, when it came to be their turn to govern; he reſolved to guide himſelf by thoſe rules as much as was poſſible for him to do. He not only avoided all public employments, but the very talking of news; and was always

(k) *See* Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, edit. London 1676 in fol. where his plea for that Duke is printed.

Duke of Hamilton (*k*), the Earl of Holland, the Lord Capel, and the Lord Craven (*l*); though, as Mr. Wood aſſures us (*m*), he took the covenant in 1643, and appeared ſeveral times with other lay-perſons in the *Aſſembly of Divines* at Weſtminſter. He was then in great eſteem with the Parliament, and was employed by the members thereof, as to his Counſel, in ſeveral affairs, and particularly in the reduction of the garriſon at Oxford; being, as a Lawyer, added to the Commiſſioners appointed by them to treat with thoſe appointed by the King. In this capacity he did good ſervice, by adviſing them, and eſpecially General Fairfax, to preſerve that ſeat of learning from deſtruction (*n*). The murder of King Charles I gave him very ſenſible regret; however he took the engagement (*o*); and on the 20th of January $165\frac{1}{2}$ was appointed with ſeveral others to conſider of the reformation of the Law (*p*) [*G*]. January 25, 1653, he was by writ made Serjeant at Law (*q*); and ſoon after appointed one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas; in which place he acted with great integrity, not without the diſpleaſure ſometimes of the Protector [*H*]. In

(l) Burnet's *Life of Sir M. Hale*, pag. 21.

(m) Col. 574.

(n) Ibid.

(o) Ibid.

(p) *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs. By Bulſtrode Whitelocke, Eſq.* pag. 520, 521. edit. London 1732.

(q) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

always both favourable and charitable to thoſe, who were depreſt, and was ſure never to provoke any in particular by cenſuring or reflecting on their actions; for many who had converſed much with him, have declared that they never heard him once ſpeak ill of any perſon. He was generally employed in his practice by the King's party; whom he likewiſe often relieved in their neceſſities, in a way no leſs prudent than charitable, conſidering the dangers of that time. For he often depoſited conſiderable ſums in the hands of a Gentleman of the royal party, who knew their neceſſities well, and was to diſtribute his charity according to his own diſcretion, without either letting them know, from whence it came, or giving himſelf any account to whom he had given it. When he was Council for the Lord Craven, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then Attorney-General threatened him for appearing againſt the Government; to whom he anſwered, that he was pleading *in defence of thoſe Laws, which they declared they would maintain and preſerve; and he was doing his duty to his Client, ſo that he was not to be daunted with threatnings* (7).

(7) Ibid. pag. 19, 20, 21, 22.

[*G*] *On the 20th of January* $165\frac{1}{2}$ *he was appointed with others to conſider of the Reformation of the Law.*] The reſt of the Committee were Mr. Steel, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Manby, Mr. Sadler, Colonel Blount, Sir Henry Blount, Mr. Berners, Major General Deſborough, Mr. Moyer, Colonel Tomlinſon, Mr. Fountaine, Alderman Fowke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Major Packer, Sir William Roberts, Mr. Meltwold, Mr. Manſell, Mr. Ruſhworth, Mr. Sparrow, and Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper; who were to "take into conſideration what "inconveniencies there are in the Law; how the miſ-"chiefs, which grow from delays, the chargeableneſs "and irregularities in the proceedings of the Law "may be prevented; and the ſpeedieſt way to prevent "the ſame." They were to preſent their opinions to the Committee of Parliament appointed for that purpoſe; and they or any ſeven of them had power to ſend for any perſons to confer with them in this buſineſs, and for records. This Committee met ſeveral times, and deſired the Judges in their ſeveral Courts to return to them a Liſt of the Officers in their Courts, and what fees they received, and what work and employment they did for the ſame (8). Mr. Whitlocke obſerves (9), that he was often adviſed with by ſome of this Committee; and none of them was more active in this buſineſs than Hugh Peters the Miniſter, who underſtood little of Law, but was very opinionative, and would frequently mention ſome Proceedings of Law in Holland, wherein he was altogether miſtaken. On the 21ſt of February following the Committee paſſed ſome reſolutions concerning perſonal actions; as that *If the Defendant in a perſonal action, before pleading, tender ſatisfaction to the Plaintiff with coſts of ſuit, and it appear afterwards at the trial to the Jury ſufficient and not accepted of, the Plaintiff to loſe his own, and pay the other's coſts in the ſuit.* That *Summons be the firſt proceſs in all perſonal actions, with the true date when ſued forth, and executed upon oath, and returnable within fifteen days after the ſervice; the Defendant to have a copy from the Original under ſeal given or left at his houſe, and the cauſe of the ſuit ſet down in the body of the writ; that upon default of appearing, a farther proceſs be granted to arreſt the Party till he appear or give warrant: and in caſe of non-appearance, the Defendant's lands and goods to be diſtrained to a certain value, till he appear or give warrant* (10).

(8) *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs. By Bulſtrode Whitelocke Eſq;* pag. 520, 521. edit. London 1732.

(9) Ibid. pag. 521.

(10) Ibid. pag. 523.

[*H*] *Appointed one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas; in which place he acted with great integrity, not without the diſpleaſure ſometimes of the Protector.*] He had great ſcruples at firſt concerning the proceeding againſt felons, and putting offenders to death by his commiſſion, ſince he thought the ſword of juſtice belonging only by right to the lawful Prince, it ſeemed not warrantable to proceed to a capital ſentence by an authority derived from Uſurpers. However he made a diſtinction between common and ordinary Felonies, and offences againſt the State: he would not meddle in the latter, ſince he thought theſe might be often legal and warrantable actions, and that the putting men to death on that account was murder. But with regard to ordinary felonies, he at firſt was of opinion, that it was as neceſſary even in times of uſurpation to execute juſtice in thoſe caſes, as in matters of property. But after the King was put to death, he laid by all his collections of the pleas of the crown; and that they might not fall into ill hands, concealed them behind the wainſcotting of his ſtudy; for he ſaid, *there was no more occaſion to uſe them, till the King ſhould be reſtored to his right.* But upon the reſtoration, he took them out, and went on in his deſign to perfect that great work. Yet for ſome time after he was made a Judge, when he went the circuit, he ſate on the crown ſide, and judged criminals; but having conſidered farther of it, he came to think, that it was at leaſt better not to do it, and ſo upon the ſecond or third circuit, he refuſed to ſit any more on the crown ſide, and told plainly the reaſon; for in matters of blood, he was always to chooſe the ſafer ſide. And indeed he acted ſo in ſome trials, that they were not unwilling that he ſhould withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which we ſhall give ſome inſtances. Not long after he was made a Judge, which was in 1653, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln concerning the murder of one of the townſmen, who had been killed by a ſoldier of the garriſon there. He was in the fields with a fowling piece on his ſhoulder, which the ſoldier ſeeing came to him, and ſaid, that it was contrary to an order, which the Protector had made, *that none, who had been of the King's party, ſhould carry arms*, and therefore he would have forced it from him. But as the other did not regard the order, ſo being ſtronger than the ſoldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, left him. The ſoldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-ſoldiers how he had been uſed, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he, refuſing, the ſoldier ſtruck at him; and as they were ſtruggling, the other came behind and ran his ſword into his body, of which he preſently died. It was the time of the aſſizes; ſo they were both tried. Againſt the one there was no evidence of fore-thought felony, and therefore he was only found guilty of manſlaughter, and burnt in the hand; but the other was convicted of murder; and though Colonel Whaley, who commanded the garriſon, came into court, and urged, that *the man was killed only for diſobeying the Protector's orders, and that the ſoldier was but doing his duty*; yet the Judge regarded neither his reaſons nor threats, and therefore not only gave ſentence againſt him, but ordered the execution to be ſuddenly done, that it might not be poſſible to procure a reprieve, which

In 1654 he was one of the five Knights who were elected for the county of Glouceſter to ſerve in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter on the 3d of September (*r*); and went to the Houſe "on deſign to obſtruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot "by two parties, that had very different principles and ends (*s*) [*I*]." Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, he refuſed to accept of the new Commiſſion offered him by Richard his ſucceſſor, alledging, that he could act no longer under ſuch authority (*t*). The ſame year 1658 he was elected one of the Burgeſſes of the Univerſity of Oxford, to ſerve in the Parliament, which begun at Weſtminſter the 27th of January; and in April 1660 he was returned one of the Knights for Glouceſterſhire in the Parliament which called home King Charles II (*u*). He was ſoon after made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer [*K*]; and though it is uſual for perſons ſo promoted to be knighted, he deſired to avoid that honour, and therefore for a conſiderable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the King; which the Lord Chancellor Hyde obſerving, ſent for him upon buſineſs one day when the King was at his houſe, and told his Majeſty, that there was his *modeſt Chief Baron*; upon which he was unexpectedly knighted (*w*). He continued in the poſt of Chief Baron eleven years with great applauſe [*L*]; and though he

(r) Idem, ibid.

(s) Burnet, pag. 28.

(t) Idem, pag. 30.

(u) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(w) Burnet, pag. 32, 33.

which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it. In another circuit, he underſtood, that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a tryal, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information he examined the Sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he ſaid he referred all ſuch things to the Under-Sheriff; and having next aſked the Under-Sheriff concerning it, he found that the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he ſhewed the ſtatute, that all juries ought to be returned by the Sheriff, or his lawful officer; and as this was not done according to law, he diſmiſſed the jury, and would not try the cauſe. The Protector was highly diſpleaſed with him for this, and at his return from the circuit told him in anger, that *he was not fit to be a Judge*; to which all the anſwer he made was, *that it was very true.* He met with another cauſe in the circuit, in which he reſolved to have proceeded ſeverely. Some Anabaptiſts had ruſhed into a church, and diſturbed the congregation, while they were receiving the Sacrament, not without ſome violence. At this he was highly offended, for he ſaid that *it was intolerable for men, who pretended ſo highly to liberty of conſcience, to go and diſturb others, eſpecially thoſe, who had the encouragement of the law on their ſide.* But theſe were ſo ſupported by ſome great Magiſtrates and officers, that a ſtop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, that *he would meddle no more with the trials on the crown ſide.* When Colonel Penruddock's trial was brought on, there was a ſpecial meſſenger ſent to him, requiring him to aſſiſt at it. It was in vacation-time, and he was at his country houſe at Alderly. He plainly refuſed to go, and ſaid, that *the four terms and two circuits were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs*; and ſo he excuſed himſelf. He thought it was not neceſſary to ſpeak more clearly; but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it (11).

(11) Idem, pag. 23 28.

[*I*] *Went to the Houſe on deſign to obſtruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot by two parties, that had very different principles and ends.*] Dr. Burnet obſerves (12), that on the one hand ſome, who were perhaps more ſincere, yet were really brainſick, deſigned they knew not what, being reſolved to pull down a ſtanding miniſtry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of their Government, and ſet up in its ſtead an indigeſted enthuſiaſtical ſcheme, which they called the *Kingdom of Chriſt*, or of his *ſaints*, many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Chriſt would come down and ſit among them, and at leaſt they thought to begin the glorious thouſand years mentioned in the Revelation. Others at the ſame time taking advantage from the fears and apprehenſions, that all ſober men of the nation were in, leſt they ſhould fall under the tyranny of a diſtracted ſort of people, who to all their other ill principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from thoſe of Munſter in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raiſe their own fortunes and families. Amidſt theſe Judge Hale ſteered a middle courſe; for as he would engage for neither ſide, ſo he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliament more out of a deſign to hinder miſchief, than to do much good; wiſely foreſeeing, that the inclinations for the royal family were daily growing ſo much, that in time the diſorders then in agitation would ferment to that reſolution in which they determined in May 1660. And therefore all that could be then done, was to oppoſe the ill deſigns of both parties, the enthuſiaſts, as well as the Uſurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this Parliament, one was, *to deſtroy all the records in the Tower, and to ſettle the nation on a new foundation.* He undertook therefore to ſhew the madneſs of this propoſition, the injuſtice of it, and the miſchiefs which would follow on it; and did it with ſuch clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſon, as not only ſatisfied all ſober perſons, (for it may be ſuppoſed that was ſoon done,) but ſtopt even the mouths of the frantic people themſelves.

(12) Pag. 28, 29.

[*K*] *He was ſoon after made Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer.*] When the Lord Chancellor Hyde delivered him his Commiſſion, in the ſpeech, which he made according to the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, he expreſſed his eſteem of him in a very ſingular manner, telling him, among other things, that *if the King could have found out an honeſter and fitter man for that Employment, he would not have advanced him to it*; and that he *had therefore preferred him, becauſe he knew none that deſerved it ſo well* (13).

(13) Idem, pag. 32.

[*L*] *He continued in that poſt of chief Baron eleven Years with great applauſe.*] He managed that Court, and all the proceedings in it with ſingular Juſtice; and it was obſerved by the whole Nation how much he raiſed the reputation and practice of it (14). Nor did his adminiſtration of Juſtice lie only in that Court; for he was one of the principal Judges that ſate in Clifford's Inn about ſettling the difference between Landlord and Tenant after the fire of London; he being the firſt who offered his Service to the city for accommodating all the differences, which might have ariſen about the rebuilding of it, in which he behaved himſelf to the Satisfaction of all Parties concerned (15). He would never receive private Addreſſes or Recommendations from the greateſt perſons in any matter, in which Juſtice was concerned. One of the firſt Peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, *That having a ſuit in Law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he might the better underſtand it, when it ſhould come to be heard in Court:* Upon which the Lord chief Baron interrupted him, and ſaid, "He did not deal fairly to come to his "chamber about ſuch affairs, for he never received "any Information of cauſes but in open Court, where "both parties were to be heard alike;" and ſo would not ſuffer him to go on. Whereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke) went away not a little diſſatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a rudeneſs, which was not to be endured. But his Majeſty bid him *content himſelf that he was no worſe uſed*, and ſaid, *he verily believed, he would have uſed himſelf no better, if he had gone to ſollicit him in any of his own cauſes.* Another paſſage fell out in one of his Circuits, which was ſomewhat cenſured as an affectation of an unreaſonable ſtrictneſs; but it flowed from his exactneſs to the rules which he had ſet himſelf. A Gentleman, who had a tryal at the Aſſizes, had ſent him a Buck

(14) Idem, pag. 33.

(15) Idem, pag. 33, 34.

he ſcarce ever interpoſed in affairs of State, yet upon a propoſition ſet on foot by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, for a comprehenſion of the more moderate Non-Conformiſts, and a limited indulgence towards ſuch as could not be brought within the comprehenſions, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to effect it (*x*). Upon the deceaſe of Sir John Keeling, he was advanced to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench [*M*], and on the 18th of May 1671 took his ſeat on that Bench (*y*). But about four years and an half after this promotion, his health, which had been before very firm and vigorous, declining, he reſigned his poſt on the 21ſt of February 167$\frac{5}{6}$ (*z*), and died on the 25th of December following, and was interred in the Church-yard at Alderly on the 4th of January, where a monument is erected to his memory (*aa*). He wrote ſeveral works [*N*]. Mr.

(*x*) Idem, pag. 41, & *ſeqq.*

(*y*) Idem, pag. 53.

(*z*) Idem, pag. 61.

(*aa*) Idem, pag. 70, 71.

for his Table. When Judge Hale therefore heard his name, he asked *if he was not the ſame perſon, who had ſent him the Veniſon?* and finding that he was the ſame, told him, "he could not ſuffer the Tryal to go on, till "he had paid him for his Buck." The Gentleman anſwered, that *he never ſold his Veniſon, and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every Judge, who had gone that Circuit*; which was confirmed by ſeveral Gentlemen preſent. But all this would not prevail, for the Lord chief Baron had learned from Solomon, that a *Gift perverted the ways of Judgment*, and therefore would not ſuffer the Tryal to proceed, till he had paid for the preſent; upon which the Gentleman withdrew the Record. At Salisbury likewiſe the Dean and Chapter having, according to the cuſtom, preſented him with ſix Sugar-Loaves in his Circuit, he made his Servants pay for the Sugar before he would try their cauſe (16).

(16) Idem, pag. 37, 38.

[*M*] *Advanced to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench.*] The choice of him for that poſt was applauded by all people, who thought their Liberties could not be better depoſited than in the hands of one, who as he underſtood them well, ſo had all the Juſtice and Courage, which ſo ſacred a truſt required. One thing was much obſerved and commended in him; that when there was a great Inequality in the ability and learning of the Counſellors who were to plead one againſt another, he thought it became him, as the Judge, to ſupply that; and therefore would enforce what the weaker Council managed but indifferently, and not ſuffer the more learned to carry the Buſineſs by the advantage which they had over the others in their quickneſs and skill in Law, and readineſs in pleading, till all things were cleared, in which the merits and ſtrength of the ill-defended cauſe lay. He was not ſatisfied barely to give his Judgment in cauſes, but did, eſpecially in all intricate ones, give ſuch an account of the reaſons which prevailed with him, that the Council did not only acquieſce in his Authority, but were ſo convinced by his reaſons, that many profeſſed that he brought them often to change their opinions; ſo that his giving of Judgment was really a learned Lecture upon that point of Law; and which was yet more, the Parties themſelves, tho' intereſt too commonly corrupts the Judgment, were generally ſatisfied with the Juſtice of his deciſions, even when they were made againſt them. His impartial Juſtice and great diligence drew the chief practice after him, into whatſoever Court he came; ſince though the Courts of the Common-Pleas, the Exchequer, and the King's-Bench, are appointed for the tryal of cauſes of different natures; yet it is eaſy to bring moſt cauſes into any of them, as the Council and Attorneys pleaſe. So as he had drawn the Buſineſs much after him both into the Common-Pleas, and the Exchequer, it now followed him into the King's-Bench; and many cauſes which were depending in the Exchequer, and not determined, were let fall, and brought again before him in the Court, to which he was now removed (17).

(17) Ibid. pag. 55, 56, 57.

[*N*] *He wrote ſeveral works.*] We ſhall give a Catalogue of them as follows: I. *An Eſſay touching the Gravitation and Non-Gravitation of fluid Bodies, and reaſons thereof.* London 1674 in 8vo. II. Difficiles Nugæ; *or obſervations touching the* Torricellian *Experiment, and the various Solutions of the ſame, eſpecially touching the weight and elaſticity of the Air.* London 1674 in 8vo. Upon this and the former Diſcourſe Dr. Henry More has written *Remarks*, ſo far as they concern any paſſages in his *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum*, &c. London 1676 in 8vo. III. *Contemplations moral and divine.* Part I. London 1676 in 8vo. Part II. London 1677 in 8vo. They were both reprinted together at London 1679 in 8vo. IV. *The Life of* Pomponius Atticus, *written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance* Cornelius Nepos, *with Obſervations political and moral thereupon.* London 1677 in 8vo. V. *Obſervations touching the Principles of Natural Motion, and eſpecially touching Rarefaction and Condenſation, together with a reply to certain* Remarks *touching the Gravitation of Fluids.* London 1677 in 8vo. Theſe obſervations were in anſwer to Dr. H. More's Remarks above-mentioned, and were replied to by the Doctor in a piece printed at London in 1678. VI. *The Primitive Origination of Mankind conſidered and examined according to the Light of Nature.* London 1677 in fol. There is an account of this Book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (18). This work was publiſhed a little before his Death, and printed for theſe reaſons, 1. Becauſe ſome Writings of his, as particularly his *Contemplations*, came abroad without his knowledge, and contrary to his Intention; and this Book might have had the ſame fate, if not in his Life-time, at leaſt after his Death. 2. Becauſe there had been ſome more care uſed by him in the digeſting and writing of it, than of ſome others, which had been publiſhed. 3. Becauſe though he could never be brought to value the writings of his, which were then in print, ; yet he found them well accepted of by many; which encouraged him to let this book come abroad under his own Name; wherein he had uſed more care than in thoſe leſſer Tracts. He wrote likewiſe the Preface to, and publiſhed *the Abridgment of many Caſes and Reſolutions of the Common-Law, alphabetically digeſted under ſeveral Titles, &c.* London 1668. in fol. He wrote likewiſe ſeveral Treatiſes, ſome of which were publiſhed ſince his Death; as particularly, *A Diſcourſe touching Proviſion for the Poor.* London 1683 in 12mo. A ſhort Treatiſe touching Sheriffs *Accompts.* London 1683 in 8vo. To which is joined his *Tryal of Witches at the Aſſizes held at Bury St. Edmonds on the 1ſt of March* 1664. which was printed by itſelf 1682, in four Sheets in 8vo. *Pleas of the Crown, or a methodical Summary of the principal matters relating to that Subject.* London 1678 in 8vo. The ſecond Edition was printed at London 1685 in 8vo. *His Judgment of the Nature of true Religion, the cauſes of its Corruption, and the Churches Calamity by Mens additions and violences; with the deſired cure.* London 1684 in 4to. written in three Diſcourſes at ſeveral times, and publiſhed by his friend Mr. Richard Baxter, and by him dedicated to the Judges. To this Book is annexed *The Judgment of Sir* Francis Bacon, &c. and ſome Paſſages of Dr. *Iſaac Barrow* on the ſame Subject. *Several Tracts*, as 1. *A Diſcourſe of Religion on three heads; firſt the Ends and Uſes of it; ſecondly the Life of Religion and Super-additions to it; and thirdly the Superſtructions upon it, and Animoſities about it.* 2. *A Treatiſe touching Proviſion for the Poor.* 3. *A Letter to his Children, adviſing them how to behave themſelves in their Speech.* 4. *A Letter to one of his Sons, after his recovery from the Small-Pox.* London 1684 in 8vo. *A Diſcourſe of the Knowledge of God, and of ourſelves, firſt by the Light of Nature, and ſecondly by the ſacred Scriptures.* London 1688 in 8vo. To which is added, *A Brief Abſtract of the Chriſtian Religion, and Conſiderations ſeaſonable at all times for the cleanſing of the Heart and Life.* Mr. Wood mentions under his Article (19) *London's Liberty, or a learned Argument of Law and Reaſon*, ann. 1650. This was printed afterwards under this Title, *London's Liberties; or the Opinions of thoſe great Lawyers, Lord chief Juſtice* Hale, *Mr. Juſtice* Wild, *and Mr. Serjeant* Maynard, *about the Election of Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen and Common-Council Men of London, and concerning their Charter, &c.* London, 1682, in Folio. Dr. Burnet (20) gives us a catalogue of the manuſcripts of

(18) Num. 136. pag. 917.

(19) Col. 575.

Mr. Baxter (*bb*) gives him the character of "an unwearied Student, a prudent Man, a "solid Philoſopher, a famous Lawyer, the pillar and baſis of Juſtice, who would not "have done an unjuſt act for any worldly price or motive; the ornament of his Majeſty's "Government, and honour of England; the higheſt faculty of the ſoul of Weſtmin-"ſter Hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable Judges; a godly, ſerious, "and practical Chriſtian; a lover of Goodneſs and all good men; a lamenter of the "Clergy's ſelfiſhneſs, and unfaithfulneſs, and diſcord, and of the ſad diviſions follow-"ing hereupon; an earneſt deſirer of their Reformation, Concord, and the Church's "Peace, and of a reformed *Act of Uniformity*, as the beſt and neceſſary means thereto; "a great contemner of the Riches, Pomp and Vanity of the World; a pattern of ho-"neſt Plainneſs and Humility, &c." He left ſeveral volumes of Collections to the Library of the Society of Lincoln's-Inn. He was twice married, and had children by his former wife, but none by the latter [*O*]. When he was a Counſellor, if he ſaw a cauſe was unjuſt, he for a great while would not meddle farther in it, but to give his opinion that it

(*bb*) *Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, and written by Richard Baxter, at the requeſt of Edward Stephens Eſq; the Publiſher of his* Contemplations, *and his familiar Friend; and publiſhed by the urgency of others*, pag. 43, 44. edit. London 1682 in 24mo.

of his not then publiſhed, viz. I. *Concerning the ſecondary origination of Mankind*, Folio viz. II. *Concerning Religion*, 5 Volumes in Folio. 1. *De Deo, vox Metaphyſica*, Pars 1 & 2. 2. Pars 3, *Vox Naturæ, Providentiæ, Ethicæ, Conſcientiæ*. 3. *Liber ſextus, ſeptimus, octavus*. 4. Pars 9, *Concerning the holy Scriptures, their Evidence and Authority*. 5. *Concerning the Truth of the holy Scriptures, and the Evidences thereof*. III. *Of Policy in Matters of Religion*, Folio. IV. *De Animâ*, to Mr. Baxter, Folio. V. *De Animâ*, Tranſactions between him and Mr. Baxter, Folio. VI. *Tentamina de ortu, naturâ, & immortalitate Animæ*, Folio. VII. *Magnetiſmus Magneticus*, Folio. VIII. *Magnetiſmus Phyſicus*, Folio. IX. *Magnetiſmus Divinus*. X. *De Generatione Animalium, & Vegetabilium*, Folio, in Latin. XI. *Of the Law of Nature*, Folio. XII. *A Letter of Advice to his Grand-Children*, 4to. XIII. *Placita Coronæ*, 7 Volumes in Folio. XIV. *Preparatory Notes concerning the Right of the Crown*, Folio. XV. *Incepta de Juribus Coronæ*, Folio. XVI. *De Prærogativâ Regis*, Folio. XVII. *Preparatory Notes touching Parliamentary Proceedings*, 2 Volumes in 4to. XVIII. *Of the Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords*, 4to, XIX. *Of the Juriſdiction of the Admirality*. XX. *Touching Ports and Cuſtoms*, Folio. XXI. *Of the right of the Sea, and the Arms thereof, and Cuſtom*, Folio. XXII. *Concerning the Advancement of Trade*, 4to. XXIII. *Of Sheriffs Accounts*, Folio. This was printed in 1683, in 8vo, as we obſerved above. XXIV. *Copies of Evidences*, Folio. XXV. *Mr. Selden's Diſcourſes*, 8vo. XXVI. *Excerpta ex Schedis Seldenianis*. XXVII. *Journal of the* 18 *and* 21 Jacobi Regis, 4to. XXVIII. *Great Common-Place Book of Reports in Caſes of the Law, in Law-French*, Folio. In bundles are the following MSS. *On* Quod tibi fieri, &c. *Matt. vii.* 12. *Touching Puniſhments*, in relation to the *Socinian* Controverſy. *Policies of the Church of Rome. Concerning the Laws of England. Of the Amendment of the Laws of England. Touching Proviſion for the Poor. Upon Mr. Hobbes's Manuſcript. Concerning the time of the Abolition of the Jewiſh Law.* In Quarto are the following, *Quod Deus ſit. Of the State and Condition of the Soul and Body after Death. Notes concerning Matters of Law.* The Manuſcript of his *Placita Coronæ* was ordered to be printed by the Houſe of Commons, as appears from the following extract from the Journal of that Houſe. "*Lunæ* 29° *die Novemb.* 1680. *Or-*"*dered*, That the executors of Sir Matthew Hale, "late Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench, "be deſired to print the MSS. relating to the Crown-"Law, and that a Committee be appointed to take "care in the printing thereof, and it is referred to "Sir William Jones, Serjeant Maynard, Sir Francis "Winnington, Mr. Sacheverel, Mr. George Pelham, "Mr. Paul Foley." It was at laſt printed at London, 1736, in two Volumes in Folio, under this title: *Hiſtoria Placitorum Coronæ. The Hiſtory of the Pleas of the Crown. By Sir Matthew Hale, Knt. ſometime Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench. Now firſt publiſhed from his Lordſhip's Original Manuſcript, and the ſeveral References to the Records examined by the Originals, with large Notes. By Sollom Emlyn, of Lincoln's-Inn, Eſq; To which is added, a table of the principal Matters.* It is dedicated by Mr. Emlyn to Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Knt. Maſter of the Rolls. The Editor in his Preface obſerves, that the Treatiſe publiſhed ſeveral years before under the title of, *Pleas of the Crown, by Sir Matthew Hale*, was only a plan of this work, containing little more than the heads and diviſions thereof. The title of *Hiſtoria Placitorum Coronæ* was given to this work by our author himſelf, who intended, as appears from the *Proœmium*, to have taken in the whole body of the Crown-Laws, as well in relation to matters civil, as matters criminal; for which purpoſe he once deſigned to have added two or more books upon this ſubject, the one concerning offences not capital, the other touching franchiſes and liberties; but neither of theſe appears ever to have been compoſed by him; ſo that, as it now ſtands, it treats only of offences capital, which is indeed the moſt important branch of the Crown-Law, being what moſt nearly affects the life and liberty of the ſubject. Beſides in treating thereof he has unavoidably explained many incidental matters equally applicable to offences not capital. The firſt part of this work relates to the nature of the offences, viz. the ſeveral kinds of treaſon, hereſy, and felony. The ſecond of theſe, hereſy, being an offence of a ſpiritual nature, of which it was not our author's purpoſe to treat, was at firſt wholly omitted by him; but afterwards conſidering, probably, that by its being circumſcribed by act of Parliament, viz. 1. *Eliz.* it became an offence of temporal cognizance, he thought proper to inſert a chapter upon that head. The ſecond part relates to the manner of proceeding againſt offenders, wherein are conſidered the juriſdiction of the ſeveral Courts, the manner of apprehending, committing, bailing, and arraigning offenders, their ſeveral pleas, bringing them to trial, judgment, and execution. The table is a perfect analyſis of the whole work. The learned gentleman (21), who drew it up, hath followed our author through all the diviſions and ſub-diviſions of his various ſubjects; and ſhewn, that he as well underſtood Sir Matthew Hale's method, as the matter of his treatiſe, ſo that this table, in the opinion of many, ſtands in competition with the very beſt tables to the books of our Law. Mr. Bayle has ſhewn on ſeveral occaſions the great uſe of a good Index, and the prodigious inconvenience of a bad one. See particularly the articles of (NICHOLAS) ANTONIO, and (SEBASTIAN) CASTALIO.

(21 Charles Robinſon of Grays-Inn Eſq;

[*O*] *He was twice married, and had children by his former wife, but none by the latter.*] His firſt wife was *Anne*, daughter of Sir Henry Moor of Faly in Berkſhire, grandchild to Sir Francis Moor, Serjeant at Law. By her he had ten children; the four firſt of whom died young, the other ſix lived to be all married; and he outlived them all, except his eldeſt daughter and his youngeſt ſon. His eldeſt ſon, *Robert*, married Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Chock of Avington in Berkſhire; and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five children, two ſons, *Matthew* and *Gabriel*, and three daughters, *Anne*, *Mary*, and *Frances*; and by the Judge's advice, they both made him their executor; upon which he took his grandchildren into his own care, and among them left his eſtate. His ſecond ſon, *Matthew*, married *Anne*, daughter of Mr. Matthew Simmonds of Hilſley in Glouceſterſhire, who died ſoon after, and left one ſon named *Matthew*. His third ſon, *Thomas*, married Rebecca, daughter of Chriſtian le Brune, a Dutch Merchant, and died without iſſue. His fourth ſon,

it was ſo. Yet afterwards he abated much of the ſcrupuloſity which he had about cauſes, that appeared at firſt view unjuſt [P]; upon this occaſion, there were two cauſes brought to him, which by the ignorance of the Party or their Attorney were ſo ill repreſented to him, that they ſeemed to be very bad; but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found that they were really good and juſt. After this he ſlackened very much of his former ſtrictneſs of refuſing to meddle in cauſes, upon the ill circumſtances which appeared in them at firſt (cc).

(cc) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 86, 87.

ſon, *Edward*, married Mary, daughter of Edmund Goodyere Eſq; of Heythorp in Oxfordſhire, and was living in 1682, and had two ſons and three daughters. The Judge's eldeſt daughter, Mary, was married to Edward Alderly of Inniſhannon in the county of Cork in Ireland, who dying left her with two ſons and three daughters. She afterwards married Edward Stephens, ſon of Edward Stephens Eſq; of Cherington in Glouceſterſhire. His youngeſt daughter Elizabeth was married to Edward Webb Eſq; Barriſter at Law, and died, leaving two children, a ſon and daughter. Sir Matthew's ſecond wife was Anne, the daughter of Mr. Joſeph Biſhop of Faly in Berkſhire, by whom he had no children (22).

(22) Burnet, pag. 109, 110.

[P] *Afterwards he abated much of the ſcrupuloſity, which he had about cauſes that appeared at firſt view unjuſt.*] Cicero (23) has a remarkable paſſage with relation to the duty of Advocates and Judges. *Atque etiam hoc præceptum officii diligenter tenendum eſt, ne quem unquam innocentem judicio capitis arceſſas; id enim ſine ſcelere fieri nullo pacto poteſt. Nam quid eſt tam inhumanum, quam eloquentiam, à naturâ ad ſalutem hominum & ad conſervationem datam, ad bonorum peſtem perniciemque convertere? Nec tamen, ut hoc fugiendum eſt, item habendum eſt religioni, nocentem aliquando, modo ne nefarium impiumque defendere. Vult hoc multitudo, patitur conſuetudo, fert etiam humanitas. Judicis eſt, ſemper in cauſis verum ſequi; Patroni, nonnunquam veriſimile, etiam ſi minus ſit verum, defendere.*

(23) *De Offic.* lib. 2.

T.

HALES (JOHN), one of the moſt learned and judicious Divines of the Church of England, and ſeldom mentioned without the title of *ever-memorable* (a), was a younger ſon of John Hales (Steward to the family of the Horners in Somerſetſhire) eldeſt ſon of Edward Hales of Highchurch in that county, ſon of John Hales of the ſame place, ſon of Richard Hales, by his wife the daughter of Beauchamp (b). He was born in the pariſh of St. James in the city of Bath in 1584, and educated in grammar learning there. At thirteen years of age he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford in the beginning of 1597, and was for ſome time a ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College. Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, being informed of the prodigious pregnancy of his parts, reſolved to bring him into the ſaid College; and Mr. Hales was encouraged to ſtand for a Fellowſhip, and an election being appointed in 1605, and all candidates ſifted and examined to the utmoſt, he was the firſt who was choſen (c). Here he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage [A]; and in 1612 was appointed Greek Profeſſor (d). In March the year following he was choſen by the Univerſity to make a funeral oration upon Sir Thomas Bodley [B]. In 1616 he held a correſpondence with Mr. Oughtred, as appears by an original letter of his to that excellent Mathematician, which we ſhall give the reader in the note [C]. In 1618 he went into Holland Chaplain to Sir Dudley Carlton,

(a) *See* Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales, Fellow of Eton College, and Canon of Windſor. Being a ſpecimen of an hiſtorical and critical Engliſh Dictionary.* pag. 1. London 1719 8vo, pagg. 90. beſides the Index. The Dedication to Thomas Lord Parker, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, is dated Feb. 23, 1718-9.

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 199. 2° edit. London 1721.

(c) Idem, ibid.

(d) *Hiſt. & Antiquit. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 39.

[A] *Here he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage.*] "Through the whole courſe of his Bachelorſhip, *ſays Mr. Wood* (1) there was never any one in the then "memory of man, that ever went beyond him for "ſubtile diſputations in Philoſophy, for his eloquent "Declamations and Orations, as alſo for his exact "knowledge of the Greek Tongue, evidently demonſtrated afterwards, not only when he read the "Greek Lecture in that College, but alſo the public "Lecture of that Tongue in the Schools. His profound learning and natural endowments (not that I "ſhall take notice of his affability, ſweetneſs of nature, and complaiſance, which ſeldom accompany "hard ſtudents and criticks) made him beloved of all "good men, particularly of *Savile*, who found him, "though young, ſerviceable in his editions of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s works (2)."

(1) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 199. 2d edit. London 1721.

(2) Dr. Heylin in his *Cyprianus Anglicus*; or *The Hiſtory of the Life and Death of William Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, lib. 4. *ad ann.* 1638. pag. 361. edit. London 1668 in fol. tells us likewiſe, that H. Savile made great uſe of him in that work.

[B] *Choſen by the Univerſity to make a Funeral Oration upon Sir* Thomas Bodley.] This Oration was printed the ſame year at Oxford with this title: *Oratio funebris habita in Collegio Mertonenſi a* Johanne Haleſio, *Magiſtro in artibus, & ejuſdem Collegii Socio, anno* 1613, *Martii* 29. *quo die clariſſimo Equiti D.* Thomæ Bodleio *funus ducebatur.* Oxonii 1613 in 4to. It is reprinted in the *Vitæ ſelectorum aliquot Virorum, qui Doctrinâ, Dignitate, aut Pietate inclaruere*, publiſhed by Dr. *William Bates* (3) at London 1648 in 4to.

(3) Pag. 421, & *ſeqq.*

[C] *An Original Letter of his to that excellent Mathematician, which we ſhall give the reader in the Note.*] It was communicated to us by the very learned *William Jones* Eſq; F. R. S. It is addreſſed to his *verie good friend Mr.* William Owtred *at his houſe in Aldbury.* It is as follows:

"Good Mr. Owtred,

"Since your being with us at Eton, I was but one "three daies abſent, and then only fell out the opportunity of anſwering your letters, *eruditas, bone "Deus! et perhumanas*; which by being at Oxford "I unfortunately miſt. Now verily, Sir, I muſt "needs confeſſe, that ſuch kindneſs and ſo beneficiall "upon ſo ſmall acquaintance I never received at the "hands of any man, as I have at yours. Either your "facility was great, or your paines very much, who "could in ſo ſhort a ſpace diſcharge yourſelf of ſo "many quæries. But howſoever I eſteeme your courtyſie above all the reſt. Amongſt all the ſolutions "which you ſent me, none there was, which gave "mee not full and ſufficient ſatisfaction (and ſo I perſwade myſelfe would have given to one of deeper "ſkill than myſelfe) one only excepted, and that is "concerning the projectures of an oblique circle. "I muſt confeſſe I cannot well put by your demonſtration, neither indeede, to ſpeake plainly, "do I throughly conceive of it, by reaſon I doubt "not of my being unexperienced in theſe ſtudyes. "For if I well conceive the nature of projection, "which I take to be nothing elſe but the repreſentation of ſome ſhape and figure *in plano*, accordingly "as it appears to the eye, I do not ſee how your "concluſion can be good, except it be granted, that "there is no means to expreſſe an oblique circle ac"cording as it appears to the eye, which is againſt "your own experience. For even in the univerſal "Aſtrolabe there is one only circle fully and circularly projected into a ſtrait line; all the reſt are "either Ellipſes, or elſe figures drawing neere unto "the nature of Ellipſes compoſed of two arches of "circles, which I think indeed to bee Ellipſes. For "if ſo be every meridian in the univerſall Planiſphere "be to bee projected as a circle, then why are they "not indeede all circles, ſince that the Aſtrolabe is "nothing elſe but the projection of all the reſt of "the

Noe, not as it appeares to the eye, but as the viſual rayes comeing from the eye by the circumference of a circle inſcribed upon the globe, doe terminate upon a plaine diametrically oppoſite to the eye; the eye itſelf muſt be underſtood to be placed in the very end of the diameter.

Carlton, Embaſſador from King James I to the United Provinces, at the time of the Synod of Dort. And as Sir Dudley was obliged to give the King an account of the proceedings of the Synod, he ſent Mr. Hales to Dort, to inform him of what paſſed in that Aſſembly. Mr. Hales being recommended to Bogerman, Preſident of the Synod, and ſome others of the principal men there, became acquainted with their moſt ſecret deliberations; and having beſides the advantage of being preſent at the ſeſſions or meetings of that Synod, he was witneſs to their public tranſactions, whereof he afterwards gave an account to the Embaſſador. The letters, which he wrote to him on that occaſion, have been printed [*D*]. In his younger years he was a Calviniſt, and even then when he was employed in that Synod; but at the well preſſing St. John iii. 16. by Epiſcopius, *there he bid John Calvin good-night*, as he often told his friend Mr. Anthony Farindon (*e*). Mr. Des Maizeaux is of opinion (*f*), that it was after his return to England that he was made Fellow of Eton College; and Mr. Wood obſerves (*g*), that it was partly by the recommendation of Sir Dudley Carlton, and partly by the intereſt of Sir Henry Savile, Provoſt of that College; but it appears from the Regiſter of that College, that he had been admitted Fellow May the 24th 1613. Our author was a ſincere lover of truth, as well as maſter of a clear and ſolid judgment; and as by theſe qualities diſtinguiſhed what is eſſential to Religion from what is but accidental or even quite foreign; ſo he was grieved to ſee Chriſtians hate and perſecute each other for mere ſpeculations, and uſed to expreſs himſelf thereupon with a frankneſs peculiar to him, and ſhewed his deſire to have Religion reduced to its primitive purity and ſimplicity, which drew upon him the imputation of being a Socinian (*h*); and ſome books have been aſcribed to him, which were in effect written by Socinians [*E*]. His principles

(*e*) *See* Mr. Farindon's *Letter* to Mr. *Garthwait*, dated Sept. 17, 1657, prefixed to Mr. Hales's *Golden Remains*.

(*f*) *Ubi ſupra*, pag. 3.

(*g*) *Ubi ſup. a.*

(*h*) Des Maizeaux, pag. 4.

" the Meridians in the plaine of one? If I take upon
" mee to diſpute with you, it is but only to learne,
" and learne I cannot of you, except I betraie my
" ignorance unto you; and aſſure yourſelfe I will
" moſt ſhamefully confeſs it unto you, that I may re-
" ceave information from you. But I would not wiſh
" you to trouble yourſelfe about this buſines; for I am
" now upon going to Oxford, not to returne to ſtaie
" till about twelve or fourteen daies before Chriſtmas,
" about which tyme I underſtand by your father
" you are purpoſed to bee here. For that private
" matter, about which you wrote, I muſt confeſſe I
" have thought more upon it, than ever I did in my
" life; but what the reaſons are why I remaine ir-
" reſolute, I will throughly acquaint you when I can
" ſpeak with you. You ſhall receave by your manne
" your little compendium of Triangles, by which I
" muſt confeſſe I have found myſelfe much eaſed.
" And now what is it that I can return you for all
" theſe exceeding curteſies? But I do not love to com-
" plement; and if I miſtake you not, you do not
" expect it. I praie let me bee remembred, though
" unknown, to Miſtreſſe Owtrede; and ſo commending
" my love unto you, I commit you to God.

" From Eton Col-
" ledge this 7th of
" October 1616.

Your true, plaine
and loving friend

" Jo. Hales."

[*D*] *The Letters, which he wrote to him on that Occaſion, have been printed.*] They are printed in his *Golden Remains*, London 1659 in 4to. There are thirty-two of them (4). The firſt is dated the $\frac{14}{24}$ of November 1618, and the laſt the 7th of February 1619. To this Collection are added fifteen Letters written to Sir Dudley Carlton by Mr. Walter Balcanqual, who had been ſent to the Synod as a Repreſentative of the Church of Scotland. Theſe Letters have been received with great Applauſe by the Arminians in Holland, who are of opinion, that they diſcover the partiality and injuſtice of the Synod againſt them. Fifteen of Mr. Balcanqual's Letters, and ſeven of Mr. Hales's, were tranſlated into Latin, and inſerted in the ſecond Edition of the *Præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, &c. publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1684 by Mr. Limborch, in fol.

(4) There is among them one of Mr. Balcanqual's, dated the 13th of Feb. 1618.

[*E*] *Some Books have been aſcribed to him, which were in effect written by Socinians.*] Mr. Wood (5) ranks among the things that Mr. Hales *hath written*, the Book entituled, *Brevis Diſquiſitio, an & quomodo vulgo dicti Evangelici Pontificios, ac nominatim Val. Magni de Acatholicorum credendi regula Judicium, ſolidè atque evidenter refutare queant. Eleutheropoli, apud Godfridum Philalethium, anno MDCXXXIII.* in twelves (6) pag. 72. This Book was aſcribed to our Author ſoon after the publication of it, as appears from the following Paſſage in a Letter of Dr. *Samuel Ward*, Maſter of Sidney-Suſſex College in Cambridge to Archbiſhop Uſher, dated at Cambridge July the 7th 1634 (7). " There is a little Book, entituled,
" *Brevis Diſquiſitio*, which I ſuppoſe your Lordſhip
" hath ſeen. It contains in it ſundry both *Socinian*
" and *Pelagian* points; as alſo that the Body, which
" ſhall be raiſed in the Reſurrection, is not *idem nu-*
" *mero*; alſo Souls do not live till the Reſurrection;
" beſides ſundry others points. It is printed *Eleuther-*
" *poli*. It is ſaid it cometh out of *Eaton College*, and
" that Alefius ſhould be the Author, who was at
" *Dort* with us. I am ſorry ſuch a Book ſhould come
" thence (8)." But this Book was written by Joachimus Stegmannus, a celebrated Socinian Miniſter (9). It was tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed in 1653 with this Title: Brevis Diſquiſitio: *Or a brief enquiry touching a better way than is commonly made uſe of to refute Papiſts, and reduce Proteſtants to Certainty and Unity in Religion*. London 1653 in 8vo. pagg. 48. Mr. Wood reckons alſo among Mr. Hales's works the little Book, intitled, *Diſſertatio de Pace & Concordia Eccleſiæ. Eleutheropoli* 1628 in 12mo. " This Book, adds he (10),
" which is much celebrated by famous Authors, is
" printed in the ſame Character, and at the ſame ſup-
" poſed place, as his *Brevis Diſquiſitio*; and therefore
" by the generality is taken to be written by our Au-
" thor." But if Mr. Wood had looked into *Sandius's Bibliotheca* above quoted, he would have found that Samuel Przipcovius, a Poliſh Knight, and a great Unitarian, was the true Author of it. Sandius names it firſt in the Catalogue of that writer's works (11), and it has been publiſhed with his other writings in the edition of them printed in 1692 in fol. It has been tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed under this title: Diſſertatio de Pace, &c. *Or a Diſcourſe touching the Peace and Concord of the Church. Wherein is elegantly and acutely argued, that not ſo much a bad Opinion, as a bad Life excludes a Chriſtian out of the Kingdom of Heaven; and that the things neceſſary to be known for the attainment of Salvation are very few and eaſy; and finally that thoſe, who paſs amongſt us under the name of Hereticks, are notwithſtanding to be tolerated.* London 1653 in ſmall 8vo, pagg. 64. beſides the Preface. The Engliſh Tranſlation of this and the preceding Tract hath been reprinted in the ſecond Volume of the *Phœnix; or revival of ſcarce and valuable Pieces*. London 1708 in 8vo. with theſe words added to them; *ſuppoſed to be written by Mr. John Hales of Eton*. Mr. Des Maizeaux obſerves (12), that it is not improbable, that what gave occaſion to aſcribe theſe Books to Mr. Hales was, that the general Principles which they are grounded upon, *viz.* Having no rule of Faith but the Scriptures, explained according

(5) Col. 201.

(6) Mr. Wood is miſtaken, when he ſays that it is in 16°.

(7) See *Archbiſhop Uſher's Life and Letters publiſhed by Richard Parr, D. D. Lett.* 181. pag. 473. ed. London 1686, in fol.

(8) This paſſage is not taken notice of by Mr. Des Maizeaux in his *Life of Mr. Hales*.

(9) See *Chriſtophori Sandii Bibliotb. Anti-Trinitarior.* pag. 132, 133.

(10) Col. 201.

(11) *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* pag. 123.

(12) Pag. 8.

principles about Church peace and concord appeared chiefly in a *Tract*, which he wrote at the requeſt and for the uſe of his friend Mr. Chillingworth, *concerning Schiſm and Schiſmatics* [*F*]; which Tract being handed about in manuſcript, a copy of it came into the hands of Dr. Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who being diſpleaſed with ſome things contained in it, Mr. Hales wrote a letter to that Prelate in defence of it [*G*]. We

according to ſound reaſon, and allowing all Chriſtian Communions an equal right to interpret the Scripture to the beſt of their Judgment, and to order their Governments or Diſcipline accordingly; "that theſe "general principles, I ſay, were agreeable to Mr. "Hales's Notions, as they are, it muſt be acknow-"ledged, Principles common to all Proteſtants, but "explained and inſiſted upon with more freedom, and "in a particular manner by our Author (13)." But there was not the leaſt ground to infer from thence, that he was a Socinian; and a famous Roman Catholick Author hath with a great deal of Juſtice and Candor vindicated Mr. Chillingworth from that *Imputation* on the ſame account. After having aſſerted, that Mr. Chillingworth being *diſheartened by Daille*'s Book *de uſu Patrum* (14), *from appealing to the holy Fathers of the Church .... gladly made uſe of the grounds, which he found firſt in a Socinian's Book, who inſtead of a private Divine Spirit ſubſtituted common Reaſon, as the only proper Judge of the ſenſe of Scripture, and that upon theſe Grounds preciſely he has proceeded through his whole Book, intituled,* The Religion of Proteſtants, a ſafe way to Salvation; he adds; "But, Sir, is this ſufficient to "make poor Mr. *Chillingworth* paſs for a *Socinian?* "Does the making *private Reaſon judge* of the true "ſenſe of *Scripture* infer that neither Chriſt nor the "Holy Ghoſt are God? that the pains of Hell are "are not eternal? that ſeparate Souls have no being, "or at leaſt no perception, &c.? God forbid: for "then how many innocent Perſons would be guilty of "Blaſphemies unawares to themſelves?. Then not "only Mr. *Chillingworth*, but Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and "beſides them, God knows how many more in Lon-"don and in the Univerſities of England, would be "*Socinians* (15)." But we have an undeniable Proof of Mr. Hales's not having been a Socinian in his *confeſſion of the Trinity* printed at the beginning of his *Miſcellanies in the golden Remains*. It contains the *Sum of whatſoever either the Scriptures teach, or the Schools conclude concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity*; and Mr. Hales ſays at the cloſe of it, that *he who acknowledgeth thus much, can never poſſibly ſcruple the* eternal Deity *of the Son of God*; and adds theſe words: "If any man think *this Confeſſion* to be defective (for "I can conceive no more in this point neceſſary to "be known) let him ſupply what he conceives to be "deficient, and I ſhall thank him for his favour."

(13) Idem, ibid.

(14) *See* Mr. Creſſy's *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr. Stillingfleet, &c.* pag. 165, *& ſeqq.* edit. 1672 in 8vo. Lord Clarendon's Animadverſions upon a book intitled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed &c.* pag. 183, *& ſeqq.* edit. London 1673 in 8vo, *and* Mr. Creſſy's Epiſt. *Apologetical to a perſon of honour &c.* pag. 82. edit. 1674 in 8vo.

(15) Creſſy's *Epiſt. Apolog.* ibid.

[*F*] *A* Tract, *which he wrote at the requeſt and for the uſe of his Friend Mr. Chillingworth, concerning Schiſm and Schiſmaticks.*] Mr. Wood under the Article of *Chillingworth* (16), informs us, that Mr. Hales wrote this Tract at his deſire, when Mr. Chillingworth was compoſing his Book intitled, *The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. But the ſame Hiſtorian under the Article of Mr. Hales to which he refers the Reader is not ſo poſitive, and attributes the writing of that Tract to ſome other views, "which, as Mr. Des Maizeaux remarks "(17), are equally inconſiſtent with one another, and "with Mr. Hales's Temper and Inclination." Mr. Wood there tells us (18), that *all or moſt of this Pamphlet was taken, as it is ſaid, from* Socinus, *and written about the year* 1636. *partly, as ſome think, out of Diſcontent, that he had no Preferment conferred on him; partly, as others ſay, for the encouragement of ſome great Maſters of Wit and Reaſon to diſpute the Authority of the Church; and partly at the requeſt of his Friend Mr.* Chillingworth, *who deſired ſome ſuch matter of him, to be uſed by him in the Compoſition of his Book, intitled,* The Religion of Proteſtants, &c. The high Value, which the Engliſh Clergy had for this Tract ſoon after the Reſtoration, is evident from the Quotations, which Dr. Stillingfleet made out of it in his *Irenicum: a Weapon-ſalve for the Church's Wounds*; the firſt edition which was printed 1661 in 4to, and the ſecond in 1662 with an *Appendix concerning the power of Excommunication in a Chriſtian Church*. In this Diſcourſe he ſtyles (19) Mr. *Hales's Tract concerning Schiſm an excellent one*, and the Author *a very learned and judicious Divine; as learned and judicious a Divine, as moſt our Nation bred; an excellent Perſon*, whoſe words he had taken the pains to tranſcribe, *becauſe of that great Wiſdom, Judgment, and Moderation contained in them; a learned, judicious, and rational Author; a grave and wiſe perſon, whoſe words ſavour of a more than ordinary Tincture of a true Spirit of Chriſtianity, that ſcorns to make Religion a foot-ſtool to Pride and Ambition*; and he allows him an equal Authority with the moſt eminent Divines of the Church of England; "all "which as Mr. Des Maizeaux obſerves, he had in-"duſtriouſly and carefully avoided to do, had he not "certainly known, that the Engliſh Clergy did agree "with him in their Judgment of that *incomparable* "*Man*, for ſo he calls him likewiſe." The Doctor alſo in his *unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, printed at London 1681 in 4to anſwers the objection of Mr. Richard Baxter with a Paſſage out of Mr. Hales's *Tract* (21). However this piece has been attacked not only by Popiſh writers, but even by ſome Divines of the Church of England. The ſame year it came out, Dr. William Page, Maſter of the Free-ſchool at Reading, publiſhed againſt it *certain Animadverſions upon ſome paſſages in a* Tract concerning Schiſm and Schiſmaticks, &c. Oxford 1642 in 4to. (22). And Philip Scot, a Roman Catholick, likewiſe attacked it in his *Treatiſe of the Schiſm of England*, Amſterdam 1650 in 12mo. (23). After the Reſtoration it was animadverted upon by ſome Divines of the Church of England, who were diſpleaſed to find it cited by other Divines of the ſame Church, as a Book tending to promote Peace and Unity, and made uſe of by the Nonconformiſts to juſtify their ſeparation from the Church. This we ſhall relate more particularly in Mr. Wood's own words (24). *And ſince it hath given great advantage and uſe to ſome that have not loved, nor are lovers of the Church of England,* as (1) E.S. *in his* Irenicum. (2) *Dr.* Jo. Owen *in his* Plea (25) for the Nonconformiſt. (3) *The Author of* Separation no Schiſm, *wrote againſt Dr.* John Sharp's Sermon before the Lord Mayor (26), *on Rom.* 14. 19. (4) Andr. Marvell *in his* Rehearſal tranſpoſed part I. &c. *So that advantage being taken by it, and the Tract ſeveral times printed, ſome of the Orthodox Clergy have anſwered it; among which have been* (1) Robert Conold, M. A. *in his* Notion of Schiſm in two Letters; *the laſt of which is againſt Mr. Hales* (2), Tho. Long, *B. D. in his* Character of a Separatiſts; *but more largely in his Book intituled,* Mr. Hales's Treatiſe of Schiſm examined and cenſured, &c. Mr. Conold's Book is intitled, *The Notion of Schiſm ſtated according to the antients, and conſidered with reference to the Non-Conformiſts; and the Pleas for Schiſmatics examined: Being Animadverſions upon the* Plea for the Non-Conformiſt: *With Reflections on that famous* Tract of Schiſm, *written by Mr.* Hales. *In two Letters to a very worthy Gentleman. By* Robert Conold, M. A. London 1677 in 8vo.

(16) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 43.

(17) Pag. 10.

(18) Col. 202.

(19) Irenic. pag. 120. 2d edit. London 1662 in 4to.

(20) Pag. 25.

(21) See *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, pag. 146.

(22) Wood, col. 333.

(23) Idem, col. 202.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Printed in 1674 in 8vo.

(26) This Sermon was preached in 1674; and the *Separation no Schiſm* was printed in 1675, being written by Mr. Tho. Wadſworth. *See* Dr. Calamy's *Life of Mr. R. Baxter*, vol. 1. pag. 346. and vol. 2. p. 26.

[*G*] *Mr.* Hales *wrote a Letter to that Prelate in defence of it.*] This Letter was firſt publiſhed by the Author of, *The Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which attend the ſtudy of the Scriptures in the way of private Judgment*, &c. who added it to the 7th Edition of that Pamphlet printed in 1716. Mr. Des Maizeaux obſerves (27), that it was probably found among the Papers of Archbiſhop Laud, which after the Reſtoration were taken from Mr. Prynne. In this Letter Mr. Hales declares, that as to the *Things diſcuſſed* in the *Tract concerning Schiſm, if they be Errors, which he hath here vented* (*as perchance*, ſays he, *they are*) yet his *Will hath no part in them, and they are but iſſues of unfortunate Inquiry*. And he expreſſes how careful and conſtant he hath been in the purſuit of Truth. After this previous Declaration he obſerves, that "howſo-"ever he hath miſcaſt ſome parcel of his accounts, "yet he is moſt certain, that the total ſum is right; "for it amounts to no more than that Precept of the "Apoſtle, *as far as it is poſſible have peace with all* "*Men*." And he farther adds, that "there could be

(27) Pag. 16.

We have no certain account of what paſſed afterwards between the Archbiſhop and him [*H*]; but though his Grace's notions concerning the authority of the Church and other points were different from thoſe of our author, yet he entertained ſo high an opinion of

" no great harm in the Premiſſes, where the conclu-
" ſion was nothing elſe but peace." Theſe things being premiſed, he ſays, that all *that may ſeem to lie open to exception, is compriſed under two general heads*, his *Carriage*, 1. *towards Antiquity*; 2. *towards Authority*. He anſwers firſt thoſe, who thought that he had been *too ſharp in cenſuring Antiquity beyond that good reſpect which is due unto it*. And as to *Authority*, he ſays, " Whereas in one point, ſpeaking of Church-Autho-
" rity, I bluntly added [*which is none*] I muſt ac-
" knowledge it was *uncautiouſly* ſpoken, and being
" taken in a *generality*, is falſe, tho' as it refers to
" the *occaſion*, which I there fall upon, it is (as I think
" I may ſafely ſay) moſt true." He ſhews afterwards that by *Church-Authority*, he did not mean the Juriſdiction of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons in *Church Cauſes* or *matter of Fact*, wherein the ſaid Perſons, " in caſes
" of their cognizance have the ſame Authority as
" any other have, to whom power of juriſdiction is
" committed. Their *Conſiſtories*, their *Courts*, their
" *Determinations*, ſtand upon as warrantable Evidence
" as the Deciſions of *other Benches and Courts do*." But that by *Church Authority* he viſibly meant the Deciſion of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons in point of *Church Queſtions* and *diſputable Opinions*. " I count, ſays he, in point of
" *deciſion of Church Queſtions*, if I ſay of the *Autho-
" rity of the Church*, that it was *none*, I know no
" adverſary that I have, the Church of Rome only ex-
" cepted. For this cannot be true, except we make
" the Church *judge of Controverſies*, the *contrary* of
" which we generally maintain againſt that Church.
" Now it plainly appears, ſays he, that upon this
" occaſion I ſpoke for it; for beginning to ſpeak of
" *Schiſm* ariſing by reaſon of ambiguous opinions,
" I brought in nakedly thoſe words, which gave
" occaſion of *Offence*; which if I had ſpoken with
" due Qualification, I had not erred at all." *Again*, continues he, *whereas I did too plainly deliver myſelf* de Origine Dominii, *and denied it to be founded either in* Nature *or in* Religion; *I am very well content to put off the Deciſion of this point till Elias come*. He ſhews it to be *a point of mere Speculation, which in common life and uſe hath no place at all*; and adds, " That whether Dominion *in Civilibus*, or *in Sacris*,
" be Κτίσις, &c. or comes by *Divine Right*, it con-
" cerns them to look to, who have Dominion com-
" mitted to them. To *others*, ſays he, whoſe Duty it
" is to obey, and *myſelf* above all, who am beſt con-
" tented to live and die a poor and private Man, it is
" a Speculation merely uſeleſs." But he ſuppoſes at the ſame time, that what is commanded to private Perſons by their ſuperiors, may be done with *good Conſcience*. Laſtly, he vindicates himſelf againſt *ſome* Perſons, who *by reaſon of a Paſſage*, wherein he *ſharply tasked* Epiſcopal Ambition, *ſuſpected* that *in his Heart* he did *ſecretly lodge a Malignity againſt the* Epiſcopal Order; *and that under pretence of taxing the Antients, he ſecretly laſhed at the* preſent Times. He ſhews that he had not given the leaſt pretence for ſuch an Imputation; and concludes by rejoicing at the happy Condition of Epiſcopacy in England, as it was then, and had been ſettled for well near one hundred *Years*.

[*H*] *We have no certain account of what paſſed afterwards between the Archbiſhop and him.*] Dr. Peter Heylin indeed, who took for granted, that Mr. Hales was the true author of the Socinian Books mentioned in the note , and had very different ſentiments from our author with regard to Church-Power, after having obſerved (28), that as the Archbiſhop had laboured by the means which he relates, *to preſerve the Church of England from the growth of Popery, ſo he took care for preventing the ſubverſion of it by the ſpreading of the* Socinian *Hereſies*; and directed the *ſuppreſſing all Books of that nature, which had been imported into England out of other countries*; adds (29), " There had
" been publiſhed a Diſcourſe, called *Diſquiſitio brevis*,
" in which ſome of the principal *Socinian* tenents
" were cunningly inſerted, pretending them for the
" beſt expedients to appeaſe ſome controverſies betwixt
" us and Rome. The book aſcribed in common
" ſpeech to *Hales* of *Eaton*, a man of infinite read-
" ing and no leſs ingenuity, free of diſcourſe, and as
" communicative of his knowledge as the cœleſtial
" bodies of their light and influences. There paſt
" alſo up and down a Diſcourſe of *Schiſm*, not printed,
" but tranſmitted from hand to hand in written co-
" pies, intended chiefly for the encouragement of ſome
" of our greateſt maſters of wit and reaſon, to deſpiſe the
" authority of the Church. Which being diſperſed
" about this time (30), gave the Archbiſhop occaſion
" to ſend for him to Lambeth, in hope that he might
" gain the man, whoſe abilities he was well acquainted
" with, when he lived in Oxon; an excellent Gre-
" cian in thoſe days, and one whom *Savil* made great
" uſe of in his Greek Edition of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s
" works. About nine of the clock in the morning
" he came to know his Grace's pleaſure, who took
" him along with him into his garden, commanding
" that none of his ſervants ſhould come at him upon
" any occaſion. There they continued in diſcourſe
" till the bell rang to prayers, and after prayers were
" ended, till the dinner was ready, and after that
" too, till the coming in of the Lord *Conway* and
" ſome other perſons of honour, put a neceſſity upon
" ſome of his ſervants to give him notice how the
" time had paſſed away. So in they came, high-
" coloured, and panting for want of breath; enough
" to ſhew, that there had been ſome heats between
" them not then fully cooled. It was my chance to
" be there that day, either to know his Grace's plea-
" ſure, or to render an account of ſome former com-
" mands (31), but I know not which; and I found
" *Hales* very glad to ſee me in that place (32), as
" being himſelf a meer ſtranger to it and unknown
" to all. He told me afterwards, that he found the
" Archbiſhop (whom he knew before for a nimble
" Diſputant) to be as well verſed in books as buſi-
" neſs; that he had been ferretted by him from one
" hold to another, till there was none left to afford
" him any further ſhelter; that he was now reſolved
" to be orthodox, and to declare himſelf a true ſon
" of the Church of England, both for doctrine and
" diſcipline; that to this end he had obtained leave
" to call himſelf his Graces's Chaplain, that naming
" him in his public prayers for his Lord and Patron,
" the greater notice might be taken of the alteration.
" Thus was *Hales* gained to the Church, and gained
" a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by
" the Archbiſhop's commendation to be Prebend of
" *Windſor*, and to hold the ſame by ſpecial diſpenſa-
" tion with his place in Eton." In this narrative Dr. Heylin aſſerts two things; firſt, that Mr. *Hales* was once a *Socinian*, and an enemy to *the Authority of the Church*; and ſecondly, that he was reclaimed from his errors by Archbiſhop Laud, in a converſation which that Prelate had with him, and thereby *gained unto the Church of England*. But the imputation of *Socinianiſm* is here founded upon the notion, that Mr. *Hales* was the author of the *Diſquiſitio brevis*, which we have ſhewn above to be a miſtake. And the accuſation of his having been an enemy to the *Authority of the Church*, is grounded by the Doctor on his *Tract concerning Schiſm, which was*, ſays he, *intended chiefly for ſome of our greateſt maſters of wit and reaſon to deſpiſe the authority of the Church*. Mr. Des Maizeaux (34), to enable the reader to judge the better what ſtreſs is to be laid on this laſt acculation, enters into the character of Dr. *Heylin*, whom he ſhews from Mr. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes* to have been a man of *forwardneſs, high conceit of himſelf, and confidence; a ſevere and vigorous oppoſer of Schiſmaticks*; and with regard to his hiſtorical writings, *in ſome things too much a Party to be an Hiſtorian*; in ſhort very remote from Mr. *Hales*'s ſentiments with reſpect to the Church, which the Doctor in a Diſputation at Oxford in 1627 maintain'd *could not err*. Mr. Des Maizeaux obſerves (35) " that it is eaſy to imagine, that ſuch a man as he,
" muſt

(28) Cyprianus Anglicus, *ut ſupra*, lib. 4. *ad ann.* 1638, pag. 361.

(29) Ibid. pag. 361, 362.

(30) In the year 1638.

(31) Dr. Heylin was the Archbiſhop's Chaplain.

(32) The Dr. calls Mr. Hales his *dear friend* in the *Quinquarticular Hiſtory*, Part 1. cap. 5. Sect. 7 and 10.

(33) It is probable, that the Doctor means here Mr. Chillingworth.

(34) Pag. 28, 29.

(35) Pag. 29, 30.

of him, that it is ſaid he uſed his aſſiſtance in preparing the ſecond edition of his Anſwer to Fiſher the Jeſuit publiſhed in 1639, where the objections of *A. C.* againſt the firſt edition are ſo fully confuted (*i*). It is certain, that Mr. Hales was the ſame year preferred to a Canonry of Windſor (*k*), which could not be done without the approbation or favour of the Archbiſhop, who had then ſo great an intereſt at Court, and was beſides

(*i*) Mr. Des Maizeaux obſerves, pag. 18. *marginal note* (*i*), that this may be verified by comparing ſome of Mr. Hales's pieces with *A. C.*'s objections.

(*k*) His patent bears date May 23, 1639; and he was inſtalled June the 27th following. *See* Dr. John Walker's *Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and ſufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, &c. who were ſequeſtered &c. in the late times of the Grand Rebellion*, Part 2. pag. 94.

" muſt take every body to be an Heretick, who " would not allow the Church the ſame power and " dominion as he did; and conſequently could not but " be highly offended at Mr. Hales's *Tract of Schiſm*, " wherein it is aſſerted, that *Church-Authority is none*. " And ſo far the Doctor is in the right to ſay, that " this Tract *teaches* people *to deſpiſe the Authority of* " *the Church*; for it teaches us to reject all human " authority, and have no rule of faith beſides the " Scripture. But it muſt be owned at the ſame time " that this is the true doctrine of the Proteſtants; " and that whatever ſhifts and evaſions ſome of them " may uſe, they are forced to come into it, when the " Diſpute is with the Roman Catholics. Mr. *Chil-* " *lingworth* hath made it the foundation of his *Reli-* " *gion of Proteſtants* &c. ... And this ſhews what " little regard is to be had to Dr. *Heylin*, when he re- " preſents Mr. *Hales* as a man out of the Pale of the " *Church of England*, becauſe he ſtrenuouſly, but " freely, openly, and candidly aſſerted the grand princi- " ple of the *Reformation*. Dr. Stillingfleet had a very " different idea both of Mr. *Hales* and of his *Tract of* " *Schiſm*." Mr. Des Maizeaux concludes therefore (36) that both the aſſertions of Dr. *Heylin* are groundleſs, ſince the Archbiſhop could not recall our author from heretical opinions, which he never held, or *from erroneous opinions which are no errors at all*; and that whoever knows the nature of man will not think it probable, that a perſon of Mr. *Hales*'s judgment, learning and impartiality, being already fifty four years old, could in a few hours converſation account falſe and heretical a doctrine, which he had always looked upon as an eſſential part of his Religion; a doctrine, that muſt have been the frequent object of his enquiry and meditation, and that had been ſolemnly profeſſed and maintained by ſome of the greateſt men of the Church of England then living. Mr. Des Maizeaux adds, that theſe and the like conſiderations would be ſufficient to confute Dr. Heylin's aſſertions; but that we may carry this point further, and bring it to a demonſtration by plain matter of fact. We have the *Letter*, which Mr. *Hales* wrote to Archbiſhop Laud, to vindicate his *Tract* of *Schiſm*, in which *Tract* he had ſaid, that *Church-Authority* was *none*; and though in his *Letter* he owns that expreſſion to have been *uncautious*, yet he maintains it to be *moſt true* in the ſenſe, in which he ſpoke it. For he ſhews that by *Church-Authority* he meant the deciſion of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, in reference to controverted points of doctrine and diſcipline, which he calls Church-Queſtions. *I count*, ſays he, *in point of* Deciſion of Church-Queſtions, *if I ſay of the* Authority of the Church, *that it was none, I know no adverſary that I have, the* Church *of* Rome *only excepted. For this cannot be true, except we make the Church judge of* Controverſies; *the contrary to which we generally maintain againſt that Church. Now it plainly appears, that upon this occaſion I ſpake it; for beginning to ſpeak of Schiſm ariſing by reaſon of ambiguous opinions, I brought in nakedly thoſe words, which gave occaſion of offence, which if I had ſpoken with due qualification, I had not erred at all.* We ſee here, as Mr. Des Maizeaux obſerves (37), that the words, which he had uſed in his *Tract*, viz. that *Church-Authority* was *none*, are the very words, which gave occaſion of offence, and contain the doctrine ſo much abhorred by Dr. Heylin; yet that he doth not diſown or palliate what he had ſaid; but on the contrary maintains it to be the undoubted doctrine of the Proteſtants, and particularly the Church of England, whereof he acknowledges himſelf a member, when he ſays to the Archbiſhop, *the contrary to which we generally maintain* againſt the Church of Rome. Mr. *Hales* clears in the ſame manner the other poſitions of his *Tract* of *Schiſm*. And in reference to the whole, and in juſtice to himſelf, (having no doubt been miſrepreſented to the Archbiſhop) he tells his Grace how active, ſincere, and unbiaſſed he had always been in the purſuit of truth. *Concerning the things diſcuſſed in that pamphlet*, ſays he, *I humbly beg leave, before I come to particulars, to ſpeak for myſelf thus much in general. If they be errors, which I have here vented, (as perchance they are) yet my will hath no part in them, and they are but the iſſues of unfortunate enquiry.* Galen, *that great Phyſician, ſpeaks thus of himſelf.* Ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ παιδὸς ὅπως ἐνθουσιῶν &c. I know not how, *ſays that worthy perſon*, even from my youth up, in a wonderful manner, whether by divine inſpiration, or by fury and poſſeſſion, or however you may pleaſe to ſtile it, I have much contemned the opinion of the *many*; but *truth and knowledge* I have above meaſure affected, verily perſuading myſelf, that a fairer, more divine fortune could never befal a man. *Some title, ſome claim I may juſtly lay to the words of this excellent perſon; for the purſuit of truth hath been my only care ever ſince I firſt underſtood the meaning of the word. For this, I have forſaken all hopes, all friends, all deſires, which might biaſs me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have ſpent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all I have, that I might remove from myſelf that cenſure of Tertullian,* ſuo vitio quis quid ignorat. *If with all this coſt and pains my purchaſe is but error, I may ſafely ſay, to err has coſt me more, than it hath many to find the truth; and truth itſelf ſhall give me this teſtimony at laſt, that if I have miſſed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune.* This is the perſon, who is repreſented by Dr. Heylin as a Sophiſter, who was *ferretted from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any farther ſhelter*; and who in ſome hours converſation could be brought to change his opinions, and put on a new ſet of ideas (38); The Doctor's narrative ſhews plainly, that he knew nothing of Mr. *Hales's* apologetical *Letter* to the Archbiſhop, no more than of what paſſed afterwards between them. He ſays that they both *came in* from the Garden *high-coloured, and almoſt panting for want of breath*; and from thence he infers, that there had been *ſome heats between them not fully cooled.* But as to the ſubject of their diſcourſe, and the occaſion of thoſe *heats*, he leaves us quite in the dark. He adds, that Mr. *Hales* told him, that he *had been ferretted by* the Archbiſhop *from one hole to another till there was none left to afford him any farther ſhelter*; but doth not ſay what he had been *ferretted* about. In ſhort, the Doctor, according to his own account, was perfectly ignorant of what was debated in the converſation, which Mr. *Hales* had with the Archbiſhop, though the knowledge of it ſhould have been the ground and foundation of his aſſertions (39). Mr. Des Maizeaux concludes upon the whole, that we cannot rely upon any part of the Doctor's account of Mr. *Hales*'s pretended converſion to the Church of England, from which he had never departed; and that the Doctor was the firſt, who mentioned that circumſtance, and the only authority, which can be found for it; all other writers, who ſpeak of it, having without enquiry only copied it from him, adding however, as it happens but too often on ſuch occaſions, ſomething of their own to the account of their original author, in order to enforce it, and to make it ſerve the better for their purpoſe (41). The writers, whom Mr. Des Maizeaux examines for this purpoſe, are I, Dr. Samuel Parker, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford, in his *Reproof to the* Rehearſal tranſproſed, *in a Diſcourſe to its author: by the author of the* Eccleſiaſtical Politie (42). II. Mr. Thomas Long, in a book intitled, Mr. Hales's *Treatiſe of Schiſm, examined and cenſured*. III. Mr. Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes* (43). IV. Dr. John Walker in his *Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers, and Sufferings of the Clergy* &c. (44). V. Mr. Echard's *Hiſtory of England* (45). Beſides Dr. John Pearſon, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. *Hales*, and hath given us his character, makes no mention of that particular, though it was no leſs for the advantage of his readers, than for the honour of his friend, to have it publiſhed if he had known it to be true. On the contrary, he gives us an account of Mr. *Hales*, which is abſolutely inconſiſtent with that of Dr. Heylin.

(36) Pag. 31.

(37) Pag. 32.

(38) Idem, pag. 33.

(39) Idem, ibid.

(40) Idem, pag. 30, 31.

(41) Idem note [*H*], pag. 35, & ſeqq.

(42) Pag. 136, & ſeqq. edit. London 1673 in 8vo.

(43) Vol. 2. col. 200.

(44) Part 2. pag. 95. col. 1.

(45) Vol. 2. pag. 140. edit. London 1718 in fol.

besides a patron of learning and learned men (*l*). When the King and Court resided at Windsor, he was much frequented by Noblemen and Courtiers, who were extremely delighted in his company, not for his severe or retired walks of learning, but for his polite Discourses, Stories, and Poetry (*m*). For he used sometimes to divert himself with writing Verses; and as he was an excellent Critic, his company was much desired by the greatest wits of that time, the Lord Falkland, Sir John Suckling, Sir William D'Avenant, Ben Johnson, &c. (*) [*I*]. It is reported, that in his former days he had been heard to say, that *he thought he should never die a martyr*; "yet, says Mr. Wood (*n*), he was "known to live a Confessor, and died little less than a martyr for the doctrine and "discipline of the Church of England." For after the civil wars broke out, he was ejected out of his Fellowship of Eton and Canonry of Windsor; however Mr. Penwarden, who had been put into his Fellowship, went to him some time after, and voluntarily offered to resign the place to him; but he refused it [*K*]; and was obliged to sell his excellent Library, which cost him 2500 *l.* for 700 *l.* (*o*). This money he shared with several Ministers, Scholars, and others, who had been also deprived of their subsistence; by which means this resource soon failed him (*p*). He might have found it supplied by a Gentleman of the family of the Sedley's in Kent, who invited him to live in his family, with an allowance of an hundred pounds *per ann.* the keeping of two horses, and a servant's diet; but being wedded to a retired and studious life, he refused to accept of that generous offer; yet about that time accepted of a quarter of that salary with his diet, in the family of Mrs. Salter (*q*), who lived near Eton, purposely to instruct her son William Salter (*r*). At last Dr. King, the suffering Bishop of Chichester, together with several of his relations, retiring to the house of this Gentlewoman, they formed a kind of College there, and had the Prayers, Sacraments, &c. according to the orders of the Church of England, in which Mr. Hales officiated as Chaplain (*s*). Afterwards a declaration being published, prohibiting all persons from harbouring malignants, that is, Royalists, he left that family, notwithstanding the Lady assured him, that she would readily undergo all danger which might ensue by entertaining him; and retiring to Eton, lodged in the house of a widow, whose husband had been his servant (*t*) [*L*]. In this obscure retreat he was reduced to extreme want [*M*], and Mr. Andrew Marvel very justly observes,

(*l*) Des Maizeaux pag. 19.

(*m*) Wood, col. 201.

(*) Des Maizeaux, pag. 56.

(*n*) Col. 201.

(*o*) He sold it to Cornelius Bee, Bookseller in London. Wood, col. 200.

(*p*) Walker, *ubi supra*, pag. 94.

(*q*) Wood, col. 200. thinks, that she was sister to Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Sarum.

(*r*) Idem, ibid.

(*s*) Walker, *ubi supra*.

(*t*) Wood, col. 200.

"News in one day as much w'have here,
"As serves all Windsor for a year,
"And which the Carrier brings to you,
"After 't has here been found not true.
"Then think what company's designed
"To meet you here, men so refined,
"Their very common talk at board
"And makes wise or mad a young Court-Lord,
"Makes him capable to be
"Umpire in's father's company.
"Where no disputes nor forc't defence
"Of a man's person for his sence
"Take up the time; all strive to be
"Masters of truth, as victory;
"And where you come, I'de boldly swear
"A Synod might as eas'ly erre."

[*I*] *He used sometimes to divert himself with writing verses; and as he was an excellent Critic, his company was much desired by the greatest wits of that time, the Lord* Falkland, *Sir* John Suckling, *Sir* William D'Avenant, Ben. Johnson, *&c.*] His talent for Poetry appears by Sir John Suckling's mentioning him in his *Session* of *Poets* (47).

(47) *Fragmenta aurea*: a Collection of all the incomparable pieces written by Sir John Suckling, pag. 10. edit. London 1648.

Hales *set by himself most gravely did smile*
To see them about nothing keep such a toil;
Apollo *had spied him, but knowing his mind*
Past by, and called Falkland, *that sat just behind.*

There is among Sir John Suckling's Works a Letter in Verse, which, though Mr. Hales's name is not prefixed to it, discovers itself to have been written to him from London to Eton. Sir John invites him to come to town, and enjoy the company of his friends. The Letter is as follows (48).

(48) Ibid. pag. 34, 35, 36.

"Sir,
"Whether these lines do find you out,
"Putting or clearing of a doubt;
"(Whether Predestination,
"Or reconciling three in one;
"Or the unriddling how men die,
"And live at once eternally,
"Now take you up) know 'tis decreed,
"You straight bestride the College-steed.
"Leave *Socinus* and the Schoolmen,
"(Which *Jack Bond* swears do but fool men)
"And come to town: 'tis fit you show,
"Yourself abroad, that men may know
"(Whate'er some learned men have guest)
"That Oracles are not yet ceas'd.
"There shall you find the wit and wine
"Flowing alike, and both divine;
"Dishes, with names not known in books,
"And lesse amongst the College-Cooks;
"With sauce so poignant, that you need
"Not stay till hunger bids you feed.
"The sweat of learned Johnson's brain,
"And gentle Shakespear's easier strain,
"A hackney-coach conveys you to,
"In spite of all that rain can do:
"And for your eighteen pence you sit
"The lord and judge of all fresh wit.

[*K*] *Mr.* Penwarden, *who had been put into his Fellowship, went to him sometime after, and voluntarily offered to resign the place to him; but he refused it.*] Mr. Wood informs us of this particular (49), and observes, that when Mr. *Hales* refused the offer, he declared, that *the Parliament having put him out, he was resolved never to be put in again by them.* But this expression, as Mr. Des Maizeaux observes (50), seems to be too loose and general to be Mr. *Hales*'s. For a man's property being taken from him unjustly by certain persons, is not a reason to refuse receiving it again, when the same persons offer to restore it to him. We must therefore suppose that Mr. *Hales*'s refusal was grounded upon some other considerations; as for instance, that he could not be readmitted into his fellowship without complying with such things, as he did not think lawful or proper for him to submit to.

(49) Col. 200.

(50) Note [*K*] pag. 61, 62.

[*L*] *Retiring to Eton, lodged in the house of a widow, whose husband had been his servant.*] This house, says Mr. Wood (51) *was next to the Christopher Inn, belonging then to Hannah the widow of John Dickenson, (a servant from his youth to our author Hales,) and afterwards the wife and widow of one Simon Powney; which Hannah was very careful of and respectful to him, as having formerly at her marriage received of his bounty.*

(51) Col. 200.

[*M*] *Reduced to extreme want.*] This appears evidently from a conversation, which he had with Mr. Anthony Farindon, his intimate friend; who *coming one day to see him, some months before Mr. Hales's death, found him at his mean lodgings at Mrs. Powney's house, but in a temper gravely chearful, and well becoming*

observes (*u*), that "it is not one of the leaſt ignominies of that age, that ſo eminent a "perſon ſhould have been by the iniquity of the times reduced to thoſe neceſſities, under "which he lived." He died in the houſe of the widow abovementioned on Monday May the 19th 1656, aged ſeventy two years, and was, according to his deſire, buried in Eton College Churchyard (*w*), where a monument was erected over his grave by Mr. Peter Curwen [*N*]. He wrote ſeveral pieces, which have been publiſhed ſince his death [*O*]. He had the marks of great ingenuity in his countenance, which *was ſanguine*,

(*u*) The Rehearſal tranſpros'd; *or* Animadverſions on a late book intitled, *A Preface ſhewing what grounds there are of fears and jealouſies of Popery*, 2d edit. 1672, in 8vo, pag. 175.

(*w*) Wood, col. 202.

coming an excellent Chriſtian under ſuch circumſtances. After a ſlight and very homely dinner, ſuitable to the lodgings, ſome diſcourſe paſſed between them concerning their old friends, and the black and diſmal aſpect of the times; and at laſt Mr. Hales aſked Mr. Farrindon to walk out with him into the church-yard, where this great man's neceſſities preſt him to tell his friend, that he had been forced to ſell his whole library, ſave a few books which he had given away, and ſix or eight little books of devotion, which lay in his chamber; and that for money he had no more than what he then ſhewed him, which was about ſeven or eight ſhillings; and beſides, ſaid he, I doubt I am indebted for my lodging. Mr. Farrindon it ſeems did not imagine that it had been ſo very mean with him as this came to; and therefore was much ſurprized to hear it; and with-all ſaid, I have at preſent money to command, and to morrow will pay you fifty pounds in part of the many ſums I and my poor wife have received of you in our great neceſſities, and will pay you more ſuddenly as you ſhall want it. *To which he anſwered,* No, you do not owe me a penny, or if you do, I here forgive you, for you ſhall never pay me a penny. I know you and yours will have occaſion for much more than what you have lately gotten. But if you know any other friend that hath a full purſe, and will ſpare ſome of it to me, I will not refuſe. *To which he added,* When I die, which I hope is not far off, for I am weary of this uncharitable World I deſire you to ſee me buried in [that] (*) place of the Churchyard, *(pointing to the place).*" But why not "in the church, *ſaith Mr.* Farindon, with the Pro-"voſt (†), Sir *Henry Wootton*, and the reſt of your "friends and predeceſſors?" Becauſe, ſays he, I am neither the founder of it, nor have I been a Benefactor to it, nor ſhall I ever now be able to be ſo, I am ſatisfied. This Paſſage is tranſcribed from Dr. *Walker*'s Attempt (52), who informs us in a marginal note, how he came by theſe particulars. "This Diſcourſe, "*ſays he*, between Mr. *Farringdon* and Mr. *Hales*, I "had out of a looſe ſheet, which was one of Mr. *Fa-"rindon*'s Papers retrieved by Mr. *Fulman* of C.C.C. "in order to have written the Life of Mr. *Hales*. It "was communicated to me by the late Mr. Arch-"deacon Davies of Saperton, in Glouceſterſhire, a-"mong ſeveral other Notices relating to my under-"taking."

(*) Dr. Walker tells us, that this word is torn out of his paper; but preſumes it muſt be ſo ſupplied.

(†) Sir Henry Saville.

(52) Pag. 94.

[*N*] *A monument was erected over his grave by Mr. Peter Curwen.*] Mr. Wood has given us the beſt part of it (53), but we have it intire in Mr. Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana* (59). It runs thus; *Muſarum & Charitum amor* Johannes Haleſius *(Nomen non tam hominis quam ſcientiæ) hic non jacet, at lutum quod aſſumpſit optimum infra ponitur. Nam certe ſupra mortales emicuit, moribus ſuaviſſimis, ingenio ſubtiliſſimo, pleno pectore ſapuit, mundo ſublimior, adeoque aptior Angelorum conſortio* (55). *Ætatis ſuæ* 72. *Impenſis Pet. Curwenni, olim hujus Coll. Alumni.*

(53) Col. 202.

(54) *Monumenta Anglicana: being inſcriptions on the monuments of ſeveral eminent perſons deceaſed in or ſince the year* 1650, *to the end of the year* 1679, *deduced into a ſeries of time by way of Annals. By John le Neve, Gent.* pag. 44. Num. 114. edit. London 1718 in 8vo.

(55) Mr. Wood calls it *Choro.*

[*O*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces, which have been publiſhed ſince his death.*] In 1657 Mr. Timothy Garthwait, a Bookſeller of London, having collected ſome Sermons and Letters of Mr. Hales, committed them to the reviſal of Mr. Peter Gunning, who was afterwards Biſhop of Ely; and knowing that Mr. Farindon had been Mr. Hales's intimate friend, he wrote to him in order to have his opinion of theſe ſeveral pieces; whoſe anſwer is prefixed to the edition of them. Mr. Farindon deſigned to have prefixed Mr. Hales's Life to that collection of his works; but died the year following, before he had perfected it. In order to ſupply that loſs, the Bookſeller applied himſelf to Dr. John Pearſon, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, who declined entering upon the particulars of our author's Life, and undertook only to draw his character in an epiſtle to the reader. The book was publiſhed in 1659, in 4to, with this title: *Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr.* John Hales *of Eton Colledge, &c.* It contains nine Sermons, the I. On 2 *Pet.* iii. 16. II. On *Rom.* xiv. 1. III. On *Luke* xvi. 25. IV. On *Num.* xxxv. 33. V. On *Matth.* xxvi. 75. VI. On *Phil.* iv. 13. VII. On *Luke* xviii. 1. VIII. On *John* xviii. 36. IX. On 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 3. The firſt of theſe Sermons had already been printed at Oxford in 1617. in 4to. Mr. Farindon in his letter ſeems to inſinuate, that the ſecond had likewiſe been publiſhed ſoon after it was preached. And Mr. Wood (56) intimates that the Sermon *of Duels* was alſo printed; though he is miſtaken in ſaying, that it was not printed in Mr. Hales's *Remains*. This volume alſo contains our author's letters from the Synod of Dort, to Sir Dudly Carleton, mentioned in Note (*D*). Dr. Pearſon concluded his preface with theſe words: "The Editor "hath ſent theſe abroad to explore what welcome "they ſhall find. He hath ſome more of his Ser-"mons and tractates in his hands, and deſires if any "perſon have any other writings of the ſame author "by him, that he would be pleaſed to communicate "them to the Printer of this work, T. Garthwait, "upon promiſe, and any other engagement, that he "will take care to ſee them printed, and ſet forth by "themſelves." Notwithſtanding this advertiſement there were but few pieces added to the ſecond edition of *Mr. Hales's Remains*, printed in 1673 with this title: *Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr.* John Hales *of Eton College, &c. The Second Impreſſion. With Additions from the Author's own Copy, viz. Sermons and Miſcellanies. Alſo Letters and Expreſſes concerning the Synod of Dort (not before printed) from an authentic Hand.* London, 1673, in 4to. And even theſe additional pieces ſeem to be only the Sermons and Tractates, which Dr. Pearſon ſays were in his hands. The Sermons added in that edition, are theſe: X. On *John* xiv. 27. XI, XII. Two Sermons on 1 *Tim.* iv. 8. XIII. On *Gen.* xxviii. 20. XIV. On *Pſalm* xxxvi. 1. Theſe Sermons are followed by the Miſcellanies, viz. 1. *Mr. Hales's Confeſſion of the Trinity.* 2. *How we come to know the Scriptures to be the Word of God?* 3. *Concerning the lawfulneſs of Marriages betwixt firſt Couſins, or Couſin-Germans*, in a Letter dated September 8, 1630. 4. *The Method of reading Hiſtory.* 5. *A Letter to an Honourable Perſon concerning the Weapon-ſalve*, dated from Eton-College, the 23d of November 1630. There are no additions to Mr. Hales's or Dr. Balcanqual's Letters in that edition; but at the end of the book ſome new pieces were inſerted relating to the Synod of Dort, particularly ſix Letters to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one from Sir Dudley Carlton, and five from the Engliſh Deputies, and a Letter of the Biſhop of Landaff, the firſt of the Deputies, to Sir Dudley Carlton. The ſame year four Sermons of Mr. Hales's, different from the former, were printed by themſelves, a ſecond time, and by another Bookſeller, with this title: *Sermons preached at Eton by* John Hales, *late Fellow of that College. The ſecond Edition*, London, 1673, in 8vo. Theſe Sermons are: I. On *Luke* xvi. 25. preached at Shrove-tide at Eton College. This Sermon is the firſt part of that on the ſame words mentioned before, and called the *Rich Man's* Recipiſti. II. On 1 *Cor.* vi. 13. III. On *Gal.* vi. 7. IV. On *Matth.* xxiii. 38. In 1688 there was publiſhed a third impreſſion of Mr. Hales's *Remains* in 4to; but it contains no more than the ſecond. The four Sermons, juſt mentioned, are not inſerted in it. In 1677 a new volume of Mr. Hales's works appeared with the title of *Several Tracts by the ever memorable Mr.* John Hales *of Eaton College*, London, 1677, in 8vo, with our author's picture before it. There is no Preface nor Advertiſement to it; and it contains, 1. *A Tract concerning the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, which he defines to be, "an "evil ſpeaking of, or ſlandering of the miracles which "our Saviour did, by thoſe, who though they were "convinced

(56) Col. 125. 1ſt edit.

(x) Idem, 201.

(y) Idem, ibid.

guine, chearful, and full of air (x); his ſtature little, his body well-proportioned, and his motion quick and ſprightly. And it was ſuppoſed, that had not extremities contributed to the ſhortening of his days, nature would have afforded him life till he had been ninety years old or more (y). All writers agree that he was one of the greateſt as well as beſt men of that or any other age [P]. His friend Mr. Anthony Farindon B. D. had begun to write our author's life; and he was perfectly equal to that taſk; "for there was none "to whom Mr. Hales was ſo thoroughly known as to him, nor was there any ſo able "to declare his worth, partly by reaſon of his own abilities eminently known, princi- "pally becauſe he learned his author from an intimate converſe, who was a man never to "be

"convinced by the miracles, to believe that ſuch "works could not be done, but by the power of God, "yet did they maliciouſly ſay, they were wrought by "the power of the Devil." II. *A Tract concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*; but the Editor ſhould have added theſe words: *And concerning the queſtion, Whether the church may err in fundamentals?* for it turns upon theſe two points. He reduces the doctrine of the Euchariſt to the following propoſitions: "*Firſt*, In the Communion there is nothing given "but bread and wine. *Secondly*, The bread and wine "are ſigns indeed, but not of any thing there exhi- "bited, but of ſomewhat given long ſince, even of "Chriſt given for us upon the croſs ſixteen hundred "years ago and more. *Thirdly*, Jeſus Chriſt is eaten "at the Communion-Table in no ſenſe, neither ſpi- "ritually, by vertue of any thing done there, nor "really, neither metaphorically, nor literally. Indeed "that which is eaten, I mean the bread, is called "Chriſt by a metaphor; but it is eaten truly and "properly. *Fourthly*, The ſpiritual eating of Chriſt "is common to all places, as well as the Lord's- "Table. *Laſt of all*, The uſes and ends of the Lord's- "Supper can be no more than ſuch as are mentioned "in the Scriptures, and they are but two. 1. The "commemoration of the death and paſſion of the "Son of God ſpecified by himſelf at the inſtitution of "the ceremony. 2. To teſtify our union with Chriſt, "and communion one with another; which end "St. Paul hath taught us. In theſe few concluſions, "the whole doctrine and uſe of the Lord's Supper is "fully ſet down; and whoſo leadeth you beyond this, "doth but abuſe you. *Quicquid ultra quæritur, non "intelligitur* (57)." He had obſerved juſt before, that the Proteſtants opinion of "a real preſence, firſt "invented by Martin Bucer, and from him deſcended "into the writings of Calvin and Beza, whoſe autho- "rity have well-near ſpread it over the face of the "Reformed Churches, is an error, which touches the "eſſence of that holy action; but, *continues he*, there "are many now which touch the end and uſe of it, "which are practiſed by the Reformed parts; for out "of an extravagant fancy they have of it, they abuſe "it to many ends, of which we may think the firſt "inſtitutor, ſave that he was God, and knew all "things, never thought of (58)." Among theſe er- rors he reckons giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to ſick perſons; and this paſſage was ani- madverted upon by Dr. Thomas Smith (59). III. The third piece is, *A Paraphraſe on the twelfth chapter of the Goſpel according to St. Matthew.* IV. The fourth, *A Tract concerning the Power of the Keys, and Auricular Confeſſion.* Dated from his Study the 8th day of March, 1637. V. The fifth is, the *Tract con- cerning Schiſm and Schiſmatics: Wherein is briefly diſ- covered the original cauſes of all ſchiſm. Never before printed by the Original copy.* The Editor added theſe laſt words to the title, to ſhew, that all the former edi- tions were ſpurious. And indeed the firſt, printed without his name in 1642, in one ſheet in 4to (60), as well as the ſubſequent ones, were ſo mangled and cor- rupted, that the ſenſe of the author was often perverted or made unintelligible.

(57) *Several Tracts*, pag. 60, *& ſeqq.*

(58) Ibid. pag. 56, 57.

(59) *Account of the Greek Church as to its Doctrine and Worſhip &c.* pag. 169. edit. London 1680, in 8vo.

(60) Wood, col. 202.

[P] *All writers agree, that he was one of the greateſt as well as beſt men of that or any another age.*] Mr. Wood tells us (61), that he was "highly eſteemed by learn- "ed men beyond and within the ſeas, from whom "he ſeldom failed to receive letters every week, where- "in his judgment was deſired as to ſeveral parts of "learning. He was a very hard ſtudent to the laſt, "and a great faſter, it being his conſtant cuſtom to "faſt from Thurſday dinner to Saturday. And tho' "a perſon of wonderful knowledge, yet he was ſo "modeſt as to be patiently contented to hear the diſ- "putes of perſons at table, and thoſe of ſmall abili- "ties, without interpoſing or ſpeaking a word till "deſired. As for his juſtneſs and uprightneſs in his "dealings, all that knew him have avouched him to "be incomparable. For when he was Burſar of his "College, and had received bad money, he would lay "it aſide, and put good of his own in the room of "it to pay to others. Inſomuch that ſometimes he "hath thrown into the river 20 or 30 *l.* at a time, "all which he hath ſtood to, to the loſs of himſelf, "rather than others of the Society ſhould be enda- "maged." We ſhall cloſe all with the admirable elogium by Dr. John Pearſon, in the Preface to Mr. *Hales's Remains*; wherein that excellent writer tells us, that our author "was a man of as great a "ſharpneſs, quickneſs, and ſubtilty of wit, as ever "this or perhaps any nation bred. His induſtry "did ſtrive, if it were poſſible, to equal the largeneſs "of his capacity; whereby he became as great a "maſter of polite, various, and univerſal learning, "as ever yet converſed with books. Proportionate "to his reading was his meditation, which furniſhed "him with a judgment beyond the vulgar reach of "man, built upon unordinary notions, raiſed out of "ſtrange obſervations and comprehenſive thoughts "within himſelf. So that he really was a moſt pro- "digious example of an acute and piercing wit, of a "vaſt and illimited knowledge, of a ſevere and pro- "found judgment. Although this may ſeem, as in "itſelf it truly is, a grand elogium; yet I cannot "eſteem him leſs in any thing, which belongs to a "good man, than in thoſe intellectual perfections; "and had he never underſtood a letter, he had other "ornaments ſufficient to endear him. For he was of "a nature, as we ordinarily ſpeak, ſo kind, ſo "ſweet, ſo courting all mankind, of an affability ſo "prompt, ſo ready to receive all conditions of men, "that I conceive it near as eaſy a taſk for any one to "become ſo knowing as ſo obliging. As a Chriſtian, "none more ever acquainted with the nature of the "Goſpel, becauſe none more ſtudious of the knowledge "of it, or more curious in the ſearch; which being "ſtrengthened by thoſe great advantages beforemen- "tioned, could not prove otherwiſe than highly ef- "fectual. He took indeed to himſelf a liberty of "judging, not of others, but for himſelf. And if "ever any man might be allowed in theſe matters to "judge, it was he, who had ſo long, ſo much, ſo "advantageouſly conſidered, and, which is more, "never could be ſaid to have had the leaſt worldly "deſign in his determinations. He was not only "moſt truly and ſtrictly juſt in his ſecular tranſactions, "moſt exemplary meek and humble, notwithſtanding "his perfections; but beyond all example charitable, "giving unto all, preſerving nothing but his books, "to continue his learning and himſelf; which when "he had before digeſted, he was forced at laſt to feed up- "on, at the ſame time the happieſt and moſt unfortunate "*Helluo* of books, the grand example of learning, and "of the envy and contempt, which followeth it. . . . . "Where he lived, none was ever more ſollicited and "urged to write, and thereby truly to teach the "world, than he; none ever ſo reſolved (pardon the "expreſſion) ſo obſtinate againſt it. His facile and "courteous nature learnt only not to yield to that ſol- "liciitation. And therefore the world muſt be content "to ſuffer the loſs of all his learning, with the depri- "vation of himſelf; and yet he cannot be accuſed for "hiding of his talent, being ſo communicative, that "his chamber was a church, and his chair a pulpit."

T.

(61) Col. 200.

" be truly expreſſed but by himſelf (z)." But he died before he could perfect that work (*aa*). Mr. William Fulman likewiſe took great pains in writing the Life of our Author, and had obtained many materials towards it, but for want of application to perſons for farther information, that work was left imperfect (*bb*). Since the writing of this we have received a copy of Mr. Hales's will (*cc*), which contradicts the account abovementioned of the great neceſſity, to which he was reduced, and the ſale of his *whole* Library. The will bears date the very day of his death May 19, 1656, and was proved before Dr. Alleſtree March 29, 1666. In this will he gives above an hundred pounds in legacies, beſides what he gives his Executrix Mrs. Hannah Dickenſon; and bequeathes all his Latin and Greek books to John Salter Eſq; and his Engliſh to his Executrix, from whom they came to Mr. Mansfield, who lived where Dr. Snape's houſe ſtands. It is ſuppoſed, that there were many of his writings among them, but they were, after the old man's death, diſperſed and loſt. His will begins thus: " *In Dei nomine Amen* &c. My ſoul having been long " ſince bequeathed unto the mercies of God in Jeſus Chriſt my only Saviour, and my " body naturally bequeathing itſelf to duſt and aſhes, out of which it was taken, I *John* " *Hales* of Eton in the county of Berks Clerk by this my laſt will and teſtament do " diſpoſe of the ſmall remainder of my poor broken eſtate in manner &c." He concludes with ordering his Executrix to bury him in the churchyard of Eton near to his little godſon John Dickenſon the next Evening ſong after he ſhall die, in a plain ſimple manner, *without ſermon or ringing of bells, commenſations, compotations, or ſuch like ſolemnities*; " for, ſays he, as in my life I have done the church no ſervice, ſo I will not that " in my death the church do me any honour." He ſtiles his expulſion from his fellowſhip of Eton College, *an unjuſt and cauſeleſs extruſion.*

(z) Dr. John Pearſon in his Preface ro Mr. Hales's *Golden Remains*, edit. London 1659 in 4to.

(aa) He died in Milkſtreet London in September 1688 Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 226.

(bb) Idem, col. 824. *See likewiſe*, col. 226.

(cc) Communicated by the Reverend Mr. *Stephen Sleech*, Fellow of Eton College.

HALI-BEIGH, firſt *Dragoman* at the Grand Seignior's Court in the ſeventeenth Century, was born a Chriſtian in Poland. But having been taken by the Tartars when he was very young, they ſold him to the Turks, who brought him up in their Religion in the Seraglio. His name, in his native country, was *Bobowſki* [*A*]. He learnt a great many languages [*B*], and became capable to write books [*C*]. He had a great correſpondence with the Engliſh, who perſuaded him to tranſlate ſome works into the Turkiſh Language (*a*). He had a mind to return into the boſom of the Chriſtian Church, but he died before he could perform this noble deſign (*b*). See the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary.

(a) See the remark [*C*].

(b) *The Journal of Leipſic*, for the year 1691, pag. 226.

[*A*] *His Name was* Bobowski.] Which Name has been rendered in Latin by *Bobovius*; but moſt of the Authors have miſ-ſpelt it. Sir Paul Ricaut calls this Polander *Albert Bobomius* (1). His Tranſlator Beſpier correct him, and writes (2) *Bohonius*, becauſe Thomas Smith wrote *it thus in page* 39. *of his Epiſt.* de moſib. Turc. *It is true that we read* Bozonius *in that paſſage, but the* Errata *ſhews that we muſt read* Bohonius. Sir Paul Ricaut's firſt Tranſlator (13) had put *Bobovius.*

(1) Ricaut, *Etat preſent de l'Empire Ottoman*, liv. 2. pag. m. 405.

(2) *Remarques Curieuſes*, pag. 667.

(3) His name is *Briot.*

[*B*] *He learnt a great many Languages.*] Let me beg leave to quote here at length the Author of *Lacedemon, ancient and modern, See*, ſays he, (4), *how Fornetti, Panagiotti, la Fontain, and all other Dragomans of the Port, are conſiderate, when they treat with the Miniſters of the Chriſtian Princes, or with any of their Attendants. The famous Poliſh Renegado Halybey, who, bating his Apoſtacy, and morally ſpeaking, is one of the moſt honeſt men in the World, does not act more openly with the Chriſtians, though he be their great friend; and yet he could do it very well ſince he ſpeaks eighteen different Languages.*

(4) Pag. 81. of the Dutch edition.

[*C*] . . . *He became capable of writing Books.*] He compoſed at Thomas Smith's requeſt, a Treatiſe *de Turcarum liturgia, peregrinatione Meccana, circumciſione, ægrotorum viſitatione, &c.* That is, " Of the Litur- " gy of the Turks, their Pilgrimages to Mecca, their " Circumciſion, their viſiting of the Sick, &c." Dr. Hyde, to whom Thomas Smith gave it, has publiſhed it (5). About the year 1653 Hali-Beigh tranſlated the Catechiſm of the Church of England into the Turkiſh Language at Monſieur Baſire's requeſt. He tranſlated the whole Bible into the ſame Language, at Levinus Warnerus's deſire, who ſent that Tranſlation to Leyden to be printed there; but it was not done, and the Manuſcript is lodged in the Library of Leyden. I do not mention a Turkiſh Grammar, nor a Turkiſh Dictionary, written by the ſame Dragoman. Sir Paul Ricaut owns that he was indebted to him for a great many things, which he relates in his preſent State of the Ottoman Empire. If he had conſulted him upon all the particulars he relates, he would not have aſſerted that the Mohamedan Women have no hopes of going to Heaven. Hali-Beigh maintains the contrary Opinion in the Book which Dr. Hyde has publiſhed. *Rycautum refellit, docuitque, mulieres Turcicas omnino ſperare ſe aliquando æque ac viros in Paradiſum receptum iri, quod iſte pag.* 271 *negaverat* (6). i. e. He refutes Sir Paul Ricaut, and aſſerts, that the " Turkiſh Women hope they will be one day ad- " mitted into Heaven as well as the Men, which " Sir Paul had denied in page 271." Sir Paul Ricaut relates amongſt other things (7), that he learnt from this Dragoman, that there are ſome Turks who believe, that the departed Souls of Men enter into the Body of ſuch Animals whoſe conſtitution comes neareſt to that of the Body they have left (7). A Druggiſt told Hali-Beigh once, *that he prayed to God with his Brethren of the ſame Trade* (8), *that their Souls might have the honour after their Death, to paſs into the body of ſome Camels, becauſe theſe animals are ſober, laborious, patient, meek, and bring them their Drugs from the remoteſt Countries of the Eaſt. That he did not doubt but after a Revolution of three thouſand three hundred and ſixty-five years, during which his Soul would travel over all the World, and paſs ſucceſſively from one Camel to another, it would return into an human Body much more pure and perfect than it was before. This was the Druggiſt's Creed. It is reported that moſt of the Chineſe are very much addicted to this opinion.*

(5) In the Appendix to Abraham Petitſol's *Itinera Mundi*, at Oxford, in the year 1691. See the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipſic, for May 1691, pag. 226.

(6) *Acta Eruditorum Leipſ.* for the Month of May 1691, pag. 226.

(7) *Etat preſent de l'Empire Ottoman*, pag. 406, 407.

(8) It is, becauſe all thoſe, whom this druggiſt knew to be of that opinion, of the tranſmigration of ſouls, at Conſtantinople, were Druggiſts like himſelf.

There is amongſt Dr. Barrow's poſthumous works an account in *Engliſh* of a Conſpiracy that was contrived in the Seraglio, againſt *Kioſen*, Mohamed the fourth's Grandmother. Albert Bohovius, *Muſician to the Seraglio, and an eye-witneſs of this Event*, wrote that account (9).

(9) See the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, tom. 10. pag. 62.

HALICARNASSUS, the capital city of the Kingdom of Caria, was a Colony of the Argivi (*a*) [*A*]. It became famous under the two Artemiſia's, and under Mauſolus the latter's

(a) Strab. lib. 14. Pomp Mela, lib. 1. cap. 16.

[*A*] *It was a Colony of the Argivi.*] The Leader of this Colony was called Anthes, and ſet out from the City of Trœſen (1). Pauſanias (2) calls him Antha, and makes him the Son of Neptunus; and does not aſcribe the leading of the Colony to him, but to his deſcendants: However it be, the Inhabitants of Halicarnaſſus were ſurnamed Ἀνθάδαι (3).

(1) Strabo, lib. 14. Callimachus, *apud* Stephanum.

(2) Lib. 2. pag. 73.

(3) Steph. in Ἁλικ.

latter's husband. This Prince's tomb was a great ornament to that city; for it was reckoned amongst the seven wonders of the world. The fountain Salmacis was another remarkable thing at Halicarnassus. There were few cities on that coast which made so stout a resistance against Alexander as this did (*b*). It was they who had taken care to fortify it well. Vitruvius (*c*) acquaints us with some particulars concerning the manner in which this city was built, and he mentions expresly what regards its Ports. Meursius, notwithstanding his great learning, has applied to two ports of Rhodes (*d*) what Vitruvius observes only of those of Halicarnassus. Alexander was forced to burn the city, whilst the garrison was still defending themselves vigorously in the forts. Herodotus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus were both born in that city.

(*b*) Freinshem. *Supplem. in Curtium*, lib. 2. cap. 9, 10.

(*c*) Lib. 2. c. 8.

(*d*) In *Rhodo*, pag. 36.

HALL (JOSEPH) one of the most illustrious Prelates that were in England in the seventeenth century, was at first Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Cambridge, and then successively, Rector of Halsted, Dean of Worcester, Bishop of Exeter, and lastly Bishop of Norwich (*a*). He was sent a Deputy to the Synod of Dort, and assisted at it for some time; but as he happened to fall sick, he was obliged to retire from that famous assembly [*A*]. He published a great many books, several of which have been translated out of English into French by Theodore Jaquemot. We meet in them with beautiful thoughts, a very sound morality, and even a great sense of devotion. He died in the year 1656 at the age of fourscore and two years (*b*). He had so great an inclination to study, that he passionately wished his health had suffered him to apply himself to it to an excess [*B*]. His works testify, that upon occasion he was very hot against Popery [*C*]. He did not much less blame those who separated themselves from an established

(*a*) Witte, *in Diario Biograph.*

(*b*) Idem, ibid.

[*A*] *He was obliged to retire from the Synod of Dort.*] A Priest who wrote against him insulted him on account of this Deputation; but he answered him in the following manner. (1) "Let himself or some of his rash "and inconsiderate Companions declare wherein I "have been a disgrace to them that sent me. It was to "my just grief, that the necessity of my health, and "even the danger of my Life called me untimely "from that assembly; but since I was obliged either "to yield to that necessity and danger of death, or to "retire, let others judge whether I went away with "more infirmity than approbation, though I were never so unworthy of it."*

(1) Joseph Hall's *Apology for the Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons*, fol. B. 3. *verso* of Jaquemot's French Translation, printed at Geneva in the year 1665.

(*) *Necessitate propellente proditio est ea tacere quæ quis studiosè perfecerit.* Chrysost. *in illa: Utinam tolerassetis, &c.* i. e. "When necessity "requires it is "betraying one's "self to conceal "what one has "performed with "great care."

[*B*] *He had so great an Inclination to study, that he . . . . wished his health had suffered him to apply himself to it to an excess.*] This particular of his Life is to be met with in one of his Letters. *Fear not my immoderate Studies*, says he (2) to one of his Friends, *I have a Body that controuls me enough in these courses; my Friends need not! There is nothing whereof I could sooner surfeit, if I durst neglect my body to satisfy my mind: But while I affect Knowledge, my weakness checks me, and says*, Better a little Learning than no Health. *I yield, and patiently abide myself debarred of my chosen Felicity.* How happy is a man, who with such a studious inclination has also a body strong enough to resist all the effects and consequences of a strong and continual Application of the mind! Joseph Hall, who had not this happiness, behaved himself as all prudent men ought to do in such a case. He curbed his inclination as soon as the state of his body gave him notice that this was necessary for his health. They who will go beyond their natural strength, and be constantly poring upon their Books, though they perceive that study heats their blood too much, and exhausts their spirits, act more than they ought to do against this maxim, that life does not consist in being barely alive, but in being in health.

(2) Hall's *Epistles*, Decad. 2. Ep. 5. To Mr. Hugh Cholmley, in vol. 1. of Bishop Hall's works printed in the year 1617, pag. m. 352.

At nostri bene computentur anni;
Et quantum tetricæ tulere febres,
Aut languor gravis, aut mali dolores,
A vita meliore seperentur:
Infantes sumus, & senes videmur.
Ætatem Priamique, Nestorisque
Longam qui putat esse, Martiane,
Multum decipiturque, fallitur que.
Non est vivere, sed valere vita (3).

(3) Martial. Ep. 70. lib. 6.

That is,

"To make an exact account of the Years we live,
"we must deduct from them the time we laboured un-
"der a sad fever, or were in a languishing con-
"dition, or suffered great pains; all that time, I say,
"must be deducted from our Life, and it will appear
"that we are but infants, though we seem to be old
"men. He who imagines that Priam or Nestor
"lived a great while, is mistaken, Martianus; for true
"life does not consist barely in being alive, but in the
"enjoyment of health."

If a Man's zeal for the service of the public, encouraged him to neglect his health, it would be a mistaken zeal; for he can be much more useful to the Republic of Letters by taking care of his health, than by not minding it. He will go much further by working a little every day than by applying himself during several whole weeks to an uninterrupted labour, which cannot fail to draw long Distempers upon him. Happy are those, I say it again, who are strong enough to study fourteen or fifteen hours a day, without being ever out of order. An infinite number of men of Letters are deprived of that happiness; some, but very few enjoy it, *pauci quos æquus amavit Jupiter*, who are the favourites of Heaven,

Unus & alter
Forsitan hæc sperant juvenes, quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan (4).

(4) Juvenal, Sati 14. ver. 33.

That is,

"Some Sons, indeed, some very few we see
"- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
"Whom gracious Heaven for nobler ends design'd,
"Their looks erected, and their Clay refin'd.
DRYDEN.

[*C*] *He was very hot against Popery.*] His Epistles (5) sufficient to prove this fact. I shall extract but one passage out of them, and I shall choose such an one as will shew that the author hated the Jesuits very much. Observe also that I extract it from a Letter, which contains the Observations Joseph Hall made about the year 1610 during his journey through the Spanish-Low-Countries. The accounts of travellers generally shew us what kind of taste is predominant in them; whether they be Antiquaries, Natural Philosophers, Geographers, Engineers, devout men, or Bigots, &c. Joseph Hall's account treats of nothing but subjects controverted between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics; and indeed he declares that he will relate only *what he noted as a Divine* (6); but let us come to the point, and quote what we have promised. "Along "our way, how many Churches saw we demolished! "Nothing left, but rude heaps, to tell the passenger, "there had been both devotion and hostilitie. O the "miserable footsteps of warre, besides bloudshed, ruine, "and desolation! *Furie* hath done that there, which "*covetuousnes* would doe with us; would doe, but "shall not: the truth within shall save the walls with-"out. And, to speake truly (whatever the vulgar ex-"claime) idolatry pulled down those walls (7), not rage. "If there had beene no Hollander to raze them, "they should have fallen alone, rather than hide so "much impietie under their guiltie roofe. These "are spectacles, not so much of crueltie, as justice; "crueltie

(5) See especially the 1st of the 1st Decad, the 4th of the 2d, and the 1st of the 5th.

(6) Hall's Epist. Decad. 1. Ep. 5. pag. m. 327.

(7) This is a false thought, for Idolatry has not been the cause of the ruin of any Churches in those countries, where religious wars have not exerted their rage?

blished Church, without great neceſſity: witneſs what he ſaid of Arminius [*D*]. He lamented the diviſions of the Proteſtants, and wrote ſomething concerning the means of putting an end to thoſe diviſions. The great Pacificator Duræus was very much pleaſed

" crueltie of man, juſtice of God. But (which I wondred at) Churches fall, and Jeſuites Colledges riſe, every where. There is no city, where thoſe are not either rearing, or built. Whence cometh this? Is it, for that devotion is not ſo neceſſarie as policie? Thoſe men (as we ſay of the fox) fare beſt when they are moſt curſed. None ſo much ſpighted of their owne; none ſo hated of all; none ſo oppoſed by ours; and yet theſe ill weeds grow. Whoever lives long, ſhall ſee them feared of their owne, which now hate them; ſhall ſee theſe ſeaven leane kine devoure all the fat beaſts that feed on the medowes of *Tyber*. I prophecie, as *Pharaoh* dreamed. The event ſhall juſtifie my confidence (8)." This Prophecy has not yet been accompliſhed; the power of the Jeſuits is indeed very much increaſed ſince that time notwithſtanding all the endeavours of their adverſaries againſt it; but the latter are ſtill very formidable, and create them a great deal of trouble. They who will read Joſeph Hall's Treatiſe intitled *No Peace with Rome* will be convinced of his zeal againſt Popery. Jaquemot's French Tranſlation of it was printed at Geneva in the year 1629 in 12mo. See alſo his *Serious Diſſuaſive from Popery* to W. Di Revolté &c. (9) (*a*).

(8) Hall's Epiſt Decad. 1. Ep. 5. pag. m. 127. Obſerve that in the remark [*N*] of the article IPSIUS I have quoted another paſſage, taken from this ſame letter of Joſeph Hall.

(9) Jaquemot's French tranſlation of it was printed at Geneva in the year 1629.

(*a*) *To W. Di Rivolté.*] We cannot tell whether Mr. Bayle or Jaquemot is here in the wrong. But they ſeem to have taken the word *Di Revolté* for a proper name of ſome Italian, Whereas Biſhop Hall directs his Treatiſe to W. D. *Revolted &c.* meaning, no doubt, *revolted from the Proteſtant Religion.*] ADD. REM.

[*D*] . . . *He did not much leſs blame thoſe who ſeparated themſelves from an eſtabliſhed Church . . . Witneſs what he ſaid of Arminius.*] The 1ſt Epiſtle of the IIId Decad was written to M. Smith and M. Rob, *Ring Leaders of the late Separation at Amſterdam.* He repreſents to them (10) in the ſtrongeſt manner that they *could not do a greater injurie to their mother the* Church of England, *than to flie from her:* that *if ſhe were infeſtious, yet ſhe is* their mother, which *were cauſe enough for* them *to lament her, to pray for her, to labour for her red eſſe, not to avoid her. This unnaturalneſſe is ſhamefull.* They pleaded this commandment, *go out of Babylon* (11). But he anſwered that the Church, from which they were ſeparated, had left Babylon. " Shee herſelfe, continues he (12), feeles, and ſees that ſhe is abandoned, and complaines to all the world, that we have not only forſaken, but ſpoyled her . . . And except you will be willingly blind, you may ſee the heaps of her altars, the aſhes of her idols, the ruins of her monuments, the condemnation of her errors, the revenge of her abominations . . . Where are the maine buildings of that accurſed citie? . . . Where are thoſe rotten heapes (rotten not through age but corruption) of tranſubſtantiating of bread, adoring of images, multitude of ſacraments, power of indulgences, neceſſitie of confeſſions, profit of pilgrimages, conſtrained and approved ignorance, unknown devotions? Where are thoſe deep vaults (if not mines) of penances and purgatories, and whatſoever has been deviſed by thoſe Popelings, whether profitable or glorious, againſt the Lord and his Chriſt? Are they not all razed, and buried in the duſt? Has not the Majeſtie of her Gods, like as was done to *Mithra* and *Serapis*, been long agone offered to the publique laughter of the vulgar (13)?" They *alledged*, that the Church of England, by adhering *to Ceremonies ſtill tarried in the ſuburbs* of Babylon (14). He anſwers, that by arguing thus they would *finde Babylon* every where. *Would you have runne from Geneva*, does he aſk them (15), *becauſe of her wafers*, which ſhe uſes in the Lord's Supper (16)? . . " Compare the place you have left with that you have choſen; let not fear of ſeeming to repent overſoon, make you partial. Lo, there a common harbour of all opinions, of all hereſies, if not a mixture. Here you drew in the free and clear air of the Goſpel, without that odious compoſition of Judaiſm, Arianiſm, Anabaptiſm. There you live in the ſtench of theſe and more. You are unworthy of pity, if you will approve your miſery. Say if you can, that the Church of England (if ſhe were not yours) is not an heaven, to Amſterdam (17) . . Who gaines by this Sequeſtration but *Rome* and *Hell?* How do they inſult in this advantage, that our mother's own children condemn her for unclean, that we are daily weakned by our diviſions, that the rude multitude hath ſo palpable a motive to diſtruſt us? . . . The God of Heaven open your eyes, that you may ſee the injuſtice of that zeal which hath tranſported you . . . . otherwiſe your ſouls ſhall find too late, that it had been a thouſand times better to ſwallow a ceremony, than to rend a Church; yea, that even whoredoms and murthers ſhall abide an eaſier anſwer than ſeparation (18)."

(10) Hall's Epiſt Decad. 3 Ep. 1. pag. m. 367.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid. pag. m. 368.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) This cuſtom of uſing *Waters* or *unleavened bread* has been altered at Geneva. *See* Spon, *Hiſtoire de Geneve*, pag. m. 373.

(17) Hall's Epiſtles, Decad. 3. Ep. 1. pag. m. 368.

(18) Ibid. pag. 368, 369.

You may add to this the arguments he urges in the Vth Letter of the VIth Decad (19), on the elogies he beſtows in another letter (20) on the memory of Junius. It is in the letter in which he deplores the diviſions that were amongſt the Divines of Leiden, and in which he makes a pathetical deſcription of the evils which the Church ſuffered by that kind of civil war. Here follows the exhortation he makes to the profeſſor who occaſioned thoſe diviſions. " If I might challenge ought in that your acute and learned *Arminius*, I would thus ſollicit and conjure him. Alas that ſo wiſe a man ſhould not know the worth of peace; that ſo noble a ſon of the Church ſhould not be brought to light, without ripping the womb of his mother! What mean thoſe ſubtle novelties? If they make thee famous, and the Church miſerable, who ſhall gain by them? Is ſingularity ſo precious, that it ſhould coſt no leſs than the ſafety and quiet of our common mother? If it be truth thou affecteſt, what alone? Could never any eyes till thine be bleſſed with this object? Where hath that ſacred verity hid herſelf thus long from all her careful inquiſitors, that ſhe now firſt ſhews her head to thee unſought! Hath the Goſpel ſhined thus long and bright and left ſome corners unſeen? Away with all new truths; fair and plauſible they may be, ſound they cannot; ſome may admire thee for them, none ſhall bleſs thee. But grant that ſome of theſe are no leſs true, than nice points; what do theſe unſeaſonable crochets and quavers trouble the harmonious plaine-ſongs of our peace? Some quiet error may be better than ſome unruly truth. Who binds us to ſpeak all we think? So the Church may be ſtill, would God thou wert wiſe alone. Did not our adverſaries quarrel enough before, at our quarrels? Were they not rich enough with our ſpoils? By the dear name of our common parents, what meaneſt thou *Arminius?* Whither tend theſe new raiſed diſſentions? Who ſhall thrive by them, but they which inſult upon us, and riſe by the fall of truth? Who ſhall be undone but thy brethren? By that moſt precious and bloody ranſome of our Saviour, and by that awful appearance we ſhall once make before the glorious tribunal of the ſon of God, remember thy ſelf, and the poor diſtracted limbs of the Church; let not thoſe excellent parts, wherewith God hath furniſhed thee, lie in the narrow way, and cauſe any weak one to fall, or ſtumble or err. For God's ſake either ſay nothing, or the ſame. How many grave wits have ſought no by-paths, and now are happy with their fellows? Let it be no diſparagement to go with many to heaven? What could he reply to ſo plain a charge (21)?"

(19) It is written to M. J. W. diſſuading him from ſeparation.

(20) Your famous Junius had nothing more admirable than his love of peace; when our buſy ſeparatiſts appealed to him, with what a ſweet calmneſs did he reject them, and with a grave importunity called them to moderation! how it would have vexed his holy ſoul &c. Hall's Epiſt. Decad. 6. Ep. 7. pag. m. 465.

(21) Ibid. pag. 465, 466.

Let us not forget to obſerve that he gives us to underſtand that *Arminius*'s adverſaries beſtirred themſelves too much in that affair. " Neither . . . Gomarus, *continues he* (22), nor your other grave fraternity of reverent Divines, have been ſilent in ſo main a cauſe. I fear rather too much noiſe in any of theſe tumults: there may too many contend, not intreat. Multitude of ſuters is commonly powerful; how much more in juſt motions? . . . Wiſdom and charity could teach us to avoid the prejudice *of theſe differences*, If we had but theſe two virtues, quarrels ſhould not hurt us, nor the Church by us. But (alas) ſelf-love is too ſtrong for both theſe. This alone opens the flood-gates of diſſention, and drowns the ſweet

(22) Ibid. pag. 466.

pleaſed with this [E]. Amongſt other controverted ſubjects Biſhop Hall treated that of Celibacy [F], and when he knew that Marc Anthony de Dominis deſigned to return from England into Italy, he wrote a letter to him, to repreſent to him how neceſſary it is to

" but low valley of the Church. Men eſteem of " opinions becauſe their own; and will have truth " ſerve not governe. What they have undertaken " muſt be true; victory is ſought for not ſatisfaction: " victory of the author not of the cauſe. He is a " rare man that knows to yield, as well as to ar-
(23) Idem. " gue (23)." Theſe are excellent reflections, which may ſerve as a very good ſupplement to my articles of Arminius and Gomarus (24). Obſerve that the ſermon, which Biſhop Hall delivered before the Synod of Dort, ran upon this maxim, that we ought not to affect ſubtleties in matters of Religion he aſſerted that the Remonſtrants by ſubtilizing too much had been the cauſe of all thoſe commotions, which diſturbed the Church (25).

(24) See the remark [E] of the article ARMINIUS, and the remark [D] of the article GOMARUS.

(25) See *Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ præſtantium Virorum*, pag. 515. edit. 1684.

The Letter he wrote to a man who was very much unſettled in his religion, ſhews that he wiſhed moſt ardently to ſee a perfect peace and union eſtabliſhed in the church. " To day, *ſays he to that man* (26), you " are in the tents of the Romaniſts, to morrow in ours; " the next day between both, againſt both. Our ad-
(26) Joſeph Hall's *Epiſtles*, Decad. 3. Ep. 5. pag. m. 379. " verſaries think you ours, we theirs. . . . . What " hinders you? Is it our diviſions? I ſee you ſhake " your head at this, and by your ſilent geſture bewray " this the cauſe of your diſtaſte. Would God I could " either deny this with truth, or amend it with tears: " But I grant it with no leſs ſorrow, than you with " offence. This earth hath nothing more lamentable,
(27) Ibid. " than the civil jarrs of one faith (27)." He refutes afterwards the pretence one might take from theſe diſorders to join with none of the parties, and he aſſerts, that no ſocieties, and even no private perſons are free from ſuch diviſions. " Shew me that church, that hath not " complained of diſtraction; yea that family, yea that " fraternity, yea that man that always agrees with " himſelf. See if the ſpouſe of Chriſt, in that hea- " venly marriage-ſong, do not call him a young " hart *in the mountains of diviſion*. Tell me then, " whither you will go for truth, if you will allow no " truth, but where there is no diviſion. To Rome " perhaps, famous for unity, famous for peace. See " now how happily you have choſen; how well you " have ſeed: Lo there Cardinal Bellarmine himſelf, " a witneſs above exception, under his own hand " acknowledgeth to the world, and reckons up two " hundred thirty and ſeven contrarieties of doctrine
(28) Ibid. pag. m. 380. " among the Romiſh Divines (28). If our church, " *continues he* (29), diſpleaſe you for differences, their's " much more; unleſs you will be either wilfully in-
(29) Ibid. " credulous, or wilfully partial; unleſs you diſlike " a miſchief the leſs for the ſecrecy (30). What will
(30) He had obſerved a little before, that the Papiſts *have not leſs diſſention, but more ſmothered; they fight cloſe within doors, without noiſe; all our fraies are in the field.* " you do then? Will you be a church alone? Alas, " how full are you of contradictions to yourſelf! How " full of contrary purpoſes! How oft do you chide " with yourſelf! How oft do you fight with yourſelf!"

Let us occaſionally obſerve, that what he aſſerts here of Bellarmine was denied. An Engliſh Roman Catholic Prieſt pretended that it was a very impudent aſſertion (31). Joſeph Hall anſwered (32), amongſt other things, that he had reckoned thoſe 237 contrarieties according to the calculation which Pappus made, and that he reckons 103 in his *Peace with Rome*. This *Peace with Rome*, or rather *No Peace with Rome*, is a book of Joſeph Hall's. One might have put the following queſtion to him. If you found that Pappus's account was exact, why do you in that book object only 103 contrarieties; and if you did not find it exact, why do you in your letter object 237 contrarieties?

(31) *See* Joſeph Hall's *Apology for the Marriage of the Clergy*, in the anſwer to the Advertiſement.

(32) Ibid.

[E] *The great pacificator Duræus was very much pleaſed with this.*] He publiſhed, in 1634, the opinions of ſome French Divines, and thoſe of three Engliſh Biſhops concerning the method of reconciling the Proteſtants together. Our Joſeph Hall was one of theſe three Biſhops, Davenant and Morton were the two others. The *Irenicorum Tractatuum Prodromus* (an Introduction to the Treatiſes concerning a Re-union) which Duræus publiſhed in the year 1662, contains two pieces of Biſhop Hall. The one is intitled *Columba Noæ olivam adferens jactatiſſimæ Chriſti Arcæ, præſertim adverſus machinationes Pontificiorum.* i. e. " Noah's Dove bringing the olive-branch to Chriſt's " ark, terribly toſt up and down by the waves, par- " ticularly deſigned againſt the machinations of the " Papiſts." It is a ſermon which Biſhop Hall preached before the Synod or Convocation held at London. The other piece is intitled *Pax Terris, continens varia ad Concordiam inter Chriſtianos hoc tempore ſuadendam conſilia & argumenta*, i. e. " Peace upon " Earth, containing ſeveral Counſels and Arguments to " perſuade the Chriſtians to a re-union at this time."

[F] *Amongſt other controverted ſubjects he treated that of celibacy.*] The IIId Epiſtle of his IId Decad is intitled, *An Apologetical Diſcourſe of the Marriage of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons.* It coſt the author but three hours time, and contains but three ſheets (33); it has 33 pages in 12mo, in Jaquemot's French tranſlation. Twelve years after it had been publiſhed, an Engliſh Roman Catholic Prieſt undertook to refute it in a book of 380 pages (34). Joſeph Hall anſwered him very ſoon, in a book intitled, *An Apology of the Honour of the Marriage of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, againſt the wicked Calumnies of C. E. a Pſeudo Catholic Prieſt.* He publiſhed it in Engliſh in the year 1620. Jaquemot's French tranſlation of it was printed at Geneva in the year 1665, and contains 362 pages in 12mo. The Author was willing to prove his diligence, *that his proud adverſary and his ſeduced followers might ſee how a well regulated marriage is not the cauſe of the ſluggiſhneſs and ſtupidity of our minds, and of the lazineſs of our hands* (35). Though he was married, yet he finiſhed this anſwer, and *wrote it twice over with his own hand* in a very little time, tho' he laboured it *only by way of recreation, and as a diverſion from the more important duties of his calling, which at that time required from him a more conſtant attendance, than it uſually did* (36). This gives us room to imagine that the Engliſh Roman Catholic Prieſt had inſiſted upon this common topic, that marriage diverts a man too much from his ſtudies (37). Biſhop Hall had dropt ſome expreſſions, which ſeemed to hint that continency was impoſſible, and he was a little puzzled by the conſequences which were inferred from that aſſertion. Here follows one of the Roman Catholic Prieſt's objections (38). *Mr. Hall was abſent in France; the fleſh is weak, the temptations are frequent, and yet he would have taken it as a great affront and contempt, had he been ſuſpected of the leaſt diſſoluteneſs either then, or before his marriage.* He anſwers that this concluſion is not right, and compares it to the following. " A good ſwimmer can keep his breath in for ſome " minutes, when he is under water; why then could " he not keep it in for an whole hour? Why not " longer? A devout Papiſt is able to faſt after a good " breakfaſt, till dinner time at noon; why then could " he not faſt an whole week, why not a month, why " not as long as Eve, Meurſis's daughter (39)?" He obſerves afterwards amongſt other things, that St. Paul * having permitted married perſons to part *with conſent for a time, that they might give themſelves to faſting and prayer*, commands them *to come together again, that Satan may not tempt them for their incontinency:* Which ſuppoſes, that though perſons may be continent for ſome days, it does not follow from thence that they may be ſo all their life-time. It is again objected to Mr. Hall (40), that *where there is an impoſſibility, or an abſolute neceſſity, there can be no ſin, no advice; as no man ſins in not making new ſtars, or in not performing miracles.* He anſwers (41), that " this is a ſtale argu- " ment, which was often rung into Auguſtin and " Proſper's ears by the Pelagians." They object to him alſo this (42); *A father cannot blame his ſon for his incontinency; to contain one's ſelf being impoſſible. To procure anhuſband or a wife* (43) *is not a buſineſs, that can be compleated in one hour only; what muſt they do in the mean time?* " Certainly, anſwers Biſhop Hall (44), " this man ſpeaks of the hot countries of his religion, " where people are ſo eager, that they muſt be ſuf- " fered to have brothels for one ſex at leaſt; other- " wiſe what a ſtrange violence is that which he con- " ceives? As our Junius anſwered his Bellarmine in a " parallel caſe; *Hic homo ſibi videtur agere de equis* " *admiſſariis ruentibus in venerem, & de hippomane,* " *non de hominibus ratione præditis.* i. e. *This man* " *thinks*

(33) Joſeph Hall's Preface to his *Apology of the honour of the Marriage of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons.*

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid.

(37) See the remark [B] of the article USHER (HENRY).

(38) Hall's *Apology of the Marriage of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, pag. 71, 72. and compare that with the 21ſt Letter of the *Suite de la Critique generale de Maimbourg*, pag. 688.

(39) Hall's *Apology of the Marriage of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, pag. 72.

* 1 Cor. vii. 5.

(40) Ibid. p. 76.

(41) Ibid. p. 77.

(42) Ibid. pag. 78.

(43) Compare this with the 21ſt Letter of the *Suite de la Critique generale du Calviniſme &c.* Maimb. pag. 707.

(44) Hall's *Apology of the Marriage of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, pag. 78.

to continue ſeparated from the Church of Rome. This letter has been inſerted entire in Marc-Anthony de Dominis's anſwer (c). His *Miſcellaneous Epiſtles* are a very good work; they are without any date, but ſince he dedicated them to Prince Henry (d), James I's eldeſt ſon, it follows that they were written before the year 1613. He obſerves in his dedication, that it was not yet the cuſtom amongſt the Engliſh to publiſh diſcourſes in the form of letters, as it was practiſed amongſt other Nations. The Catalogue of the Oxford Library aſcribes to him a book intitled, *Mundus alter & idem* [G]; *ſive Terra auſtralis ante hac ſemper incognita, longis itineribus peregrini Academici nuperrimè luſtrata, Authore* MERCURIO BRITANNICO. i. e. "Another World and the "ſame; or the Southern Lands formerly always unknown, lately travelled over by a "foreign Academician. By *Mercurius Britannicus*." He did not like that the Noblemen of England ſhould travel into foreign countries, and he wrote a book upon this ſubject,

(c) *Journal des Savans*, for April 4, 1667.

"*thinks he is ſpeaking of ſtallions ruſhing on the mares,* "*or of the* hippomanes, *and not of rational men.* He "ſpeaks as though he had to do with ſtallions, and "not with men, not with Chriſtians, amongſt whom "it muſt be ſuppoſed that there is a certain decent "and reaſonable order eſtabliſhed, and ſome regard "had to time and to things that are ſeaſonable and "expedient." Laſtly, he objected to him the caſe of a divorce. "The huſband and the wife are ſeparated "on account of ſome miſunderſtanding between them, "or of ſome diſtemper; what muſt they do? It is "impoſſible for that man to live in a ſtate of continency. I anſwer, that if it is only their will that parts them, it muſt give way to neceſſity. Their "miſunderſtanding ought to prevent their uſing the "remedy neceſſary againſt ſin. If it is a neceſſity, it "will meet with a relief by their prayers. If they "implore and beg his aſſiſtance, who calls them to "continency by this his hand, he will grant their re"queſt, and give them the neceſſary means to perſe"vere. And why not alſo in the neceſſity of our "vows! This is a neceſſity which proceeds from our "own inventions; that proceeds from him. He has "bound himſelf to keep his own promiſes, but not "ours (45)."

(45) Ibid. pag. 79, 80.

Whoever will examine thoſe anſwers of Biſhop Hall impartially, will find them very weak. It is indeed a fight like that of a General, who having made his army march too far into the enemy's country, cannot retire back but with the loſs of his rear-guard. Any miniſter who will confeſs that continency is beyond the power of men, and who will give this reaſon for his marriage, will thereby raiſe ſuſpicions againſt himſelf with regard to the time that preceded his wedding, and during which he was ſtill younger than when he took a wife. For if in order to vindicate his character as to that time, he ſhould ſay, that he lived without love, but that at laſt, a certain woman having made an impreſſion upon him, by the means of a certain ſympathy which happens to be in nature, and of certain mechanical proportions there are between the object and the faculties of the mind (46), he found himſelf deprived of the power to contain himſelf, which he had before; if, I ſay, he ſhould have recourſe to ſuch an apology, he would expoſe himſelf to very difficult and puzzling queſtions. How have you done, would he be aſked, ſince that fatal meeting in which you fell in love? You have ſpent five or ſix months or perhaps an whole year, in courting the object of your love, and in ſettling the marriage-articles with her relations. Your love deprived you of your continency; you muſt therefore have fallen into a diſſolute courſe of life. But what would you have done if a married woman had happened to ſtrike you with thoſe ſympathies, or with thoſe proportions you mentioned? Had it been then in your power to be continent? If ſo, love and continency are not inconſiſtent, and you contradict yourſelf. If it had not been in your power to be continent, you would have committed adultery, either really, or at leaſt in your intention. But if after your marriage, your maid, who perhaps will be prettier and younger than your wife, happens to be placed with regard to you in thoſe mechanical proportions, you muſt fall in love with her, and conſequently be incapable to contain yourſelf. The ſame will happen if a married woman meets you in the ſame proportions: ſo that your virtue cannot be depended upon; one may fear daily, that your conduct will give ſome offence; or at beſt you can be conſidered but as a perſon whoſe virtue has a very weak foundation. It is certain that a man, whoſe profeſſion requires not only that he ſhould lead a virtuous life, but alſo that he ſhould have the reputation of being chaſte, cannot well and honeſtly acknowledge, that he married only becauſe it was impoſſible for him to be continent. He ought to ſay, that he could have been ſo, and that he married only with a deſign to have children, and an agreeable companion at home, a perſon he could truſt, &c. Let us conclude from all this that the controverſy of celibacy cannot be well handled, unleſs we take care not to expoſe ourſelves to the enemy's canon. Dr. Hall is much ſtronger when he inſiſts upon the ill effects of the Monaſtic vows. He is not in want of quotations. Here follows one of them (47). "Do not our Hiſ"tories tell us, that in the reign of Henry III, "Robert Gros-Teſte, the famous Biſhop of Lincoln, "in a viſitation, was obliged to preſs the breaſt of their "Nuns in order to know whether they were virgins. "*Indignum ſcribi*, it is a ſhame to mention it, as Mat"thew Paris writes (†)."

(46) See the remark [I] of the article FAREL.

(47) Hall, *Apology of the Marriage of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, pag. 94.

(†) Mat. Pariſ. *Hiſt. Anglic. Hen. III.* pag. 1085. *Et quod indignum eſt ſcribi ad domos religioſarum veniens facit exprimi mammillas earundem, ut ſic Phyſicè, &c.*

To conclude, it is not only in the Proteſtant Communions that continency has been held impoſſible: ſome Roman Catholicks have been of the ſame opinion; for they laugh'd at thoſe Clergyman, who abſtained from adultery and fornication, and took them either for Eunuchs or Sodomites; and there were Pariſhes in which it was required from the Curate that he ſhould keep a concubine, otherwiſe the honour of their Wives was not thought to be ſafe, and even with this precaution, it was not out of danger. Nicholas de Clemangis relates theſe things: *Taceo de fornicationibus & adulteriis* (Clericorum) *a quibus qui alieni ſunt, probro cæteris ac ludibrio eſſe ſoient, ſpadoneſque aut Sodomitæ appellantur, denique Laici uſque adeo perſuaſum habent nullos Cœlibes eſſe, ut in pleriſque parochiis non aliter velint Presbyterum tolerare, niſi Concubinam habeat, quo vel ſic ſuis ſit conſultum uxoribus, quæ nec ſic quidem uſquequaque ſunt extra periculum* (48).

(48) Nicol. de Clemangis, *de Præſulibus Simoniacis*, pag. mihi 165, col. 1.

[G] *They aſcribe to him a Book entituled,* Mundus alter idem.] It is an ingenious and learned fiction, in which he deſcribed the wicked morals of ſeveral nations, the drunkenneſs of ſome, the leudneſs of others, &c. He does not ſpare the Court of Rome. He compoſed this Book whilſt he cultivated polite Literature; and having applied himſelf afterwards to Divinity, he neglected that work, and looked upon it as a mere trifle; but his friend William Knight had not the ſame opinion of it, he judged it ſo worthy to be publiſhed, that he cauſed it to be printed, though he feared thereby to diſpleaſe the perſon who compoſed it and truſted him with the Manuſcript. This is what he lays before the Reader at length in the Preface. I cannot tell in what year it was firſt publiſhed; I have only the Edition of Utrecht of the year 1643 *in* 12*mo*, to which the publiſher added Campanella's City of the Sun, and Chancellor Bacon's new Atlantis, becauſe theſe works are upon a ſubject much like that of Biſhop Hall's. The latter's work is divided into IV. Books, and adorned with Maps; it contains 213 pages in this Edition of Utrecht. The Reader will perhaps ſee here with pleaſure Naude's judgment of it. After having mentioned Thomas More's *Eutopia*, and the City of the Sun, he ſpeaks thus. *Ultimum verò* Angli, *neſcio cujus, Mundus Alter & Idem, non ita dudum prodiit; aut veriùs Satyra adverſus depravatos præſentis ſeculi mores; in quo dum ſingulas ſtationes ſingulis vitiis adſignat, genteſque illas incolentes ac loca ipſa, contorticulatis ingeniosè fictiſque ex cujuſque rei natura vocibus adpellat, non ineptè meo judicio Poneropolim inſtituit, quæ ad hilaritatem non minùs homines excitare,*

subject, which he dedicated to the Nobility [*H*]. His Christian Seneca has been translated into several languages. It is a very solid Treatise.

(49) Naudæus, *Bibliograph. Politic.* pag. 517. edit. Crenii, 1692.

quàm ad virtutem inflammare possit (49). i. e. "Lastly, there has been lately published a Book written "by an Englishman, whose name I do not know, and "intitled, *Another world and the same*, or rather a Satyr on the corrupt morals of this Age; the Author "gives a particular place to every vice, and calls the "nations that inhabit those places, and the places themselves, names that are wittily composed, and adapted "to the very nature of every thing; thus he lays before "us an account of Poneropolis (the wicked City) proper both to divert us, and to persuade us to a virtuous life."

[*H*] *He did not like that the Noblemen of England should travel into Foreign Countries, and he wrote a book upon this subject, which he dedicated to the Nobility.*] This Work in Jaquemot's Translation printed at Geneva in the year 1628 is intitled thus: *Quo Vadis? ou Censure des Voyages ainsi qu' ordinairement ils sont entrepris par les* SEIGNEURS & GENTILS-HOMMES. The English Title is: *Quo vadis? A just censure of Travels, as it is commonly undertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation.* It is dedicated to Edward Lord Denny, Baron of Waltham, Father of the Lord Hay (β), who had been sent Embassador to France, and who was attended in this Embassy amongst other persons by our Joseph Hall. The Subject he treats in that work may be argued on both sides of the Question. This Author is not the only person that complained of the evils, which travelling produces; Thomas Lansius (50) has sometimes exclaimed against it; and on the other hand Justus Lipsius approves that people should travel (51), and has given very good Instructions upon that Subject. See his xxiid Letter of the 1st Century.

(50) In his Orations, *de Principatu inter Provincias Europæ.*

(51) See his Letters in the passages referred to in the Index, under the word *Peregrinatio.*

[β] *Father of my Lord Hay.*] Jaquemot and after him Mr. Bayle are here mistaken, and their Mistake is owing perhaps to Bishop Hall's saying to the Lord Denny in his Dedication, *the Lord Hay your most noble Sonne*; but the word *Sonne* must signify here only Son-in-law, for such the Lord Hay really was to the Lord Denny. See our Author's Dedication of his *Characters of Virtues and Vices.* (ADD-REM.)

☞HALL (JOSEPH) We shall add some particulars to Mr. Bayle's Article of this great man. He was born July the 1st 1574 in Bristow park within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire. His father was an Officer under Henry Earl of Huntingdon, President of the North, and under him had the government of that market-town, wherein the chief seat of that Earldom is placed. His mother Winifride was of the family of Bambridge (*a*). His parents had from his infancy devoted him to the Church; and he was educated in the public school of Ashby de la Zouch (*b*), from whence at fifteen years of age he was sent to Emanuel College in Cambridge (*c*), where he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1592 (*d*); and three years after, the statutes of his College, which allow but one person of a county to be Fellow, cutting off all his hopes of settling there, he designed to remove to the island of Guernsey, but was diverted from that resolution by the Earl of Huntingdon, who prevailed with our Author's Tutor Mr. Gilby, who was of the same county with him, to relinquish his Fellowship to a free election; upon which Mr. Hall was unanimously chosen in his room, and distinguished himself to great advantage in the public disputations, and for two years together discharged the place of Rhetoric Lecturer in the public schools with great applause (*e*). He took the degree of Master of Arts in 1596. He afterward resigned this Lecture to Dr. Dod, and entering into Holy Orders, preached often as occasion offered, both in the country and villages, and before the University. About this time he was recommended by Dr. Chaderton, Master of his College, to the Lord Chief Justice Popham for the Mastership of the Free School of Tiverton in Devonshire, then lately founded by Mr. Blundel; when upon his return from the Chief Justice he received a Letter from the Lady Drury of Suffolk, offering him the Rectory of Halsted near St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, which he accepted, and two years after married the daughter of Mr. George Winniff of Bretenham (*f*). In 1603 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*g*). In 1605 he accompanied Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spa in Germany, and made a tour through the Low Countries. About a year and an half after, his Living of Halsted being but small, and Sir Robert Drury the Patron refusing to restore ten pounds a year to it, which had been detained from his predecessor, he went up to London, where he fell into the acquaintance of several persons of quality, and by the interest of the Earl of Essex had an invitation to preach before Prince Henry at Richmond, who highly approving his sermon, commanded him to his service (*h*). In 1612 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and the same year (*i*) was presented to the Living of Waltham in Essex by the Lord Denny, afterwards Earl of Norwich. In the second year of his monthly attendance on the Prince, when he came for his dismission from that service, his Highness commanded him a longer stay, and at last upon his allowed departure, offered him by the mouth of Sir Thomas Chaloner his Governor the honour of being constantly resident at Court, with the promise of suitable preferment. But he refused this offer, and continued at Waltham for two and twenty years, preaching for a long time, as he had done at Halsted before, thrice in the week. He was afterwards made Prebendary of Wolverhampton; and was the chief instrument in retrieving some very considerable rights and emoluments to the Church (*k*). In July 1616 he attended the Embassy of the Lord Viscount Doncaster into France; and during his absence was nominated to the Deanery of Worcester (*l*), to which he was presented Dec. 9, 1616 (*m*). Upon his return he was appointed by his Majesty to be one of the Divines, which should attend him into Scotland (*n*). In 1618 he was sent to the Synod of Dort, with other Divines, and pitched upon to preach a Latin Sermon before that Assembly. But being obliged to return from thence before the Synod broke up on account of his health, he received signal marks of their esteem, and was also by the States

(*a*) *Some Specialties in the Life of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich. Written with his own Hand.* Prefixed to his *Remaining Works*, pag. 2. edit London 1660, in 4to.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 4.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 7.

(*d*) From the Registers of the University of Cambridge.

(*e*) *Some Specialties*, pag. 7-11.

(*f*) Ibid, pag. 7-15.

(*g*) From the Registers of the University.

(*h*) *Some Specialties*, pag. 15-24.

(*i*) Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiast. Parochiale Londinense*, vol. 2. pag. 630.

(*k*) *Some Specialties*, pag. 26-31.

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 31.

(*m*) Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c.* pag. 659.

(*n*) *Some Specialties*, pag. 33-34.

(*o*) Ibid. pag. 35-41.

States presented with a gold medal. Some time after his return to England an offer was made him of the Bishoprick of Glouceſter, which he refuſed; but afterwards accepted of that of Exeter (o) [A], to which he was conſecrated December the 23 1627 (p), and from thence tranſlated to the See of Norwich November 15th 1641 (q). At the opening of the Long Parliament he wrote very zealouſly in defence of Epiſcopacy [B]; and ſuffered greatly from the Parliament Party [C]. He died at Higham in Norfolk September the 8th 1656. His works are very numerous.

(o) Ibid. pag. 35-41.

(p) Le Neve's *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ*, pag. 84.

(q) Idem, ibid. pag. 213.

[A] *Accepted of that of Exeter.*] He tells us himſelf (1), that if the Duke of Buckingham's letters, he being then in France, had arrived but ſome hours ſooner, he had been defeated of that Biſhopric. He held the Rectory of St. Breok within that dioceſe in Commendam. He obſerves, that he entered upon that charge, not without much prejudice and ſuſpicion on ſome hands; *for ſome*, ſays he (2), *that ſate at the ſtern of the church, had me in great jealouſy for too much favour of Puritaniſm. I ſoon had intelligence, who were ſet over me for eſpials. My ways were curiouſly obſerved and ſcanned. However I took the reſolution to follow thoſe courſes, which might moſt conduce to the peace and happineſs of my new and weighty charge. Finding therefore ſome factious ſpirits very buſy in that dioceſe, I uſed all fair and gentle means to win them to good order, and therein ſo happily prevailed, that ſaving two of that numerous Clergy, who continuing in their refractorineſs, fled away from cenſure, they were all perfectly reclaimed; ſo as I had not one Miniſter profeſſedly oppoſite to the antiently received orders, (for I was never guilty of urging any new impoſitions) of the Church in that large dioceſe.* "Thus we went on comfortably together, "till ſome perſons of note in the Clergy being guilty "of their own negligence and diſorderly courſes, be"gan to envy our ſucceſs; and finding me ever "ready to encourage thoſe, whom I found conſcion"ably forward and painful in their places, and wil"lingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lec"tures in ſeveral parts of my dioceſe, opened their "mouths againſt me, both obliquely in the pulpit, "and directly at the Court, complaining of my too "much indulgence to perſons diſaffected,, and my "too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my "charge. The billows went ſo high, that I was "three ſeveral times upon my knee to his Majeſty to "anſwer theſe great criminations; and what conteſta"tion I had with ſome great Lords concerning theſe par"ticulars, it would be too long to report; only this; "under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, I "was ſo ſenſible, that I plainly told the Lord Arch"biſhop of Canterbury, that rather than I would be "obnoxious to thoſe ſlanderous tongues of his miſin"formers, I would caſt up my rochet. I knew I "went right ways, and would not endure to live "under undeſerved ſuſpicions. What meſſages of "caution I had from ſome of my wary brethren, and "what expoſtulatory letters I had from above, I "need not relate. Sure I am I had peace and com"fort at home in the happy ſenſe of the general una"nimity and loving correſpondence of my Clergy, "till in the laſt year of my preſiding there, after the "Synodical Oath was ſet on foot, which yet I did "never tender to any one Miniſter of my Dioceſe, "by the incitation of ſome buſy interlopers of the "neighbour county, ſome of them began to enter in"to an unkind conteſtation with me about the election "of Clerks of the Convocation, whom they ſecretly, "without ever acquainting me with their deſire or "purpoſe, as driving to that end, which we now ſee "accompliſhed, would needs nominate and ſet up in "competition to thoſe, whom I had, after the uſual "form, recommended to them. That they had a "right to free voices in that choice, I denied not; "only I had reaſon to take it unkindly, that they "would work underhand with me and againſt me, "profeſſing, that if they had beforehand made their "deſires known to me, I ſhould willingly have gone "along with them in their election. It came to the "Poll. Thoſe of my nomination carried it. The "Parliament begun; after ſome hard tugging there, "returning home upon a receſs, I was met on the "way, and chearfully welcomed with ſome hundreds. "In no worſe terms I left that my once dear Dio"ceſe."

(1) *Some Specialties*, pag. 41.

(2) Ibid.

[B] *At the opening of the Long Parliament he wrote very zealouſly in defence of Epiſcopacy.*] He publiſhed *Epiſcopacy by Divine Right aſſerted*, London, 1640. *An humble Remonſtrance to the High Court of Parliament. A Defence of that Remonſtrance againſt* Smectymnuus.

[C] *Suffered greatly from the Parliament party.*] He has given an account of his ſufferings in his *Hard-Meaſure*, dated May 29, 1647. T

The End of the FIFTH VOLUME.